Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

Government Pushes Conscription Legislation LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON THE DRAFT!

Letter Tells **Of Meeting Trotsky Son**

APRIL 5, 1948

The first direct information in 14 years as to the fate of Sergei, youngest son of Leon Trotsky, was recently received by Natalia Sedoff-Trotsky, widow of the great revolutionary leader who was assassinated by Stalin's agents in Mexico.

A letter from a Russian nonreturnee (see page 4 for text-Ed.) whose name and address are known to the editors of LABOR ACTION. speaks of having met Sergei in 1936 in an Arctic concentration camp from which he was forcibly removed after a dramatic hunger strike. Sergei evidently protested abuse by a guard while en route to Moscow and was shot in the leg. Of his fate after he was taken to Moscow, says the writer, "I have heard nothing."

In 1934 Sergei managed to get a post card delivered to Leon and Natalia Trotsky, who were then in exile in France. Since then there has been no word from or about him, except for accusations and references made during the infamous Moscow Trials.

The youngest of Trotsky's four children, Sergei had little direct interest in politics, preferring to dedicate himself to scientific work and in that way contribute to the building of humanity's future. When Trotsky was driven into exile in 1929 by the Kremlin despot, Sergei remained behind, hoping to continue his scientific work. He did not, however, reckon with Stalin's relentless hatred for anything in any way connected with Trotsky.

Just as Stalin planned for years to murder the great revolutionist whose very life represented a challenge to his monstrous barbarism, and finally succeeded in 1940, so he has pursued and hounded to death each of Trotsky's surviving children as well as NUMBERLESS colleagues and cothinkers.

The Cold War Gets Hotter!

IMPERIALIST

RIVALRIES

WORLD

With the Senate Armed Services Committee collecting testimony from military leaders, the move to speed legislation for some kind of conscription through Congress is gaining momentum.

The prestige of "elder statesman" Bernard Baruch, who has had a hand in planning war preparations for several decades now, was thrown into the campaign this week. Baruch called for a "total plan" of war mobilization, economic and military, including resumption of the draft and universal military training. General Electric's Charles E. Wilson added his assent.

With a national election coming up, Congressmen appear to be a trifle hesitant—about UMT anyway. Accordingly, as we noted last week, measures are being prepared for a limited resumption of the draft in an effort to take the edge off the unpleasantness of the whole business by restricting its scope at the start.

Testimony is being accumulated from all sources-except one.

All Labor Has Stake In Coal Mine Strike

By G. McDERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA, Mar. 29-Deputies' guns, federal subpoenas and the FBI have so far failed to break the mine strike as it enters its third week.

However, the operators' government is only beginning to get tough. Wall Street's office boy in the White House intends to add another broken strike to his record. As this is written, federal marshals are seeking to force John L. Lewis to appear before the Taft-Hartley "fact-finding" board appointed by Traman.

Lewis has defied the T-H board, which actually has no legal jurisdiction, since the work stoppage is not in violation of the contract. Truman and the operators (you can't tell 'em apart) do not care about the law, however. The only law they know is "smash 'labor."

In the meantime, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company, largest of the operators, has announced to happy stockholders that their fat profits of 1946 were doubled for 1947. In

Tennessee, H. C. Cook, a large coal operator, is so anxious to keep piling up profits that he actually admitted that the operators were violating the contract and demanded that Van Horn, operators' pension board trustee, resign. Operator Cook points out (we were amazed, too) that the operators can even increase their payments into the pension fund without raising prices, since profits are so high.

In Northern West Virginia, attempts of strikers to close non-union mines have been met with gunfire. When pickets rushed the mine operater who had shot one of their number in the stomach while he stood on a public highway, the pickets were arrested for "conspiracy." Sheriff Hobart Spindler of Preston County, W. Va., has threatened to deputize 75 private citizens "to protect the mines." Nevertheless, most nonunion mines have been closed. In Washington, word is that FBI

Baruch, Wilson, others of their kind are given ample opportunity to testify. Even Wallace gets a crack at testifying, against the proposals. But there is NOWHERE in all this the voice of the people, direct and clear.

FIVE CENTS

We submit that the only democratic way is to put the issue to the people. We submit that the only democratic way is to debate the issue in the open, not merely in the close confines of Senate and House committees, and LET THE PEOPLE VOTE!

It is so obvious as to need virtually no restatement that the people are vitally affected by the proposed draft and UMT. Their lives, the lives of their sons, are at stake. Why, then, should they not have the right to decide? Why, then, should they not have an opportunity to speak out on the issue and voice their opinion concretely through a ballot?

In our opinion, such a move would be an anti-war move. Much of the purpose of the administration in putting forward proposals for draft and UMT is to psychologize the people into acceptance of war, its inevitabil-

One of Trotsky's daughters, Nina, died in 1928 of tuberculosis and is therefore the only one of the four children whose death cannot be laid directly at Stalin's door, though even there the persecution of Trotsky is presumed to have affected her health.

In 1932, Zinaide, Trotsky's other daughter, unable to bear the strain of persecution and surveillance, hanged herself in Vienna, leaving behind a five-year-old son.

Though it was suicide, the hand that moved her in desperation was the hand of the barbarian monster in the Kremlin.

In 1936, Leon Sedoff, Trotsky's eldest son, who was also Trotsky's closest political collaborator, died in Paris after an operation for appendicitis. Demands for a full investigation of Sedoff's death were blocked at that time. The operation is known to have been a success, and Sedoff is known to have been in good health otherwise. Yet, the morning after the operation, he was found dead, having presumably been left without attention during the night. All the circumstances surrounding his death point the finger at Stalin's secret police. (See page 3.)

of the two capitalist party tickets, he would be elected by a considerable majority. Each of the two major parties hopes for his consent, the Democrats at the moment more eagerly than the Republicans, and each dreads the prospect of his commitment to the other party. Liberals want him, Southern reactionaries want him, labor leaders want him, The New York Liberal Party and the Americans for Democratic Action. anti-Stalinist catch-all for liberals. who have been pretty much committed to Truman up to now, have begun speaking up for Eisenhower. CIO leaders, aware that Truman is

By IRVING HOWE

No one, it appears, seriously doubts

that if General Eisenhower were to

consent to run for President on either

Cops Swing Clubs at UFE Stock Exchange Pickets

ing cops, reminiscent of the 30s, attacked a picket line thrown around the New York Stock Exchange at Wall and New Streets by striking Stock Exchange employees with the assistance of militant AFL seamen. For about ten minutes the cops swung wildly at pickets who were trying to block the main entrance to the Exchange by lying down on the sidewalk. Three pickets were taken to a hospital. Thirty-eight were arrested.

One woman picket described her experience to the New York Post as follows: "The cops were swinging all over the place and they hit me with a club on the head and I fell down. ... I think I was on the ground 15 or 20 minutes and then they dragged me into a police wagon."

The UFE, a union formed only a couple of years ago. charges that the ionists. men who have "hit the Stock Exchange, the nerve center of bricks" more than once and felt a the world's financial trading, is pay- cop's club before.

NEW YORK, March 30- Club-swing- ing nineteenth century wages. The union is asking a \$9.00-a-week raise for workers earning less than \$40 and \$15 for those earning over \$40. The UFE is also seeking a union shop. The strike of over 1,000 under-paid members of the United Financial Employees, AFL, is being energetically assisted by the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Strike headquarters are at the seamen's union offices. No SIU or SUP member can leave port without doing picket duty. Picket line strategy is being directed by seamen who have mapped the 'area and planned picket line action down to

the last detail. The Stock and Curb Exchanges are trying to operate despite the strike. But the biggest advantage that the young and small UFE has is the backing of the seamen-experienced un-

votes, are angling for Eisenhower's about them. Yet the hue and cry for

Keep Your Mouth Shut, and Start a Presidential Boom-

Who Is Ike, What Is He?

candidacy as a way out of a despenate situation. Max Zaritsky, leader of the AFL hatters union and an associate of the Dubinsky socialdemocratic wing of the labor movement, has openly come out for Eisenhower. Now this is an extraordinary sit-

uation, almost unprecedented in recent affairs. Perhaps some precedent could be found when poor old Ulysses S. Grant was persuaded to run for President, even though he was something less than a mental giant, but even such a comparison would not be too valid. For when Grant ran for President there was certainly not the kind of crisis situation that would confront whichever candidate wins in 1948.

a dead pigeon and that Wallace WHERE DOES HE STAND? threatens to win many "protest"

Here, then, is a man who won himself a considerable reputation during the war as a competent general, though no one knows exactly to what degree that reputation is deserved—and only a few people have raised the question of how admirable an activity commanding an army is in the first place. In any case, aside from his role

in the war, Eisenhower has neither done nor said anything at all which could make him a national political figure. Yet we find the non-Stalinist liberals publicly begging him to run and large sections of the public seemingly ready to support him.

Why? Does anyone know where Eisenhower stands on any of the political issues of the day? What does he think about the

war danger? Or the Marshall Plan? Or the Taft-Hartley law?

Or the tax problem? Or the housing situation? Or the poll tax?

Or President Truman's civil rights program? Or any one of dozens of other extremely important matters that face the country?

No one knows what he thinks

him increases.

Is that not an extraordinary situation? Here the leaders of the Liberal Party and the ADA, who love to issue long programs full of detailed planks, are sponsoring a man who has never publicly committed himself on any issues.

POLITICAL DILEMMA

What is the explanation? Well, for one thing, the non-Stalinist CIO and AFL leaders are in something of a jam. They know their members are dissatisfied with many aspects of the current political and economic situation. They know that Truman is universally regarded with contempt or ridicule and that a large part of the labor vote can never be swung to him if he runs. And they know, furthermore, that if Truman does run, a good many labor votes will go to Wallace; not because unionists support his pro-Stalinist foreign policy, but simply because they wish to register their sense of dissatisfaction. That means the labor leaders have .

Truman and enjoy popular support. Eisenhower seems about the only man to fit those specifications. So the labor leaders and the liberals have begun to moan (not shout) for Eisenhower out of sheer desperation. Program, opinion, all that is discarded. Just give us the general.

to find someone who could replace

It is to this desperate dilemma that the liberals have been driven by their policy of supporting the Democratic Party at all costs. And it is this dilemma that is liable to cause no inconsiderable grief to many non-Stalinist trade unionists.

