Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

# LABOR ACTION

APRIL 19, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

#### FIVE CENTS

## **Procedure in Mine Settlement Is Not** In Labor's Interest!

#### By DAVID COOLIDGE

The miners are returning to work from a four week's strike. One day after this is written John L. Lewis will face Judge Goldsborough on a contempt charge. Nothing can be said here as to what will be the outcome of the trial. At any rate that result is relatively unimportant. What is far more important is the manner in which the strike came to be settled.

The manner of the strike settlement is really more important than the settlement itself, because the settlement did not come about from any activity of the miners and their union. To a certain degree the coaldiggers have been misled again by John L. Lewis. They have been used and are being used as pawns in a game being played by Lewis, the Republican party and the Democratic party.

The whole settlement proceedure stinks. In part it looks like some kind of frameup. On Lewis's side the settlement has a more reactionary cast than his support of Willkie in 1940. From Martin's side it was merely a cheap little every day political trick. Bridges of course was willing to help out a fellow Republican and friend. It is difficult to say anything about the position of Van Horn. It looks as though he was caught in the Martin, Bridges, Lewis double play.

### **Miners Win** Pension; New **Fight Looms**

#### By G. McDERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA - "Your contract has been honored." This telegram from John L. Lewis has reached the UMWA locals only a few hours ago as this is written.

Two courses of action appear possible at this moment. The miners are debating whether to return to work at once or to wait until the outcome of court proceedings against Lewis is known. If the diggers do return to work at once, any sentence passed Lewis will mean a renewal of the

Here is a strike which has been going for four weeks. The miners have a strong case. Their claims are indisputable. They are holding their line with the usual solidarity and tenacity. Nobody will make a single gesture toward compromise or settlement. Lewis has been ordered by the court to get the men back to work but the men are not back at work. They give no indication that they will ever return to work with-

out their pensions. Right in the midst of this stalemate and just before Lewis is to be hauled into court on a contempt charge, little Joe Martin, of Massachusetts and the House of Representatives, gets the bright idea that it might be profitable to his future if he can effect a settlement of the strike. After all, a neighbor of his, with just as little brains, had reached the White House on the back of the slogan: "He Broke the Boston Police Strike." How much better the slogan: "He Got the Miners Back to Work," thus ending the "most devastating strike in all history." Such a slogan would be in line with other winners such as: "The Full Dinner Pail," "A Chicken in Every Pot," and certainly far more attractive than "Back to Normalcy."

This may be all well and good for Joe Martin and the Republican party but it is not so good for the miners to be pulled here and there by Lewis in line with his, reactionary thinking. He consents to this little trick of Joe Martin's and his Republican conspirators as a slap at Truman and the Democrats. The Democrats, of course, may be expected to retaliate. And what has all this got to do with miners' pensions, wages, working conditions? Nothing at all.

Any miner who has kept himself informed as to what was going on will not be misled by this cheap little political stunt of Republican Joe Martin, aided and abetted by Lewis. Out of the night, or from nowhere, Martin suddenly becomes chamored of the bright idea that he can get Lewis to listen to him. A proposal is made to Lewis that Republican Bridges become the "neutral" member of the pension board. Lewis accepts. Bridges accepts. They get Van Horn. Bridges shows up with a pension plan acceptable from an actuarial viewpoint. He and Lewis vote yes to Van Horn's no and the play is over. No one had seen Bridges' plan before he got to the conference. He did it all himself. And behind the scene is little Joe Martin thinking how nice it would be to have 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue as his address beginning January 1949.

# There is No Substitute For Labor's Own Party!

MOVE OVER, BUDDY, DEMOCRACY IS BEING SAVED AGAIN!



## **Colombia Crisis Reveals Profound Mass Discontent**

By A. FERRARRA APRIL 10-According to the latest

tan, spelled political doom for the and national aspirations of the Conservatives. The combined votes masses were voiced by the clever,

The stampede of labor leaders and liberals to the Eisenhowerfor-President boom is now in full swing.

CIO president Philip Murray finally broke with Truman this week, and is presumably lending his voice to the "Draft Eisenhower" cry.

