Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

MARCH 29, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

U.S. Abandons Partition Plan For Palestine

By AL FINDLEY

The declaration by former Senator Warren R. Austin to the UN Security Council that the U.S. is now in favor of a "temporary" UN trusteeship for Palestine and is abandoning partition for the present, had the impact of surprise, though it had been predicted in various quarters.

LABOR ACTION reported two months ago that General Marshall personally had changed his mind. We also reported that the U.S. was retreating but had not reached a definite rejection of partition and independence for Palestine, pending the outcome of some undercover negotiations with British and Arab politicians.

The greatest element of surprise was the speed with which the new announcement was made and the fact that the abandonment of partition came directly and openly, without customary diplomatic subterfuge.

JEWS, ARABS OPPOSED

The reasons given by Austin are that partition cannot be implemented peacefully and that in order to prevent bloodshed when the British



leave, a trusteeship is necessary. The

The trusteeship proposal will find no support among organized Jewish groups in Palestine, with the possible exception of the Dr. Magnes "Ichud" group, and the handful of intellectuals who support him. The Hashomer Hatzair, which originally called for a twenty-five year UN trusteeship as a step to parity binationalism, is sure to reject this attempt as too late and, in its present context, as a betrayal of Jewish national rights to Palestine. In any case, they would not accept a UN trusteeship without the participation of Russia

Among the Arabs trusteeship will fare no better. The politicians of the Arab League who are considering accepting trusteeship with the conditions that it (1) forbid Jewish immigration, and (2) rule out all Jewish NATIONAL rights in Palestine, will find themselves vetoed by the Arab nationalists and by the Palestinian Arabs. While the Arab nationalists are opposed to partition and hailed Austin's statement as an anti-partition stand, they demand independence and will not accept continued foreign rule. One has only to look at the fate of the "model" British-Iraq treaty, accepted by the politicians but thrown out by the people.

IMPERIALIST MOTIVES

The next question is-who will be the trustee? LABOR ACTION long ago reported that the U.S. was always in favor of keeping Anglo-American troops in Palestine, and turned to partition only after the British refused to remain. Even after the partition plan was accepted, the U.S. kept pressuring England to remain in Palestine in one way or another. But the declining British Empire felt too weak to stay. The advocates of withdrawal from Palestine carried the day in British imperial councils and at the time of this writing are still in control.

The day after Austin's statement, the British government named May 15 as the date for the termination of the mandate in a bill before Parliament. Foreign Office statements that the U.S. did not consult Britain before making the statement to the UN tends to indicate that Britain

Neither Moscow Nor Washington! OPPOSE THE DRAFT!





The biggest guns of the Truman Administration are trained on the youth of the United States.

In testimony of Defense Secretary Forrestal and others before a Congressional committee, in speeches by General Marshall, Truman's Secretary of State, in a bill prepared for submission to Congress, the campaign to re-enact the draft and to legislate universal military training is in full swing.

Congressmen are apparently hesitating about UMT in this preelection year, but the move to reopen Selective Service offices is gaining support. Various measures are being offered to make the draft "palatable" for the present-by limiting it so as to snare only unmarried non-veteran youths from 18 to 27.

Anti-Draft **Rally Held** In Berkeley

By W. BARTON and J. CAROL

BERKELEY, Calif., March 20 .- Over 600 students at the University of California at Berkeley attended an anticonscription open-air meeting sponsored by the Socialist Youth League outside the college gate shortly after an address by Secretary of State Marshall at the school's annual Charter Day Exercises on March 19. Despite uninterrupted heckling by a group of super-patriots, Gorden Haskell, university alumnus and organizer of the Bay Area branch of the Workers Party, in an address that lasted for almost an hour, defined the revolutionary socialist answer to Truman's war mobilization speech and the spread of Stalinism. Petitions to the President opposing conscription were circulated and signed.

Haskell insisted that the greatest blow against Stalinism was not preparation for war, but the establishment of Socialism in the U.S. "The people of Europe want the extension of the brotherly hands of workers, not the mailed fist which will destroy (Continued on page 4)

Indications are that the Administration will gladly go along with the reimposition of the draft at this session of Congress, leaving UMT for the next session.

The object appears to be not so much to create a large standing army immediately as to psychologize the people into acceptance of the warwith, of course, the draftees being readied in the interim to give their lives in imperialist war when it breaks.

Russian and U.S. imperialism are plummeting headlong toward war. The draft is preparation for that war whether it comes in ten months or ten years.

OPPOSITION TO THE DRAFT IS THEREFORE OPPOSITION TO THE WAR. OPPOSITION TO THE DRAFT IS THEREFORE A DEC-LARATION THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES REFUSE TO SACRIFICE THEIR YOUTH TO THE IMPERIALIST MONSTERS.

Labor, organized to act and speak through its unions, must act, for the people in this matter as in others: Some unions have already declared themselves opposed to UMT. We herewith call on readers of LABOR ACTION to introduce the issue into their unions - to propose that the union oppose the draft and UMT.

OPPOSE WAR MOVES The youth of the U.S. are espe-

cially concerned in this. Elsewhere in this issue we report a demonstra-

United States therefore requests that the Security Council call a special session of the General Assembly, without polling the member states, and that the Council recommend to the Assembly a trusteeship, and that the Council instruct the Palestine Commission of five very lonely men to cease doing the little they are doing to implement partition.

The reasons given by the U.S. for its change of policy are obviously fraudulent. The U.S. was the main proponent of partition. It whipped reluctant nations into support of partition - despite all arguments about bloodshed, oil and strategic position. Nothing new has been added to the situation.

The newest trusteeship proposal is certain to require more, not less, force to carry it through. It is sure to result in a greater bloodbath. Instead of having the opposition of only one nation, trusteeship will be opposed by BOTH the Jews and Arabs.

has not yet agreed to stay. It is clear that the U.S. will not

accept a collective trusteeship for Palestine that will include Russia. The only possible trustee that can win the support of the small nations in the UN is the United States, with some other participating powers as an international "front." This would mean the use of American troops to suppress both the Jews and Arabs. It is extremely doubtful whether the American people will permit such a useless waste of American lives. It is not outside the realm of impossibility for the firm and intransigent Truman to shift once again on the Palestine question. In this connection it is advisable to take into consideration reports that the real aim of the State Department is not a trusteeship, but some form of federalization.

Among the reasons given for the Truman shift are: (1) the complete subordination of politics to military (Continued on page 3)

Defense Asks New Trial In Fight to Halt Legal Lynching Bee in Georgia

By KATE LEONARD

The exhausted soil of Georgia re-quires a special kind of moisture, bright red blood. Their staple crop is Talmadge swine.

Last year's lynching bee in Monroe. was a quadruple one. With such a record to emulate, no doubt they think it's a crying shame that they can't fix up a charge of rape to make this one orthodox-like. Although there's a difficulty or two in the way . of that, their current job of "cutting stove wood" (a "polite" phrase for lynching) has points swine can relish.

Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and two of her sons, Wallace and Sammie Lee, sharecroppers all, of Ellaville, Ga., were indicted by a special grand white jury, convicted of murder, and sentenced to death in the electric chair on February 27, 1948, following the death of John Stratford, white, during a quarrel which grew out of the trespassing of a mule and some pigs. When Stratford beat Mrs. Ingram on her head and shoulder with a .32 calbre rifle, her two sons-Sam-

mie Lee is 14 years old-went to her

aid. Mrs. Ingram's story, as told to the Pittsburgh Courier, speaks for itself.

HOW IT HAPPENED

A widow with twelve living children, she says, "My husband died last August and left me as head of the house. I was trying to carry on when this thing happened.

"My husband had trouble with him before he died. Mr. Stratford always meddled my children. He was a sharecropper just like us, but because he was white, he tried to boss

"He tried to go with me. He never tried to rape me. . . . He just tried to compel me."

"Mr. Stratford argued about my mule being in his field. He got his shotgun; he hit me with it. I snatched it and hit him back. He began to beat me with his unopened knife. I was screaming and pleading for him to stop. Wallace was crying and begging him to stop beating me. He was

(Continued on page 2)

Packingtown Solid With Strikers

Cops Are All Over the Place—And They Are Not There to Protect the Pickets!

By ROY GOULD

CHICAGO-Twenty thousand packinghouse workers are out in Chicago and the Yards are down practically solid. On the street car, we talked to a foreman from a soap factory on 31st Street. "I've got to work every day cause

I'm a foreman, but I don't like to do it when the guys are out striking. I used to be a union member. As near as I can see, the strike is 100 per cent effective. The supervisors inside just play cards and drink coffee eight hours a day."

"Are they all out?" we asked the first striker we saw.

"Dead as a door nail-I was in there yesterday a while and it was deader than it is on Sunday. Two supers were driving a tractor and that was all I saw." "How did the men react when it

was time to walk-out?" "Well, we knew last week that she would go down at one minute past twelve Tuesday. And she sure did.

From our plant, everyone walked out to a man. It was a big thingevery one to a man."

COPS ARE EVERYWHERE

A trip back of the Yards is startling enough at any time. But never was Packing Town like this before. It isn't the poverty, dirt, or the terrific smell. No, you can get used to such things in Chicago. What gets you-it's the cops-the army of cops everywhere. That's all you can see. The first day, Tuesday, there were miners' union. 1,500 special police, but since then they have been increased to 2,000. Although there have been large and peaceful strikes here on many occasions, never before did they call out such armies of the law. Of the twenty thousand workers who are

out, hundreds and hundreds are picketing around the clock, covering the various plants and gates. Yet one sees twice as many cops as pickets; by actual count, there are at least two cops per picket at every gate! Why has the "liberal" city govern-

time.

AIM AT UNION

The welfare fund in the present

UMW contract was set up to spe-

ment of Mayor Kennelley, former board member of one of the meat packing companies, felt called upon to make this enormous and costly

display of strength? We put this question to an officer of the union, Armour Local 347, United Packinghouse Workers of America-CIO, "The police department and the company are playing the same game. There has been no violence. There was no violence in 1946. However, the very presence of the cops is a form of intimidation. Almost all of the men are out solid. but the companies are still hoping to break the strike. They've got several dozen scabs sleeping on cots inside the Yards. They're still hoping to continue production in some places. We have notified the Board of Health and the Fire Department. If they try to start any production, we'll pull the maintenance out." (THAT would shut down the refrigerators.)

"We have complained to the city government too, about the cost of maintaining so many idle policemen. They won't let three strikers gather in one place, but hundreds of cops literally block traffic by their presence in the streets."

"Yesterday 18 men were arrested for persuading potential scabs up on the elevated platform. They paid their fare and have the right to speak as well as anyone else. Today that situation is well under control." COMMUNITY HELPS STRIKERS From the union hall, we went to

the Back-of-the-Yards Council which is feeding the pickets. They have two station wagons which take hot drinks around at night and they are carrying the main burden of financing the soup kitchen, operating in the Uni-

versity of Chicago Settlement House. In addition to the more than 150 community organizations represented in the Back-of-the-Yards Council, student groups from the various colleges are also helping to finance this soup kitchen which is providing about 2,000 servings of sandwiches, soup and coffee per day.