For example, in the UAW Walter Reuther has not yet spoken up about the Eisenhower boom. But all of his nation-wide political associates have tied themselves in with the Eisenhower boom. The likelihood, therefore, is that Reuther will also string along. But suppose Eisenhower continues to refuse and that Truman gains the nomination? Then, it seems, Reuther will, willy - nilly, support (Continued on page 4)

Quill Quits CIO Council

Resigns as Head of Stalinist-Controlled Council, But Plays It Safe

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Michael Quill, pro-Stalinist president of the national Transport Workers Union (CIO) and member of the New York City Council, has resigned his post as president of the New York City CIO Industrial Union Council and from membership in that body. Quill says that he will ask the New York local of the TWU to leave the Council. The Council is controlled by Stalinists. The chief executive officer of the Council is its secretary, Saul Mills, an old-time Stalinist.

It is anybody's guess as to the reasons why Quill has broken with the Stalinists. He is a first-rate opportunist and probably believes that Murray is a safer leader to follow about them, or even if he thinks than Foster and Dennis. It would be

difficult to convince anyone except the most credulous that any considerations of principle are connected with Quill's break with Moscow. It would be interesting to know whether or not Monsignor Sheen has been having any conversations with Quill.

Quill attempts to maintain his "independence" by holding on to his support of Wallace which he accepted when the Stalinists came out in support of the Wallace candidacy. As is his custom, however, he leaves the back door open so that he can slip out on Wallace if later he feels it expedient. He is quoted as saying that he favored Wallace among the candidates now in sight.

He will consider supporting the Democratic Party should it nominate

unt evidence for use in government court action against the UMW.

men are moving into the coal fields to

According to Truman, the protest of the coal diggers imperils the "national health and safety." For a man who is busy trying to lead the nation into a war, Truman has nerve to accuse workers of endangering the nation. As for the health of the nation, thousands of retired miners in West Virginia are trying to exist on pensions of \$8 a month at present. LABOR ACTION believes this stoppage is in the interest of the public's health, the health and security of tens

of thousands of aged miners. LABOR SUPPORT

President Truman now has behind him a reactionary congress, laborhating courts, and a brass hat army. In short, he has political power. The labor movement will never be safe until the working class runs the Republican scoundrels and Democratic crooks out of Washington and puts political power firmly in the hands of the majority of the people.

In the meantime, the rank and file of the CIO, AFL, and Brotherhoods must stand ready to back up the militant fight of the miners. The coal operators that the miners fight are the same monopolistic leeches that feed on the rest of American Labor-U. S. Steel, Bethlehem, Weir, Republic, Goodyear Tire, the Mellons, the DuPonts, the Hanna interests, and the big railroads, to name a few.

ity, the impossibility of doing anything to halt it.

There is virtually no organized movement against the war, except for the dangerous fraud of the Wallace-Stalinist movement. The latter is not an anti-war movement, as it pretends to be, but a movement to promote the imperialist interests of the Russian tyranny.

However, we believe that an antiwar movement CAN be built on a sound basis, if united on concrete issues, if related to the power of the labor movement, IF CLEAR IN ITS INTENTION TO SUCCUMB NEITHER TO THE ATOMIC DIS-INTEGRATION OF U.S. IMPERI-ALISM OR THE SLAVE SOCIETY OF THE KREMLIN DICTATOR-SHIP.

Accordingly, we believe that a move to LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON THE DRAFT is such a concrete issue which can be promoted by the unions, by organizations representing labor and the people.

In the context of the situation such a demand is necessarily anti-war, for it stands in contradiction to the propaganda purposes of the government.

The money used for the draft and UMT can be used to the advantage of the people in multiple ways-for low-cost housing, or any of a hundred purposes. This is a consideration of great importance, but even its importance is secondary to blocking the war path of the imperialists, Russian and American.

The propaganda facilities of the labor movement are not as extensive as those of the government. But we think that the demand to LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON THE DRAFT has enough carrying power of its own, if given a proper push, to counteract the best efforts of the Baruchs, Trumans and Forrestals.

We repeat: ours is a simple democratic demand. The people are involved, and in no small way, and on no small issue. Let the people decide. LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON THE DRAFT.

Coming in Labor Action Next Week:

"Glen Taylor—Half-Baked Politician from Idaho"—Another First-Rate Job of Reporting by Jack Ranger.

"a man of the type of Eisenhower." He also wants the Democrats to change their domestic and foreign policies. In order to get Quill's support the Democrats also must get back to the Roosevelt foreign policies. The Stalinists also want the

Democrats to get back to Roosevelt's foreign policies. If that should happen they too will support the Demo-(Continued on page 4)

Page 2

LABOR ACTION

April 5, 1948

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Wayne Council Illustrates CIO Problem

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT-Like every other important CIO Industrial Union Council. the Wayne County body is facing the political and organizational crisis caused by the split between the Murray and Stalinist forces within the CIO.

The national CIO sent an order to this-and every other CIO Council in America-informing it bluntly that it either go along with an anti-Wallace and pro-Marshall Plan policy or be subject to organizational measures.

This raises two important questions for progressive unionists. What are the probable courses of developments and what is a sound policy to meet this crisis? Although there are variations in the different CIO centers, the fact is that the basic problems are the same.

ORIGIN OF CRISIS

The origin of this crisis is known to every CIO unionist. Under the pressure of the American ruling class, the Murray leadership in the CIO has taken an increasingly servile position beind the imperialist plans of American capitalism. Under the dictates of needs of Moscow's rulers, the American Stalinist party has taken a position of complete opposition to those policies advocated by Murray. Thus the contending groups within the CIO desire to control the labor movement in behalf of their masters, be they in Washington or Moscow.

Each faction in the CIO covers up its real rule by high sounding phrases, and demogogic arguments. The Stalinists claim they are for a pro-peace policy, that they support Henry Wallace because he is a peace candidate, and an anti-imperialist candidate, and that they oppose the Marshall plan because it is imperialist.

The Murray forces denounce Stalinist imperialism, expose Wallace as a stooge of the Stalinists, and support the Marshall plan, claiming that it isn't imperialist, but will help European recovery. Unable, at least for the present, to support Harry Truman openly, the top CIO leadership does it indirectly. Its hypocrisy in this matter fools few workers.

The triumph of either Wall Street's policies or Moscow's policies in the CIO dooms the labor movement. It serves only to put the workers in the camp of one of the major contending imperialist powers as a pre-requisite for World War III. That is why the workers must defeat both policies, or else suffer the consequences of another war, this time of an atomic character.

How utterly defenseless either the Murray or Stalinist policies are for the labor movement is shown in the debate that takes place in CIO circles over these fundamental differences of opinion.

When a Stalinist gets up, as he lid at the Wayne County CIO Council, and exposes the Murray policies, the Murray forces cannot answer effectively. They avoid a discussion of Truman, of Wall Street imperialism. We have yet to hear one of them say a good word for Truman.

barrel by the Stalinists, tried again alliance is indicated. For both of them stand on the principle that defense to stall. Tracy Doll, council president, of Russia is the key strategic task of and chairman of the meeting, recommended the communication be received as information and filed. Of course, this itself is subject to the interpretation as being a violation of the national CIO mandate.

Of course, Barbour had fun expos-

ing the Stalinists cries of democracy

when they wouldn't even let him

read the resolution. Also, his cracks

at the "people who yell purge, but

fail to concern themselves with the

purges in Europe," dug deeply into

the Stalinists. Finally, on an appeal

from the chair. Barbour and Doll de-

bated the parliamentary procedure.

and although Barbour was obviously

in the right, the Stalinist majority,

with the vote of SWP supporters,

turned down his appeal to read the

Right after this vote, Doll took the

resolution as an amendment imple-

locals here for blasting the CIO coun-

too concerned with "Communist

Again, a verbal free-for-all ensued.

action taken by the council officers

was approved by the body. Steel

workers representatives asked ques-

tions about CIO council finances, and

charges and counter charges filled the

menting the CIO policy.

air for another hour.

STALINISTS GET HELP

causes."

the world proletariat. Both are for the "Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union." REFER MOTION Barbour kept demanding the floor, No sooner was this recommendaand-since most delegates assumed tion made, than bedlam broke loose. he was speaking for Reuther, whether One pro-Murray delegate tried to

it was true or not-Nat Ganley, a make an amendment to concur with delegate, and a member of the Nathe communication. Doll ruled it out tional Committee of the Stalinist of order. By yelling points of order, party got up and said, "Let it be unand points of information, the Stalinderstood that no one is going to get ists hoped to avoid any commitment to leave here saying he was deprived on the CIO communication, and avoid of his democratic rights or that we the inevitable clash with Murray. turned down that resolution. You'll However, they reckoned without one of Reuther's better known and

get to read it, Brother Barbour." Whereupon-a truly amazing pershrewder supporters, Al Barbour, of formance - Doll recognized Barbour Local 7. UAW-CIO, who recently left who read his resolution for the Marthe anti-Reuther caucus. Barbour had shall plan. This provoked another a resolution, for the Marshall plan crisis for the Stalinists. If the resoluwhich he wanted to introduce and tion was voted down, it was a violadebate, as an amendment to the retion of the CIO communication, and commendation made by Tracy Doll. an administrator might be sent in by The Stalinists screamed and howled Murray. Naturally the Stalinists could against this as being out of order. not vote for it. What to do? For over an hour and a half, parliamentary debate held up the meeting.

At this point, Ernie Mazey, of Briggs 212, came to the rescue with a motion that this resolution be referred either to the next convention of the Wayne County CIO council, or that the executive board be empowered to call a special convention if it felt it necessary. Without discussion, this was passed by the Stalinist majority.

