

## TRUMAN'S 85.4 BILLION DOLLAR WAR BUDGET

(See Page 2)

# THE MILITANT

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Can't Hold It Down



## Big Brass Is Reluctant To Make Korean Truce

By Joseph Keller

Washington and the Pentagon seem ever more reluctant to achieve a truce in Korea. The imperialist politicians and professional militarists fear that once actual fighting ends the troops will demand to be sent home and opposition at home will increase against the staggering armaments budget. These are the reasons, rather than alleged Chinese stalling, why cease-fire negotiations have reached an apparent stalemate.

"War, not peace, is the program for Korea," states the Jan. 18 U.S. News and World Report. But the American people, not to speak of the people of the whole world, are bitterly opposed to continuation of the Korean war. Therefore, the program of the warmakers is to carry on a "simmering war," with casualties kept, if possible, at an unspectacular level, until the political atmosphere is more favorable for full-scale warfare.

"The political decision out of Washington and London... is

neither to resume full-scale war nor to get out... Casualties on that basis will be accepted by U.S. at a rate of around 300 a week."

### 300 PER WEEK

American mothers and fathers and wives will be asked to "accept" around 300 casualties a week indefinitely. And it won't be considered war. No, explains, U.S. News, "Korea, in effect, is being turned into a training ground... At a cost in casualties of about 300 American youths each week, this country is able to train half a million men at a time under combat conditions... The number of Americans in Korea now is close to half a million."

The scheme, then, is to keep a huge army of half a million troops in Korea in readiness for further extension of the war at a more favorable time. Thus, the U.S. News adds the cynical note: "Hope of politicians seems to be that voters will forget the war. Casualties then might be held to

around 300 a week. Youths in Korea, about 500,000 of them, might be segregated some way, left to do a job."

The Big Brass hope to build an Iron Curtain between the "segregated" troops at the front and the folks at home. They want to use the "simmering" war as justification for keeping the troops in Korea. They also want, for the time being, to keep casualties down to a point where the people at home will "forget" that American youth are killing and being killed in a U.S. imperialist invasion of a colonial nation 6,000 miles away. It will be just "training" for U.S. troops.

This concept of a "simmering" war — although there can be no assurance that the pot won't boil over at any time — fits in with domestic politics in an election year. By keeping the war a bit subdued, it will be possible, the Democratic and Republican politicians hope, to keep Korea and the whole question of war and peace out of the elections. That is precisely what Truman proposed in his State of the Union Message and what the Big Money backers of Gen. Eisenhower want.

### "PATIENT ENDURANCE"

The strategy of the "simmering" war is now being openly projected. The N. Y. Herald Tribune states the case editorially on Jan. 23: "It is at least possible that the United States has been too eager for a 'peace' or 'truce' by which we have actually less to gain than we have imagined. There is a third alternative between surrender or renewal of all-out war. There is the alternative of patient endurance..."

Whose patient endurance? Not the Herald Tribune's but that of the half million troops, who will

(Continued on page 3)

## Negroes Defy Ku Klux Klan at NAACP Parley

### Time for Action

An Editorial

On Jan. 8, Socialist Workers Party chairman Farrell Dobbs wrote the steering committee of the civil rights assembly called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for Washington on Feb. 17-18, urging them to "transform the character of this gathering into a mass mobilization that will express the determination of the American people to halt the growing racist terror." (See The Militant, Jan. 14.)

This letter has gone unanswered. Indeed, recent press releases of the NAACP disclose that instead of broadening the scheduled civil rights assembly it has been narrowed and is now being referred to as a "leadership conference." Even more disheartening to those who seek an effective program of action against racial terror is the complete silence of NAACP leaders on their own proposal for a nation-wide work stoppage to protest the murder of Harry T. and Harriet Moore.

The NAACP Board of Directors endorsed the proposal that secretary Walter White confer with labor leaders on the calling of a national one-day stop work protest demonstration against the brazen racists. As there has been no official word since, a number of questions inevitably arise:

Has anything been done to further the proposal since it was adopted by the leaders of the NAACP? Has Walter White conferred with the AFL and CIO leaders? If he has, how have they responded? Have they been sympathetic to the proposal or have they rejected it? If the silence is not because the NAACP leaders haven't advanced the proposal but because of the hesitancy of the labor leaders then all union members have a right to know. They could then exert pressure from the ranks to persuade the top union officials of the necessity for action.

The NAACP has organized protest mass meetings throughout the country which have aroused enthusiastic support. Labor papers and union spokesmen in their great majority have condemned the frightful Jim Crow terror. But words alone are not enough. As Farrell Dobbs wrote, it is time for the kind of militant action "that will send the racists scurrying back to their holes."

### Clarke Predicts Workers' Victory In Coming International Showdown

FLINT, Mich., Jan. 19 — George Clarke, editor of the Marxist magazine, Fourth International, made a great hit here with an audience of auto workers, unemployed

and students who gathered to hear his speech on the "Approaching International Showdown."

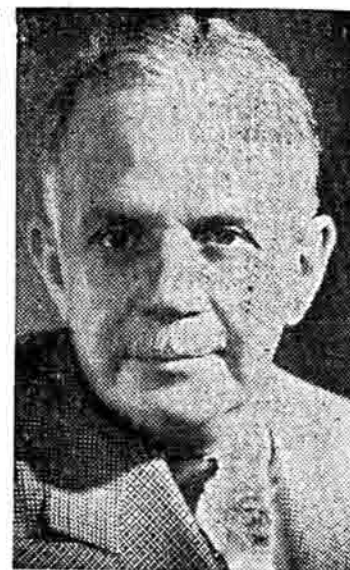
The response was shown by the repeated applause which greeted Clarke's analysis. The audience showed such a thirst for information on the world crisis of capitalism that Clarke extended his speech to try to quench their desires. Even after the conclusion of his speech, which had the close attention of everyone, the audience remained glued to their chairs for another hour to hear the speaker's answers to questions.

Every reader of the Militant should hear Clarke's analysis of

the world scene. They will be richly rewarded with a greater insight into the prospects of victory for the working class of the world. This was the opinion of everyone who heard Clarke speak in Flint.

DETROIT, Jan. 20 — A capacity audience filled the Socialist Workers Party hall here to listen to George Clarke, in the Detroit appearance of his national tour. A lively discussion period followed the speech. More literature was sold at this meeting than at any meeting in the past two years.

(See Clarke Tour Schedule on Page 2)



WALTER WHITE

### Unions, NAACP In L.A. Plan Joint Moore Protest

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 22 — The Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party is conducting a vigorous campaign in support of the city-wide mass meeting sponsored by the NAACP, AFL, CIO, Anti-Defamation League and other organizations to protest the Florida bombing terror which culminated Christmas night in the murder of Harry T. Moore and his wife Harriet.

The mass meeting will be held Thursday, February 21, at the Shrine Auditorium with Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as the main speaker.

### PLEDGES SUPPORT

Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman of the Los Angeles SWP, pledged all-out support to the joint mass meeting. "The Socialist Workers Party," she declared, "is prepared to wage a vigorous campaign for an overflow attendance and for a militant program to combat the Jim Crow terror."

A preliminary mass meeting attended by 2500 people here last Sunday heard NAACP attorney Franklin Williams tell the story of the Florida outrage. Williams is the attorney who defended three Negro youth framed in Groveland, Florida on a charge of "rape." He won a Supreme Court reversal of their conviction but two were shot in cold blood by Sheriff McCall while being conducted to court. Harry T. Moore protested this inhuman deed. Six weeks later he was murdered.

The Los Angeles SWP is asking the unions to support the NAACP proposal for a protest work stoppage by holding a city-wide stop-work demonstration.

### Conference in Jacksonville Pledges to Fight Spreading Racial Terrorism in South

By George Lavan

Meeting in defiance of a giant Ku Klux Klan rally of robed racial terrorists in nearby Tallahassee, over 150 delegates representing approximately 10,000 members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 15 Southern states held an emergency conference in Jacksonville, Florida, Jan. 19 and 20. Declaring they would not be intimidated and while the Klan rally hurled curses and threats at them, the conference delegates honored the memory of murdered NAACP leader Harry T. Moore and resolved to carry on the work for which he gave his life.

Plans were mapped at the conference to combat the wave of racist terror and to carry on the fight for equal rights.

### MOORE GETS AWARD

The emergency conference culminated in a mass meeting attended by 1,200 people. Roy Wilkins, administrator of the NAACP, told the audience that Moore was killed because he fought the doctrine of white supremacy. A message from Walter White, NAACP secretary, declared that "the bomb has replaced the lyncher's rope" and that violence in the South was no longer directed primarily against the Negro but that now "Jews, Catholics, trade unionists" and others were targets of the bigots. Wilkins also answered a radio broadcast of that afternoon by the Florida Peace Officers Association which had smeared the NAACP as a "racial hate organization."

A dramatic moment of the conference was the posthumous conferring of the Jefferson Award to Harry T. Moore. The Jefferson Award is conferred annually by the Council Against Intolerance in America to persons selected for their "furtherance of the principles of democracy."

The race-hate Tallahassee gathering of the Ku Klux Klan was not the only attempted in-

### Our Program to Stop Terrorism

1. A nationwide work stoppage by all the unions to protest the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore.

2. Formation of defense guards to protect lives and homes against violence that the authorities wink at and fail to punish.

3. A mass march on Washington to show the government that the people will tolerate no more stalling.

4. Mass demonstrations in every community to express the anger, determination and concern shared by every enemy of racism.

timidation of the NAACP. The preceding week a Conference of Florida sheriffs brazenly invited the Grand Dragon of the Florida KKK to address its Daytona Beach convention. There the KKK leader barked that the murdered Harry T. Moore, "wasn't just a Negro. He was a Communist and a trouble maker in this state." One of the delegates to the sheriffs' gathering was Willis V. McCall of Lake County. McCall shot two handcuffed Negro prisoners, killing one, last Nov. 6. It was Moore's demand for the indictment of McCall that led to the Christmas night lynch-bombing of Moore and his wife.