UAW President Walter Reuther is reported to have plumped for Eisenhower.

And a conference of Americans for Democratic Action, the anti-Stalinist liberal front, decided that life had no meaning without Eisenhower.

That Murray has severed his ties with the man whom he cailed

### **Palestine Tossed** Into **UN** Again

#### By AL FINDLEY

By the time the reader will see this article, the UN Assembly will once again be in special session to consider the future of Palestine. Like the Special Assembly of last year it faces the unsolved problem of 250,-000 Jewish Displaced Persons rotting converted concentration camps and thousands of other Jews who have found no place for themselves in the "brave, new world" that was to be ushered in by the victory of Stalinist and American imperialism. Today, three years after liberation, the entire Jewish population of Europe would be in D.P. camps were it not for two facts: (1) the police states of Eastern Europe have made it a crime to migrate to these camps, and (2) the U. S. by decree has refused to accept any new displaced persons. What a sad commentary on conditions in Europe that these unfortunates prefer the stifling and corroding camps to the life offered them by the "new" and old democracies The breakdown of European society has re-enforced the nationalist sentiments of the Jews the world over and there is a genuine mass sentiment for independent existence in a concentrated form in their own territory. bourgeois politician, Gaitan, who The majority of Jews in D.P. camps would refuse to go to any other country except Palestine even if the doors were open to them, but sorry to say, the most concentrated misery the world has seen has not touched the conscience of humanity. In this era of mass destruction and atom bombs humanity seems to have lost its moral sensibilities. The DP's are left to rot. Even where some vast

two years ago is perhaps progress. But it is the progress of a man walking on a treadmill. Disgraceful as is the support that the labor leaders have been giving Harry-the-injunctionman, their conversion to "everybody's friend," Eisenhower is no less reprehensible. Harsh things have been said about

a strike-breaker not a short

AFL President Green's reasoning abilities, but at least it can be said for him that he takes his shameful politics straight.

Speaking to reporters in the White House lobby (how these labor leaders love that lobby!), Green denounced "so-called labor leaders who are backing a man [Eisenhower] whose position on labor questions is unknown. Labor doesn't know the economic, social or industrial views of Gen. Eisenhower who has been a military man all his life. We don't know whether he would be for the Taft-Hartley law or against it. We do know that President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley law."

Of course, we also know, even if Green appears to have forgotten it, that Truman is the first president in years who dared to reinstitute government by injunction which is as abhorrent to labor as anything in or intended by the T-H law.

But leave that aside. The fact is that there is as much reason to vote for Truman as for Eisenhower, Taft, Stassen or any of that gang. In other words there is no reason to vote for ANY of them. Severally and collecthey are capitalist politicians and therefore do not even belong in a labor discussion of whom to support! The Eisenhower idiocy is more incredible than the rest in that nobody knows what the man thinks if he thinks. That is, nothing is known about him except that he is a man who has dedicated his life to defending the capitalist system in his capacity as a military man.

#### stoppage.

The Republican Party, with their eye on the labor vote in the coming elections, stepped in through Speaker of the House Joseph Martin. At Martin's suggestion, the operators agreed to Republican Senator Styles Bridges, a man approved by Lewis, as third trustee on the welfare fund board. The operators, anxious to resume profit making and foiled by the determination of the coal miners, gave in.

#### WON'T "FOOL" WORKERS

The Republicans have left Truman holding the bag over use of the Taft-Hartley Act that the Republicans themselves wrote. Now that the strike is settled, the government's case against Lewis in court action is now even weaker than before.

We hope that this Republican move will fool no one. Lewis himself is a Republican in politics despite his economic militancy... We suspect that Lewis would like to see this settlement get the GOP some labor votes.

The Republicans think that their maneuver will "fool" the "dump" workers. The Republicans are just as reactionary and anti-labor as ever, however. Only a few days ago, Republican Representative Hartley opened a drive to have congress break up the UMWA and other international unions by using anti-trust laws on them.

#### FACE CONTRACT FIGHT

With the pensions won, the miners still face two problems. One is the winning of an improved contract when the present contract expires on June 30. Contract demands are reported to be a 35 hour week, two week vacations, and increased royalty payments. All of these are necessary. Other workers have two week vacations and the miners deserve them, too .