From the secretary of the B of Y Council, we learned that the companies are feeding the armies of police. Armour gives them all they can eat: pork-chops, stew, hash, potatoes, carrots and peas-all they want. One cop took three pork chops at one serving. The community tries to feed the strikers; the company feeds the cops. We report this lest someone be unsure of which side the "forces of the law" defend!

tion organized by the Socialist Youth League of the University of California campus. It is a kind of action that ought to be duplicated everywhere in the country-unified and organized in contact with labor and veteran organizations

Veterans have an obvious concern in this. The American Veterans Committee has already declared itself against UMT. Though omitted from present "palatable" plans, their "escape" is only a temporary one. The draft cannot be made palatable for vets! Old enough to be exempt or young enough to be redrafted, they more than others perhaps have a stake in not permitting another imperialist massacre.

Whatever their nature, wherever they appear, the war moves have to he halted. War is indeed ingrained in the marrow of imperialism-whether it be U. S. capitalist variety or Russian bureaucratic collectivist variety. In that sense, war is inevitable. But there is another sense in which war is NOT inevitable. We speak of (Continued on page 3)

Injunction Threatens in Coal Dispute

Appointment of Fact-Finding Board Is First Step in Using Taft-Hartley Cudael

BULLETIN, March 24 - President Truman has taken the first step toward an injunction under the Taft-Hartley law by setting up a factfinding board to investigate the coal tie-up.

eral court can step in when a deadlock occurs, and the yellow-dog injunction of 1946 has shown where the courts stand.

Section 302(c) makes it necessary in the first place that the operators should have the veto power over the fund that they have been using since last July. This clause of the act was aimed directly at the UMW by Congress.

crats and Senator Joseph Ball for the Republicans are racing to see who can get prepared first to break

Senator Ball's "watchdog" committee has demanded the "facts" on the case from the union. At the same time, Cyrus Ching of the Federal Conciliation Service has opened conferences on the stoppage. Ching and his boss, Truman, are trying to get in the contract. Even if a federal

cifically comply with Section 302(c) court appoints a stooge of the operof the T-H law. This is in the conators to arbitrate the fund dispute, tract. Under Section 302(c), a fedthe miners are still fully within the contract in striking.

If Truman appoints a fact-finding board for the dispute, it will be a tip-off that more sections of the Taft-Hartley Act are to be used. An injunction would be the next step.

Just as Lewis has predicted, the . millionaire operators are wailing. Operators' spokesman Charles O'Neill has complained that the miners were not supposed to use the "willing and able" clause in a case like the present one. The boss never wants the union to use the favorable part of a contract.

READY TO FIGHT

The operators also have the nerve to charge that John L. Lewis "provoked" the current stoppage. When the coal barons themselves have ignored the contract for eight months. we think it is pretty plain who "provoked" the strike.

The coal bosses have already been

caught in one brazen lie. A few weeks ago they were saying that a pension fund would add 40 cents a ton to the price of coal. Now Van Horn has admitted that the most that pensions would cost is \$33,000,-000 a year. The present ten-cent royalty brings in \$48,000,000 a year.

The weak point in the UMW's defense is its political program. UMW publications are full of stories telling the miners to vote this year. The problem is, vote for whom? Until labor enters politics directly with its own party and its own candidates, there is no one to vote for to get at the Taft-Hartley-Truman machine.

The rank and file miners have made it plain that they are ready to fight. Roving bands of pickets have been busy shutting down scattered strip mines that continue to work. The various locals are keeping groups of men ready to stop quickly any effort to reopen a mine. All that is needed now is similar action in the

political_field.

Meanwhile Truman for the Demothe present strike.

With the announcement by Ezra Van Horn, representing the operators, that he would go to a federal court to get an "impartial" umpire appointed to the Welfare Fund Trustee Board, the coal barons have reached

for the T-H weapon for the first

around the "willing and able" clause

As this is written, it appears to be only a matter of time before more sections of the law are brought to bear on the United Mine Workers.

By G. MCDERMOTT The Taft-Hartley Act is already clutching at the throat of the coal wages to the rising cost of living.

after a fundamental minimum stand-

ard of real wages has been set up.

When prices rise, an automatic wage

increase would follow. Surely, in a

period of inflation such an excellent

idea should catch fire in the labor

Instead, the only CIO union of im-

one of its major contracts, took it out.

It was the CIO oil workers union.

they

movement.

are good reasons.

March 29, 1948

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Unified Wage Demand Strategy Missing

sions.

By WALTER JASON

Page 2

DETROIT-What is happening to wage negotiations between the ma-. jor CIO unions and the Wall Street owners of big industry? The silence on the wage front prompts this question. An answer may serve to clear up some of the many doubts and confusions that, exist in the labor movement today.

The UE-CIO quietly goes into negotiations with General Motors before the UAW-CIO begins its negotiations. The UE represents 30,000 workers, while the UAW-CIO speaks for over 200,000.

Philip Murray; CIO president, says less about the recent price increase in steel than Senator Taft. Murray informs the world that he wouldn't think of striking this year for a wage increase. The steel workers' contract. is more sacred to him than the welfare of the steel workers, who desperately need a wage increase.

Walter Reuther, and the entire UAW Executive Board spend a whole special session dealing with many things, but the dramatic publicity that marked the GM wage struggle in 1945-46 is lacking.

NO UNIFIED STRATEGY

One thing is obvious: There is no genuine unified strategy in the CIO top leadership for a bold, aggressive fight around a progressive program. If steel, or UE or any other CIO union accepts any small wage increase " it is almost certain to be the pattern. The UAW stands again in the position of not merely being a spearhead, but of perhaps standing alone! How ironical that John L. Lewis and the coal miners may provide the spurt for an aggressive fight this spring by his pension demand of \$100 a.month

There is no unified strategy, which is bad, but even worse there is no agreement or advocacy of wage policies which would be beneficial to all the mass production industry work-

Is the CIO fighting for higher wages without price increases? Is the CIO basing its demands on "ability to pay"? What has happened to the idea of opening the books of the corporations? Why does the CIO oppose the escalator clause? To find an answer to these questions, one has to look beyond the CIO leadership. It's only clearly distinguishable policy is silence.

WAGE-PRICE ISSUE

1 ...

In the 1946 wage struggle, now called the "first round," the GM strike program of higher wages without price increases was sold out by UE and Phil Murray who took wage increases which meant higher prices. These union leaders said prices were not the concern of labor! In retrospect, it is possible to see how wrong was the top CIO leadership which at that time consisted of a bloc between Murray and the Stalinists. In 1947 these same labor bureaucrats quickly accepted an offer of 11½ cents an hour plus six paid holidays, and Walter Reuther, with his brief calling for 231/8 cents an hour

holding the bag, along with the entire CIO rank and file. Reuther's failure to fight consistently for the GM strike program deserves condemnation, but even his milk and water fight was progressive compared to the reactionary role Murray and the Stalinists played.

Once again the basic ideas in wage negotiations are being tested, and we have an opportunity to evaluate the CIO leadership, and all its tendencies. To fight for higher wages without price increases today means to struggle against Wall Street profiteering, for higher wages should come out of profits. Murray says in advance he won't struggle for any wage increases, which is an indication of what a dead-hand grip and bankrupt policy he has to offer the CIO membership. (Imagine if he fought the steel corporations half as vigorously as he is going after the Stalinists, how effective that would be, against the steel companies . . . and the Stalinists!)

BUSINESS WEEK recently had a good article exposing the Stalinist strategy in UE-CIO negotiations. They'll talk tough, but already have agreed in advance to take the same contracts, and anything they can get in wages, for they are in a desperate situation in the union due to their phony attitude toward the Taft-Hartley law relating to signing of noncommunist affidavits.

The Reuther leadership in the UAW-CIO is moving cautiously in wage negotiations. At Chrysler, negotiations have been postponed until March 24, and the two previous meetings have been mainly formalities. The UAW-CIO puts out excellent publicity for higher wages without price increases, but this is meaningless unless the entire CIO unites behind this idea.

ABILITY TO PAY

In the UE negotiations with General Electric, the corporation takes the offensive and says it cannot recognize the theory of ability to pay as the basis for wage demands. This is an acute problem and deserves consideration.

In 1946, GM said the same thing to Reuther, Reuther replied that industry-had-or should have-a social responsibility.

Industry must have an ability to pay, That is why it exists, he said. GM replied, suppose we don't have the ability to pay, suppose we don't make money some year, will you take a wage cut? At this point, Murray and R. J. Thomas, then president of the UAW-CIO, replied, we agree, we don't accept the theory of ability to pay, see what a trap it leads the labor movement into. Reuther himself was silent.

Reuther had no answer because he was afraid to follow the revolutionary implications contained in his ning for eight positions, two of these higher wages without price increases running against both President Beckformula, and theory of ability to pay man and Recording Secretary Fen-(they were interwoven). ster. With 10 members of the Execu-

without price increases, was left then, and now, to draw those conclusliding scale of wages." In essence, this sound idea consists of demanding a clause in the contract adjusting

Until the CIO movement adopts these basic ideas, or philosophy of the wage struggle, the kind of mess it finds itself in at the present time remains inevitable.

OPEN THE BOOKS.

Two years ago, the slogan Open the Books by Reuther and the GM workers created a storm of reaction in the capitalist press. It was a wonderful idea. Let us, the workers, look at the books to see what the real financial situation is. We, the workers, have a fundamental right to a look at the books, for our labor makes production possible. Of course, this was a direct assault on the "sacred prerogatives" of big business.

Today the idea is just as valid. If it now lacks the force in negotiations that it had then, it is mainly because corporation profits are so fabulous, and well known, that "ability to pay' is an admitted fact. Likewise, outside of the Reuther leadership, the rest of the CIO has not yet accepted this idea as a sound one. It is beyond Murray's comprehension, and as for the Stalinists, to accept it would mean to acknowledge Reuther was correct. That is why the Stalinists evade this, and slur over the idea of higher wages without a price increase.

A "Look at the Books" even today would show profits greater than those reported in annual reports. It would get down to details in exactly how much is extorted out of each worker. Today, it is vital that labor challenge the corporations' control of industry,, because of the anti-social character of capitalist control of production. That is why the slogan is so valid. A look at the books would signify an important advance of the working class in its struggle against Wall Street.

ESCALATOR CLAUSE

The last important idea required in wage negotiations is the escalator clause, sometimes called a "cost of living" bonus, but more often "the the union.