As Florida police and the FBI remained inactive on the Moore case, the terror continued to spread throughout the South and into the North. Latest Florida (Continued on page 2)

## JUSTICE DOUGLAS HITS WITCH-HUNT, ASIA POLICY

By Jerry Warren

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has written a bitter description of the current witch hunt in the U.S. and its connection with the reactionary military program of U.S. imperialism against the Asian revolution. This article, entitled "The Black Silence of Fear," appeared in the New York Times Sunday Magazine section of Jan. 13.

The very next day the N. Y. Times carried a front page story by its chief political writer, Arthur Krock, asserting that Douglas was out of the running as a presidential possibility. Krock alleges that Douglas wrote Truman from India last August stating that he was not interested in the Democratic Party nomination. No word of Douglas' alleged letter ever reached the press until the day following his anti-Asian article was printed!

### MARKED UNRELIABLE

Douglas' article certainly caused Big Business to mark him down in its books as unreliable. In his story Krock wrote that Democratic bigwigs who had been considering Douglas as a replacement for Truman on the presidential ticket "got goose flesh and developed a fever over this (Douglas') article," and that the news that a man with such dangerous thoughts was out of the running "should restore their political health."

Douglas' article is significant because it is a sober, public criticism by an important judicial personage of Big Business' reckless drive toward all-out war in Asia and toward a police state at home.

The article begins: "There is an ominous trend in this nation

We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new or different approaches... There have been eras of intolerance when the views of minorities have been suppressed. But there probably has not been a period of greater intolerance than we witness today."

To appreciate the present atmosphere in the U.S., Douglas says one should go abroad for a while (as he did in several trips to Asia). "When he returns to America after a few months he probably will be shocked... He will be shocked at the arrogance and intolerance of great segments of the American press, at the arrogance and intolerance of many leaders in public office, at the arrogance and intolerance reflected in many of our attitudes toward Asia..."

"This is alarming to one who loves his country. It means that the philosophy of strength through free speech is being forsaken for the philosophy of fear through repression."

### THE MILITARY MIND

In Douglas' opinion the repression stems from U.S. foreign policy: "The military approach conditioned our thinking and our planning. The military, in fact, determined our approach to the Asians and their problems. That has been a great tragedy in Asia. And the tragedy to us at home has been about as great."

Here is a picture of the state (Continued on page 2)

## Steel Locals Resist Provocations

By Cy Thomas

Tension is mounting in the steel centers of this country as more and more steelworkers become convinced that the only way they can win their demands is through the exercise of their economic power.

The arrogant steel barons have continued their stalling tactics by demanding a three-week delay in the presentation of their case to the Wage Stabilization Board. In the meantime they have carried on a policy of provocation in the plants that is meeting with determined resistance on the part of the workers.

### PLANT-WIDE STRIKE

In Baltimore, 5,000 members of the CIO United Steelworkers Union shut down the four mills of the Bethlehem Steel Company's Sparrows Point plant in an overtime dispute. This is the first time in the history of Sparrows Point that "unauthorized" plant-

wide strike action had been taken by the local union.

In Youngstown, Local 1331 shut down Republic Steel in a dispute over an incentive plan that has been under discussion for over a year. The men went back to work after giving the company seven days in which to work out an acceptable plan.

### MORE SHUTDOWNS

A dispute over the question of incentive rates led to a walkout last Monday of 13,000 workers at the huge Alquippa plant of Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation. The one-day strike led to a complete shutdown. The men went back to work upon the assurance of the company that it will meet with union representatives to iron out the dispute.

### FOOD FOR FINKS

In Gary's mammoth steel center strike sentiment reached a fever pitch when it was discovered that U.S. Steel Corporation was moving in cars of meat and other

food to feed strikebreakers in the event of a walkout. Steel union officials of half a dozen Gary locals representing 35,000 steelworkers issued a sharp protest against WSB permitting the corporations to stall the steel wage case and warning they would strike Feb. 22 unless the dispute was settled.

### STRIKE MEETING

Orval Kincaid, Gary subdistrict director, was authorized to call a meeting next week of the Gary strike strategy board. Steel union representatives in the Gary district are opposed to any extension beyond the Feb. 22 deadline. "We will fight it out on the picket line," they said if no satisfactory agreement is reached.

In the strategic Youngstown district seven important locals have joined in issuing a special edition of a newspaper in support of the union's 22 demands. The paper is titled: 22 in 52 or Fight. The lead article calls upon the Youngstown steelworkers to

"use the next 45 days to prepare and mobilize our forces for a fight."

Truman's "Defense Mobilizer" Charles E. Wilson has been stumping the country for the profit-hungry corporations preaching the disastrous effect a steel wage increase will have on the economy. Truman himself used his State of the Union message to Congress to strike a blow at the steel wage demands by warning that wages must be kept "stabilized" while prices and profits run wild.

### HATCHET MEN

Truman and his gang of mobilizers and stabilizers are out to do a hatchet job for the corporations. The steelworkers are showing their displeasure with the way their demands are being treated by the corporations and their stooges in government. By their actions they are serving notice that they are ready and willing to fight for their just demands.

## N. Y. DOCKMEN ROOKED BY STATE LABOR BOARD

By Frank Faber

NEW YORK, Jan. 23 — East Coast dock workers have been taken for a ride by a New York State "fact-finding" board set up by Industrial Commissioner Edward

Corsi to "study" the causes of the insurgent strike that tied up the waterfront here last fall for a period of 25 days.

The strike broke out in protest against an agreement signed after a phony membership referendum by Joseph Ryan, lifetime president of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association. The strike committee accused Ryan of fraud and demanded that the agreement be renegotiated. The 3-man board upheld the charge of fraud but ruled the agreement valid because it was only a "little" fraud.

Handwriting and other experts had been called in, the board report states, "and had determined to its satisfaction that in three locals there were evidences of fraud." However, because the "irregularities" discovered were judged insufficient to "have changed the final result" the board upheld the validity of Ryan's agreement.

Having disposed of the central issue in dispute to the complete satisfaction of Ryan and the shipowners, the "fact-finders" recommended a whole series of union reforms in a 114-page report which strike committee attorney Peter Johnson characterized as "sophomoric with platitudes, promises, income tables and things to come."

This opinion was confirmed by Ryan who gleefully hailed the board's decision whitewashing the

phony agreement but quickly added in criticism that "a mere glance at the report seems to indicate that the board went far afield," in suggesting that Ryan's cesspool be fumigated.

One of the major recommendations of the "fact-finders" was that the union "establish a fact-finding board of three public members, at least temporarily, to sift grievances of members and component units and make recommendations to the ILA," until a permanent "arbiter" is established.

If there is anything the insurgent longshoremen should learn from this dispute it is to steer clear of mealy-mouthed "arbiters" and "fact-finders" and to rely on their own strength and organization. The Corsi board was set up for one purpose and one purpose alone: to get the men back to work and then jam Ryan's fraudulent agreement down their throats.

These college professors, priests, ward heelers and professional social workers who have the towering gall to palm themselves off as impartial representatives of the "public" interest are the most blatant fraud of all. Ryan, at least, is an unabashed scoundrel who can deceive no one. But beware of the "impartial" arbiters, fact-finders and self-proclaimed representatives of "the public."



# Truman's New War Budget

By John G. Wright

On Jan. 16 Truman in his "Economic Report" demanded of the American people that they foot a staggering bill of \$85.4 billion in payment for the "State of War" message to Congress issued a week earlier.

In the pre-Korea days the budget called for "armed services" expenditures of \$12.3 billion. This time Truman demanded \$50 billion, or more than four times as much. The actual increase is far higher, incredible though this may seem.

According to Truman's own doctored estimates, 80 cents out of each budget-dollar are earmarked for what this demagogue labels as "major national security programs." This means that some \$68 billion will go directly to pay for "the military services," plus "international security and foreign relations" (read: financing the arms program abroad), plus the expenditures for more A-Bombs, Hells, Bombs and other "fantastic weapons," plus the interest on what all this costs and what the previous arms programs have cost.

Excluding the cost of "veterans' programs" (drastically



TRUMAN

reduced), all other "non-defense" expenditures (likewise slashed), listed by Truman, amount to less than \$14 billion dollars! And this comparatively small remainder likewise contains other hidden expenditures for war. Actually not 15% of the total budget, as Truman falsely claimed, but approximately 10% will go for "non-defense" expenses, including social services, welfare,

health, housing, etc. Easily 90% will go, as last year, for war or war-connected expenses, past and present.

The world has never before seen in "peacetime" such snow-balling of expenditures for "military services" as those which the American people have suffered in the 18 months since Korea. In the first six months from June to December 1950, arms expenditures almost doubled (leaping from \$12.3 billion in June to \$22 billion in Dec. 1950). By December of last year they had again more than doubled, soaring to \$45 billion.

And now—still another demand for even higher arms expenditures. And here we come to the second "hidden" feature of Truman's "Garrison State Economy." Of the huge sums already appropriated by Congress for the military, there are some 90 to 100 billion dollars still unsent. (The Brass Hats had previously demanded \$60 billion more than the sums Congress appropriated, but that was "refused.") Now Truman has come forward to add \$50 billion more, raising the total projected arms expenditures to

\$150 billion, or roughly half the entire annual national income.

With the current budget, the American people will find themselves economically not on the threshold of the Garrison State but right across this threshold. By October last year "checks from the government" already supplied about one-fourth of the "national income" (U.S. News, Oct. 5, 1951). By the beginning of this year, 51% million found themselves employed in defense industries, while the ranks of the unemployed began to increase by scores of thousands in all consumer-goods industries, from auto and house appliances to leather and textiles. More ominous than this mushrooming of arms production amid a slump in the "light" industry, is the tremendous impetus imparted to inflation by deficit government spending, past, current and projected.