Of course, this subterfuge is hardly likely to deter Murray from administrative action. The National CIO is determined to control these councils, and it has legal authority under the CIO constitution to do so. No matter what maneuvers the Stalinists make, it is unlikely that they will succeed as the industrial unionists were able to in keeping William Green and the

floor to denounce the steel workers AFL bureaucracy from purging the central labor unions of pro-CIO forcil in the daily newspapers as being ces in 1936. The weight of the national organization, and the legal "right" of the parent body is too powerful. The Stalinists pointed out that every

INTERVENTION OF RANKS

What should progressive unionists do? Actually, the motion that Mazey presented has the makings of a good policy. Progressive unionists should call for special conventions of the local bodies, so that the rank and file of the CIO can intervene in this

struggle. Instead of the issue of CIO One delegate tried to raise the level policy being decided by Murray's buof discussion by a plea to come to reaucratic methods, and the Stalinist grips with the problem really facing counter-maneuvers, the rank and file the council. He was Erwin Bauer, of should take up the problem.

local 306, UAW-CIO. He gave an ac-Naturally, the Murray forces don't curate recital of Murray; bureauwant rank and file intervention. cratic history in top CIG leadership They prefer the "easy and safe" way, and he urged the delegat ; to come bureaucratic measures. Likewise, the to grips with the problem of democ-Stalinists fear rank and file particiracy. He mentioned in passi.g he was pation, because support of their polagainst Wallace. Now this speech. icies is doomed in advance, especially concentrating mainly on Murray's in a place like Detroit, where the bureaucracy, was applauded by the Reuther forces are the dominant leadership in the union movement. We think rank and file participation would be a big advance from every point of view. It would mean involving the men in the shops in deciding their own destiny. It would put both the Murray and Stalinist forces on the spot, for both prefer to fight their battles bureaucratically, rather than take a chance on genuine union democracy with rank and file participation. Besides a series of local conventions, a special national convention, with hundreds of rank and file delegates

nify progress against the bureaucracy, for both the Stalinists and the Murray forces could be called to account.

This, we believe, should be the approach of progressive unionists in this crisis.

REUTHER'S ROLE In this acute situation; nothing seems less important and serious than the views of Walter Reuther, UAW-CIO president, who is becoming the

kind of lost soul he accused Henry Wallace of being. At the recent ADA convention. Reuther was startled when the delegates cheered his blast at both parties, and he made a specific criticism of Truman. At the recent UAW-CIO executive board meeting, a political policy resolution was adopted calling for a new party AFTER the 1948 elections. Such opportunism is so obvious that the resolution might well be preserved as a joke.

The Stalinists ask, "if a Third Party is necessary right after 1948, why not now. Because Reuther doesn't control it?" The Reuther people are a little hard pressed for answers to the Stalinists

The fact is-and Reuther knows itthat sentiment against both major parties is powerful in the UAW-CIO, that selling Harry Truman is a mighty difficult if not impossible job, that the only real answer is a labor party. But this means a clash with Murray! And this is what Reuther avoids. As usual he is playing safe.

So we have the phenomenon of the Stalinists trying to capture the anticapitalist party sentiments, which Reuther himself helped create, and Reuther standing helplessly by, because he lacks a progressive, and clear-cut answer.

Murray, and his associates should be able to defeat the Stalinists organizationally. However, the Stalinists will have their revenge. They will defeat Murray's candidate, Truman, by the Wallace vote. No man knows this better than Reuther. Hence his dilemma.

Against all this, the task of the progressive unionists is clear: for rank and file intervention, for a Labor Party.

Run-Off Vote Defeats Fenster In Local 45, UAW

CLEVELAND, Mar. 28-In a runoff election for recording secretary held by Fisher Body Local 45 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, in Cleveland this past week, the Stalinist-dominated administration suffered a real defeat. Leo Fenster, incumbent officer and well known as the editor of the "Eye Opener," was licked by Mel Phelps, oondidate of the Clark group. While this will not change the character of the administration, it does show the disgust of the membership against the extremely factional manner in which Fenster conducted his office and his editorship of the local union paper. The defeat of Fenster is important in that he is recognized as the leading Stalinist in the local, but the membership has a long way to go yet to clean out this reactionary and burdensome apparatus and to replace it with genuine progressives.



verge of breaking with the Stalinists.

Perhaps he is being influenced by

has escaped the Stalinist net. Per-

ist Russia is also an imperialist na-

tion which is doing a little whole-

This Council on African Affairs is

of course merely one of the numer-

ous Stalinist farces. This is far worse

than most of them because the coun-

cil isn't really an organization, but

only a staff and an office. What its

real function is in the Stalinist total-

itarian, GPU set-up is anybody's

guess. Knowing the Stalinists, how-

ever, one can be certain that it is

After the adoption of the Du Bois-

Robeson (Communist Party) policy

statement, the Council "sharply con-

demned Dr. Yergan for serious laxity

and mismanagement in the council's

financial affairs." After this was over,

the council re-elected all officers. Dr.

not what it purports to be.

sale threatening.

The Yergan Matter By E. R. McKINNEY

The Council on African Affairs, the liberation of African peoples." which is a sort of Stalinist luxury front for catching soft-headed or senile Negro intellectuals, has been having some difficulty with its executive director, Dr. Max Yergan. The policy." difficulty has been brewing for some weeks and expresses itself in a conflict between Yergan and that chief of Negro Stalinist stooges, Paul Du Bois statement. One can only Robeson. Before that there had been guess that Dr. Yergan is on the some unpleasantness on the People's Voice when the Stalinists controlled that weekly paper through Yergan, Dr. Channing Tobias, who, it seems, its treasurer and chief stockholder. It seems that Dr. Yergan, who used haps Yergan has learned that Stalinto be a YMCA secretary in Africa, is, according to the Stalinists, mixed up on the question of imperialism and particularly imperialism as it relates to Africa. Last February, Yergan presented a statement of policy on imperialism which the Stalinists, through the party mouthpiece, Robeson, claimed was "conciliatory to the present position of major colonial powers." The Yergan statement of policy was rejected and a policy committee was set up. The chairman of the new committee was Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. Many people will be surprised to learn this. They remember Dr. Du Bois when he wore no man's collar but his own; when he had intelligence as well as courage; when he could not be made a stooge for anybody.

The Du Bois committee reported

last week. The report which was director. This is the self-same man adopted, of course, puts the Council who had not only compromised with on record "to fight aggressively for imperialism but had mismanaged the council's financial affairs and also had placed police guards at the February "To combat the new imperialist of-2 meeting of the council. It seems fensive now threatening Africa." clear either that the Stalinists cannot "Not to shirk this task because it entails criticism of American state get rid of Yergan or do not want to put him out. They may feel that they In true Stalinist fashion there is can use him some more. Or perhaps no concrete indication as to how the he knows things which they don't Yergan position differed from the want told.

WHERE TRAGEDY LIES

The tragedy of all this is not Max Yergan nor Paul Robeson but W. E. B. Du Bois. It is a tragedy that this man who was looked up to almost with reverence by more than one generation of young Negroes has seen fit in his old age to become an apologist for a totalitarian regime which in brutality and oppressiveness is equaled in history only by the Nazis. We wonder what goes on in Du Bois' head these days. He has been steadily retreating from his former clarity, force, intelligence and irreconcilable opposition to tyranny for several years now. We knew all this but we never dreamed that this man who once could see so clearly and who was the peak of independence, could end as Stalinist stooge; a lit-

tle weak hatchet man doing a job for the Stalinists on some former favorite who had fallen into disfavor. Last month William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was 80 years old. That is a long time to live and then at the Yergan was re-elected as executive end walk into the Stalinist trap.

Part III of a Series on Rubber Workers Union_ The Situation in the URW

By GEORGE WHITNEY

The SWPers are attempting, primarily through this same spokesman (this line will undoubtedly appear later in The Militant unless those who have a degree of modesty left put a check on it) to equate the situation in the URW with that in the UAW. They say that the Watson group corresponds to the Reuther group and that the Bass group corresponds to the Addes-Stalinist faction. This is a trap deliberately designed to catch the unwary. It is a deliberate misrepresentation of the facts and a real insult to the Bass caucus.

Watson's caucus has been anything but the progressive force that was represented by the Reuther caucus. Reuther fell heir to the educated militants of the Rank and File Caucus in the UAW and that gave his support real character and direction. Thus the Reuther caucus had in it an advanced section of militants to counteract the red-baiters and reactionaries that inevitably gravitate to any progressively anti-Stalinist force. It also provided a real check on Reuther himself. Watson's group has no such stabilization. He has no personal understanding of these questions to speak of and his group lacks any well-defined militant section of importance while at the same time it has an abundance of red-baiters and reactionary right wing elements. At the same time it is false to say or imply that Bass has a long record

of following the criminal line of the group. To find that similarity one CP as Addes had. Until now the CP has had no say in the leadership of the Bass forces. Bass has been, to one extent or another, an independent only serious criticism of him today is that, he has allowed himself to be influenced into an exceedingly disastrous and dangerous bloc with the Stalinists. And even in this respect Bass is different from Addes. He does or wrong, his line is motivated by what he considers to be sound reasons. From his point of view it was permissible to form a bloc with the CP against the right wingers. Even more so, considering the fact that he knew that in the united group his forces would still have numerical superiority. What he failed to see was progressives. that with the shattering of the alliance between the right wing and the

need search no further than the SWP; beyond that all real similarity ends. That does not gainsay the possibility that the character of the cauprogressive force in the URW and the cus may progressively change as a result of the participation of the CP. We don't think so, however. Bass and the other militants of the caucus have not in the past functioned with complete lack of acumen and there are no grounds YET for believing that not accept the line of the CP. Right they will change their whole character and complexion in the future. It is now the fight of every militant in the caucus and of Bass himself to disassociate themselves from the CP and win ALL the potentially progressive anti - Stalinist and anti - Buckmaster elements in the international. That way lies complete victory for the

In return, when a shrewd Murray man denounces the Stalinist rule in the Eastern European countries, the totalitarianism of Russia and its grabs for power, the Stalinists can only shriek hysterically, and yell, "redbaiter," "stooge of the NAM," etc.

BEDLAM IN COUNCIL

This is the sort of background that prevails in the present crisis within the CIO. The Wayne County council had before it for consideration the letter from John Brophy, saying you must go along or else . . .

What to do? The Wayne County council, controlled lock, stock and

Subscribers — Attention!

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12-14

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RENEW NOW EXTEND YOUR SUB Stalinists. For they had a new spokesman on their side. At no point did Bauer or any spokesman for the SWP whose line

is equivalent to Bauer's, make the slightest criticism of the Stalinists! For example, the bureaucratic structure of the CIO, its control over local councils, was adopted by the CIO with Stalinist support. For this the Stalinists bear joint responsibility with Murray. No mention of this. No mention of the rule or ruin tactics of the Stalinists.