A thirty-five hour week will help prevent unemployment resulting from the increased mechanization in the coal industry. Increased royalties will make possible cultural and educational projects long needed and planned by the union.

The remaining problem is political action to smash government by injunction. The miners have so far escaped the Taft-Hartley slave law only because 1948 is an election year. However, contract time can mean more injunctions in a few months, and there is always 1949!

#### INDECENT HORSEPLAY

Some day the miners will begin to. realize that this Republican party horseplay carried on by their president is somewhat indecent, reactionary and not in the interest of the men who dig the coal. We do not mean of course that we would approve if Joe Martin had been a Democrat with whom Lewis was making these questionable deals. Not at all. That would be just as bad. But it is extremely difficult to understand how Lewis's mind functions.

He pretends to be engaged in opposing the Taft-Hartley act. The act was passed by a Republican Congress. It was supported by Republicans and Democrats, on demand of the NAM and the big capitalist employers. Lewis however, makes a deal with the most powerful Republican in Congress next to Taft and a man no less reactionary than Taft. In fact they are two of a kind. On what ground does Lewis continue to make this distinction between the Republicans and the Democrats? Does he believe that the Republicans are more "progressive" than the Democrats? Where, when and how?

(Continued on page 2)

#### THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY AT WORK

APRIL 12-It is reported that the Colombian army and police have quelled the incipient uprising which broke out in Bogota on Friday, April 9, and have established "law and order." It is also reported that more than 300 people were killed during the fighting which took place between the poorly armed masses and

the governmental forces. In this connection it is interesting to note that the United States government not so long ago supplied the murderous and reactionary Conservative Colombian government with large quantities of arms, teargas and bombs

Speaking in the Colombian Senate on September 12, 1947, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, (the man whose death led to as has been given to Greece. A. F.

news reports, the tremendous wave of popular protest against the government which swept through Bogota. Colombia's capital city, on April 9 and 10, has subsided. President Ospina's conservative government continues in power with the support of the army and a new coalition cabinet, composed of 6 Conservatives and 7 members of the leading Opposition party, the Liberals. In addition, a state of siege has been proclaimed and martial law prevails in the city. These mass demonstrations, bordering on insurrection, were touched off the cold-blooded assassination of by Jorge Eliacer Gaitan, "Left - Wing" leader of the Opposition, Liberal party. Although the political affiliation of Gaitan's murderer has not been established, his murder is but the climax of a whole series of assassinations and acts of political violence committed by members and supporters of the ruling, pro-clerical Conservative party during the last year against the political opposition, with the avowed purpose of perpetu-The murderous determination of the Conservatives to stay in power is explained by the fact that they were out of power from 1930 until 1946. In August of that year they came to power only because of a split in the ranks of the ruling Lib-

ating their party's stay in power. eral Party. The recent re-unification of the Liberal Party under the leadership of the assassinated head of the "Left-Wing" of the party, Jorge Gai-

the outburst against the government) charged that "quantities of arms, tear gas and bombs had been received secretly by the police force from the United States military attache in Bogota," (New York Times, September 14, 1947.) The charge was not denied by the government.

Commenting on these charges, the Bogota paper Tiempo declared that Colombia's national sovereignty had been violated. Another newspaper, the Liberal, in an editorial charged that these arms were being used to kill the free majorities in the country. It declared that Colombians were entitled to govern themselves democratically, and added that Colombia did not need political lend-lease such

of both wings of the Liberal Party in the presidential elections of 1946. and the municipal and congressional elections of 1947, far outran the vote of the Conservatives. In addition Gaitan had recently instructed the Liberal majority in both Houses of Congress not to co-operate with the government, and had withdrawn the Liberal members from the Cabinet until the government ceased fomenting acts of political violence against his followers.

#### PROFOUND SOCIAL CRISIS

Without the cooperation of the Liberals, the Conservative clique could not stay in power, and there. is no doubt the Conservatives were ready to risk civil war to maintain. control of the government. However, the murder of Gaitan has solved that problem for the moment. The new Liberal Party leaders refused to take leadership of the incipient insurrectionary masses and entered the cabinet, thereby propping Ospina's shaky Conservative government.