OPPOSITION TO LEADERSHIP APPEARS IN FISHER BODY LOCAL 45 ELECTIONS

By JOE HAUSER CLEVELAND, March 21-This past week, Fisher Body Local 45, UAW-CIO, held its annual election of officers. There was more opposition than usual to the administration, composed of Stalinists and opportunists. It is in danger of losing one of its key leaders. Last year the officers ran virtually unopposed. This year there were 19 candidates runing of the depression and low prices and wage cuts? a follower of the SWP got up and urged a union in negotations to adopt the "sliding scale of wages." Naturally the response

ment which stand in the way of continued silence on the part of the top CIO leadership in wage negotiations. A major struggle by the coal miners would, and it appears will, force the Murray leadership in the CIO to put up a more militant struggle, or else lose additional prestige. Secondly, the UAW-CIO, and above all, its active militants, are pressing for more action and results. In the UAW-CIO leadership, Reuther is conscious of his need to deliver something if his caucus is to retain its domination of

one sentence: A vote for the follow-

ing is a vote well placed! Fred Mor-

gan had, the only slogan of political

significance on his throw-aways: I

will be a servant of my union, not

the local, candidates for the Execu-

tive Board, did issue a full-page

mimeographed leaflet, with a pro-

gram calling for support of the union

By GEORGE WHITNEY

What actually happened represents a first-class tragedy for the progressive forces and it cannot be intelligently discussed without examining the role of the Socialist Workers Party in Local 5, Bass' home local. No one is interested in denying that the SWPers are, generally speaking, competent trade unionists. Nor is it surprising that they exercised a considerable influence over Bass. We say influence over Bass as distinguished from broad influence in the ranks. Consequently there can be little doubt, when one reviews the tragic portance that had such a clause in role they have played elsewhere in the labor movement in relation to the Stalinsts, that they were to no The reason given was that it created small degree influential in the next a hardship on that one company, and move that Bass made. Before discussing that move, how-

also, that labor feared it would boomerang if prices went down. Neither ever, it is desirable to say a few more words concerning the SWP's at-In my opinion, one of the major titude toward the Stalinists. It will reasons why this "escalator" clause be repetitious for regular, readers of hasn't been more popular is that one LABOR ACTION, but perhaps inof its chief advocates, the SWP (Canformative for new readers in the nonites) have agitated for it in a URW to examine briefly once more sterile, sectarian fashion. Both in The the strange and almost unbelievable Militant, and in speeches at union position that the SWP takes in relameetings. SWPers keep referring to tion to the CP. First, they believe "the sliding scale of wages." Only rethat the modern slave state that excently, when the commodity market ists in Russia is a workers' state for suffered a temporary price decline, the single and exclusive reason that and when workers legitimately were the means of production are nationasking, is this it? it this the beginalized; that is to say, that private ownership of the factories no longer exists The fact that the workers are enslaved, oppressed, hounded, imprisoned and executed on a scale never before witnessed in history, that they have not the faintest suggestion of a voice in the management of this. nationalization, is all of secondary importance so far as the SWP is concerned. The mere fact that they do have nationalization is sufficient in their minds to make it a workers' state. A degenerated workers' state. they call it, but a workers' state nonetheless.

They therefore view the foreign agents of this state-and in this country that means the Communist Party -in a way peculiar to themselves alone, unless one cares to include the CPers. They view this agent of what they think is a working class state as being a working class party. In order to make it as clear as possible, we again repeat that their formula is a "degenerated" workers' state and a "degenerated" working class party, but working class in character and therefore a progressive force to one extent or another. The objective result of this position has been the rallying of the SWP to the defense of the Stalinists during these trying times in the labor movement. The SWP is today playing the role in the URW of left protection for Stalinism.

a master of it. He was running against SWP BLESSES BASS' Leo Fenster, leader of the Stalinists. ALLIANCE WITH EAGLE Two of the younger members of

To get back to the developments that occurred following the split between Buckmaster and the Communist Party, we have already noted that the CP was in the process of seeking a new alliance that would

pose their reasons for being against and the local. They dealt with issues it. The same is necessary here. While that absolutely required a progreswe are for making the post of organizational director in the URW an elective post, we nevertheless must differentiate ourselves from the Socialist Workers Party on this question. They went for the move at this time precisely for the reason that it would help protect Harry Eagle. Subsequent to the convention, Buckmaster announced that he was not reappointing Eagle to this post. Immediately the SWP took the offensive. Primarily as a result of their influence, one of the militants in the caucus wrote an editorial for Airbag, the Local 5 paper, that could not have been improved upon by Eagle himself. This article was entitled "A Threat to Union Democracy." Following is the entire text of the arti-

The Situation in the URW

Part II of a Series on the Rubber Union-

cle: "We note that President L. S. Buckmaster of the URCLPWA has failed to reappoint N. H. Eagle as organizational director of the union. He gave no reason and has not informed local unions as to the causes for his missal of the man who has held this post for the past five years.

"We have been informed that Buckmaster did not consult any of the other top officers of the union before taking this action. It is also common knowledge that the General Executive Board is unanimously against Buckmaster's proceedure in this case. "Last year President Buckmaster appointed Eagle with the highest praise, and he was approved by the International Executive Board.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED DURING THE PAST YEAR? We believe the members are entitled to an answer. This post is one of the most important in the union; but there is more involved than the post itself. "This action of the international

president has all the earmarks of a purge by a man, who answers only to himself and has set himself above the other officers and above the General Executive Board. That is the way dictatorships are made. "We do not want one-man rule in this union. IF ANYONE IS TO BE PURGED, WE WANT TO KNOW WHY. We want our elected

and board members to have their constitutional right to function as the supreme executive and policy-making group in our union. We do not want an individual to usurp that right, and run the union arbitrarily in defiance of the will of the majority of the other officers, in violation of the constitution.

"We have often differed with Brofered strongly with Buckmaster at the last convention. IS HE BEING PURGED BECAUSE HE DARED TO HAVE A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WITH THE ALMIGHTY?

"We have ofen differed with Brother Eagle, but we have always defended his and anyone else's right to have his own views and to express them.

"We hope and trust that the General Executive Board will explain to President Buckmaster that his oneman powers are limited, and that this union will fight to preserve the de mocracy that his always been our pride and source of strength."

(All emphasis in the preceding quoted article is our and it is to be noted that Harry Eagle has since been replaced to the position of organizational director by action of the International Executive Board, which is now controlled by the Bass-Eagle forces.)

sive force to distinguish them from the CP. The three issues were opposition to the Taft-Hartley bill, opposition to the Thomas-Rankin House Un-American Activities Committee, and the demand for a Labor Party.

In the first two instances, the resolutions were in no respect different from what the CP was currently saying on the issues. They condemned both the Taft-Hartley bill and the House Un-American Activities Committee without naming the CP or explaining the differences which all truly progressive union militants have with the CP even when they defend CPers from State Department harassment.

The resolution on a Labor Party was changed to the formulation of the demand for a THIRD party despite the fact that the local had previously passed a resolution (the year before and the last occasion on which the membership expressed itself concerning the question) specifically calling for the formulation LABOR PARTY as distinct from that of a THIRD party. At that time and following the adoption of this resolution (reported in LABOR ACTION at the time) they also adopted the resolution of the CP for a third party with the understanding that it did not conflict with the first resolution and that the two should be combined. There could have been no mistake of the intent of the membership on this score because the debate on the floor concerned precisely the formulation of a genuine and independent LABOR PARTY versus the CP formulation THIRD party.

The SWP supports these three resolutions in the URW without so much as a modest blush.

ADDING TO CONFUSION AND PROTECTING COALITION

By way of conclusion, it is necessary to mention some of the SWP arguments that revolve around this situation in order that we may get a clearer picture. The leading member of the SWP fraction (and a leading member of their party) discussed

the question this way: He says that today two groups exist in the URW, the Buckmaster-Watson group and the Bass group. (As is customary with them, he fails to mention the CP.) He informs us that the Buckmaster-Watson group represents the right wing conservatives while the Bass group-and we ourselves take the liberty of adding the word Stalinist to the title-represents that section which fought against compliance with the Taft-Hartley bill and fought against the conservative anti-Stalinist-Buckmaster domination of the international. These statements are made by way of characterization. In essence they say: "The Watson-Buckmaster group represents the right wing and the Bass group represents - well, judge for yourself. They were against the Taft-Hartley

was negative. Workers don't want wages to slide: They want them to increase At the present time there are two forces operating in the labor move-

LABOR ACTION HALL IN PHILLY OPEN TO PUBLIC FRIDAYS

PHILADELPHIA-Labor Action Hall at 1139 West Girard Avenue will be open to the public each Friday evening from 7:30 to 10 o'clock. Workers Party friends and readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to this socialist meeting hall to become better acquainted with the personnel and program of the Workers Party. Representatives of the Executive Committee of the Philadelphia Branch will be present to answer inquiries concerning the local organization and to aid in solving problems of veterans, unionists and students when requested.

LABOR ACTION. The New International, Workers Party Publications and other socialist literature available through the Labor Action Book Service will be on sale. In addition a reference library of socialist and labor periodicals and texts is being made available for use in the hall. It is the aim of the Philadelphia organization to make Labor Action Hall a center of social and intellectual life as well as of political life in the community.



What are these implications. If industry has the ability to pay higher wages without price increases, it means taking wage increases out of profit. If industry lacks this ability, it has demonstrated it is incapable of functioning for the welfare of the nation, and therefore . . . instead of accepting wage cuts, as Murray and Thomas thought labor might have to do . . . the logical conclusion is to call for nationalization of these bankrupt industries. And since its capitalist managers proved themselves bankrupt, naturally WORKERS' CON-TROL OF PRODUCTION was required, for the welfare of the entire nation (excepting the capitalist parasite, of course, who proved themselves bankrupt.) Reuther hesitated

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were in the race. In general those running for office could be divided into three groups: the incumbent administration, including Beckman, Kennedy, Fenster

tive Board at large to be elected, 24

and Foster; a group led by James Clark, treasurer and sole anti-Stalinist among the officers (unopposed this time by the Stalinists); and a group gased on the maintenance men, led by Bill Kastelic and Fred Morgan. Until recently these last named men had worked along with the administration and had given valuable service as "front" men.

With slight exceptions, these groups and various independents ran without any program. Slates were printed with lists of names, but with no appeal for the members to vote on issues. The Stalinist election slote contained two paragraphs, stating that these are tough times, and so the union needs leaders who are ex-perienced, tested, bold, etc. The Clark-Campbell slate contained only

(Continued from page 1)

ing from where he hit me in my head with the gun.

until sundown trying to make a livdeath for me. You take big people as the President, governors, judge, their children don't never have to suffer. They has plenty money. Born in a mansion, nothing ever to worry

that lucky." Advancement of Colored People and the Georgia Defense Committee, organized following the Monroe lynching, are handling the defense. They succeeded in having the execution-

in all its demands on General Motors and pointing out the need for wage increases without price increases, the escalator clause to meet rises in the cost of living, guaranteed annual wage to overcome seasonal unemployment, and a Labor Party to make labor's fight on the political front.

While nearly all the present officers were returned to office in the election, the opposition did poll a large number of votes. According to the UAW constitution, officers must poll a majority of votes cast to win. Thus Fenster must have a run-off with Mel Phelps for recording secretary and likewise there will have to be a run-off for trustee. Beckman came rather close to needing a runoff for president.

Events have forced the opposition to the Stalinists to come out more openly. However, the administration is still firmly in control of the union apparatus and there is not much chance that this situation will be improved until a progressive opposition comes forth and appeals for the votes of the membership on the basis of a program to answer the needs of the workers.

Win New Trial --

cursing and hitting me. I was bleed-

"Wallace grabbed the gun and hit him twice in his head. He fell dead. That's how it all happened."