## RUNNING IN RED

The Treasury has been running deeply into the red for many months now on the basis of last year's arms expenditures. But these deficits have thus far been "covered" by the shadiest of manipulations. To illustrate, for the six months through Dec. 1951 the Treasury has run at a deficit of \$7.5 billion. And here is how, "without borrowing," this deficit has been "covered." First, the Treasury has "reduced" its "working balance"—for a total of \$3.1 billion. This is a book-keeping device pure and simple, which cannot be repeated again. This money must be paid back, but it does not appear that way on the books.

Second, the Treasury appropriated the "net surplus" from old-age pension fund and other "government trust" accounts to the tune of \$1.7 billion. In place of money, these "trust accounts" now have more IOUs, otherwise known as government bonds, certificates and the like. Finally, the Treasury simply added another \$2.7 billion to the "publicly held debt," that is, lifted still higher the huge national debt (and the interest charges on it). (Source: "Daily Statement" of the Treasury Department June 29 and Dec. 29, 1951.)

One does not have to be a financial expert to understand that such tricks "cover" up nothing but a progressive debasement of the country's monetary standard. It is equally self-evident that by "admitting" a \$14.4 billion deficit for his projected and much larger budget, Truman was lying. Last year's smaller budget (of \$71 billion) has, as the Treasury statements show, been piling up deficits of that size. So the new and much bigger budget is bound to run roughly \$20 billion, if not more, into the red.

The resulting boost to inflation from this progressive debasement of the dollar is no secret to all the financial sharks. The mere publication of Truman's budget sufficed to cause the dollar's foreign exchange rate to drop in relation to other relatively stable currencies, such as the Canadian dollar. A Scripps-Howard financial writer does not hesitate to speak of "the flight of the American dollar" i.e. of U.S. capital, to Canada, whose dollar is now at par.

The N. Y. Times, mouthpiece of the most influential capitalist circles, which has hitherto backed the fiscal measures as well as the previous budgets of the Truman administration, lauded, Jan. 23, those "members of Congress who have expressed their determination" to "whittle down" the proposed budget; and then went on to call "for a re-examination of the nation's inflationary defenses all along the line."

## BURDEN ON LABOR

Defenses against inflation are indeed needed "all along the line," in the first instance by organized labor, the poor farmers and the city poor who have already paid through the nose for the war program of American imperialism. When such enemies of labor as the editors of the N.Y. Times become concerned, it is time for the labor movement to rouse itself. The first condition for a successful struggle against the twin scourges of inflation and of the arms program—these further savage inroads on labor's living standards—is to break with the capitalist two-party system and with its bi-partisan foreign policy which seeks to unload on the American workers the frightful cost of Wall Street's reactionary war program.

## Two Speeches

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# Party Fund Campaign Reaches 93% of Quota

By Reba Aubrey  
Fund Campaign Manager

Payments to the \$18,000 Organization and Press fund this week totaled \$688. The scoreboard, computed on the basis of receipts through Jan. 21, shows a total of \$16,810 or 93% of the national quota.

Sixteen branches are now over the top with a score of 100% or better. A Dalton from Toledo wrote early in the week: "Am enclosing a check for \$35—our pledge in full and I hope on time. Our wonderful sympathizers came through with flying colors; otherwise this would have been impossible." Today Comrade Dalton sent another \$5: "This makes our fund total to date \$60. We hope to raise this a little higher."

Sally Conti of Boston assures us "that now the campaign is extended, I'm quite sure we'll make it." Harry Gold, director of New York Local's campaign, says: "You can count on New York being 100% by the deadline."

M. Jones of Youngstown hopes paid on their \$250 pledge. "To be able to send the balance A. G., a friend in Los Angeles, of our quota in the Organization in a \$3 contribution for the and Press fund in a few days." fund.

A check for \$315 from San Sam K., a veteran of the radical Francisco shot their score to 77% movement and an Old Guard Our group of friends in the Trotskyist from 1928, came into South hit 172% with another \$15, our office Saturday to contribute which gives them a total of \$430\$1 to help in the campaign.

## \$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Cleveland	\$ 300	\$ 378	126
Toledo	50	60	120
Connecticut	75	87	116
Milwaukee	250	275	110
Akron	150	152	101
Buffalo	1,000	1,000	100
Chicago	1,000	1,000	100
Detroit	1,500	1,500	100
Flint	350	350	100
Los Angeles	2,600	2,600	100
Newark	500	500	100
Oakland	150	150	100
Philadelphia	400	400	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	1,000	100
Seattle	400	400	100
Boston	550	530	96
New York	5,000	4,468	90
Youngstown	350	295	84
San Francisco	1,000	770	77
Pittsburgh	75	35	70
Allentown	75	45	60
General	1,150	714	62
Total through Jan. 21	\$18,000	\$16,810	93

# Negro Delegates Defy Ku Kluxers

(Continued from page 1)

atrocities was a beating and shooting of a 26 year old Negro taxi driver in Winter Garden, not far from the scene of the Moore murders. The spread of terrorism to North Carolina was revealed by a statement of the sheriff of Columbus County that his deputies are afraid to approach houses at night. Rural householders are jittery and armed because of a wave of floggings by

night-riding mobs. In connection with this the Grand Dragon of the Associated Carolinas Klans boasted that many "state highway patrolmen, sheriff's deputies and constables" are members of his organization.

## SPREAD OF TERROR

A foretaste of the spread of the terror bombings to the North and against labor unions, was seen in the Jan. 20 bombing of

the new half-million dollar headquarters of the AFL meat workers union in Chicago. The blast racked the area and damaged the building. Chicago police quickly adopted the tactics of the Florida police. In Florida, police officials declared the bombings "pointed strongly to the conclusion that Communists were involved." In Chicago, police immediately pointed the finger of accusation at the CIO.

Bombing and racist terrorism spread and will continue to spread so long as the terrorists have reason to believe that they are immune from arrest or punishment. In the past few months there have been 15 actual or attempted bombings in Miami alone. No major arrests have been made. No arrests have been made in the Moore bombings or in the wave of floggings in the Southeast.

The Militant has warned that this racist terrorism, if allowed to go unchecked, can spread throughout the country. Others are now becoming aware of the danger. Alex Miller, southern director of the Anti-Defamation League, states: "Racial bigots and terrorists are imitative. Unpunished bombings in one city lead terrorists in other areas

to substitute dynamite for floggings or desecration of churches and synagogues. The next outbreak could come in the North or the South."

## EPIDEMIC OF VIOLENCE

In an article entitled, "Fla. Violence Spreads to Other States," Charles Abrams, special correspondent of the N. Y. Post, writes from Florida: "... the wave of dynamitings and racist terrorism that started last May has flared into an epidemic of violence that threatens to engulf the entire Southeast, a survey revealed today. Not a single major arrest has been made."

The Negro people and other targets of the terrorists can put no reliance on the Southern police to bring the perpetrators to justice.

An idea of the reign of terror in this area can be formed from the fact that in Winter Garden, Florida (population of only 2,500), last March a Negro was dragged from his bed and murdered by a white mob, and a year before another Negro was "taken for a ride" by white men who threw his body onto the highway. In addition to this a number of beatings of Negroes have recently occurred there.

# W. Walden, Old-Time IWW Militant, Dies at Age of 62

Editor: Wayne Walden, long an active member and worker for the Industrial Workers of the World, died on January 9 at Wilmington, Delaware. He was buried near his little home at Arden, near Wilmington. Some fellow-workers went down from New York to pay a last tribute to this old fighter for industrial freedom.

He was 62 years old at the time of his death, which resulted from a heart attack.

Wayne Walden, born in Texas, was brought up in Colorado during the fighting days of the old Western Federation of Miners. He worked in the mines as a boy, but shifted to cow-punching and other work. He joined the I.W.W. in 1911, and at once became known through his splendid singing voice at street meetings in the Northwest. He soon became an effective speaker, and an intelligent and courageous job organizer in construction gangs, the harvest fields and elsewhere.

Walden took part in the hard-fought free speech fight in Kansas City. In 1915, when the Agricultural Workers' Organization of the I.W.W. (400) was formed, he did fine organizing work in the Dakotas. In Chicago,

in 1916 and 1917, he became active in anarcho-syndicalism as well as the I.W.W. itself. Already a capable writer, he joined Harry Howard and the Russian Anarchist Aron Baron in editing an Anarchist paper, "Alarm."

Walden, like Frank Little and many others, believed in direct and militant opposition to the Wilson War.

With regard to Wilson's propaganda slogans of a "war to end war" and make the world "safe for democracy," Walden pointed out with complete accuracy that Wilson took us into the war to prevent peace, and to make the world safe for the Morgan interests and their munitions shipments. Wayne was arrested even before the Conscription Act was passed.

Though Wayne had not held an I.W.W. card for many years before his death, he believed in and supported its principles to the end. In his last years, his principal companionship was that of his devoted wife Lena (Lena Fuso), also an old-time rebel.

He is also survived by a daughter, Eleanor, and a grandchild. He will be sadly missed by all his old friends and fellow-workers.

An Old Timer.

# TUNISIAN MASSES RISE AGAINST FRENCH RULERS

Emulating the British in Egypt, the French colonial despots, backed by Washington, are shooting down Tunisians in cold blood. On Jan. 14, ten Tunisian war veterans were wounded. On Jan. 17, three demonstrators were killed and 30 wounded. On Jan. 21, three were killed and 20 wounded. Reinforcements from Algeria have been rushed in to stiffen this French assault upon the Tunisian people. "Armored cars and troops surrounded the Arab section of the capital, while police in the European section searched Tunisians for weapons," reported the Associated Press. On Jan. 22, fighting was in progress in a town south of Tunis, captured by the insurgent people.