The American Bourgeois journalists, on hand in Bogota for the 9th Pan-American Conference, have attempted to explain the political strife in Colombia as one more "incident" in the struggle between "the ins" and "the outs," and the strivings of the Bogotan masses to directly intervene in the political life of the country as a series of "riots." Butthis only shows them to be . . . vulgar bourgeois journalists.

In reality, these political events reflect the profound social crisis which exists in Colombia as in the other countries of Latin America. While the Second World War produced tremendous profits for a small clique of landholders, industrialists and importers, the shortages of imported food and manufactured goods brought on a terrible inflation and wrought havoc with the living standards of the impoverished masses. The consequences of the Second World War and the threat of a Third World War have forced Colombia to enter the road of industrialization in order to survive. The masses of Colombia demand industrialization, demand agrarian reform, demand greater democracy. A program which is being resisted by the reactionary Conservatives and the right wing of the Liberals.

Because of Colombia's comparative industrial backwardness, because its proletariat is undeveloped, the social

came out for a program of greater democracy (woman suffrage, election of provincial governors), agrarian reform, and industrialization. Because Gaitain, expressed the aspirations of the masses he became a political power of the first magnitude in a phenomenally short period.

It was this program which split the Liberal Party, the traditional agency of American Imperialism, living off the revenues derived from American exploitation of Colombian oil. It was the knowledge that Gaitan was basing himself on the masses and, so it seemed to the landholding Conservatives, deliberately upsetting the traditional political structure and the parliamentary game of compromise, which set the arch-reactionary Right on its murderous course, 'a' course which culminated in Gaitan's murder.

#### INTERRUPT CONFERENCE

The demonstrations which followed Gaitan's murder "accidentally" interrupted the 9th Pan-American Conference called by the United States to consolidate its political, military and economic control over the Latin-American countries. What will not be accidental will be the increasing difficulty encountered by American Imperialism in trying to restrict the Latin-American countries to the traditional colonial role. No matter what rotten agreements the reactionary governments of these countries may sign, the masses will "interrupt" all such negotiations with revolutionary upheavals and protests. The masses of the southern half of the Western Hemisphere are still suffering the consequences of the Second World War and have no intention of being involved in the third holocaust. In this sense the recent events in Colombia are a symbol of the stormy developments which are brewing in South America.

#### BIG MAY DAY **ISSUE NEXT WEEK!**

Special features - May Day Statement by National Committee of Workers Party-Greetings—Etc., Etc. Be sure to get your copy of the Enlarged May Day LABOR AC-TION.

countries like Canada and Brazil permit handfuls to enter, they make restrictive quotas so that there are very few Jews among their immigrants.

One of the first steps that labor must take to create a better world is by opening the doors of the cuntries of the world, particularly the United States, to the DP's of all nationalities.

#### **OIL COMES FIRST**

' The UN also faces the awakening nationalist forces of the Arab Near East. As a result of deliberate English incitement and the policies of the reactionary sections of the na-

#### ANSWERING WALLACE

Murray and his friends are obviously motivated in their choice of Eisenhower by fear of the Wallace movement. The Wallace movement looks attractive to millions of people who are fed up with the capitalist parties, are sucked in by the appearance of a "good" program, and do not see that his third party is little more than an invention of the Stalinists to promote their service to Russian imperialism.

Murray, a loyal servant of American imperialism, is unable to answer Wallace in the one way Wallace can be answered. Hence, the panicky call (Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 3)

### **Report Opposition Caucus Opposes Secessions in UE**

ed that a national caucus meeting of the opposition group within the Stalinist controlled Electrical Workers union was held here over part of the week-end.

Concerned with the harmful effects of UAW raids and the secession of several UE locals, on the fight against the dictatorial stranglehold maintained by the Stalinist leadership in the union, the delegates are reported to have condemned the raids and the secessions.