The Stalinists are too discredited around here to make any effective fight for trade union democracy. When to debate political action, would sigone of them hollers "bureaucrat" at Murray it is about as effective and true as Al Capone yelling "murder" at another gangster. Similarly, when the steel worker delegates moan against the Stalinists, it is the height of hypocrisy for these same delegates helped vote the Stalinists into power, despite every possible argument of the Reuther forces against such a course! Remember, in those days Murray preferred the Stalinists to

It takes new and fresh voices to defend the Stalinists. And the SWP helped to furnish them here. Instead of fighting for trade union democracy which is alien to both the Murray and Stalinists forces, the SWP acted as attorneys for the Stalinists. This was done by the simple device of not criticizing them in the least, and concentrating exclusively on Murray. There is nothing unusual in this

Reuther!

bloc between the Stalinists and the SWP. Unless the SWP changes its views on the Russian question, a closer

CP, the force that he had ble to defeat in the past was now divided. For the first time he had the opportunity to move in and, if it hadn't been for the coalition with the CP, it is entirely possible that he could have drawn into his caucus a substantial number of potentially progressive anti-Stalinist-Buckmaster votes that were under the circumstances forced into the alliance with Buckmaster.

But it must be admitted that there is a certain similarity between the

BONGO, BONGO, BONGO CIVILIZATION HERE AGAIN

"Bikini Island natives were packing their belongings again today, making ready for their second migration since they were uprooted from their home island to make way for the Navy's atomic bomb experiments in 1946. The natives will be moved by the Navy tomorrow to Kwapelein, where they will be tem-

porarily housed until a permanent island can be decided upon."-United-Bass caucus and the Addes-Stalinist Press dispatch, March 15.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor.

Protests Article On Czechoslovakia

Editor: The article in LABOR ACTION of March 8 on Czechoslovakia by Comrade Irving Howe must not be allowed to pass without protest. While much that Comrade Howe may write about the reactionary nature of Stalinism, the weakness of social democracy, the disorientation of part of the Trotskyist movement on certain questions, etc., is quite valid, his tears are not. It is quite unnecessary to refute the rigid and unrealistic "official optimism" of the Cannonites by going to the other extreme, digging your own grave, and sitting down on a tombstone marked "Martyr" to wait for the worst.

I refer to Comrade Howe's mood, to phrases such as "sick with sorrow and apprehension," "the war of atom bombs seems to be the more likely results," "rebuild from the ashes," "flickering but still beautiful socialist dream" and like phrases, between sobs. Acting as the left wing of Stalinism is pretty bad, but to stand paralyzed with fear before it is hardly better; objectively, the results are

1. Comrade Howe tells us that the Czech Stalinists DID have the "general support" of the Czech workers. This is "highly distasteful" but "it IS a fact!" That the workers are passive, we are willing to believe. But as far as active support is concerned,

where is the evidence? Comrade Howe might well cite it, and in so doing he should remember that articles in The Militant are not considered authoritative.

2. Comrade Howe wants to know why the workers "have not learned that the Stalinists are totalitarian despots." I would venture to say that the workers in Poland and Hungary and Manchuria and Rumania and Bulgaria and the Baltic countries and Eastern Germany and Russia HAVE learned, and that the workers of Czechoslovakia will not only learn, but draw conclusions. Recent reports from France and Italy indicate that more than a handful of workers there have learned. Why haven't the American workers learned that the two-party systemis a deadly fraud? Because no one has shown them, because no one is strong enough yet to generalize their experience as a class. Have we written endlessly in vain about the role

of the party? 3. Is the socialist movement weaker today than ten years ago, in 1938, when Germany, Italy and Japan were under the fascist heel, as well as most of the countries NOW under totalitarianism THEN being under one or another sort of totalitarianism? Is the labor movement-the best nourishment for socialismweaker than in 1938? War was one year away in 1938. Does Comrade Howe PREDICT war NEXT year? 4. Why does this lamentation ap-

conceded that bureaucratic collectivism could come to power in countries occupied or surrounded by Russian bayonets. We have said that war, in all probability, would NOT come unless Stalin struck further west, and we have said that in all probability he would not strike further west. We have said that Stalinism, in countries where the capitalist impasse was bleakest, could rally to it a class foundation of sorts, not of workers, to be sure, but something of a social base which, propped up Sees Danger by Russian bayonets, enjoys its day, however brief. From the tone of Comrade Howe, one would think all our prognoses had been rudely upset. It is well to sympathize with the Czech and Slovak people, but it is not yet time to wear mourning for the people of the world.

5. Yes, there are variants in the situation. Yes, time is running out. But of this we may be certain. The men and women in the factories and mills and mines will never yield in finality to oppression and exploitation by bureaucratic collectivism, just as they never yielded to fascism, which is, as Comrade Howe so ably points out, quite similar to Stalinism. The workers CANNOT yield. The only final compromise with oppression is the bullet crashing into the brain.

6. Is the atomic wasteland really the PROBABLE outcome (in this year before the war, if we are to their economic system and that des-

could be convincingly and factually and logically asserted, then it would be excusable, perhaps, to have hearts sick with sorrow and apprehension. Until then, however, I do not doubt that the revolutionary socialists-and not a few workers-in Czechoslovakia are at their posts with DEFI-ANCE in their hearts.

Are we lesser men? Gerald McDERMOTT, W.Va.

In Times Ad

Dear Friends:

I am writing this letter as a direct result of an advertisement I read in the New York Times of March 12 which was entitled, "We can stop Stalin now . . . and avert Freedom's suicide," because I feel that the ultraimperialist ideas' expressed therein will more and more stand out as the only temporary solution which will solve the coming crisis. I believe, as the advertisement boldly proclaims; that unless such a union as proposed is realized that the economy of Great Britain and possibly of the other capitalist states will cave in with drastic consequences to the American economy.

I believe that the sponsors of this advertisement have correctly realized that the European capitalists themselves have lost complete faith in

pear over Czechoslovakia? We have believe Comrade Howe)? If that pite Marshall Plan aid these capitalists will not again risk their capital in their home countries. Since this is probably the case and since American capitalism alone cannot by itself take the sole responsibility in the reconstruction of Europe, I believe that these capitalists, despite their own wills, will be forced to look to American Union as the only possible solution in sight. I make this statement also on the assumption that these capitalists will prefer this road to the Stalinist alternative, which would mean their complete annihilation.

> Such a Union, which literally means complete U. S. control over the non-Russian world, will in my opinion lead to a war initiated by the Stalinist world because of a genuine fear of imminent attack.

I won't expand further on my hypothesis, and I realize it is only a hypothesis, but I strongly feel that LABOR ACTION and the WP should look into it, for such a Union, with possibly increasingly fascist tendencies, will have dire implications for the future of the movement to emancipate the human race. I believe that this tendency also is another indication for the yearning need of an independent Labor Party and no efforts should be concentrated to as great an extent as for this cause.

> Sincerely yours, George HERTZ.

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April 5, 1948

Editorials

Palestine Policy

The Palestinian tragedy is building up to a final crisis as time rapidly runs out and the fratricidal war grows in bitterness and intensity. On the one hand, the reactionary Arab leadership-cheered on by Truman's crude reversal of policy - intensifies its struggle, while the equally adamant Zionist leadership throws planes into the struggle as it paves the way for full-scale, organized warfare.

The sharp worsening of the situation, together with Truman's sudden abandonment of the UN Partition plan and his current advocacy of a threepower trusteeship (excluding Stalin's Russia) demands a further statement by LABOR ACTION on its attitude toward the now still more complex problem of Palestine. We frankly admit the difficulties involved in attempting to resolve this absolutely desperate situation growing out of a futile, useless and hopeless struggle between two peoples, Arab and Jew, whose fundamental common interests have now been concealed in blood and strife, thanks to the vicious policies of their reactionary leaders.

We repeat, and we shall continue to repeat, our fundamental slogan—addressed to both sides—of "CEASE FIRE." Sanity begins in this issue with atruce agreed upon by both warring leaderships By KATE LEONARD and an attempt to work out an acceptable, common solution. The validity of this position is more than verified by the criminal bungling and mishandling of the situation by the UN which—is it not obvious to all?—has made matters infinitely worse and driven deeper wedges between Arabs and Jews. It is still not too late for the Jews to address themselves to the Arabs, offering and requesting full collaboration in the fight against imperialism on the basis of a mutual solution of their national problems and aspirations. It is time to call a real halt to these attempts at interference on the part of the UN or any of the imperialist powers (America, England and Russia) stirring up already stormy waters. It is time now for both Arabs and Jews to declare Palestine independent and remove it forever from the realm of interimperialist politics.

The Jewish Agency, true to its reactionary Zionist policies, has indicated it will again reject such a rapprochement with Arab nationalism. It has announced that it will create a provisional, independent Jewish state on May 16, immediately after the British withdraw. Although it has not announced what boundaries it will attempt to hold, it claims to be carrying out the UN proposal reneged on by Truman. We do not know if the Zionist leadership will go ahead with this adventure, rooted in desperation, but with all our strength we oppose such a proposition.

The act of setting up such a state, isolated and surrounded by hostile states and peoples, would be a disaster for the only possible long range solution of the Palestine problem-some form of Arab-Jewish unity. It would lift the present fratricidal war to the heights of organized inter-state warfare, make still more difficult-if not impossible-the efforts of those fighting for a common approach by the two peoples and the setting in motion of Arab resistance to their own reactionary leadership. In the given situation, proclamation of a Jewish state would be the action of desperate men and would endanger the very physical survival of the Jews already in Palestine. We reject and oppose such a move, just as we reject and oppose the attempt of the Arab League to impose unity on Palestine by force of arms.

But, unfortunately, we must face the prospect that precisely just such action as the setting up of a Jewish state may be taken. We cannot suddenly expect wisdom and correct policy from a Zionist leadership which has led its followers

sition to any embargo on arms to the Jews. Such an embargo as exists at present constitutes imperialistic intervention in favor of the Arab reactionaries exclusively.

Finally, desperate as the situation is, it still need not come to the final disaster of full-scale warfare. It is not too late to cease fire, to organize a truce, to take Palestine forever out of the hands of imperialism, to forge a unity of the Arab and Jewish masses, to work out a peaceful partition, if that should be essential to peace, or any needed democratic solution. It is not too late to prevent the taking of a road that will mean the passage of 500,000 Jews, who have suffered more than their share, through the fire of war and the hell of fratricidal strife. The road of the Jewish Agency is not the road to take!