The events which are turning Tunisia into another Indo-China started on Jan. 18 when the French arrested 20 leaders and 500 militants of the Tunisian nationalist Neo-Destour Party, ("New Constitution" Party). The prisoners were thrown into concentration camps "somewhere in Tunisia." The nationalist weekly was also seized.

## DEMAND AUTONOMY

The "crime" of these Tunisian nationalists consists in their leader, Habib Bourghiba's demand that the French live up to their promise to grant Tunisia, seized 71 years ago, internal autonomy—a freely-elected Tunisian parliament and a government without any French "representatives," i.e., dictators.

Although the French "guaranteed" the country's autonomy

## APPEAL TO UN

After months of fruitless negotiations with the French by Habib Bourghiba and Tunisian Cabinet Ministers, an appeal by two of these ministers was made to the United Nations in Paris. In vain! Thereupon the Tunisian masses, encouraged by Iranian and Egyptian struggle against colonialism, supported their leaders by mass demonstrations.

The French "Socialists" began by threatening, because of Tunisia, to withdraw their support from Edgar Faure's newly formed cabinet. They ended by supporting Faure. Meanwhile the Tunisian workers answered by calling an "indefinite" general strike. In their struggle against French imperialism the mass organizations of the North African people deserve the fullest support and sympathy of American workers. The cause for which the Tunisians, Algerians and Moroccans struggle today is the same for which the American people fought against the British 180 years ago: The right of self-determination, the right to be free.

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# THE MILITANT ARMY

Detroit sends in a number of Militant renewals this week, the result of 115 visits by a hard-working crew. Literature Agent Bea Allen reports a very favorable response among subscribers many of whom have been hard hit by layoffs. Bea plans callbacks on unemployed workers and expects many of these to renew when they are working again.

In addition to their renewal work Detroit conducted a very successful sale of the Moore issue, "Last Sunday," Bea writes, "Gil, Leroy, Fred, and Cyn went to a mass meeting of the NAACP on the Harry T. Moore case and sold 70 copies of The Militant and 43 copies of The Struggle for Negro Equality plus four copies of The Road to Peace." We were very pleased at the amount of literature sold, and many comments were made about the paper as people told others to buy it, for it had a story about it. One man trying to tell a lady not to buy found a surprise when she said Negro has been killed and if this paper has a story about it I want to read it. Many were reading the paper inside.

Eddie went to a union meeting this Sunday also and sold 13 papers. She said if she had got there even earlier she would have sold her whole bundle. Barney has been working on a project since the last subscription drive, and continually revisits his subscribers and sells them literature and tickets to our meetings. He has had some very excellent results. Last week he sold 15 more copies of the Negro Struggle pamphlet there."

Minneapolis Militant salesmen did a bang-up job on the campus with the issue featuring the story of Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins, dismissed from the University of Minnesota teaching staff for his political views. Literature Agent Helen S. reports a total of 218 copies sold with scores as follows: Wally sold 61; Ray, 55; Charlie, 45; Doris, 35; and Larry, 22. One of the salesmen appeared on television holding up The Militant with the story about Wiggins prominently featured, and Donald sold nine additional copies at a small student meeting at one of the other colleges.

"Donald and I sold 18 copies of the same issue," Helen writes, "at the AFL Labor Temple. Senator Humphrey was speaking there so we thought that it was a good idea for the delegates to have a real civil rights program in their hands as they listened to his phony promises about civil rights."

A batch of renewals from Chicago Literature Agent Bert Deck

are accompanied by a promise of "more to come." Elaine, who is in charge of the renewal campaign, is also the pacesetter. Harold, Marj and Snow did a good job too, Bert writes.

Lou Cooper reports that Akron is at the half way mark in their renewal work. Sally and Kat spent about five hours last Sunday visiting subscribers. Kat's plans for expanding literature work include regular sales at the meeting of the CIO Council.

New York Literature Agent Ethel Swanson sends in the names of the high scorers at the successful demonstration and sale of 600 Militants reported in last week's Militant: "Lenny went out twice and sold 14 papers in Brooklyn and 36 in Harlem for a total of 50; George R. sold 34; Fred E., 32; and Jack, J. and Anne sold 31 each. Many comments by passers-by showed an enthusiastic interest in the program of The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party. One person was interested in joining the party and another in helping to sell the paper. Many workers expressed agreement with the slogan for a march on Washington and for the building of defense guards."

"Another 24 copies of this issue were sold the following day at a Moore memorial meeting at the Walker Memorial Baptist Church, by John K. John K. also had an interesting experience last Friday at an ALP club meeting where he was selling Militant. He was asked inside by one of the members and as he entered he heard the chairman say, 'The important thing before us now is the Moore Case as you can see by the headline in The Militant.' Johnny also sold two copies of 'The Road to Peace.'"

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**BOSTON**—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues. 10:30-9 P.M. Social Sat. of every month.  
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# THE MILITANT

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## The "Dirty War"

The French people have named French imperialism's aggression against the Indo-Chinese people the "Dirty War." This expresses the loathing of the French workers and farmers for France's five-year assault of flame and murder, carried out with American arms and money, in Indo-China.

For its bestial work of slaughter, rape and robbery in Southeast Asia, the French capitalist government has relied primarily on mercenaries. The French people have forced through a law prohibiting the use of conscripted or drafted French youth for colonial duty. Only paid "volunteers" — the fascist and criminal elements of France, North African professional colonial troops, plus former Nazi SS men and others of the Foreign Legion — have been turned loose on the Indo-Chinese. These are the types who would — for a cash payment — cut a throat in an alley or bayonet women and children in Indo-China with equal relish.

Popular revulsion in France to this war is so great that one French government after another has toppled. The French rulers have come to the U.S. with appeals for direct American intervention with air, naval and land forces. There is evidence that Washington has secretly committed this country to feed such forces into Indo-China if the French can't hold on — and they can't.

There is grave danger that the American imperialists are going to use American forces — draftees, for the most part — for the filthy chore that the French people would permit only to hired mercenaries and fascist volunteers. Conscripted American youth, already being used in the U.S.'s own "Dirty War" in Korea, face the prospect of being sent to fight France's "Dirty War."

What contempt the American people will bring down upon them from the rest of the world if they permit their sons, dragooned against their will into the armed forces, to take over the role assigned for the past five years exclusively to the lowest French mercenaries.

## Let the People Decide!

On Jan. 23 the Wall Street Journal, influential daily of U.S. financiers and speculators, front-paged a scoop by its Washington correspondent to the effect that "top strategists of the Pentagon and the State Department" have committed themselves to Paris for all-out "aid" in Indo-China. Since U.S. munitions and equipment have for months been flowing to this area, this decision can only mean the sending of American boys to die in Indo-China as they still are dying in Korea.

"If things go this far, Congress will complain," cynically comments Wall Street Journal's staff correspondent, "but probably that's all, Administration bigwigs figure. The President will consult with his henchmen on Capitol Hill (and maybe even some key Republicans) as things get worse in Indo-China, but he's not expected to ask Congress to vote on whether we'd throw in planes, ships — or even [infantry] troops."

It is plain enough what is being plotted: Truman, plus the five-star generals, plus the pin-striped diplomats, are plotting another Korea. A quarter of a million American youth were killed and wounded in Korea in what is called a "police action." The American people were not consulted. Now the warmakers plan another bloodletting under a similar pretext.

The American people are awakening to the truth that the teeming millions of Asians, from Korea through Indo-China, Malaya and the Philippines, into Iran, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and the rest of the Middle East, are today fighting the same battle for independence as our colonial predecessors did against the British in 1776.

The Indo-Chinese have fought the French to a standstill for the last five years. These heroic fighters for freedom from colonial slavery merit the support of every foe of tyranny. The American people, with labor in the forefront, should demand that every issue of war or peace be decided by our whole people in a national referendum. Let the People Decide!

## Douglas Changes His Tune

Elsewhere in the paper we report an important article by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas decrying the destruction of civil liberties in the U.S. and the catastrophic course of U.S. militarism in Asia. Only a few years ago Douglas spoke very different words to a CIO convention.

In 1948 Douglas, in a speech widely circulated by the CIO, told American labor that Marxism had been disproved by the development of liberal capitalism in the U.S. He claimed that the "idea of class was foreign to us in this country" where a "human welfare state" had come into being. He urged American labor to disabuse the workers of other countries whose minds were encumbered with Marxist prejudices. American labor, declared Douglas, must become "a missionary of the American way of life" bearing the glad tidings that the U.S. was going to spread its "human welfare state" to the whole world.

In little more than four years reactionary U.S. imperialism has shed its "liberal" trappings and Justice Douglas after several trips abroad is forced to cry out: "From Asia one sees an America that is losing its humanity, its idealism, and its Christian character." And from the Supreme Court bench, in a powerless minority, he now sees "the black silence of fear" destroying the liberties of the American people.

The development of U.S. imperialism and its mad rush toward war confirms the truth of Marxism and explodes the illusion of Douglas and other liberals about the nature and future of capitalism.

# Italian Workers in Critical Plight

By Charles Hanley

Under the title "Italian Perspectives," Pierre Frederix, a special correspondent of a leading French capitalist daily, *Le Monde*, published in December 1951 a series of

articles surveying the existing Italian situation, which is a highly critical one.

In the official statistics some 1,800,000 unemployed are listed; many, however, are not inscribed on the official lists. Italian unemployed insurance benefits are very meager; and the agricultural workers in the south get nothing when they are out of work. In fact only 600,000 receive unemployment insurance benefits. Five hundred thousand others get paid for participating in various government schemes (vocational training, public works in the south, government-financed construction work). In some regions, certain landlords are obliged to employ jobless agricultural workers. The 600,000 who get insurance receive it for only 180 days yearly.