Self-defense? There is no such thing in America, South for "n -- s." Remember Odell Waller? "In my case. I have worked hard from sunup ing for my family and it ended in

about. I am glad some people are The National Association for the

outcome of a railroaded trial-postponed with an appeal for a new trial,

aid in their fight against the Taft-Hartley bill and against the Buckmaster-Murray offensive, Acting from motives that were from his point of view sufficient and progressive, Bass furnished the answer to their problem. He entered into an alliance with Eagle, Loyd, etc., with the full encouragement and blessings of the SWP. This alliance constitutes the first really major and serious mistake that Bass has made (though we

have considered him wrong on many minor issues in the past) and we have every reason to hope that he will awaken to the danger of this mistake even though it may occasion him some discomfort to undo it.

At the Boston convention, the Bass and Stalinist forces united and fought agaihst the affidavits. They fought against Buckmaster. They attempted to carry a constitutional amendment which would provide for the creation of another vice-presidency, motivated by a legitimate desire to limit Buckmaster's power. They attempted to make the post of organizational director elective rather than appointive as it had been in the past. The reasons which motivated this latter move are somewhat enlightening. The post had been held for the past several years by Harry Eagle. At the previous convention of the Rubber Workers, when Buckmaster and Eagle and been working hand in hand, Buckmaster had reappointed him to the influential post with a veritable eulogy. But things were different at this convention. Given the split between the CP and Buckmaster, the Bass-Eagle forces saw the desirability of making the post of organizational director elective so that Buckmaster would not be in a position to remove Eagle. This move failed and the SWP subsequently made quite a

fuss about democracy. The NAACP has stated it will carry Now, we of the Workers Party fathe case to the Supreme Court if necvor making the post elective and we essary. There are good grounds for this, namely, the exclusion of Negroes want this to be clearly understood. We are for the utmost democracy possible in the labor movement. We This is a labor defense case debelieve, however, in exposing the motives of those who make demagogic manding the widest support and prodemands for reasons other than the test from organized labor and civil militant - sounding democratic ones liberty groups. Contributions for the presented publicly. Thus, to give an defense can be sent to Atty. A. T. example of this, while we were for Walden, Walden Building, 28 Butler an all-out fight against the Taft-St., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, or to Al-Hartley bill and the signing of the affidavits and while this position corlan K. Chalmers, treasurer of the responds somewhat with that of the NAACP, at its New York Office, 20 Communist Party in the labor movement, it was necessary for us to ex-

SERVE TO OBSCURE NATURE OF STALINISM

Thus we see the result of the SWP influence. An all-out defense of Eagle with just enough "objectivity" about "many differences in the past" to lend it the air of authenticity-a defense which leads the average rank and file member to believe that Eagle is really a very fine chap with whom we have had frequent differences, to be sure, but now he has been removed from an office which. by all implications, he should continue to hold. Again we must say that we agree that Buckmaster's role and position are indefensible, that we are opposed to his being able to say who shall and who shall not be organizational director. But we want to make clear also that we are opposed to Harry Eagle's holding the post of organizational director, a post that has afforded him the opportunity to do incalculable harm to the cause of

the progressives in the past. We are opposed to Buckmaster's methods and we are at the same time opposed to Eagle. We are for Eagle's removal from all offices in the URW by democratic methods and at the same time we are for making the post of organizational director elective. But between our position and that of the SWP there is the difference between our attitude that the CP is an anti-working class party and the attitude of the SWP that it is a progressive force as compared with the labor bureaucracy.

Their attitude leads them to support the above quoted article word for word with the explanation that they want to smoke Buckmaster out and force him to say that he removed Eagle because he represents the CP influence. That is a little too subtle for our thin blood. That is the same thing as wanting to smoke out the capitalist class and force them to denounce fascism from their imperialistic point of view rather than saying why we ourselves are opposed to it from a working class point of view. To further show the extent to which the influence of the SWP has led the Bass caucus astray, we return to the convention itself for one moment. The Bass caucus, representing the most progressive force in the international unions, presented three resolutions there which were submitted through Local 5 and in the name of an active militant in the caucus, Jules Geller. These three res-

olutions presumably were meant to

represent the opinion of the caucus

bill and against the red-baiter Buck master, weren't they?" Their remarks are meant to imply that the recent coalition between the Bass forces and the CP has borne fruit and is thereby justified.

It is necessary once more briefly to list the points that show the stupidity of this argument and the whole method behind it. (1) The Stalinists would have fought against compliance with the Taft-Hartley bill in any event, come what might, because that was the line of the party for reasons we shall not discuss here. (2) It is no accomplishment to induce the CP to fight against a conservative bureaucracy, PROVIDING that conservative bureaucracy is also anti-Stalinist. Certainly it is not sufficient of an accomplishment to motivate one in handing over to them coleadership in a progressive, militant caucus. If it serves their purpose, the Stalinists will do these things energetically at any time without the assistance of the SWP or the Bass forces, though we must admit that such assistance makes the road easier for them. (3) The Bass caucus could almost without dispute have drawn into its fold many people in the international who were anti-Stalinist and anti-Buckmaster. (4) The impressive bloc that had formerly been represented by the COMBINED forces of Buckmaster and the CP was now split asunder, and that substantially changed the .possibilities of Loyd and Eagle to carry their point of view without the aid of some other sizable section of the international But all this is completely ignored by the SWP in its attempt to cover up for the coalition, a coalition that was never decided by any vote of the caucus nor was it subsequently reported upon and approved in that daucus by anyone including the ones who stand with the SWP for unadulterated and double-barrelled democ-

(Concluded next week)

Macdonald to Speak On Wallace at U of C

Dwight Macdonald, editor of Politics and author of the recent biography of Henry Wallace, will speak on "Wallace: The Man and the Myth" at a joint meeting of the Politics and Socialist Clubs of the University of Chicago. The meeting will be held on Friday, April 2, at 3:30 p.m. in Kent Hall at the university.

first set to be heard on February 21. The motion for a new trial will be

from the jury.

W. 40th St., N. Y. City 18.

heard on March 25. The Ingrams have been transferred from one jail to another four or five

times during this period. Presumably,

the trial will be heard in Schley

County before Superior Court Judge

W. H. Harper who sentenced the

Ingrams in the first place, who

doesn't like agitation "inspired up

North" or "attacks on the courts."

March 29, 1948

Portrait of the Star-Spangled Mikado

He'd Like to Be President

By JACK BRAD

Two weeks ago, the gold brimmed, five star, personally designed hat of General Douglas MacArthur was carefully placed in the political ring which is the 1948 election campaign. True to the very best American political traditions, this announcement was carefully prepared by fully four years of regular denials that the general had any presidential aspirations. But now, the general has heard the call and, still playing the game and still denying the slightest political ambition or even that he would campaign for the nomination, he announces with typical Mac-Arthurian flamboyance: "I would feel recreant in my duty as a citizen" if he did not answer the call of the nation.

One hour after the announcement, GI's in Tokyo were wearing MacArthur For President buttons. Lansing Hoyt, Wisconsin Republican leader and close associate of many mid-western semi-fascist groups, announced formation of a national organization for MacArthur. The Hearst papers across the country and the Chicago Tribune pulled out their largest size type to hail the great event.

Douglas MacArthur was born on an army post. His father was the Civil War hero, General Arthur MacArthur. He grew up in the rich air of the upper crust of Army caste society, surrounded always by gold braid and things military. He had no trouble getting into West Point, and there excelled in his studies and sports to graduate in 1903 with the highest honors ever bestowed by that military institution.

His rise in military circles was meteoric. Handsome, an excellent conversationalist, for army circles fairly well educated, with excellent connections among the high brass inherited from his father, the young second lieutenant of 1903 became a captain a mere 10 years later. This was in the peace-time army.

His assignments indicate careful selection with a judicious eye to the quickest way up the ladder. Thus, after his graduation, the young MacArthur joined his father's staff in the Philippines where the war against the Spaniards was still in progress. Later he joined his father's diplomatic mission in Japan and also served as military aide to Theodore Roosevelt in Washington. In 1913 he achieved that rung on the ladder which marks off those picked for a special destiny in the Army from the run of the mill officer: he was appointed to the General Staff Corps.

In the first World War he acquitted himself as befits a man of such origins and attainments. He became the youngest Divisional Commander and for his war conduct received citations from eight allied governments, including the French Croix de Guerre. He returned to the U.S. to become youngest commandant West Point ever had. While there can be no denial of MacArthur's personal bravery, there is no indication anywhere of any departure from traditional military thinking on any subject. The only important problem posed to the army during the 20's and 30's was that of General Billy Mitchell's plan for development of an extensive air force. On this question, MacArthur joined the traditionalists against Mitchell.

PERSONALLY COMMANDED BONUS BATTLE

MacArthur has described his own social outlook as "enlightened conservatism." There can be no question about the second word. He was distinguished from other top staff officers only by his head start in having the right political and business connections. Thus in the 1934 Senate investigation of the munitions interests, General MacArthur was charged with intervening with foreign governments on behalf of American airplane interests. He was accused of using his position as Army Chief of Staff for this purpose.

the blame to Hoover by declaring he acted under Hoover's orders. However, in an unguarded moment MacArthur gave it as his private opinion that if Hoover had not ordered the dispersal "another week might have meant that the government was in peril." This action and these words reveal the social thought of MacArthur.

The general had always been associated with the Philippines. In 1935 he was loaned to the Philippine government as military adviser. He had long been on friendly terms with Manuel Quezon and other leaders of the Nacionalista Party, which controlled the government under a benevolent dictatorship. MacArthur was also an intimate of Filipino high society, the sugar, banking and shipping interests.

He approached his task, therefore, as an American general in a colony, who needed to provide military safeguards for American interests and strenthen the hand of the dictatorial ruling groups. His National Defense Act of 1935 embodies MacArthur's ideas on militarism and the nation. It foreshadows what he would propose in America.

HIS POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES

The bill provided for compulsory military training for all able-bodied males. This general training was to provide a reserve for a professional army of 16,000. Militarism was to be extended to all children. Every Filipino of 10 years of age and as long as he continued able-bodied, was to undergo regular military training. This plan would have provided the islands with 500,-000 soldiers in ten years or, proportionate to population, the biggest army in the world.

There was widespread opposition to this scheme. The Moros tribes refused to register for the draft and took to the hills. The MacArthurcontrolled constabulary pursued them and fought a number of pitched battles. In the battle at Lanao province 10 Moros were killed. In the big cities, huge demonstrations against conscription were ruthlessly dispersed.

In diplomatic circles MacArthur had long been known as a "Jap hater." It was considered that his arming of the Filipinos was a deliberate provocation to Japan. MacArthur has always favored a large standing army and "preparedness." Thus he has often been quoted by the Hearst and Mc-Cormick press in their militarist editorials. He is the favorite general of these publishers and during the war they constantly pushed his name forward. McCormick's Chicago Tribune began the campaign for MacArthur's nomination in 1944. Lansing Hoyt, Wisconsin manager for MacArthur, is an associate of McCormick's.