Leon Sedoff Socialist Fighter, Foe of Stalinism

It is now ten years since Leon Sedoff, born in 1906, the son of Leon Trotsky and Nathalia Sedoff-Trotsky, died in Paris. The circumstances of his death on February 15, 1938 point to the GPU just as surely as the pickaxe which ended Leon Trotsky's life in Mexico.

One of our first glimpses of Leon Sedoff is as a boy in the Kremlin, dressed in a bright homemade blouse, cut from some household linen. His brother Sergei had one also, and they won an approving word from Lenin. The Kremlin must have been a lot for a boy to carry around with him, and these two brothers took different paths and yet, not so different at the end. For to participate in a hunger strike of 700 slave laborers lasting 104 days "out of solidarity"-this also happened in 1938-is in the end, to be hounded equally by Stalin's GPU. (See story on page 1.)

But Leon Sedoff is ours in a peculiar way because all his conscious life belonged to the struggle for socialism, and to our movement. While not yet twelve years old "he had, in his own way, consciously made the transition from the February revolution to that of October." Soon he insisted upon leaving the Kremlin, rejecting all privilege, to live on a par with the other students, and to take part independently in the life of the working class youth.

His parents later could say that although young in years he seemed like'their contemporary. From 1923 Comrade Sedoff belonged to the Russian Opposition, and his young life was spent in the difficult struggles of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Russia, and then, accompanying his parents in exile, in Turkey. Later he worked for the Left Opposition in Berlin and in France. The closest collaborator of his father's later years, his work for the Trotskyist movement is invaluable. In exile, much of the organizational work-a good deal of this conspiratorial-fell on his shoulders.

He also made political contributions by no means negligible. For almost nine years the publication of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition was in his hands, perhaps his greatest achievement. He wrote under the name of N. Markin, adopted from the sailor who had been his boyhood mentor in the revolutionary years. Trotsky has said, "My son's name should rightfully be placed next to mine on almost all my books written since 1928." (This and the earl came from Leon Trotsky's pamphlet, "Leon Sedoff."-K.L.) Independently, he wrote "Stalin and the Red Army-Or How History Is Written," included in Trotsky's book, The Stalin School of Falsification, and the first published reply to the Moscow Trials frameup.

LABOR ACTION -



Democrats-by all that this term will always imply

Revolutionaries-because capitalist democracy is

in the sense of popular victories against the willfull-

of men and their systems.

for a long time.

REPEAT MARX'S CALL

administration.

in Europe.

justice.

ness, arbitrariness, reasons of State, and obscurantism

nothing but the rule of the rich and the enslavement

of the poor; because, growing more and more feeble,

it runs the risk of delivering over to fascism what re-

mains of itself, thus suppressing all hopes of a future.

letarian force. Let a large number of militants stay

in their party, let others quit-we shall not judge or

criticize here. In calling upon both to meet together in

this Front for international and revolutionary democ-

racy, we believe the moment has come to invite them

to unite on an immediate program of defense, and re-

publican and lay action, knowing how to profit from all

the reforming and revolutionary experiences of history.

But it is also to that mass of citizens, republicans,

democrats, trade unionists, revolutionists in France and

throughout the world; to those millions of men, women

and young people who are unwilling to be nothing and

who do not want to choose-it is to this immense mass

NOTHING IS LOST, BUT ALL HAS TO BE

With all those who work for Europe and world

unity, we must open up to workers and free men a

wider field, breathe fresh air. It is not true that a

generation must be sacrificed to distribute equitably

the products of labor. It is not true that democracy

cannot be grasped again by clean and vigorous hands,

capable of creating in this country conditions and

means of popular control in all sectors of economy and

road to propose to men. It is not true that socialism

must assume either an anemic visage or a barbaric

mask. Through the French republic of 1848, whose

centennary we are celebrating, through the Russian rev-

olution, the socialist idea descended to earth. Through

liberation from Nazism, democratic liberties have been

proved irreplacable. Due to the bankruptcy of capital-

ist democracy, anti-fascist defense and unity again

become ineluctable. The socialist solution is every-

where on the order of the day, due to the failure of

purely liberal remedies. Because of oppression and the

awakening of the colonial peoples, liberty, complete

liberty, must be proclaimed and implanted in the

French Union. Because of the artificial exasperation

ness on the part of all peoples is necessary. All this

Saint-Just's cry of hope, "Happiness is , new idea

"Proletarians and free men of all lands, unite!"

appeal for freedom, renewed and reinforced by social

It belongs to France to launch again in Fig world

And, completing it, Marx's call of 100 years ago:

In 1948, as in 1848, let there come from us the

INITIATING COMMITTEE

David Rousset

George Altman

Paul Fraisse

Jean-Paul Sartre

etc. - - - - - etc.

of nationalism, renewal of an international consciou,

is implied in revolutionary democracy.

It is not true that the policy of blocs is the only

of people of good will that we cry out:

REDONE AND TO BE DONE!

We do not intend to divide any democratic and pro-

We are publishing below a translation of the Manifesto of the newly-created French Democratic Revolutionary Front reported in last week's column. Signed by a group of leading French intellectuals (including Sartre, Rousset and Camus), left-wing Socialist Party leaders and certain Trotskyist leaders, the issuance of this document made a deep impression upon the French political scene. Its rejection of both a Stalinist and Social Democratic solution to the present crisis, and its reaffirmation of the socialist road, make it a valuable document in the struggle to revive a revolutionary movement independent of both Stalinism and reformism. We gladly print it for the information of our readers who will, of course, understand that we find much that is weak and incomplete in the Manifesto.

Democratic Revolutionary Front Appeal

We are millions in France, millions in Europe and throughout the entire world; millions seeking the same road. Survivors of hell, fighters in the Resistance, militants, sympathizers or fellow companions of those great movements calling for social emancipation, we claim that the world has paid a high enough price for its deliverance from Hitlerism, the greatest attempt at enslavement that history has known, to expect salvation only by respect for and maintenance of human rights and freedom.

Between the putrification of capitalist democracy, the weaknesses and defects of Social Democracy, and the limitations of communism in its Stalinist form, we believe that a regrouping of free men for revolutionary democracy is capable of making acceptable a new life based upon the principles of freedom, and of human dignity, by linking them to the struggle for social revolution.

Neither violence for the sake of violence, nor the illusion of stopgap organizations, nor the ambiguity of a parliamentary Third Force, confused, without objective and without popular support, can satisfy the great expectancy of France and the world.

The people are saturated with blood, death, charnelhouses, punishments, prisons and jails, and wars. They are disturbed and disheartened by the collapse or failure of the old systems of capitalist rule. Missing the chance offered to us to unite the principles of political democracy with demands for an economic transformation, shall we allow neo-fascist movements to swiftly win over us?

FOR REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY

It is time to make a reality out of socialism, attracting to itself the unreserved and fearless adhesion of all those who reject the cowardly compromises of some, and the blind submission of others.

We shall no more accept resignation to the injustice and indignity of the present society than a social system which would oppress the individual without check. For us, means are as important as the end. And the socialist end does not tolerate the use of any type of means. No more than fraud should be admitted in the struggle between the hangmen's party and that of its victims, we should not admit such fraud, which consists in practicing unworthy means in the present to assure a noble end in the future.

We intend to define revolutionary democracy, starting from acquired justice, moral and civil laws, guarantees conquered in lofty struggle in the course of centuries by all peoples against all tyrannies, starting from a heritage of political liberties common to all civilized peoples.

Books you Should

BOLIVIA: REACTION THREATENS POLITICAL UPRISING

Page 3

By JUAN ROBLES

In the revolution of July, 1946 the Bolivian people overthrew the native fascist dictatorship, hanging President Villaroel and his collaborators from the lampposts. Since the political revolution was not transformed into a social revolution and social reforms were not initiated, the reaction staged a quick comeback; first, in the form of Stalinist Bonapartist attempts, and afterwards in the collaboration between the Republican Union and Stalinist parties. As the reaction continued to take hold, the Stalinists themselves were eliminated from the government. The latest municipal elections revealed the resurgence of the defeated MNR (National Revolutionary Movement), this party gaining an absolute majority of undeniably working-class votes in the mining city of Potosi. Now, the MNR represents an imposing force of reactionary opposition, threatening new military uprisings and political overthrows. How did this happen?

The MNR is the party of the Bolivian middle class, discontented with the government of the traditional bourgeois parties. It is linked to, and supported by, the military lodge "Radepa" which consists of nationalist officers educated in the school of German Nazism which was directed personally by Captain Roehm and General Kundt. The civilian leaders of the MNR, Paz, Montenegro, Andrade, etc., are also disciples of the Nazi ministers.

Had there not been this Nazi influence Bolivia, a middle class party of the Peruvian APRA type would have sprung up. The personal factors play an enormous role in he small South American countries. The cover of history in Hispanic-America was mar / times decided by battles of thirty to fifty ren. The MNR, formed in the Nazi school, alws is constituted a reactionary force in the mi, dle class and among the workers, being diraced first of all against revolutionary Socialian. On coming to power it counted on the support of Hitler and Peron, and served the vapitalist enterprise of Patino and North Amzzican Imperialism. Now, after the destruction of Nazism, the MNR does not seek an alliance with the APRA of Peru, but unconditior serves the totalitarian reaction of Peron PZA his local sub-Imperialism, which tries to subjugate the neighboring countries economically and politically.

BUTTRESSED ON ALL SIDES

All the political forces in Bolivia collaborated in the growth and restoration of the MNR which had been condemned and punished by popular anger in the July revolution of 1946. In order to fight the Stalinists, the Republican Union of President Hertzog made agreements with the MNR and even encouraged its revival by tolerating its activities. The Stalinists of the PIR (Part of the Revolutionary Left), massacred the miners of Potosi while they were part of the governmental junta; thus, both the bourgeois right and the Stalinist left, worked zealously towards the revival of the native fascists.

But the Fourth International forces are hardly without guilt. The official section of the Fourth, the POR, evaluated the MNR as a "reformist" force and not as counter-revolutionary. Starting from the premise of the democratic revolution as the immediate stage ahead, it considered a limited collaboration between the POR and the MNR to be possible. Although this collaboration was officially denied, its evident proof resides in the formation of the "miners bloc," composed of the Trotskyist and Nationalist deputies in parlia-

into this blind trap after so many years. Confronted with such an accomplished act, what would be the correct socialist position? We recognize that revolutionary socialists have little or no influence at present over Palestinian politics and that, despite our warning and opposition, it may well take place. Then what?