### INDUSTRY CONVERTED

After World War II the era of military production closed for the time being. Italian industry which had developed under Mussolini had to be converted entirely to peace production. But there were not many possibilities for export, and the buying power of the Italian people was too small to absorb all these goods. The industrialists therefore wanted to reduce the volume of their production and to fire thousands of workers.

The workers resisted, and continue to resist this trend with the utmost energy. Several factories have been occupied since 1947. The Stalinist-led unions never declared that they were seizing the plants; they merely stated they wanted to prove the inability of the capitalists to maintain production as against the workers' ability to do so. Thus, the workers of the big Ansaldo docks in Genoa occupied them for 70 days in 1950 and began building a 25,000-ton vessel. The workers of one factory in Reggio (Emilia) occupied it for one year (until October 1951), parading in the streets of Reggio with the tractors they had made. These occupations led to compromise solutions. Remaining isolated, they failed to deal decisive blows to Italian capitalism.

Those capitalists whose factories are temporarily occupied get them back by yielding some concessions to the workers. After a few months, when business is bad, the same conflicts arise again without any fundamental solution. The workers are thus caught in a vicious circle because the extension of this in-incident offensive against capitalism runs counter to the Stalinist line of conciliation.

The Government's reaction to



DE GASPERI

these factory occupations is subtle. De Gasperi, the Prime Minister, knows that they fall far short of abolishing Italian capitalism as long as they are isolated; and that it would be unwise to provoke a civil war against millions of socialist workers. This administration tries to avoid the use of force against the working class. (These tactics would, of course, change in the face of a general assault.)

The economy of Italian capitalism is incurably sick. The clever bourgeois doctors can prolong its life, but they cannot cure it of its mortal sickness. As for the Marshall Plan, it has been a flop.

Italy's projected rearmament will have to be much more limited than Mussolini's efforts because the United States has to finance Italy's imports of supplementary raw materials. Rearmament will not absorb the greater part of Italy's unemployed. Socialism remains the only alternative.

Despite this incurable condition, Italy has one of Europe's most stable governments; with Alcide de Gasperi as Prime Minister since December 1945. He formed his seventh cabinet in July 1951. His Christian Democrat party has held a virtual monopoly of political power since the general elections of April 1948. In June 1946, the Christian Democrats obtained 35 percent of the popular vote; in April 1948, 48.5 percent.

Pierre Frederix explains that the 35 percent of 1946 constitutes the party's real base while the other 13.5 percent rallied to the Christian Democratic camp after a big anti-communist campaign in which the American-financed and Vatican-sponsored Catholic Action movement exploited the Gottwald coup in Prague (Czechoslovakia) to corral many Italian petty bourgeois. The activity of Catholic Action was certainly one of the factors that helped to make the Christian Democratic Party the ruling party of the Italian capitalist class. Catholic Action, with 2,500,000 members, is as large as the Italian Communist Party.

### THE VATICAN

The Vatican is the most reactionary anti-labor and anti-socialist center in Italy. It is only natural that the biggest political organization of Italian capitalism should be directed by the agents of the Holy See, and that, owing to the Vatican's direct support, this party should become extremely influential. Virtually every priest is a Christian Democratic propagandist, every church a political organizing center.

"Is there a crisis inside the Italian Christian Democracy?" asks Frederix. And in answer, he says: "I believe so." Afraid that this crisis might eventually rock the party, one of the prominent leaders (who belongs to the center) told Frederix: "The Christian Democracy is the last chance of democracy. If it fails, in our country, the road will be open not to Bolshevism, but to a nationalist clericalism." In other words: a Catholic dictatorship.

But would the Italian workers permit this? The Christian Democrats would never have become so strong a party, had not the anti-socialist policies of Stalinism and reformism considerably weakened the Italian labor movement's strategic position and alienated many dissatisfied middle class elements who would readily ally themselves to labor, provided labor's leadership followed a bold, consistent, pro-socialist course. It is not too late: The Italian workers are not beaten into submission. Their organizations are all intact. There is no doubt about their determination to resist any neo-fascist onslaughts or clerico-nationalist tyranny.

Other "blessings" are the more than two million Korean civilians blown up by bombs, burned alive by napalm, strafed by machine-guns, etc., and the ten million driven from their homes by the U.S. "scorched earth" policy.

If the American people want to save themselves and the rest of the world from more of such "blessings," they will put no faith whatever in the generals and admirals who have been negotiating at Panmunjom. Instead, they will demand with all the power they possess that the U.S. forces be withdrawn from Korea at once.

# U.S. BIG BRASS FEAR KOREA TRUCE, WANT TO KEEP WAR "SIMMERING"

(Continued from page 1)

be kept indefinitely on a foreign soil and slowly drained by "around 300" battle casualties a week, disease and frost-bite, being "trained" for full-scale slaughter whenever the Washington politicians figure the home folks have been swung into line.

No small part of the decision to keep a "simmering" war going, with the number of casualties that the Americans will "accept" and "forget," is the fear that cessation of actual fighting will be a signal for the U.S. soldiers to start a huge "Bring Us Back Home" movement, such as swept the armed forces at the end of the last war. The troops in Korea don't believe in this war and would welcome any movement to get them home.

Moreover, they would get plenty of support from home. That is why, back last July 2 at the start of the cease-fire negotiations, the then Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall expressed fear of a "letdown" in war sentiment if a truce were reached. "He said it may be very hard to resist pressure to 'bring the boys back home' but the country must do so." (United Press, July 2, 1951.)

The war profiteers, capitalist politicians and Big Brass have another compelling reason for fearing a truce in Korea. It was expressed on Jan. 19 by Gen. James

A. Van Fleet, Eighth Army commander in Korea and head of "Operation Killer."

"Korea has been a blessing," Van Fleet opined. "There had to be a Korea either here or some place in the world... There had to be a Korea to put our defenses in good shape. Our factories now are turning out more and more arms again..."

### PEACE A "CURSE"

In the same sense as Van Fleet finds the Korean carnage a "blessing," the Nov. 27, 1951, Wall Street Journal found that peace could be a curse — at least for capitalism. "It is understandable that peace in Korea, or even talk of peace, should make people — in the United States as well as Europe — less eager to sacrifice civilian standards for arms... In short, if there is peace in Korea the position of the United States as the prime mover of European defense will be more difficult and much more costly..."

The scheme to keep a "simmering" war going in Korea is part of the drive to squeeze more and more military funds out of the American people. The sickly capitalist economy needs bigger and bigger doses of war spending. Last August, the breaking off of the truce negotiations coincided with Truman's demand for increased arms spending and higher

## Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 12

## UNITY AND REVOLUTION

By Harry Frankel

With the Boston Tea Party of Dec. 16, 1773, the radical wing of the opposition became the dominant force in the colonies. Sam Adams' twenty-year fight for a revolutionary policy had come to a victorious climax. From that point on, the so-called "moderates," "conservatives" and vacillators of all kinds were compelled to either go along with the Revolution, or go over to the Tories, as some of them had already, and as many more now did.

John C. Miller, historian of the American Revolution, has written that "Americans were more united in 1766 than in 1776." From this he draws the conclusion that the revolution would have been easier ten years earlier than when it actually flamed into open warfare.

It is true that there was a more general unity in opposition to the British in 1766, when Stamp Act repeal was being forced, than there was ten years later when the chips were down and the crisis came. As a matter of fact, the process that went on during those years was largely a process of disunification of the nation.

Professor Miller doesn't understand that this polarization of forces, replacing the previously more unified movement, was the very process which prepared the Revolution and made it possible.

### A Law of Revolution

Great social upheavals always go through this process of disunification, of polarization. It is part of the very nature of revolutions.

The reason for this law of revolution is easy to comprehend. We know that popular rebellions are not produced by scheming "conspirators," but come about because the old society is rotten, decaying, decomposing. When a society is in that shape, naturally there is widespread opposition to the existing order of things. Everyone has gripes. Not only the most oppressed sections of the population, but also better-off groupings, and even parts of the ruling class, are discontented,

have grievances, and would like to see changes made.

That is why, when the movement against a dying social order begins, it is supported by "everyone," it is very popular, in a word, "unified." As an instance, in the great French Revolution of 1789, the very nobility against which the Revolution was directed, even parts of the court nobility close to the king, started out in the camp of the opposition.

This state of affairs can't last too long if the revolution is to move forward. Although most of society appears to be united in demanding changes, questions soon arise: What kind of changes? How much are these changes worth to us, and are we willing to fight to get them? These questions divide the opposition.

The most oppressed portions of the population favor a complete overturn of the social order, and a new society, more equalitarian, both politically and economically. They are willing to fight for these changes. But the other layers, the middle groupings and the discontented portions of the ruling class, who only want a few minor changes which would leave their privileged positions untouched, draw back from this revolutionary program.

This division of the opposition movement into two wings, variously called "right and left," "radicals and conservatives," "revolutionaries and reformists," is basic to all revolutions.

In the French Revolution, there was a party division along these lines between more thoroughgoing revolutionists in the Jacobin wing, and the "moderates" of the Girondin grouping. In the Russian Revolution of 1917, the revolutionists rallied around Lenin's party, the Bolsheviks, and the compromisers around the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary parties.

In the American Revolution, the radicals were led by Sam Adams, in such organizations as the Committees of Correspondence, the Sons of Liberty or Liberty Boys, the Committees of Mech-



anics in the various cities, etc. The conservative oppositionists rallied around Merchant's Committees, Chambers of Commerce, etc.

It must be noted that the compromisers, the reformers, don't simply stand pat. As the revolutionary movement grows, the choice is put squarely before them: With the revolution, or against it? Large sections of the in-betweeners, fearing that the new society will be constructed to their disadvantage, desert the insurgent masses altogether, and go back to the camp of the old society.

That is what happened to most of the so-called "moderates" in the American Revolution. They went back to the British-Tory camp, deciding, in Hamlet's words: "rather bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." The Adams radicals, no suckers for "unity-shouters," wisely helped them along. They preferred to sacrifice "unity" for the sake of the revolution, rather than the revolution for the sake of "unity."