We have here a second opportunity to assess MacArthur as a military man. His anti-Japanese sabre-rattling, which followed the Hearst-Mc-Cormick line, drove him to make of the Filipinos a nation in arms. Yet he alone believed the islands could withstand an invasion. He claimed that it would cost the Japanese 500,000 casualties and five to ten billion dollars to invade. Manuel Quezon and Francis B. Sayre, Philippines Commissioner, both argued that the islands were untenable. Opinion in the U. S. was almost unanimous against futile attempts to hold them. MacArthur was wrong at great cost to the Filipino people. His policy for American imperialism in the Pacific ended in the disaster of Pearl Harbor.

. . .

During the war, MacArthur was in command of the Pacific theater. He was in constant conflict with Navy, Air Force, Washington general staff, the War Department and the White House. single supreme own hands. He sought the maximum concentration of authority. He surrounded himself with a staff which has become known as the "Bataan Crowd." This group of fanatical defenders of the general have implicit faith in his leadership. They deny any possible fault or shadow of a fault. They shield him from the barbs and criticisms which



"Neither Washington nor Moscow"

A new political trend that may well prove to have great significance has been born within the past few weeks in France. This new political front, known as the RDR (Rassemblement Démocratique et Révolutionnaire -Revolutionary Democratic Front) has been initiated by a group of leading French intellectuals, writers, former leaders of the resistance movement, left-wing Socialist Party members, etc. Some of the prominent figures who are active in its ranks are Jean-Paul Sartre, famous existentialist doctrinaire, and the wellknown writers Camus and David Rousset, author of the excellent concentration camp study, The Other Kingdom.

The RDR is born of the reaction against the threat and menace of Stalinism (it is highly important to note that many prominent French intellectuals, previously deeply infected with Stalinism, are revolting against it) and the corresponding reaction against the hopelessness of Leon Blum and his Socialist Party. Politically and or-ganizationally, it is, we hear, now being reinforced by the adherence of two substantial groups recently resigned from the Socialist Party. These two groups are the Socialist Youth (JS) and the Revolutionary Socialist Action group (ASR), whose leader is the well-known left Socialist, Dechezelles. Both groups have signed the original manifesto, as has the leadership of the Trotskyist minority faction which is opposed to the sectorianism and sterility of the PCI (French Trotskyist party) leadership.

Although it would be premature to predict future developments, it is possible that we are here witnessing the creation of a new, large and broad centrist political movement in France. Such a party, beginning as a broad socialist movement opposed to Stalinism and social democracy, and oriented against the squeezing of France between Russian and American imperialisms, might mark the revival of independent socialist politics in France. Naturally, this party would be politically confused and composed of many diverse elements, ranging through Christian Socialists, pacifists, intellectuals, militant socialists, etc., but its existence would mark a new stage in French politics in that it would break up the tendency in France to crystallize into hard and fast Stalinist or de Gaullist lines. The RDR has a voice in the daily newspaper, Franc-Tireur (published daily in Paris, with a tremendous circulation among workers), and partial support from the daily paper, Combat -both resistance-movement born publications.

LABOR ACTION will report on this movement further as we receive details from France.

STALINISM AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

We have previously commented on the startling and widespread trend within the ranks of the Fourth International to capitulate, one way or another, to Stalinism, particularly on the issue of the Stalinist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia. The hypocritical evasion of all issues involved in this question has best been illustrated in The Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party. We have already commented on this. The French PCI (Parti Communiste Internationaliste) in its paper La Vérité (The Truth) has engaged in the same evasion. The official magazine of the Fourth International (Quatrième Internationale) in its January, 1948, issue,

published a few weeks before the events, contains the fantastic prediction, in a report on Czechoslovakia, that the capitalist class of that country has the greatest powers of resistance of any country within the Russian sphere because it has the best and closest ties with the Western imperialisms!

It has remained, however, for the English Revolutionary Communist Party, English section of the Fourth International, to come out with the most unashamed pro-Stalinism of all. The current issue of its paper, Socialist Appeal, contains an article by the party's leading spokesman, Jock Haston, the sole dubious virtue of which is its honesty and forthrightness in contrast with the American SWP. Hailing the Stalinist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia with the words that an "important working class victory has been achieved in Prague," this desecrator of every idea Trotsky ever held publishes his piece under the heading of "Capitalists Routed in Czechoslovakia"! True enough -along with every semblance of democracy, a free labor movement and political organizations including his own Czech comrades!

How refreshing to turn away from this shameful and revolting capitulation to Stalinism and to read a statement issued by the Irish section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Socialist League. It gives Haston and his co-thinkers a fitting answer:

"What, then, should be our attitude to the events in Czechoslovakia? Should we, in the name of 'going with our class,' condone the coup d'état and even embellish it as a kind of bureaucratically sponsored workers' revolution? Or should we not admit that it is not an 'important victory' but an important defeat that has been inflicted on the Czech workers, notwithstanding the fact that 100,000 class-conscious Prague workers paraded the streets in defense of the new regime? Trotsky, in 1939, harshly condemned the Kremlin's seizure of new territories, the progressive content of which (nationalizations!) was far outweighed in his opinion by the conception of a bureaucratic revolution, organized by the Kremlin, which these seizures would engender among the international workers. However, the basic reason why we are absolutely against a Stalinist state regime anywhere is because the free working class movement is sooner or later crushed out of existence; and the mobilization of the workers for the struggle for proletarian state power is thereby rendered immeasurably more difficult. It is against the political vanguard that Stalinism wreaks the greatest havoc. Without this vanguard, however, the socialist struggle cannot prevail."

The same tendency toward surrender to Stalinism is seen in country after country. We cite some recent examples. The Greek Trotskyists, in a resolution published in the January issue of Quatrième Internationale, call for critical support to the Stalinist Markos government of that country and urge the workers to fight in its armies. The Ceylon Trotskyists join in political united fronts with the minute Stalinist party of their country. The Trotskyists of India form a nationwide united front, on a broad scale, with the Stalinists and various Stalinist-front organizations of their country. In Bombay they vote for the Stalinist candidates in municipal elections, rather than for Socialists. The same story is repeated elsewhere, in different forms. One of the unexplained phenomena of the day is why the American SWP did not support Wallace! Perhaps this sign of independence will shortly be corrected.

do few things that do not pay off in Stalinist totalitarianism. They must

BOTH U. S. and Russian imperialism. World War III has not yet reached



A SLIGHT TOUCH OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Page 3

Employment dropped 798,000 in January, the Census Bureau reports, carrying the total number of persons holding jobs down to 57,149,000, lowest level since April, 1946. The number of jobless rose to more than 2,000,000. In February the trend continued, adding an additional 600,000 to the jobless total to bring it to 2,600,000. While the general level of the economy remains high, a few soft spots are showing up here and there. In Cleveland, for instance, approximately 4,600 workers in four major companies have been laid off since the first of the year. As a result of a reduction in the work week from five to four days at the American and Cuyahoga works of American Steel & Wire, some 2,000 workers got the gate. White Motor in Cleveland laid off 600, eliminating a third shift and cutting back its second shift to a four-day week. Electric Vacuum Cleaner, a GE subsidiary, knocked off 300 workers in January and an additional 200 on February 26. A sharp decline in orders for both domestic and industrial cleaners was the reason given. Approximately 1,500 persons, or 38 per cent of the working force, have been laid off by Jack & Heinz. The supply of motors has caught up with the demand, the company said. . . . In Akron, Goodyear has reportedly cut back production 30 per cent at two of its tire plants. Several of the other rubber companies have many of their workers on part time. The Union Pacific Railroad has announced the lay-off of many hundreds of workers as the result of a general decline in business. "Business is falling off. There's just noth-ing for the men to do," a company spokesman said.

A recent N. Y. Journal of Commerce survey reports that business developments in March "tended to strengthen the view that a slow process of erosion is under way as far as business activity is concerned. . . . Layoffs were reported by a number of important companies—in industry as well as in distribution. Overtime operations are being cut by others. All is not well in such lines as electrical goods, automobile parts, radios, soap, women's dresses, and some household appliances."

As business falters slightly in the United States, sentiment for the European Recovery Plan-with its nice juicy orders for thousands of U. S. firms-mounts. And so does the sentiment for war with Russia. Not only because of a slackening in business, of course. But this gives an added fillip to the feelings of business men about aid to Europe and about getting tough with the main imperialist rival, Russia.

A BAD CASE OF PROFITITIS

Now that the yearly corporation statements are being published, one begins to realize the truly enormous extent of big business profiteering in 1947. Nothing like it has ever been seen before, in war or in peace. Let's run through a dozen companies.

Remember Union Pacific (see above) which quickly laid off hundreds of workers at the first sign of a falling off in traffic. UP consolidated net income in 1947 totaled nearly \$56 million, equal to \$23.40 a common share, compared with about \$34.2 million in 1946 ,or \$13.60 a share in 1946. Not bad, not bad.

Shell Oil enjoyed a net income in 1947 of \$60 million, equal to \$4.44 a common share compared with a net of \$33 million or \$2.44 a share in 1946. Remember how Shell, together with all the other oil companies, upped oil prices about 30 per cent this winter. It paid off. Net profit-after taxes-of Pittsburgh Plate Glass rose to a record \$27 millions in 1947, compared to \$17 millions in 1946. Net income of Yale & Towne more than doubled in 1947, amounting to \$2.8 million compared with \$1 million the preious year.

In 1930, Herbert Hoover, a close personal and political friend, made MacArthur a full general and appointed him Chief of Staff. It was during this tenure that MacArthur fought the battle for which he will be remembered and hated the most.

Those were lean years in America. One out of every two workers was unemployed. Hunger, farm foreclosures, bankruptcy, mass unemployment held the country in the icy grip of capitalist depression. In sheer desperation, groups of veterans marched on Washington to demand a bonus to prevent mass starvation.

The veterans were orderly, by and large. Their methods were as peaceful as their demands were modest. They encamped on Anacostia Flats in army tents and squatted while they lobbied and held meetings.

But for the ruling class and its Washington leadership these were years of panic. None of the old remedies worked. Farm holiday movements rose in the West, unemployment movements spread like prairie fire from Chicago to Pittsburgh to New York. Strikes gripped the coal fields and Lewis seemed helpless as did the rest of the AFL leadership. To the capitalist class the specter of revolution seemed to be rising on the horizon.

It was against this background that Herbert Hoover ordered MacArthur to disperse the peaceful veterans of the Bonus Army. His conduct of this affair has earned him undying popular hatred. Mac-Arthur organized his garrison as for a serious campaign, fully equipped with tear gas, bayonets, rifles and machine guns. He took personal charge of the operation. What is less well known, but deserves to be wide spread, is that the assistant officer in this affair was none other than—Ike Eisenhower.

MacArthur's campaign against the unarmed veterans was vicious, bloody and inhumanly cruel. A reporter describes the action thus: the veterans were "torched, bayonetted and bombed" out of Anacostia Flats. One veteran was killed. Press agents for the general have attempted to pass

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interest of Socialism Published Weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Co. 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. General Offices: 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: 1Ronsides 6-5117



Vol. 12, No. 13 March 29, 1948 Emanuel Garrett, Editor Editorial Board: Albert Gates, Henry Judd, Irving Howe **Business Manager: Paul Bern**

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50¢ for 6 Mos \$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada, Foreign). Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874

are the normal lot of public life. This is not an exaggerated picture of the man MacArthur. The day the war ended, his press relations officers barred all Navy broadcasts on the ground that "this is the Commander-in-Chief's day-nothing shall be said or done this day to distract from the personal publicity or glorification of the Commander-in-Chief." General Diller, his public relations officer, later decorated 37 press relations men with this explanation: "Thank you for helping me attain my goal of seeing that General MacArthur got the credit for everything in the Pacific and making sure that he was appointed Supreme Commander.'