We believe in and accept the fundamental democratic right of all peoples to self-determination, to work out their own destiny as they see fit. This right includes, of course, the right to fight for one's national existence against a reactionary force. Although LABOR ACTION was opposed to the splitting up and division of India, for example, it ardently championed the right of the Moslems to separate from the Hindus and build their own state of Pakistan. Although opposed to the creation of a Pakistan, we firmly defended the right of India's 92 million Moslems to organize it; just as we would now oppose any attempt on the part of the Hindu bourgeoisie, ruling over the Dominion of India, to destroy by war, violence or economic pressures, the state of Pakistan.

We have the same basic attitude towards the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Such an act would alter the present situation. For reasons stated above, we are 100 percent against such a move, but we recognize the right of the Jews to claim self-determination, if they choose to follow that path, so long as they commit no violence against the rights of other peoples in so doing.

On that ground, we declare our vigorous oppo-

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His name was linked with Trotsky's in every slander, and he himself was doomed because "The Little Son does his work cleverly. The Old Man wouldn't find it so easy without him."

Dear to each of us, Leon Sedoff is our youth's own revolutionist. He is their pride and their joy, words that could seem hackneyed only to a witling. While yet in his teens, he acquitted himself like an Old Bolshevik. Youth needs no other model.

Meat High? Raise Rabbits!

"One of the ways through which many families may attempt to solve their meat shortage and high meat cost problems, might lie in the raising of domestic, grain-fed rabbits. Rabbit meat, when quickly and properly grown and dressed at prime condition, furnishes an all-white, wholesome, tender, finegrained and kavorsome quality of meat. In most instances, highest quality of rabbit meat is to be found in the "fryer" rabbit, weighing from 31/2 to 4 pounds, when primed for slaughted at about two to three months of age. The average rabbit fryer carcass will, when completely dressed and ready for use in the kitchen, constitute from 50 to 55 per cent of the live weight. Approximately 80 per cent of the dressed rabbit carcass is edible flesh."- New York Herald Tribune, March 7, 1948.

MORE COPS IN POLAND? **OR JUST HIGHER WAGES?**

"Although its numbers are to be reduced, expenditure on the Polish Security Police is to be much higher. According to figures quoted in the Budgetary Commission of the Palish Diet recently, 23,000,000,000 zlotys-about \$230,000,000 at the official exchange rate-will be spent in 1948, which is nearly a third more than last year. One reason for this is the higher cost of living." -Dispatch in Christian Science Monitor.



and

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL



John Hope Franklin; Alfred A. Knopf, \$5.00.

Dr. Franklin, professor of history at Howard University, has written a history of American Negroes that is important for readers of LABOR ACTION. They should know about it and read it.

It is the best history of the Negro in the United States which has appeared in recent times. It is a better book than Woodson's. And it has a wider scope than William's earlier work could have had. In addition it is available, even though it costs \$5. Dr. Franklin set as his task "not to recite the achievements of the Negro, but to tell the story of the process by which the Negro has sought to cast his lot with an evolving American civilization." This made necessary his retelling the story of the evolution of the people of the U. S. in order to place the Negro in his proper relationship and perspective.

In addition to dealing with the Negro in the U.S., the book covers the early background in chapters devoted to Africa, the cradle of civilization and to the slave trade. It also has chapters on the historical and to a lesser extent on the present situation in the Caribbean, Central and South America. The summary of the situation in Canada has a special interest just now because of recent publicity concerning the communities there.

With regard to the United States the book is divided in the conventional and unavoidable way - so marked are the different periods in the history of this country. Slavery in the colonies, the Revolutionary War period, the westward expansion, the Civil War and Reconstruction, the aftermath of Reconstruction, the Negro and American imperialism all have their sections.

GROWTH OF SLAVERY

It would not be possible in a review to discuss in detail the way in which Dr. Franklin places the struggle of the Negro for his democratic rights in the proper economic and social context. But, to comment on some aspects of this:

Beginning with the colonial period

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM, by Dr. Franklin shows the evolution of the legal and moral justification of slavery culminating in the "white supremacy." At first they had a little difficulty jibing this with the Christian religion, but they finally decided that baptism might humanize the Negro somewhat. Therefore it was a good to enslave him. Not only did he meet in this way "his natural lot" but also could be exposed to "civilization." By the time of the Civil War the pro-slavery party based themselves on a full-blown theory of the racial inferiority and biological inequality of the Negro, an ideology still abroad in the land. It is pointed out that by the middle of the 1700s slavery was an integral part of a maturing economic system, and although the colonists linked the problem of slavery to the fight against England, this was weakly done. They did not rise higher than to debate whether "all men are created free and equal" meant all men or just some men. Freedom

> sibility for perpetuating slavery. The industrial revolution is given its proper decisive weight in causing the entrenchment of slavery, the fastening of this mode of production on the South. The man who in this country first standardized machine parts, Eli Whitney, is as every schoolboy knows, the man who invented the cotton gin. This "ushered in a period of economic change that. in degree, compared favorably with any changes in the history of agriculture." Dr. Franklin emphasizes the enormous influence of the large planters in the economic and political life of the South. Their influence is underscored when it is known that 338,000 owners or 88 per cent of all owners of slaves in 1860 owned less than 20 slaves, with 200,000 of these having five slaves or less.

The Civil War is easier to handle than its extension in the Reconstruction period, because of the wealth of material for the first, but Dr. Franklin does a creditable job with both. He understands that Reconstruction was not "Negro rule" as all schoolboys are taught, but "the result of the triumph of industrialism over the agrarian way of life." Congres-

sional Reconstruction, and eventually its abandonment, stemmed from the same base, the economic interests of the expanding capitalist class. This is symbolized by the use made of the 14th Amendment, with its "due process of law" clause written as if to protect citizenship rights for the Negro, used as legal support for the great corporations.

SPECTER OF COLOR

The last section covering the period of American imperialism is almost 200 pages long and brings us up to our day. Perhaps that is why a statement like the following strikes so forcefully: "The specter of color hangs over the mother country like the sword of Damocles and reminds her always that her imperial policy must take cognizance of that fact." Mention is made of Chandler Owen's attempt to boost morale during the war-a sorry end.

Dr. Franklin quotes a wartime statement to the effect that the morale of the Negro could not be raised "as long as concessions are made within a rigid framework of segregation." Without accepting Dr. Franklin's conception of the world role of the United States, one can find here the factual basis for such tactically correct actions as the NAACP's petition to the United Nations.

Throughout the book the relations between white and Negro labor are dealt with, but on this it is necessary to supplement with a book such as Wesley's "Negro Labor in the United States," or for recent years Northrup's "Organized Labor and the Negro." It is recognized that with the coming of the CIO "there has developed a feeling of security and belonging among Negro workers during the last decade that has been one of the most significant developments in the direction of their more complete integration into American life." The struggle of the Negro for his democratic rights-"Liberty won by white men would lose half its luster" (from Frederick Douglass)-is in this book placed in a historical setting which demonstrates that that struggle has been for integration. Kate LEONARD.

ment. Although this tactic might have justifica tion at a certain political stage, in order to facilitate the access of the POR to the miners dominated by the MNR, events prove that the MNR continues to control the mines and the Miners Federation, while the majority of the POR in the parliamentary fraction of the Miners Bloc is purely illusory, and only serves as a shield for the actions of the MNR. The best proof of this evaluation is afforded by the Potosi elections, where the workers voted en mass for the MNR and not the POR.

The false theory of the "democratic revolution" engenders a false political tactic, and this leads finally to the defeat of the revolutionary workers movement. Under the leadership of the deputy, Lora, the POR came to the political position of the Argentine "Octubrists," who counsel the Fourth International to support Peron as the realizer of the democratic revolution on the South American continent. Only the PSOB (Socialist Workers Party of Bolivia), in spite of all its errors, vacillations, and ineptitudes of organization, has always tenaciously fought the MNR and the erroneous concept of the democratic revolution in Bolivia.

Now the MNR threatens not only the Hertzog government with a military uprising, but the workers movement as well with the annihilation of its cadres and the introduction of state control of the unions. The Stalinists, of course, are interested in military coups and "revolutions" in America. The Nazi-Stalinist war cry of nationalizing the mines, under a capitalist regime, signifies the creation of a tremendous totalitarian power, better able to exploit and oppress the proletariat, and to hand Bolivia over to Peron.

Only socialist nationalization based on a continent-wide revolution under workers power can resolve this problem in accordance with the Marxist program. The proletariat can gain nothing from military seizures of power. Aside from the fact that it will have to bear the cost of such actions, it can only expect greater exploitation and oppression.

For this reason, it is necessary that the Fourth Internationalist movement clarify its program and revise its tactic, putting forward a completely independent political line of the proletariat. The POR must combat not only the bourgeois government but also the growing strength of the reaction, of the MNR. The time has arrived when the Miners Bloc must be dissolved and the POR must form its own parliamentary fraction without the participation of the nationalist deputies, organized members of the MNR. It is time to stop being a shield for the activities of the MNR.

Not only the Bolivian proletariat, but all of South America and the entire Fourth Internationalist movement is interested in this question. Happily, there are comrades in the POR who understand these errors and wish to force Lora to break with the nationalist deputies and revise his tactic, which is so harmful to the Fourth International and the workers movement in Bolivia.

The rapprochement between the left-wing of the POR and the PSOB will help resolve this question on the road of the third proletarian front.

from England resulted in the national government taking the respon-

L'ABOR - ACTION

Natalia Trotsky Receives Word About Her Son...

From a Russian Non-Returnee in Western Europe. Name and address known to the Editors. (See page 1.)

To Natalia Ivanovna Sedoff-Trotsky Most Respected Natalia Ivanovna - - -

Having quite by chance recently learned. your address, I, a person not known to you, consider it my duty to convey to you the information which I have on the fate of your younger son (I believe a chemist by profession) who remained in the USSR and worked, if memory serves me right, in the Scientific-Research Institute (branch) either in Krasnoyarks, Omsk or perhaps Tobolsk, in a word, somewhere in Siberia.