### The Coercive Acts of the British

The Boston Tea Party brought the polarization of right and left wings to a climax, and, as we have noted, the radicals commanded by far the biggest popular following. The British themselves helped the radicals by their tyrannical actions.

The British Ministry replied to the Boston Tea Party with a series of coercive decrees which became known as the Intolerable Acts. The most important of these was the Boston Port Bill, which closed the city to commerce with the outside world. Sam Adams' answer to the Intolerable Acts was twofold: He moved to convene the First Continental Congress, through which he hoped to weld the 13 colonies into a single bloc committed to revolution, and he proposed the Solemn League and Covenant, which was a sweeping non-intercourse-with-Britain program.

This new boycott was based on the experience of the previous boycott movement, which had collapsed when the merchants deserted it. Sam Adams had good reason to distrust what he called "mercantile avarice." He included in the Solemn League and Covenant of 1774, a provision that "this effectual plan has been originated and thus far carried through by the two venerable orders of men styled Mechanics and Husbandmen (workingmen and farmers), the strength of every community."

Adams adopted a far sharper tone towards

# Spellman's Tour Of the War Bases

By Art Preis

Inasmuch as Truman proposed to send a top-ranking militarist, Gen. Mark W. Clark, as first U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, the Roman Catholic Church-State's world headquarters, it was only proper

that Pope Pius XII should send his top-ranking priest, Francis Cardinal Spellman, to inspect the far-flung military bases of U.S. imperialism in the Far East, Middle East and Europe.

These two events are the latest indications of the far-reaching encroachments of the Catholic hierarchy — a totalitarian machine owing allegiance to a supreme and "infallible" Emperor in Rome — on the government and institutions of the American people.

What is significant is not that Truman dared to nominate a general as an official U.S. representative to the Vatican, but that he dared to nominate anyone. This country has never sent an ambassador to the Vatican, not even when it ruled substantial territories. To do so has always been considered a violation of the American democratic tradition of separation of church and state.

### CLARK DECLINES

Tremendous opposition from the American people, less than 18 per cent of whom are Catholics, has induced Gen. Clark to decline the nomination. But Truman says he intends to name someone else and seek the approval of Congress. That he would so defy the rights and traditions of the American people is a measure of the powerful influence the Catholic hierarchy wields in Washington.

This influence is vividly demonstrated by Cardinal Spellman's tour, extending through Japan, Korea, Formosa, and the Philippines to Rome and Paris. He was treated all along the way like the highest figure of a powerful political state. The full facilities of the U.S. armed forces were placed at his disposal and the chief U.S. military spokesmen were at his beck and call.

### SPELLMAN "BRIEFED"

In Korea, this priest travelled as the official guest of the United States Eighth Army Commander, James A. Van Fleet. An Associated Press dispatch from Seoul on Dec. 26 reports that Spellman returned with Van Fleet to that city and "traveled by light plane, helicopter, jeep and staff car." Subsequently, reported the AP on Dec. 29, the Cardinal was "welcomed aboard the battleship Wisconsin by Vice Admiral Harold H. Martin, commander of the United States Seventh Fleet."

### VISITS HIS FRIEND

The dispatch further tells us that "the Cardinal addressed the men of the Wisconsin over the public address system" and "then toured the ship before retiring for the night in the captain's cabin." The U.S. Navy and Air Force were put at his disposal to travel throughout the Far East, including Formosa, where he enjoyed a discussion with his good

friend the Butcher-Dictator Chiang Kai-shek.

On his return, Spellman archly reported he found Chiang "optimistic — very much so for a man who thought himself an ally in 1945 only to find that his country has dwindled to the island of Formosa." Spellman would like the U.S. to stretch Chiang's rule back to China again.

Spellman travelled everywhere, spreading holy oil on the troubled waters of imperialism, landing



SPELLMAN

finally in Rome and Paris. At Rome he combined the inspection of U.S. troops with a visit to the Pope for a report and further instructions. He wound up, symbolically, with a visit to SHAPE, Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe, where he lunched with Eisenhower. Then he was "briefed" on the organization and development of Western defenses by Brig. Gen. Anthony D. Biddle and by Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, General Eisenhower's chief of staff." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 19.)

But while Spellman was 6,000 miles away looking after "his" military outposts in the Far East, he did not fail to keep an eye on his base in Washington. There Truman, under much heat because of the tax scandals, was getting set to fire the Catholic Attorney General Howard McGrath. Then to the surprise of everyone, Truman suddenly changed his mind and put McGrath in charge of "investigating" government graft and corruption. According to Washington columnist Robert S. Allen, in the Jan. 9 N. Y. Post, one of the "rescuers" of McGrath was "Cardinal Spellman, who made a long-distance plea from Tokyo."

The "wall of separation" between church and state has become flimsy indeed when an agent of the Vatican like Spellman can play such an influential role in Washington's war program abroad and witch-hunt at home.

the merchants, who were the center of the compromise movement, than he ever before had. He said of the non-importation agreement that it didn't matter whether "messieurs les marchands" (Messers Merchants) will be graciously pleased to come into it." If no one would buy imported goods from them, it would do them no good to trade with Britain.

A good example of the temper of the radicals towards the merchant-compromisers is to be found in this letter written to Sam Adams by his lieutenant Dr. Joseph Warren, while Adams was away at the Salem meeting of the General Court (Legislature):

"If the timidity of some and the treachery of others do not ruin us, I think we shall be saved. I fear New York will not assist us with very good grace; but she may perhaps be ashamed to desert us; at least, if her MERCHANTS offer to sell us, her MECHANICS will forbid the auction."

### The Radical Temper of the People

Clearly, Adams and his associates didn't fear a split with the compromisers. They held their course regardless. The Solemn League and Covenant was carried over the opposition of the merchants, and when the conservatives tried to censure a committee of Adams for its conduct in this dispute, a great meeting of the people at the Old South Church upheld the radicals by a vote of four to one.

When Adams set out for the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia he was backed by a solid revolutionary movement in New England, representing the bulk of the population.

This was a far cry from the situation at the time of the Stamp Act Congress of Sept. 1765. That gathering had been called by the erratic James Otis, and Massachusetts had sent as delegates, besides Otis, one "moderate" and one extreme right wing Tory. In contrast with the coming Continental Congress, which was to adopt much of the radical program, the Stamp Act Congress had contained only a tiny radical minority, led by Chris Gadsden South Carolina radical. Sam Adams had not even been present.

Things had come a long way since that day. And Sam Adams, Professor Miller to the contrary notwithstanding, found the situation far more favorable to the Revolution.

(Next Week: National Battleground — The Continental Congress)



# Let's Look at the Record

By Jean Blake

Some desperate liberals looking for a capitalist candidate they can support for president are grasping at a straw named General Dwight Eisenhower. His chief asset, it seems, is his lack of a record in civilian politics. A military record has not yet become a virtue in a candidate for the post of chief executive in the United States.

Back in 1948, we recall, the labor and Negro leaders were pleading with the Democratic policymakers to select Eisenhower as the party banner-bearer. "Give us anyone but Truman," was their cry. This year the Republicans beat the Democrats to the draw, and the General is one of the four main contenders for the party nomination.

One of the most independent thinkers in the Negro press, Roscoe Dunjee of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch, commented on the Eisenhower candidacy in an editorial last week. "The best way to prevent this writer," he said, "from casting his ballot for General Eisenhower is to permit him to occupy the position of the Sphinx, which will enshroud him in utter silence. On the other hand, we might be inclined to support the Eisenhower candidacy if we knew what his position is on many urgent questions, including civil rights and colonialism. . . . We certainly do not want to vote for a president who endorses second class citizenship for subject peoples."

We agree with Roscoe Dunjee that he and the rest of the voters must have answers to the questions on Eisenhower's position on these important questions, and we refer him to the following sources of information:

1. Eisenhower on civil rights: In April 1948 the General testified on this point before the Senate armed services committee and what he said is a matter of record. Ben Gill, former Republican congressman from Texas and the candidate's campaign manager there, has dug up that record and is circulating it to prove that Ike should be acceptable to the South.

This should be enough in itself, but we'll repeat the quotation that came right from the horse's mouth at the Senate hearings lest there be any doubt that Eisenhower takes his stand with all the other opponents of civil rights legislation.

After a lot of the usual double-talk about the fact that race prejudice is a problem, the General said:

"I do not mean to say that I have any final answer to the problem, and I believe that the human race may finally grow up to the point where it will not be a problem."

## A Great Socialist Fighter

By Tom Conlan

Today Franz Mehring, as man, thinker and writer, is known to few; and his true worth as a revolutionary socialist fighter to fewer still. Yet the world has known few historians and publicists who are his peers; Germany can boast of few authors whose pen is bolder, more skilled and truthful. As thinker and teacher Mehring takes his place alongside such creative forces as Rosa Luxemburg, the great Russian Marxist scholar Ryazanov, and Heinrich Heine, poet-publicist-revolutionist.

Mehring's contemporaries, capitalist celebrities and nonentities alike, hated him. And oh, how he enjoyed this hatred, correctly accepting it as the most satisfying public praise a revolutionist could receive. They hated him because he walked out of their world forever, rejecting their falsely luxurious, unawakened, meaningless little lives, with its pitiful maxims palmed off as "ethics." He chose instead to work with, fight alongside and live with and for the workers under their glorious Socialist banner.

Franz Mehring was born into the semi-feudalistic, semi-capitalist universe of the Germany of a century ago. His father was of the Prussian officer caste; on his mother's side he could count direct descent from the Pomeranian barons, among the noblest Teutons of them all, i.e., the worst breed extant.