"MOVE OVER, GOD, IT'S MAC!"

Richard E. Lauterbech, who describes the above incidents, is of the conviction: "If they could get away with it, MacArthur's top public relations officials would never settle for anything less than complete approval of the occupation and deification of the 'Chief'"

Always a sporty dresser, MacArthur is said to design his own uniforms. It is a fact that he personally designed his hats. Always conscious of his appearance, his clothes are as elegant and austerely precise as his manner.

His aloofness is well known. Those who have "interviewed" him report that he does not answer questions. He lectures them with wide references to world history and philosophy in pedantic tirades until the close of the "interview." He is extremely religious; although soldiers who served under him have expressed uncertainty as to whether this was an objective belief on his part or insurance that he could be a supreme commander in after-life too. Thus the following jinglet was coined for the unapproachable general:

"And while its possibly rumor now, Some day it will be a fact. That the Lord will hear a deep voice say: Move over, God, it's Mac."

MacArthur is not popular with his troops. (Continued on page 4) .

CORRECTION ON HOWE ARTICLE

The opening line of Comrade Irving Howe's article on Masaryk in last week's issue of LABOR ACTION was dropped. The missing line reads: 'Jan Masaryk's suicide-or murder-was admittedly," etc.

While we are at it, a headline on the story from Seattle was set wrong. The word "measure" was mistakenly set for MENACE. It should have read: "Hutcheson 'Gift' Is a Menace to Northwest Lumber Workers.'

How? In many ways, We have dis-cussed some of these before and we will continue with this in future issues. Here we list five points: 1. By opposing the draft.

war.

(Continued from page 1)

labor leading the people to prevent profit.

2. By demanding NOW the enactment of legislation for a complete, 100 per cent tax on ALL war profits. We are not so simple as to think, in the year of the atom bomb, 1948, that wars result from the machinations of munitions manufacturers. Wedo, however, think that the capitalists will be less enthusiastic-to put it mildly-about promoting their war if there is no money in it. Capitalists of millions of European people to

Partition Plan - -

(Continued from page 1)

needs; (2) the need for Mid-East oil; (3) the Czech coup that has sharpened the antagonisms between Russia and the U.S.; and (4) the fact that the Democratic Party has already accepted the loss of New York State,. since the victory of a Wallace candidate in a Congressional election.

The Russians will use the situation for their own imperialist propaganda purposes. Originally the Russians were in favor of a UN trusteeship but turned to partition as the most effective way to get troops of the Anglo-American bloc out of Palestine. Now that the U. S. has changed its position in favor of a trusteeship without Russia, the Russian diplomats will remain firmly in favor of partition. This pro-partition policy does not prevent the Russians from also playing a dual game through their puppets.

The Arab Stalinists continue their opposition to Jewish immigration and Jewish independence. The Czechs are selling arms to the Arabs, and in totalitarian Yugoslavia, Tito has permitted the opening of a Moslem recruiting office. Already 92 volunteers have been given passports. In addition, the New York Post reports that a Yugoslav Moslem is one of the commanders of a sector in Palestine. The disappointment of the Jews in

the broken promises of British and American imperialism will only be duplicated if the Jews place their hopes in Russian imperialism,

FULL INDEPENDENCE

The only present hope for saving the freedom and independence of struggle for freedom and independboth nations in Palestine is through ence.

must become a cry heard universally. (See World Politics Column on page 3 for an interesting development in France.)

3. By opposing the war plans of . they are.

We cannot halt war by endorsing the war moves of U.S. capitalism. We cannot halt war by succumbing to Stalinist manipulation. The Stalinists are opposed to the draft and to UMT. Their purpose is to strengthen the position of Russian imperialism. So, for example, the Wallace-Stalinist party advocates the subjugation

"Neither Washington Nor Moscow!"

Oppose Conscription Move

independent action by themselves, with no reliance on American or Russian imperialism or on the UN.

Some such realization is starting to penetrate even the members of the Jewish Agency. Ben-Gurion, leader of the Agency, has announced that the Jewish state exists, and a formal declaration is expected before this is printed. The Provisional Government will consist of a council

The United Labor Party (formed by the unity of Hashomer Hatzair and Achduth Avodah) is protesting the representation and the agreement between the Haganah and Irgun, Before the U.S. change in policy, the United Labor Party refused to name its candidates. What it will do now in the new crisis remains to be seen. 'The Revisionists and the Irgunists who demand Jewish rule over all of Palestine have been strengthened. Unless the Jewish labor organizations lead a real and immediate struggle for independence, they will lose the leadership of the Jewish masses and lose a favorable opportunity for a

and it is a series

fighting the skirmishes of the "cold war"-with more and more heat. The latest illustrations are Palestine and Trieste.

be shunned like the plague-bearers

its shooting stage. They are still

Henry JUDD.

Having been beaten to the punch by Molotov with the proposition that former Italian colonies be returned to Italy, and learning that Molotov was preparing to offer Trieste back to Italy to aid the Stalinists in the coming Italian elections, the U. S., France and England got there first to help their side. LABOR ACTION has advocated a plebiscite in Trieste in which the people of Trieste could vote to joint Italy rather than Stalin's Yugoslavia. But that is a far. cry from what the imperialists are doing. They shift people around, bargain them away without consultation. To support one side in all of this as against the other will speed warat the same time that it buttresses the imperialist suppression of vari-

ous peoples-Poles. Greeks, etc. Any anti-war movement must consequently be clearly independent of both sides. Otherwise it is meaningless and futile-where it is not downright dangerous. In what we do to oppose war, there must not be a particle of toleration of Stalinism!

LABOR PARTY ROLE

4. By building a Labor Party. A Labor Party can be the instrument through which we speak and act. A Labor Party can coordinate the antiwar sentiment of the American people, guide it, concretize it-in election campaigns and in actions outside of election campaigns.

Mobilizing the political and social forces of American labor, it can speak the politics of NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW.

5. By fighting for socialism. Socialism is the alternative to the deadly barbarism into which capitalism and Russian totalitarianism are dragging the world. It alone can guarantee an end to wars by creating the conditions which make war impossible. It is the way of humanity's progress. It is the positive content of NEI-THER WASHINGTON NOR MOS-COW!

NOTE TO CONTRIBUTORS:

We continue to receive anonymous letters for publication. As we have previously said, we cannot accept anything for publication unless the writer signs his name. In publication, we will use any name the writer wishes.

Coca-Cola announced record earnings in 1947 of \$31.2 millions, from \$23.5 millions in 1946.

Electric Auto-Lite's earnings rose 163 per cent in the year to \$10.7 millions, compared with \$4.0 in 1946.

Earnings of the P. Lorillard Co., manufacturers of Old Golds, were the best in ten years:

Earnings of Wm. Wrigley Jr., Co., rose 30.5 per cent to \$8.5 millions, compared with \$6.5 millions in 1946.

Celanese Corporation profits in 1947 showed a 50 per cent increase in net income, to \$24.1 millions compared with \$16 million a year earlier. That company spent \$36.4 million in 1947 for expansion and plant modernization.

Eastman Kodak reports 1947 output, sales and earning all at new highs. Earnings amounted to \$3.46 a common share, against \$2.85 a year earlier.

American Can income was \$21.8 millions, more than 250 per cent above the 1946 earnings of \$8.8 millions.

General Electric's net profits last year were the largest in its 56-year history. (This was the company that patted itself so resoundingly on the back for paring prices on a few items.) Net profits of GE totaled \$95.2 million, compared with \$43 million in 1946.

Net income of Colgate-Palmolive-Peet last year totaled \$19 million, compared with \$14.4 the previous year. The net income was AFTER appropriation of \$3.7 million for the reserve against inventory price declines. Indeed, the profits reported from other companies also DO NOT INCLUDE THE ENORMOUS SUMS SET ASIDE TO HELP THE FIRMS WEATHER HARD TIMES A-COMING.

ECONOMIC NOTES

Despite Doctor Kildare and his professional colleagues, a 40-year-old man's life expectancy has lengthened only four years since 1789, the Northwestern National Life Insurance Co. reports. However, the life expectancy of the average male child at birth has increased from only 28 years in American revolutionary times to over 64 years today. . . .

More American families are living "doubled up" this year than ever before, the Institute of Life Insurance has reported. Surveys made some months ago show that 2,764,000 married couples, or 8,3 per cent of all couples in private households, were sharing the living accommodations of other perrons in April, 1947. This is a new high and represents a gain of 918,000 couples living "doubled up" since April, 1940, when the number was 1,846,000 or 6.5 per cent of all married couples in private households. These figures give the lie to the real estate interests who claim that the housing shortage is due to more people "spreading out" in more rooms. . . .

of 32 members, representing all parties, and a cabinet of 13 members. The council will have representatives of all political parties now represented in the Jewish National Assembly of Palestine, plus one Stalinist and four representatives of religious and clerical groups which have not participated in the official Jewish community until now. The 32 can be roughly divided in 14 Labor Party and left-wing groups, 14 from conservative parties and the rest from the clerical groups, who will vote with the conservatives.

L'ABOR ACTION

Profit System Responsible for Oil Shortage

Where Was the Oil for Home Heating?

By SUSAN GREEN

Page 4

Houseowners with empty oil tanks and tenants in ice-cold apartments in one of the coldest winters on record must have wondered: how come this country, which was the arsenal for a mechanized World War II run almost entirely on oil, could not supply the winter needs of its own population? Another cause for wonderment-or indignation-was the overflowing tanks of the armed forces, contrasted with the empty tanks of civilian consumers. The Navy, which stores oil for all the armed forces, had so much that it could afford to play Santa Claus. On the East Coast it distributed nearly one and a half million barrels of oil during the crisis, under pressure from local government officials.

Of the two questions, how come the oil shortage and how come the armed forces had enough and to spare, the latter question can be answered more quickly. Everyone knows that the armed forces have been soaking up and storing oil. But no one is permitted to know how much or whether what they have is necessary. Oliver Pilat, writing in the New York Post, said: "No civilian body in or out of Congress can say what the United States military storage of oil amounts to, or whether it is justified. Furthermore there is no comparable government storage of oil to meet civilian shortages." It is roughly estimated that military consumption is ten times that of 1938.

This alone does not account for the Navy's generosity in releasing some of its oil for civilian use. There is a more specific reason. It seems that in April, 1947, the Navy asked for bids by the oil industry for 125,-000,000 barrels of oil that military officials wanted for 1948. Seeking to sell when prices might be higher and profits better, the oil corporations made no bids. From the military came a cry of "holdup" and "blackmail" and the threat to retaliate. It can be noted, by the way, that "retaliation" was long overdue, since it was this same industry which overcharged the Navy \$38,500,000 on \$31,-000,000 worth of oil as a patriotic sacrifice during the war-not to mention other wartime steals. However, the oil industry, to forestall retaliation, offered the Navy a cagey compromise. The industry suggested a pool for supplying the Navy's needs, if the anti-trust laws were lifted for this purpose.