At the end of 1935 or at the beginning of 1936 during the mass liquidation of the socalled Trotskyists your son was arrested. In September of 1936 I already encountered him in the concentration camp of Vorkutstroy* (at that time still known as Vorkutpetchlag), situated in the Far North, in the Arctic, on the shores of the Barents Sea. He impressed me as a gentle, quiet, cultured young man but guite removed from active politics. Being of rather delicate health, he was relieved from work in the mine and was assigned to cleaning the barracks of the prisoners. During the mass hunger strike (of some 700 persons) unheard of in the history of political prisons and deportations, which lasted 104 days, your son took part in it out of solidarity. During the trial of Bucharin, Rykov, Radek and others (at the beginning of 1937**) your son, along with some prominent leaders of the Trotskyist opposition, was ordered to be immediately brought to Moscow.

I cannot describe here the unforgettably dramatic scenes which took place during the forcible removal of your son and of the others from the barracks of the hungerstrikers. Suffice it to say that for almost half a day the special police of the NKVD tried to seize those they wanted and could not. And only with the help of the camp bandits and murderers (the so-called socially near elements) who were given arms by the Third Department and promised some special privileges, were wanted men, among them your son, forcibly and brutally taken. They were led away by a convoy consisting of the same armed criminal murderers, of course, under the command of a trustee of the Third Department.

As I was told later, not far from Ust-Usa or in Ust-Usa itself your son, unable to stand the abuse by the guards, either struck one of them or expressed his protest in some other way. In the scuffle that followed, one of the guards-bandits fired and shot your son through the leg. Wounded, he was carried further in the direction of Moscow. Of his subsequent fate I heard nothing.

Most respected Natalia Ivanovna! In writing this brief account to you I am moved by the best of feelings to convey to a mother the last bit of news no matter how grave on the fate of her son. I beg you therefore do not take it amiss. And if you have any later information concerning your son, I would be most grateful to learn about it. Respectfully,

(Signed)

* The Vorkutstroy concentration camp contains hundreds of thousands of prisoners engaged in the mining of coal and in laying a

railroad connecting with Leningrad. ** Here obviously the writer made a mistake in date since the Bucharin, Rykov trial took place not at the beginning of 1937 but at the beginning of 1938.

Everybody Has to Vote In Russia!--What Do You Want? Socialism?!

By ALBERT GATES

We owe a debt of sorts to the official organ of the "Cominform," entitled "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy." In its January 1 issue, it reported the results of local elections in Russia, citing figures which are both amazing and tantalizing.

The elections, it wrote, took place on December 21, 1947, "Soviets of working people's deputies in the territories, regions, areas, districts, cities and rural localities of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic." Listen to the report:

"99.90 per cent of the electors voted in the elections to the Soviets of territories; 99.92 per cent-to the Soviets of regions; 99.81 per cent-to the Soviets of areas; 99.93 per cent -to the district Soviets; 99.89 per cent -to the city Soviets; 99.89 to the city district Soviets; 99.87 per cent-to the Soviets of rural localities."

To make the point all the clearer, since it is not quite apparent from the figures cited, "For a Lasting,

"Practically all voters, with very

few exceptions, went to the polls." Is this not truly amazing? We are not told how many voters these figures represent, but it must be in the tens of millions, since they elected no less than 766,563 deputies! This is certainly a commentary on the high level of political interest of the masses in Russia. Compare these figures with those of any other country

the political big wheels knocked

themselves out trying to stamp out

Unfortunately for the nervous

Nellies, the literary caliber of the

police is of a very small bore and

so is their political judgment, be-

cause not only did they grab all the

novels they could find with a "dirty

word" in them, they also committed

the cardinal sin of stepping on the

toes of big business when they in-

ment stores.

Democratic Parties.

vaded Philadelphia's largest depart-

As to various violations of civil

rights in the process, this is a small

matter to a city government which

insists that the ballot is a sacred

preserve for the Republican and

(Continued from page 1)

this threat to young America.

Philadelphia Cops Confiscate 2000 Books in Bluenose Raid

By BILL CARNEY

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 27-On Saturday, March 20, the Philadelphia Police Department swept down on local book shops and confiscated about 2.000 books; most of which have been on the book shelves for years and some of which have recently been best sellers. The raid was made without warrants.

Among the books were such famous novels as "Studs Lonigan" by James T. Farrell and "Tobacco Road" by Erskine Caldwell.

These raids were staged on the alleged grounds that these 2,000 books were obscene and were falling into the hands of school children. The vice squad head said that the raid was staged at the request of unnamed clergymen and "educators."

This seizure of books by the vice squad has of course its funny side. For example, most of the books seized and branded as obscene can be borrowed from the Philadelphia Free Library by anyone holding a card. The city, of course, purchased the books for the library.

in the world. Not even the most sharply contested presidential election in the United States brings more than 60 to 70 per cent of the voters out; usually it is less than 50 per cent. No, not even Great Britain, with an even longer and more powerful parliamentary tradition, can get 99.90 per cent turnout to elections.

April 5, 1948

What does this prove? Well, it can prove that the bourgeois democracies are decadent and that the "new democracy" of Stalin is such an overwhelming phenomenon that no one can resist voting, not even the lame, the halt, the blind, the sick, the insane, etc. Yes, nothing stops a voter in Stalin's land. Neither Russian winter, snow, rain, lack of roads, norperish the thought-lack of desire to vote. Everybody votes!

It is really a staggering achievement, overcoming all obstacles, including customary mathematical forecasts on probable percentages of voting based on long years of empirical evidence.

"NON-PARTY" CANDIDATES

But that is only half the story. Wait until you get the rest. "For a Lasting, etc., etc." gives the figures on how the votes were cast, in percentages, of course. For the candidates of the "bloc of Communists and nonparty members" (can any of the editors enlighten me as to the meaning of a "non-party member"?) the results were as follows:

"In the elections to the Soviets of territories-99.50 per cent; to the Soviets of regions-99.29 per cent; to the Soviets of areas-99.59 per cent; to the district Soviets-99.20 per cent; to the city Soviets-98.67 per cent; to the city district Soviets-98.68 per cent; to the Soviets of rural localities -98.68 per cent. . . . Thus the results demonstrated the full support for the bloc of Communists and non-party members (at this point, editors, I think I begin to know what a nonparty member is. He is a person who is not a member of the Russian Communist Party at one point; but once he becomes a successful candidate, an official of the state, he achieves the status of a member, though not actually in the party. Or, to put it another way: party member or not, it

is one and the same thing .--- A. G.) _--To prove that there is no one-party dictatorship in Russia, we have only to look to these elections in which 403,036 "non-party members" were elected to the several Soviets. This is 53.2 per cent of the total, and anyone can see that they outnumber the party member deputies!

Who's Ike? - -There are some people who obviously have a misconception of socialism. Basing themselves on the Truman, even while realizing that antiquated doctrines of the 19th cen-Wallace will take many labor votes tury Marx and Engels, they think so-

New Japan Coalition Cabinet Doomed to Failure

By JACK BRAD

Page 4

The fifth Japanese government since the surrender two and a half years ago took office in Tokyo this month. The new cabinet continues . the coalition of the previous rightwing Socialist government of Tetsu. Katayama. The Social Democrats, the Cooperative Party and the avowed capitalist Democratic Party remain the bases for the parliamentary support of the government, although there has occurred a shift in posts marking changed relationships among and within the parties.

The cabinet of the Social-Democrats' Katayama concluded its unhappy tenure by an act which aptly characterized its dominant tendency to shift Japanese politics toward the right. Katayama personally reported to the Emperor on the cabinet's resignation, an act reminiscent of prewar procedure and in the militarist tradition, but not a requirement under the parliamentary rules of the new constitution. By this action Katayama established a large precedent toward restoration of imperial power and Social Democracy again proved itself uncontrollably awe-struck by the pomp of royalty. Even MacArthur's office reprimanded the Socialist.

CENTRISTS ADVANCE

The premiership next fell upon Hitoshi Ashida, an old-time 'conservative politician, Foreign Minister in the previous two cabinets and leader of the Democratic Party. With complete acquiescence of the Social Democrats, Ashida proceeded in timehonored Japanese fashion to seek behind-the-scenes deals, to maneuver in secret conference with various leaders. For three weeks Japan waited while the horsetrading continued. A storm of protest descended on Ashida from the right-wing Liberal Party as well as from the Stalinists.

government formation was denounced as undemocratic. The Right, which desires a new election quickly and dissolution of the present Diet, was given the rare opportunity of appearing as the better democrats.

The new government has one outstanding difference from its predecessor. It contains two members of the Kato-Suzuki centrist bloc of the SDP. This is the first time this group, which is known as the left wing of their party, has taken government posts. Kanju Kato himself is the new Minister of Labor. By contrast, the leading member of the SDP right wing, S. Nishio, is a minister without portfolio. This reflects the altered relationships in the party established at the recent national convention where the centrists were able to carry on a majority on the key programmatic questions, even though they failed to win organizational control. Indeed, the centrist victory at the convention had proved the last straw in undermining the right wing Katayama cabinet and had hastened its demise.

No new cabinet of the present coalition parties could have been framed without the centrists since they had held the political mandate of the convention. However, the Kato-Suzuki group had even this mandate on the basis of a resolution demanding a break with the Democrats and formation of an all-labor government together with the Cooperativists, and pushing a program of immediate nationalization, planning an anti-black market struggle. By entering the government, now headed by a Democrat, the centrists violated their own purpose and reduced it to nothing more than a maneuver for posts. They will now have to pay the piper, for Kato, as Labor Minister, must now deal with the flood of strikes which he formerly helped to organize. These

in the French Socialist Party following the victory of the Pivert-Mollet group. CHRONIC HUNGER

At its birth the Ashida government

is faced with an economic struggle by a working class impelled by direct physical needs. This problem can be stated in a few harsh figures. Since September, 1945, consumer goods prices have risen 600 per cent, with food still higher. The new fixed and legally frozen wage of government employees is 2900 yen monthly. It costs about 5000 yen monthly for a family of four for food alone, of which three-fourths must be obtained from the black market. In the last six months, prices have risen 50 per cent. Survival has been possible, in most cases, only by sale of family possessions. This source is at an end for most. Unemployment is the lot for a majority of urban workers since industry is still at 22 per cent of pre-war level. Meanwhile there has been an influx into the country of six to eight million repatriates from all Asia. Hunger is chronic among the work-

ers.