Honors likewise came easily to him. He early gained the title of "Doctor of Philosophy," a dog's license, as Lenin called it, that never really suited Franz. He was associated with and served as editor of many prominent bourgeois publications of his day (Berliner Tage, Frankfurter Zeitung, etc.).

He wrote a biased history of the German working class, for which honors were again heaped upon him. But Mehring was honest, one of the tiny minority in his class who truly love truth, do not fear it but seek it. When Mehring found out that the miseducators of his childhood, and youth had in reality trained him to be not a learned man but a mere peddler of lies, he broke irrevocably with these poisoners of the human mind, corruptors of the human spirit. Franz Mehring turned his back on capitalism and chose Marxism as his life's profession.

Mehring rewrote the history of the great German working class, telling the truth in volumes which remain unsurpassed to this day among general historical writings. To the title "First Historian of Labor," Mehring also added a far greater calling, that of member of the revolutionary socialist movement. At the age of 45, when

"But I do believe that if we attempt merely by passing a lot of laws to force someone to like someone else, we are just going to get into trouble."

Eisenhower was not being asked his opinion on "a lot of laws to force someone to like someone else." He was being asked about segregation in the armed forces. His answer makes it clear that his position on civil rights is no different from that of Senator Taft who last week in Virginia repeated his opposition to Federal abolition of segregation in southern schools and to a national FEPC bill with teeth in it.

2. Eisenhower on human rights: On September 21, 1948, speaking to the Sales Executives Club in New York City, the General indulged in more double-talk, this time on "human rights." After stating that some people incorrectly counterpose property rights to human rights in the United States, he made it clear which he considers primary.

"The right to property is only one of the human rights, and when that falls all else falls with it," he said.

3. Eisenhower and unemployment: At the same Sales Executives Club meeting mentioned above the General had this to say about unemployment:

"We have been criticized for our large numbers of unemployed during the early nineteen thirties. That was held up as condemnation of the capitalist system. But those men were not working in the salt mines, and they were not under the whip and bayonet. You businessmen can prove to the world that a free democracy can, and shall, continue to exist on this continent."

Neither Eisenhower nor his businessmen friends did or could attempt to show the world, however, that a "free democracy" or full employment "can and shall continue to exist on this continent." To maintain the capitalist system it has been necessary to curtail democratic rights steadily. And few persons will be found, even among the Sales Executives Club, who will deny that only the war economy keeps this country from sinking quickly into one of two alternatives: a major depression with unemployment that would make the thirties look like a period of relative prosperity; or global war with men working "under the whip and bayonet."

Eisenhower is no Sphinx, Mister Dunjee. He's a full-fledged, unvarnished, typical capitalist candidate, with nothing to recommend him to you and me.

most individuals of his former circle were signing over and regretting their mispent lives, this man of courage joined the then universally hated Social Democratic Party.

Year after year, Mehring labored like a galley-slave, chained to his writing table, following each successive fad in bourgeois theory, history, literature in order to expose it; on rare occasions in order to extract the single pearl from among these heaps of garbage. Above all, he exposed every miseducator of the workers and the youth, teaching them what a long way these scoundrels are from the truth, further removed than the constellation of Andromeda is from our planet.

World War I found him alongside Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, as member of the Spartacus Bund, this immortal band of anti-imperialist, anti-war, pro-Socialist fighters who barehanded defied the Kaiser's Hohenzollern Germany. On Mehring's 70th birthday, Feb. 27, 1916, in the very midst of this heroic action, Rosa Luxemburg wrote him: "We have, after all, taken away from the German bourgeoisie the last and the best of what it had to offer in the way of Spirit, Talent and Character: you, Franz Mehring."

When the October Revolution erupted in Czarist Russia, Mehring took his stand alongside Lenin, Trotsky and the whole galaxy of Bolshevik Titans. Mehring bore most proudly of all his membership in the Communist International, then the pioneer revolutionary socialist movement of Lenin and Trotsky. He died, without getting his dearest wish, which was to attend the first world gathering of this historic body. It honored him in his absence.

The years of persecution, Kaiser's jails, where he was clapped although aged and mortally ill, brought him to his grave. Thirty-three years ago, on January 29, 1919, Franz Mehring died at the age of 73.

The current temporary and episodic "eclipse" of Mehring's name and works is one of the by-products of the monstrous reaction that has been raging since Lenin died in 1924 and that has been loosed by the forces of imperialism here and abroad, abetted and aided by the Stalinist oligarchy. But the time is not too distant when the natural order of things shall be restored. And with the re-entry of mankind — through the victory of labor — into its mainstream of progress, Franz Mehring will take his rightful place among the few figures of our times whom the free, the truly free, youth, women and men of the future shall remember and honor.

## Notes from the News

**BIG "COMMUNIST" PLOT NIPPED.** . . All the penny candy vending machines in Wheeling, W. Va., were confiscated by vigilant police after it was discovered that along with chewing gum balls some of the machines now and then dispensed "subversive" prizes. These prizes were postage-stamp size emblems of 16 different countries — including Soviet Russia. On one side was a hammer and sickle and on the other side appeared the subtle propaganda: "USSR, population 211,000,000, Capital Moscow." City Manager Plummer, ordering the machines confiscated, declared: "This is a terrible thing to expose our children to."

**RIGHT ATTITUDE FOR JOB.** . . The Mutual Security Agency (formerly the Marshall Plan ECA) has chosen Allen W. Rucker as a special adviser. Rucker is founder of the Tool Owners Union, which was officially described several years ago by the N. Y. State Dept. of Labor as a "fascistic" organization.

**TRUTH IRRELEVANT.** . . Lilly Wachter, German woman who returned from Korea and made speeches accusing the U.N. forces of atrocities, was sentenced to eight months imprisonment and a 15,000 mark fine by a U.S. army court. The charge was "insulting the American troops." The court refused to permit her to call asso-

ciates who had been in Korea with her as witnesses, "because," said the prosecutor, "we do not care whether what she says is true or not. Under the Occupation law she had no right to say it."

**NEPOTISTS.** . . According to the dictionary nepotism is "bestowal of patronage by reason of relationship rather than of merit." The latest payroll records of the House of Representatives show that 70 Congressmen have at least one employee in their office bearing the same last name as the Congressman. Records do not indicate the exact relationship. There is no law preventing a Representative from hiring his wife under her maiden name. Senate payroll records are not made public.

**PRISONERS OF JIM CROW.** . . Representatives of Negro and white organizations, several of them from Georgia, appeared before the Georgia Pardon and Appeals Board to urge freeing of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons. They were victims of a Jim Crow frameup case four years ago. Despite conclusive evidence that they acted in self-defense they were sentenced to the electric chair. Following a nation-wide protest the sentence was changed to life imprisonment. It is now the task of Labor and the Negro people to free the Ingrams.

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# THE MILITANT

## Seattle Machinists Support SWP in Challenge of 'Oath'

### Briggs Votes Mass Action For Jobless

By Everett Kennedy

DETROIT, Jan. 21 — More than 500 members of Briggs UAW-CIO Local 212 voted overwhelmingly yesterday to back up the union fight for full 40 hour pay unemployment compensation with mass pressure on the state legislature in Lansing, Michigan.

The Briggs membership meeting called for a conference of officers of all CIO unions in Michigan to convene in Lansing backed by a mass caravan of auto workers from all parts of the state to converge on the state capitol to demonstrate their support of the union program.

Ken Morris, Reutherite president of Local 212, in concluding a detailed account of recent activities of the union on the unemployment problem, proposed a conference of union officers similar to that recently held in Washington by the UAW. He hailed the fact that measures had been introduced in both state and federal legislatures to increase unemployment compensation payments to workers deprived of their jobs because of the dislocations of the war program.

**MAZEY PROPOSAL**  
The proposal to back up the suggested conference with a mass turnout of auto workers was made by Ernie Mazezy, militant of long standing in the local union. Speaking in support of his proposal, Mazezy pointed out that the most serious shortcoming in the union fight on unemployment was the failure to involve the ranks.

Mazezy stated, in obvious reference to the one-man grand stand play of Walter Reuther, that "all the fancy talk and plans offered on material shortages, machine tool bottle necks, etc., coupled with futile pleas to Big Business's Director of Mobilization C. E. Wilson, won't bring results. 'An all out fight,' Mazezy declared, 'involving the whole membership of our union can win our demand for full 40 hour unemployment compensation. Once that is won you will damn soon see the corporation owners and their agents in government move in a hurry to solve their production 'bottle necks.'"

He concluded his remarks with a strong plea for effective mass action. "Let's throw our full strength into this fight. Let us demonstrate several hundred thousand strong that we will accept nothing less for our membership."

**FEPC EXPERIENCE**  
Mazezy's remarks were greeted with enthusiastic applause. Art Hindson, right hand man of the Morris administration, then rose to speak against the mass action proposal. "We must use logic, not pressure, with the legislature in Lansing," Hindson said. He recalled a visit he made as representative of the Local 212 FEPC committee to the Lansing legislature during which the delegation was commended by a number of representatives for their gentlemanly conduct and

### Challenges Witch Hunters



Daniel Roberts, Chairman of Seattle Socialist Workers Party, attempting to file on Dec. 26, 1951 as candidate for Mayor. The City Comptroller accepted the fee but stopped the filing papers when Roberts refused to sign a "loyalty oath" imposed by a local witch-hunters' law. The SWP is fighting this law as a nullification of free elections.

then added, "We didn't get favorable action on FEPC but we did make a good impression."

Hindson was followed to the microphone by Charlie Smith, former chairman of the FEPC committee and active Negro militant. Smith spoke for all out support to the Mazezy amendment. He reviewed his own experiences in FEPC work and reminded the membership: "We have never gained anything worthwhile except so far as we were prepared to fight for it." "Let's back up our union," Smith concluded, "let's show them in Lansing that we won't take 'NO' for an answer."