Obviously, this was a plan to evade competitive bidding and to fix the price of oil for the armed forces. The Navy would not go along, even though on past occasions it must have winked an eye to make possible the gross finagling of the oil industry. This time the armed forces threatened legislation for government control of the oil industry. This brought

the industry to terms. Oil began to pour into the storage tanks of the Navy. By October of 1947, 90 per cent of the total requirements for the first half of 1948 had already been delivered. Under the circumstances. the Navy could afford to be generous.

Besides bringing out once more the unscrupulous profit maneuverings of private industry, this story of the Navy largesse points up the nature of militarism. It is an institution of special privileges, not only setting itself above the needs of the population, but surrounding itself with a sacrosanct air that what it does is beyond question or reproach.

WAS THERE A SHORTAGE?

To get to the main theme of this piece: the oil shortage that brought such great discomfort and even sickness to so many people this winter. In the first place, not everyone agrees that there was a real oil shortage-if by shortage is meant not something artificially produced but something unavoidable. Some claim that the shortage of fuel oil this winter was definitely not necessary. Let us see what there is to this claim.

Among the reasons given by the oil industry and its apologists for the scarcity of fuel oil is that the demand was unprecedented. True, but this demand could well have been estimated. It was known to the oil industry that in 1947 a total of 820,000 new oil burners were installed in homes in this country. Buyers of these burners did so on the understanding that there would be fuel oil for them to burn. The oil industry was aware that there are many more cars and trucks on the roads. And, of course, it knew of the increased demand of the armed forces, which, by the way, uses heavy fuel oil that normally is converted into lighter fuel. So these and other demands for oil were foreseen.

Could this increased demand have been met with available facilities? First, oil was definitely not being produced to capacity. Checks along these lines showed that in East Texas thousands of wells were limited to fourteen barrels of crude a day. Many of these wells can produce 5,000 barrels each a day. How about refineries? Were they working to capacity? Information received by the Senate Small Business Committee was to the effect that independent refineries were running at only 69 per cent of capacity. Out of 108 independents, 76 claimed that they were unable to get crude oil from big producers. Here also belongs the fact that recently the War Assets Corporation disposed of several large refineries to big companies which agreed to operate at

Oliver Pilat, whom we quote above, has referred to an unpublished memorandum made for Congressmen and government officials by Paul E. Hadlick, counsel for the Senate Small Business Committee on oil matters. The contents of the memo are really hair-raising. According to Mr. Hadlick, the oil industry has utilized interlocking state and national laws, as well as agencies in the Department of the Interior in Washington, 'to launch the present price gouge in fuel oil by keeping production down. The purpose of the industry is to keep production just under demand. Mr. Hadlick says that "if done by private industry alone," this would be "the most gigantic conspiracy in

modern history." Mr. Hadlick claims that the Bureau of Mines of the Department of Interior, which is required to estimate coming demand in fuel oil, last spring gave far too low an estimate. Who makes these estimates? One man-Alfred G. White. Where does he get his information? From the oil industry! Another official involved is Max Ball, head of the oil and gas division of the Department of the Interior, of whom the oil industry says in publication, National Petroleum News: "... an old man of the highest standing who can well be trusted at all, times to see that the industry gets absolutely fair play."

KEEPING PRICES UP

Such are the contradictions of capitalist society that while one government official may be busy helping the oil industry double its prices and multiply its profits, another official from the same department seems to be exposing the industry. Thus we find Secretary of Interior Krug testifying before the Senate Banking Committee that oil prices have skyrocketed beyond those of any comparable commodity. Between June, 1946 and November, 1947 crude oil rose 56 per cent while coal went up 30 per cent and coke 36 per cent. Since that 56 per cent estimate, crude oil again jumped from \$2.15 a barrel to \$2.65. The balance sheets of 16 representative oil companies for the first nine months of 1947 showed 83 per cent more profits than for the same period of 1946. Too bad the two thousand people who daily put in urgent calls for fuel during the crisis this winter in New York City couldn't warm themselves on corporation profits.

Confronted with its policy of underproduction for higher prices and profits, the oil industry resorts to the plea of conservation of resources. One thing is certain. If the oil resources of the country are giving out, the saving of some millions of barrels will make no significant difference and will certainly not overcome the ONLY 25 TO 40 PER CENT of warneed to derive oil from other sources. time capacity! Why the underproduc-However, underproduction by some

millions of barrels does affect price levels.

To what extent the scarcity of tankers and the insufficiency of pipelines for transporting fuel oil contributed to the crisis this winter has not been established statistically. Be it noted that the same policy, namely, underproduction to keep up prices, in the steel industry, can in some measure at least explain the lack of adequate transportation for fuel oil. This lack was, however, also known before the winter and with proper planning, emergency measures could have been taken to avoid widespread suffering.

In a word, the oil crisis of 1948 is another chapter of the same old story: the story of production for profit against the public interest. If the people who shivered in icy homes and flats will learn this, their suffering will not have been in vain.

Anti-Draft Rally --

(Continued from page 1) them," he declared. "Now is the time for the common people of the country to stand up and be counted-to oppose militarization at every step and fight actively for the power of labor." After expressing his and his organization's solidarity with those who abhorred the march of Stalinism, he concluded "I want to keep America free so people like me can talk in the open to a group like this.".

The meeting received extensive coverage from most of the local press and radio stations. However, the distortions were typical. Expressions like "riot," "overwhelmed by heckling" were going the rounds of the area, as a result of the type of reporting. The accounts likewise toned down the anti-Stalinist features of the meeting and implied linkage with the Stalinist-led "let's hear Wallace" movement, which was earlier circulating petitions to get the Presidential aspirant permission to speak at the University. Actually, despite the active claque of hecklers, the meeting was very orderly, the distinction from the Stalinists clearly appreciated, and a sincere interest shown by a considerable number who asked questions, signed petitions against conscription, bought literature and asked for more information about the Socialist Youth League and Workers Party.

VETS TAKE LEAD

A meeting the previous day sponsored by a suddenly organized "Students' Against the Draft," drew much less response. The greater success of the SYL meeting, besides the obvious fact that it was held right after Marshall's speech, can be attributed to the more than a thousand anti-

Color Line in Medicine on January 24 charges that "The investigating committee could find no Negro enrolled at Cornell University College of Medicine at any time between 1920 and 1942." The current issue of the Post carries this refutation by the Dean of the Medical College, Joseph C. Hinsey: "Our official records have never carried any notation as to whether a student is Negro or white, but members of our faculty who have taught continuously for over 25 years recall distinctly two

An excellent series of articles in

the Saturday Evening Post on the

NO COMMENT-

Negro students in the early 1920s, both of whom failed at the end of the first year course because of inadequate preparation. A third Negro student was matriculated in September, 1923, and graduated on June, 1927 [there seems to be a record of this student's race-Ed.1. At the present time we have one Negro in each of the first three classes of the Medical College."

conscription leaflets previously distributed on the campus, and the clear anti-Stalinist line presented.

A 18 84.

Marshall's address was a direct follow-up to President Truman's St. Patrick's Day report to Congress. Exclaiming that "never in history has the world situation been more threatening to our ideals and interests than at the present time," he warned the Italian people that a vote for the Stalinists would mean an automatic cutting off of aid. Though his speech was much less inflamatory than Truman's, its immediate effect can be judged by the childish jeering that occurred at the subsequent Socialist Youth League meeting.

His Speech Answered



An Exchange of Views **On How We Handled UAW Party Statement**

The Criticism:

Permit me a comment on Ken

Hillyer's report of the recent UAW

Executive Board conference, as well

as on your headline for that report

in LABOR ACTION of March 15,

It seems to me that both report

and headline are typical of a kind

of sectarian journalism, perhaps also

the reflection of a kind of sectarian

politics, that LA has in most in-

stances happily discarded over the

Here was a case where the largest.

most important and, despite all the

qualifications that can and should be

made, the most progressive union in

the CIO apparently came out for a

Labor Party after the presidential

elections. (I say "apparently" be-

cause the report is not too clear as

to the kind of party the UAW advo-

cates, perhaps because the UAW isn't

too clear either.) Now this is big

news, important news, LABOR AC-

TION has been advocating a Labor

Of course, there's a joker 'in the

deck: the UAW wants a Labor Party

AFTER the elections. Well, that de-

serves sharp criticism, the kind Hill-

But the essential matter is one of

perspective. Do you emphasize the

step forward the UAW Board's reso-

lution involves, the possibilities it

opens to the militants in the UAW

for work on this question-or do you

emphasize the obvious weaknesses?

In my opinion, it is the FIRST, the

step forward and the opportunity

made available, that should be em-

phasized. As it is, the headline

doesn't even report the important

news-that the UAW Board came out

for a Labor Party after the presi-

dential elections-and one doesn't

learn this in Hillyer's article till the

The criticism in this article and

its headline is made before the re-

port of the stand which is to be criti-

I submit that that is bad journal-

ism. But more important, it is bad

politics. I am in favor, of course, of

making all the necessary criticisms

of those aspects of the UAW Board's

resolution that are so obviously cow-

ardly. But I think a more fruitful

approach would have been to say, in

effect: "the UAW Board's resolution

is the first such step taken by any

major union in this country and, de-

spite its weaknesses and cowardice

which we shall discuss below, we hail

it. What is more, we especially em-

phasize that here is a golden oppor-

tunity for the genuine militants in

the UAW, a lead they can follow-

perhaps, if necessary ,even against

end of his third paragraph!

Party for years.

yer made.

cized.

tion."

Dear, Editor:

1948.

years.

Offered nothing better, they may take the dismal path of Wallace-Stalinist politics.

WHY THE STATEMENT?

Thus, it is to meet this sentiment, without actually forming a Labor Party, that the statement of the UAW seems to have been devised. On the surface, it would appear that the UAW is calling for a new party, and that is the impression that the UAW leadership wishes to convey. In fact, however, it is AVOIDING action right here and now by promising something in the future. It is Reuther's way of meeting the Wallace threat, without meeting it in the one way that would be thoroughly effective.

We are not quibbling about the n2ture of the party that the UAW says it would like to build-in the future. We have our ideas, and have defined them. But we do not propose to legislate to the labor movement. We do not insist that it be done our way or not at all. When a Labor Party is formed we will discharge our own responsibility in advocating program, etc. But we do insist that a Labor Party be formed; and we consider it our duty to expose those moves which appear to be what they are

not. There is much in the UAW statement that is commendable. There is also much in it that is self-negating. The very idea of waiting until after November is such a negation. For what will be altered AFTER November-except the opportunity (which comes only once every four years) to put a national Labor Party, actively in the field. The UAW statement is, we charge, a disguised way of calling for support of the Democratic Party today, while promising something better for tomorrow. That won't doand it is our business to say so, and say so prominently.

WHAT WILL CHANGE?

The whole game that Reuther and Murray and other CIO leaders are playing is here revealed. Murray, it is true, will not go as far as Reuther in even speaking of anything like a Labor Party. But they are all of them engaged in the pretense that they haven't made up their minds about whom to support-while they are building the machinery to support the Democratic Party, and while they are hoping that they won't have to support Truman.