Complete failure of Social - Democracy to alleviate a single aspect of this condition during its six months in office has forced the workers to rely more than ever on their trade unions. A wave of strikes is engulfing the country, led again, as last year, by the government workers whose wages are legally frozen. Electric power, communications workers, coal miners, tax collectors, school teachers and railroad workers are involved. New strike techniques have been evolved to meet the hostility and threats of the occupation. These new tactics, described as "piston" or 24-hour stoppages, are forced upon the workers as a result of the lessons of the aborted general strike of February, 1947. There are rumors, however, of secret inter-union coordinating "committees of struggle." The chief objective of the new "labor offensive" are an increase in the fixed wage, a sliding scale and an immediate cost of living bonus of 5000 yen. However, the occupation stands athwart their realization, since it has ordered the government to balance the budget at all hazards. It is on this issue that Katayama fell in the Diet. It is clearly impossible to balance the budget and raise wages or introduce a sliding scale, which could unbalance it in the future. Thus the workers' struggle remains fundamentally the struggle against the occupation. From the

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THE STALINIST

ROAD TO POWER

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Beginning Victor Serge's

The Year One of

703 TPEU

requisite of their solution, struggle against the occupation. COALITION WILL FAIL Upon taking office, the new cabi-

net chief issued two anti-labor policy statements, rejecting pay increases and establishing priority production and threatening all attempts to interfere with it. These statements have only deepened the gulf between the ceded by the fall of the coalition. government and the workers.

The center of the strike is the Congress of Industrial Unions which, though it has many Stalinist leaders, is not a Stalinist organization. The Kato group has had a share in the leadership of the CIU as well as in the third labor federation, the National Council of Trade Unions. With Kato in the cabinet, the leadership of the strikes, and therefore of the labor movement, will pass increasingly to the Stalinists. The workers will be forced to break with Kato and the SDP centrists increasingly. Social Democracy, already discredited because of the government failure of its right wing, now faces the discreditment of its "left wing." The door is opened to political capture of the most militant workers by Stalinism. That is the horrible prospect and crime of centrism which had such great opportunities but a few months

All this takes place against a background of polarization of the political right, encouraged by the shift in American policy toward strengthening of the"Zaibatsu. A long stride in this direction was taken last month when 251 representatives to both houses in the Diet united to form the Democratic Liberal Party under the leadership of two former Premiers whose connections with court circles and the Zaibatsu are well known. A new post-war center of political reaction has been formed. This marks the close of that period since the end of the war when the confusion and disorientation of the made the city fathers jittery. ruling classes on the one hand and the tremendous upsurge of labor on the other, centered the national initiative in the hands of the working class. The workers have now been

smallest to the largest problems of cause he desires to give the appear-the class, all have as the first preance of maximum political stability etc., etc.," says: in order to strengthen his own political ambitions. Also, a victory of the openly reactionary party would expose the entire false fabric of the occupation, since it could release all barriers to sharp and general class conflicts and consequent attempts at repression. Nevertheless, MacArthur cannot long contain the situation and an election is in prospect, pre-

The entire procedure of back door events are roughly analogous to those

BLPI Mobilizes Worker Demonstration Against Phony Independence Celebration

CEYLON - Ceylonese workers protested the fake "independence" granted them by Great Britain with a mass meeting of from 35,000 to 50,000 on February 11. The meeting originally was planned to coincide with the day, on which the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King of England, was to speak at the ceremonies opening the "Dominion" Parliament of Ceylon. The Prime Minister was to unfurl a Sinhalese flag outside the building at the close of the ceremonies.

Such were the plans! But everything went awry before and during the event. To begin with, the BLPI (Trotskyist) contingent in Parliament called the bluff about the flag business. What the new imperialist-agency-holders had promised the masses was that the Duke himself would haul down the British flag and run up the Sinhalese flag! A little adroit Parliamentary questioning, along with a hard fight over the flag question, forced out the truth. The question was shown to be not whether the Sinhalese flag was to fly over all but whether it was to have the exclusive right to fly BELOW THE UNION JACK. In other words, Ceylon was to continue under the British flag and the whole question of a national flag was only so much eyewash.

The BLPI decided to boycott the opening of the Parliament. The Communist Party soon announced a similar decision. The LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaj-formed after a split in the BLPI) also announced its abstention from attending the "Kings' Speech Ceremony." The leader of the Trotskyist parliamentary fraction, Comrade Colvin R. de Silva, demanded the unconditional provision of seats for the members of Parliament whether they were going to attend or not. When the Duke of Gloucester delivered the "King's Speech," twenty-five empty chairs duly protested the independence racket!

Meantime, the BLPI took the initiative for a united front meeting with the CP and the LSSP during the celebrations. The LSSP at first

agreed but within 24 hours had rescinded its agreement, giving "theoretical differences" as reason. The LSSP holds the theory that Ceylon has "internal" but not "external" independence, or again political but not economic independence. They feel that the British government's independence bill is a step forward toward real independence.

The police refused permission to hold a meeting until the Duke had left town. Therefore it was postponed until February 11. The time was set at 4:30 p.m. Several thousands had already gathered by that time, despite the burning sun and the fact that many work places were not yet closed. The crowds kept streaming in and even the bourgeois Times of Ceylon was compelled to state that over 35,000 attended the meeting. Eight thousand copies of a pamphlet denouncing the fake "independence" was sold in two days, although the price of ten cents for five pages was high.

BRASS RUSHES FOR CHAIRS

18.

"The first hours after President Truman urged Congress to revive selective service, First Army headquarters here received 217 calls from reserve officers. Forty-eight showed up in person. All wanted to know the same thing: should they report right away for their commissions?" -New York World-Telegram, March

PRIVATES RESPOND NO AT ALL

"No deluge of applicants is swamping the office of the First Recruiting Area as a result of the President's speech. Outside of a slight increase in inactive naval reserve enlistments, there has been no effect felt yet."-New York World-Telegram, March 18.

thrown on the defensive. In the great struggles of the next short period one of the first victims will be the present coalition government and, with it, the compromised SDP "left wing." The reactionaries now desire an early election. There is no doubt as to their ability to win in such a contest at this time. Only MacArthur sustains the present government and opposes an election be-

1

March 1948

AFCT

What is behind this raid? Politics! Not radical politics, but just good old fashioned capitalist politics has

In the last mayoralty campaign the Democrats ran on a reform ticket and their candidate, Richardson Dilworth, did such a good job of exposing the dirt and graft in the present administration that while he lost the election the Republicans were forced to cover up to a great extent their ties with the underworld. There have been raids upon small clubs like Legion posts and small fraternal groups like the Hibernians, and there has been a dragnet for small-fry writers and bookies. There have also been crackdowns on the smaller brothels. But big time vice still runs openly.

So, when the Catholic Church hierarchy and professional bigots set out to protect the morals of the younger generation by demanding suppression of the books involved,

Quill Resigns - -

crats. There is no break here between Quill and the Stalinists, Quill wants the U.S. to remain at peace but he is against "peace at any price." He believes in "peace with honor." Mike didn't say how he stands on the Woodrow Wilson slogan of "peace without victory," nor did he repeat any of his phrases of an earlier day about "the peace-loving nations getting together for collective security." One thing is clear, Mike is getting in out of the rain. His new slogan is: "Keep dry with Murray." Quill does not want to touch Saul Mills with a forty-foot pole. He will not even go to a meeting called by Mills. From now on out he is a solid Murray man. The Stalinists are not quite certain yet what they should call Quill but they are working up to their usual steam . . . "war-monger," etc. Their Daily Worker reports that in his létter of resignation sent to Murray, Quill wrote that "a group of strange people within the CIO Council were splitting the unity of the CIO." They call Quill an opportunist and feel that that will do while something better is being devised. They also suspect that Quill resigned

on a simple protest basis. In this morass of rotten politics,

> an aggressive and alert union leadership could rally the best union elements by a direct and uncompromising call for the immediate formation of an independent Labor Party. Whether the formation of such a party is possible for the coming election is less important than the effects such a call would have. The Wallace movement would be outflanked by the rising movement for independent labor action and in that way thousands of workers would be prevented from supporting the pro-Stalinist Wallace party.

A new swell of militancy could be aroused in the unions with the simple program of: break with all the capitalist and Stalinoid parties, form a party of your own. In this way, a path could be carved out of the mess in which the labor movement now finds itself with regard to political action.

because a fight for higher wages will

bring him into conflict with "certain

We point out that Quill's break

up to the level of Joe Curran's break.

Curran didn't talk about "strange

people." He called the Stalinists by

their names and opened a real fight

against them. Curran supports Mur-

ray also but he hasn't gone in for any

bootlicking. We'll wait a while and

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see where Quill shows up next.

Party."

cialism means a society in which people may "freely" develop their social activity, thinking and culture under conditions of economic equality and security. Such misconceptions reflect outmoded ideas which were the product of laissez-faire capitalism. But they are wrong.

In bringing the doctrines of socialism up to date, nay, in revising and filling them with a new content, Comrade Stalin has proved that such conceptions of equality and freedom are in truth anarchist; they are outlived and outworn doctrines. They were developed before the law of the uneven development of capitalism was known. That law was discovered by Comrade Stalin from a hint by Lenin in one of his obscure articles which no one else has bothered to read. Showing how this law was a reflection of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, Stalin pointed out and proved by the Russian experiment that the "new democracy" has a leveling quality, that "differences of opinion" are a petty bourgeois desire.

NO DIFFERENCES

You can have real unity of thought and action only where there are no differences of opinion in society, in politics, science and culture. That is political forces in the Democratic the road of social progress. In Russia we see the real triumph of modern man, the "new" man, as is reflected with the Stalinists is certainly not in the elections. Uniformity and regimentation, as our great leader pointed out, are the pillars of the "new socialism," that which gives it strength. The objections to the new socialism, made by renegades are, as Stalin is fond of saying, "enough to make a cat laugh."

> Russian Federative Socialist Republic! What a grand old name! It is not a complete RFSR yet. This is evidenced by the fact that the voting averaged ONLY 99.90 per cent; in three elections it went down as LOW as 98.68 per cent. This only means that the RFSR is in its FIRST stage of development and that the process of reeducation away from the outlived ideas of the 1917 revolution has not been completed. Nevertheless, the achievement is literally world-shaking.

Yet there are some malicious grumblers who call this a "degenerated Russian Federative Socialist Republic." Is it not clear that they are nothing but quibblers?

11

Fullest Report Published on Background of The Russian Revolution

(Continued from page 1) INTERNATIONAL