The membership again expressed its attitude with warm applause. At this point, obviously sensing that continued opposition could not defeat the Mazezy proposal, Pat Caruso, vice-president of the local took the floor

and said: "I can't see anything wrong with the amendment. If mass caravans of auto workers to Lansing will help us get full unemployment compensation for our membership, I am for it."

With these remarks the question was quickly called and an overwhelming "Yes" vote followed.

It now remains to be seen just how seriously the Local 212 officials attempt to carry through the mandate of the membership. There is no question but that this large local union with its past tradition of taking leadership in similar actions, could rally wide support among Detroit and Flint auto workers. However, with or without the leadership of Local 212 officials, support of mass action proposals will inevitably increase as the unemployed problem becomes even more critical.

## Swedish Trotskyists Lash Anti-Labor Policy of Stockholm 'Socialist' Gov't

SWEDEN — Some 1,000 workers attended a mass meeting, held at Stockholm toward the end of 1951 by the Swedish Trotskyists, whose leader Evald Hoglund discussed the present-day situation of world capitalism and its projected World War III.

Hoglund's speech was heard attentively by the audience, especially that section of his remarks dealing with the policy of the Social Democratic party. These "socialists" had set up a Central Negotiations Committee to "negotiate" wage contracts for all the crafts and trades. A contract was then announced without the slightest consultation of

the various Stockholm workers involved.

The speaker pointed out that by this action the Social Democrats have done away with the traditional democracy inside the trade unions. Their dictatorial attitude reveals clearly how the Social Democrats really deal with the trade unions and the country's political life generally. This method harmonizes wholly, Hoglund pointed out, with the support of the monarchy by the ruling Social Democrats.

Agents of the "socialist" government among the audience became hysterical and ordered the police to arrest Hoglund on the spot. But the police refused.

SEATTLE, Jan. 20 — Hope Lodge #79 of the AFL International Association of Machinists, voted on January 14 to endorse the legal fight waged by Daniel Roberts, SWP

### Roberts Discusses Civil Rights With Union Members

By Daniel Roberts

Candidate for Mayor

SEATTLE, Jan. 20 — The Seattle branch of the SWP is happy to report that a key AFL local — Machinists Lodge #79 — went on record in favor of my case.

The whole experience with the Machinists was very gratifying and instructive. In the first place, we were able to determine the impact that our fight for free speech is making on the worker Stalinists. We learned that Stalinist members of the local supported from the floor the resolution endorsing my case.

#### DISCUSS ISSUES

The opposition to the resolution came from the conservatives. I met a few of them outside of the hall after I had presented my case to the local and discussed the issue with them for about half an hour. They began the discussion very belligerently but were much more doubtful at the end.

"You ought to be shipped off to Russia," one of them led off. "This is no time to allow subversives to speak. I think we need a revolution in this country, all right, to get rid of those crooks in Washington, but we will have to wait until the emergency is over. Otherwise Russia will take the country over."

But another machinist member disagreed with the misguided worker. "Roberts is cutting it pretty fine," he said, "but I'll have to go along with him. Twenty minutes ago, we took a vote to tell the Wage Stabilization Board to go to hell. We are going against the government right there. You spoke for that," he said, "so you will have to go along with Roberts, too."

#### POW GAG

The group I was talking to was made up mostly of World War II veterans. In order to illustrate how far the witch-hunt had gone I cited the thought-control treatment that the army has in store for American prisoners of war when they are released. A recent Associated Press dispatch reported that POW's will have to give a pledge not to discuss certain aspects of their experiences when they return to the States. If they don't give the pledge, they won't be allowed to go home. The AP dispatch stated that the army authorities are worried over communist indoctrination of the POW's.

"What do you think of that?" I asked. "That is part of the loyalty program, too." They agreed that it was pretty bad, and that our soldiers should have the right to discuss their experiences with the folks at home. All in all, the conservative-minded workers were a good deal less vociferous after the argument than before.

candidate for mayor, to have the state "loyalty oath" for candidates for public office declared unconstitutional. The Hope Lodge is one of the largest union locals in Seattle, and its opinions command a great deal of respect in state labor circles.

"The so called 'loyalty oath' is in reality a test of a person's beliefs and provides the basis for ruling off candidates on the grounds of their beliefs," the resolution adopted by the machinists said, and added:

"An exclusion (of a candidate) on the grounds of belief deprives the voters of the right to vote for whatever political tendency they please and makes it possible for the legislature to dictate to the people whom they shall vote for."

A full account of the Machinist local's action was printed in the Seattle Times and was included in all local news broadcasts on January 18.

Local 589 of the Shipbuilders, AFL, passed a resolution condemning loyalty oaths for candidates for public office, after hearing Roberts explain his case. Seven other union locals have granted Roberts the opportunity to explain the issue, but have not yet taken action in the case.

#### ROBERTS' STATEMENT

"We are going after union support," Roberts said. "Loyalty oaths for candidates are only one aspect of a widespread system of curbs on traditional American freedoms. The labor movement is the ultimate target of the whole witch-hunt. That is why it is a matter of vital self-interest to the unions to get into the fight against such repressive legislation now."

Other organizational endorsements for the Roberts case have come from Seattle chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union and Americans for Democratic Action — both prominent liberal organizations — and from the Seattle Branch of the Independent Socialist League. Prominent persons in the community supporting the case include Reverend Fred Shorter, Ray C. Roberts (executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation), Professor Max Savelle, Harry Burks of the American Friends Service Committee, Frank Grande, Mark Litchman, Lyle Mercer, Roy Everett, Al Whitish, past president of Machinist Lodge No. 289, Erna Harris and Dorothy Fiske.

Erna Harris and Dorothy Fiske are giving publicity to the case in the mimeographed newspaper, Bias, which they edit.

An appeal from Superior Court Judge Howard Jones' decision has been filed with the Washington State Supreme Court. Judge Jones ruled in favor of the "loyalty oath" on January 5, dismissing Daniel Roberts' plea with the statement that "free speech is a shopworn phrase."

#### SUPREME COURT APPEAL

The appeal will be argued before the Supreme Court on January 25. Roberts will be represented by Attorney Frederic W. Post and Kenneth A. MacDonald, who are receiving the aid of several other lawyers affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union and the Americans for Democratic Action.

# Lessons of Flint Chevrolet Elections

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Jan. 15 — The election of standing committees in UAW-CIO Chevrolet Local 659 resulted in defeat for the anti-Reuther caucus headed by Coburn Walker. This result was not entirely unexpected after it became known that the Reuther forces had reached agreement with the regional office group headed by Terrell Thompson to support each other in the event of a runoff.

The election exposed the true character of the Thompson group which recently split from the Walker caucus and had paraded in the local as an anti-Reuther formation. Although many members of the Thompson caucus claim to be against Reuther's policies their action accomplished for Reuther what he had been unable to do for almost three years, namely, to take over the administration of the local union paper, the Searchlight. The Thompson group, supporters of regional director Bob Carter, demonstrated that both are much

closer to Reuther than to the anti-Reuther ranks.

Approximately 500 attended the meeting. The membership was fairly evenly divided between the three groups. After the loss of the publicity and education committee the Walker group withdrew all its candidates and threw its support to the Thompson caucus to thwart the Reutherites from gaining control of all committees.

#### BLOW TO OPPOSITION

Loss of the standing committees is a blow to the anti-Reuther caucus in Chevrolet and to the national opposition caucus. But it would be a grave error to think this marks a trend back to Reuther. The hatred of Chevrolet workers for Reuther's policies grows with each passing day. In spite of this vast reservoir of anti-Reuther sentiment the Walker group was unable to capitalize on it. Actually, it became the victim of this sentiment.

For the past two weeks, election of district committeemen has been going on. These elections disclose the depth of the dis-

content by the repudiation of experienced committeemen for workers who have never held posts before. The Chevrolet workers are striking at those closest to them in the bargaining process since they can't hit out at the Detroit bureaucracy, so far removed from them.

Over the years there have been periodic manifestations of this type of protest in the UAW. This protest movement aided the development of the Thompson group in Chevrolet. It also explains why even the Reutherites pretend to be anything but supporters of Reuther. In response to this dissatisfaction the Walker administration presented the membership with the Ford program. Among the many demands are a wage increase, increased unemployment compensation, industry-wide bargaining, etc.

However, there was an extended period during which the local leadership floundered about. It denounced Reuther vigorously but not until it adopted the Ford program did it have any concrete proposals to offer the membership. The raising of these pro-

grammatic issues caught on with the leading militants immediately. But the rank and file hasn't had time to absorb the full impact of these ideas. It has been demonstrated many times in the past that consistent and extensive campaigning is necessary to raise the consciousness of 15,000 workers to a new idea or a whole series of ideas embodied in a program.

At first the leading Reutherites attempted to oppose the program. The realistic nature of the proposals brought them to accept them, at least in words. This is a major contribution of Walker to the Chevrolet local. The points of difference between Walker and his opponents would become apparent if Walker had attempted to carry through some of his demands. This was a serious weakness of the administration which was revealed in the meeting by the attitude of the Negro workers.

A majority of the Negro workers in the meeting voted for the Thompson slate. On the Thompson slate were two regional staff representatives who are identified with Carter, who led the fight

for an FEPC ordinance in the city. The Negro workers showed their appreciation for this positive action and voted accordingly.

#### CONVINCE BY ACTION

If the Walker caucus had succeeded in taking steps to carry through its program in aggressive action it could have unified the membership behind it. By forceful and positive action it could have prevented a split in its own group. By these means it could have given direction to the protest movement by proving that while Reuther merely talks, the opposition is prepared to act.

Undoubtedly other opposition groups are faced with a similar problem to that of the Walker group in Chevrolet. They can benefit from the Chevrolet experience in time to prepare for the June elections for officers in the local unions. In the remaining months the opposition must implement its program. The opportunities are less favorable without the standing committees but common acceptance of the program will put all groups in the local to the test of action.