The UAW leadership argues that we have to elect "progressive" Congressmen now, and can't tinker with Labor Party politics until after the "progressives" - or reactionaries have been elected. We shan't repeat our objection to the rotten reasoning of behind "friend of labor" politics. All we ask is: how will his be different after November? Will the UAW policy elect only "progressives"? And if all the "progressives"

those who formulated the resolu-Politics, as you know, is not mere-

GENERAL MACARTHUR, WOULD-BE PRESIDENT

(Continued from page 3)

tion?

Rumors about him flourish and spread rampant because of this. Thus Lauterbech neports one that is borne out by facts at least: "MacArthur has ordered that the MPs who guard him must be specially selected for their good looks and fine physiques, so as to impress the Japanese."

Upon his reconquest of the Philippines, Mac-Arthur set in motion the political forces which author Abaya has well described as "Betrayal in the Philippines." Roxas, the collaborator, member of the cabinet of the Japanese Quisling Laurel, but also a personal friend of the general, was made a brigadier general upon MacArthur's arrival. He thus was given the mantle of American authority. Roxas is the political representative of the feudal interests and banks, Lopez and Elizalde, the sugar barons, and Fernandez, the shipowners.

Philippine collaboration had been different from that of Southeast Asia, where it had a semiindependent character. In the islands the same Nationalista Party that had ruled for the Americans ruled for the Japanese. The change was in personnel and a slight one at that, the bulk of the leadership remaining identical. Also different in the islands was the opposition to the Japanese and their quislings. There arose a popular peasant opposition, with a democratic-social agrarian program, known as the Hukbalahaps.

ORDERS EXTERMINATION OF HUKS

Orders to the American Army were to disarm and eject from authority all guerrilla groups like the Huks. Roxas was permitted to organize expeditions into the interior for purposes of exterminating partisans.

MacArthur manipulated Filipino politics. He was the actual ruler. Behind the iron curtain of one of the closest censorships he proceeded to organize Roxas' ascension to power. Freda Kerchway described the conditions in The Nation: "Never

The terrible news has come to us that the seven-year-old son of Comrades Sarah and Dan Leeds of Chicago was drowned last Friday. We are sure that every reader of LA-BOR ACTION, every member and friend of the Workers Party joins us in extending our most deepfelt sympathy to Comrades Sarah and Dan.

The Editors.

were the Philippines more completely cut off from the world. They are MacArthur's private sphere of influence." And concluded: "it is time to end Mac-Arthur's dictatorship."

When the Huks, the National Peasant Union and the labor unions announced support for Osmena, Quezon's successor, MacArthur increased his support to Roxas and assured his election. Abaya declares that Roxas' election marks reestablishment of "the omnipotent party of reaction" and of anti-popular government.

Events in the islands indicate the social groups MacArthur would support politically and ruthlessly. He is even today a potent figure in the Philippines. MacArthur is unique as an American colonial administrator, for while he shares with Hearst and McCormick a strong anti-British bias, he is much like a British colonial sahib. His disdain for the natives, his outspoken racialism, his ease in the wealthy ruling circles, while maintaining a behind-the-scenes superior-ity, are far more typical of British colonialism than of the brusquer forms of American business rule.

THE "STAR-SPANGLED" MIKADO

His rule in Japan bears out this analysis. This is not the place for an extensive survey of the Japanese venture. The broad outlines are similar to MacArhur's Philippines activities. From the beginning, a tight centership has kept out of the American as well as the Japanese press all criticisms of the general. This censorship not only remains intact but is in some ways harsher now, as several correspondents have learned recently. This dictation to the press has perplexed many intelligent Japanese, who ask if democracy and censorship go together, how is it different from the militarist rule they had before MacArthur?

In February, 1947, the trade unions of Japan decided to call a general strike for wage increases and to oust the Zaibatsu-supported government of Yoshida. MacArthur intervened and broke the strike by intimidating and terrorizing the leaders. When the seamen threatened to strike last August, MacArthur declared it would be illegal. Since then he has denounced Communists in the unions in typical red-baiting fashion. He supported the government wage-freeze policy. He has brought in advisers to teach the Japanese unions how to conduct themselves along conservative lines. If MacArthur pursued such a policy in the U. S., the trade union movement would be subject to constant government intervention and Taft-Hartley would look like the good old days.

There is a myth that MacArthur's administration of Japan has been successful. It has been for the "old Japan crowd" like Burton Crane of the Times and Joseph Grew. Also for the Emperor, the court circles and the bureaucracy and Zaibatsu groups. But for the 80 million Japanese the nightmare of rampant inflation, bunger, unemployment are the contents of the myth. After two and a half years of occupation, industry is at 22 per cent of its pre-war level.

MacArthur himself has apparently reveled in his role as "star-spangled Mikado." He is popular with his subjects and is extremely careful to do nothing to destroy illusions about his super-natural qualities. He is at home in the role of colonial pro-consul. He sees no contradiction between personally writing a Constitution for Japan, refusing to submit it to popular discussion and referendum and his supposed task of teaching democracy. His reasoning is simple: HE wrote a democratic Constitution.

Who supports MacArthur for President? We have mentioned the Hearst and McCormick papers, to which can be added Cissie Patterson to complete the customary trio of reaction. In the December, 1947, issue of his paper, Gerald L. K. Smith came out loudly for MacArthur-preferably a MacArthur-Bricker slate. Senator Lee O'Daniel of Texas, the notorious race-hater, is a strong MacArthur man. O'Daniel recently made public a letter supporting the general from the Texas industrialist, G. W. Armstrong, who has given one million dollars to a foundation for the propagation of anti-Semitism.

Frank Kelley, national editor of the New York Herald Tribune, has described his support as follows: "One great backer is Col. Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, and the Hearst press often proclaims his virtues. One worker behind the scenes is a former MacArthur staff member, former Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin. Hamilton Fish, the former Congressman, thinks a lot of MacArthur and so, in other years, did such assorted figures as Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith and William Dudley Pel-

The old guard Republican leadership is not enthusiastic about MacArthur. He is not considered a regular machine man. Besides, he is too much of a "personality" to suit them. Even among the former isolationist crowd and the extreme right wing of the Republicans, MacArthur is only second choice. This group, which forms MacArthur's national support, favors Taft at the moment. Mac-Arthur's entry signifies a kind of political insurance preparation for this group. Foreseeing the possibility of a convention deadlocked between Taft and Dewey or Stassen, they are grooming Mac-Arthur as the possible dark horse to rush into po-

MacArthur's nomination would represent a great threat to the masses of people and particularly to the working class of this country. However, the true MacArthur is well appreciated by the veterans. Formation of "Veterans Against MacArthur" clubs are reported spreading. To paraphrase a popular commercial: Among men who know MacArthur best, it's anyone else two to one.

campus have been scared into support of American militarism, a large number, only a few of whom are Stalinist sympathizers, are in open opposition. This is evidenced not only by the large support for anti-conscription rallies and campaigns but also by the developing movement to go on record against General Mac-Arthur's presidential candidacy. A particularly hopeful sign is that the lead in most of these developments is coming from veterans. And strong expressions of "third camp" opposition to both imperialist groupings are increasingly heard. As expressed by one student-veteran, a leader of the American Veteran's Committee in the area, "If we could get a clear look at the hands of both sides we would find nothing but dirty blackness."

The newly-organized campus branch of the Socialist Youth League is planning a series of activities to crystalize that sentiment. The open-air meeting was regarded by all as a splendid beginning.

Among Things Not Worth Waiting For:

From de Gaulle's organ L'Etincelle, January 10, 1948. Titled: At St. Etienne.

"One hundred thousand workers acclaim the social program of the Reunion of French People presented by General de Gaulle. . . . Among the notable personalities surrounding the President of the RPF were . . . Gaston Palewski, André Malraux. . . .

"American Democrats for de Gaulle

"Also present - and his presence has a very particular significancewas Mr. Burnham, an American writer of the left, author of Managerial Revolution prefaced by Leon Blum. 'Mr. Burnham is leaving St. Etienne tomorrow' for the United States where, in a series of conferences, he will reveal to the Americans the true face of democratic France which calls with all its will for the return to power of General de Gaulle."

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ly a matter of what one says, but often as important of how and in what order one says it. In this instance, I think, the manner of saying and the order in which things were said seems quite out of kilter. Am I wrong? What do LA readers in the **UAW** think? B. A. L.

The Reply:

We disagree radically with our correspondent, politically AND journalistically. Under other circumstances. and in another union situation perhaps, Comrade B. A. L. might have been justified. Not so here. The reasons, we think, are amply indicated in B. A. L.'s letter-when he writes that the UAW "apparently" came out for a Labor Party and that there is a "joker in the deck." Were we convinced that the UAW statement marked a determined stand by the UAW leadership to proceed to the formation of a Labor Party, we would have hailed it, and not in modest headlines. That news would have been important enough to have called for the largest type available

to LABOR ACTION, used in the largest possible spread. But we submit that ours was the more proper approach in the context of the situation. For, when there is a joker in the deck it rates a lot of attention.

. There is a tremendous sentiment in the UAW for a Labor Party, moreso than in most unions. One of the principal leaders of the union. Emil Mazey, only recently published an article in the union paper which called clearly and explicitly for a Labor Party. We shall not attempt to estimate how much of Mazey's popularity rests on this stand (remember: he beat the strongest candidate of the Addes-Stalinist forces in the election for secretary-treasurer), but we believe a good deal of it rests on his advocacy of a Labor Party. Ma-

zev's article, as our friends in the UAW have everywhere testified, met with a terrific response. Further, the Wallace appeal is great in the union; yes, even in this union which repudiated the Stalinists so firmly. Some UAW leaders have tried to blind themselves to this reality, but it has undoubtedly been forced on their attention. UAW militants are thoroughly fed up with

Democratic and Republican politics.

are elected, WHAT THEN? If we remember' rightly, Reuther did something like this before 1944. Maybe he is sincere in his promise. Maybe he 'really intends to do something after 1948. We will assume that is so. The urgency, however, is great NOW. So why not NOW?

We refuse to be parties to a fraud. If the UAW leadership is going to build a Labor Party, the way to do it is to start building. If they do, we will hail it THEN. But we would like to see it FIRST. Until we do, we will continue to harp on the subject, continue to report what we see. In the meantime, we feel that the best way to assure the UAW's initiative in the building of a Labor Party is to do what we can toward persuading the ranks of the union that they must DEMAND of Reuther and the UAW leadership unequivocal action for a Labor Party before and after November, 1948.

Emanuel GARRETT

WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO THOSE WAR PLANTS?

The War Assits Administration announces with glee the disposal of 32 steel plants for a total of \$187,-804,352. The plants cost the government a total of \$504,854,167 to build originally. The WAA also is proud to announce the sale of four blast furnaces for \$6,731.000 which cost a mere \$29,937,605 to build. These bargain prices are specials available to absolutely anybody who is a citizen and has \$187,804,352.

The WAA also announces the coming sale of 100 par cent wool Army socks formerly .35 a pair knocked down to two pairs for .69 cash.