It was apparently the prevailing opinion that locals which left the UE weakened the fight that the opposition caucus, UE Members for Democratic Action, is waging. The secessions represent a loss at district council meetings and at the national convention. In addition, the Stalinists were accused of using the secessions in an attempt to discredit the UEMDA caucus.

It is further reported that in the resolution opposing the secession

PITTSBURGH, Apr. 11-It is report- moves, the delegates laid major responsibility at the door of the Stalinist leadership which precipitated the widespread unrest among UE workers by the intolerable conditions they have created in the union. However, the resolution is said to have insisted that the fight must continue inside the UE and not outside The caucus meeting is also supposed to have incorporated in resolution a condemnation of the General Executive Board of the UE for deviating from national CIO policy on upholding the Marshall Plan and rejecting the Wallace-Stalinist third party movement. According to our informants, the

meeting issued a call to seceded locals to return to the UE, and resolved to demand the readmission of these locals without sanctions from the present leadership of the union. The CIO was also called upon to investigate the situation in the UE which has provoked this internal unrest.

#### Page 2

·利率(5)

### NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

## **Two Bowling Tournaments in Detroit**

DETROIT - Two national bowling tournaments are going on simultaneously in the city of Detroit. One is the annual event sponsored by the American Bowling Congress and open only to members of the "Caucasian race." The other is sponsored by the UAW-CIO and the National Committee for Fair Practices in Bowling, and considers eligible any bowler who has competed in any league.

The democratic nature of the International Bowling Tournament (as the UAW-sponsored affair is designated), as compared to the undemocratic nature of the ABC tournament, clearly illustrates the role played by union action in combatting Jim Crow in all phases of American life.

UAW has fought to have the ABC remove the "white only" clause from its constitution. When the ABC voted in 1947 to keep its "lily-white" clause, the UAW Executive Board decided to refuse to allow any local to sponsor ABC-sanctioned bowling, Instead, the Recreation Department started a drive for local bowling leagues open to ALL union members. To encourage the formation of these leagues with broad rank-and-file participation, the Recreation Department sponsored a city-wide bowling tournament which was probably the first such inter-racial event ever to be held in Detroit. Similar city-wide tournaments were held in other cities with a large UAW membership.

For the past several years, the

## Mine Settlement - -

#### (Continued from page 1)

Who will Lewis support for president this year? Or is he in the same fix as Murray: a labor leader looking for a capitalist candidate to hitch his union to? After Lewis has sold his union down the river to the Republicans, and Murray has sold the CIO down the river to the Democrats, and Bill Green has sold the AFL down the river to both Republicans and Democrats-where will that leave the coal miners the steelworkers and the rest of the millions of labor? It will leave all of labor right where we are today. We will still have the Taft - Hartley law around our necks. The Republicans and Democrats will continue to be the representatives and protectors of their masters: the big manufacturers, coal operators, planters, insurance companies and bankers. Prices will be just as high as they are today or higher. Profits will be just as big or bigger. Wages will be just as low or lower.

This will be true if the Republicans win. It will be true if the Democrats win. Why? Because whichever party wins of these two, it will mean that the coal operators have won and not the coal miners. A Republican or Democratic victory means that the United States Steel Corporation wins and not the steelworkers. Whether it is Taft or Truman, the automobile manufacturers win and not the automobile workers. A big banker or big insurance executive can pick a presidential candidate by spitting on a chip and tossing it over his shoulder. He knows that they all are defenders of "our system of free enterprise."

#### LABOR CAN WIN

The coal miners, steelworkers, sharecroppers, automobile workers, maritime workers etc. can win too. They can't win though with the politics of Murray, Lewis, Green and

office and you keep the big capitalists in power. We'll form our own party

and elect fellow workers from our own ranks. We'll take over the Government and put you into overalls. If the Lewis's, the Greens and the Murrays are not satisfied and want to defend you, we'll give them a seacorrespondent that he was against son in overalls also."

Labor can have its own party. We must have our own party. If we have our own party WE will win and not the big bosses. We can have our own party this year 1948, and before the November elections. This does not mean that our party can win this year but we can get started. The present Republican party was formed in the fifties and ran its first candidate in 1856. They didn't win the 1856 election but they did with Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Labor can't win in 1948 but we can form our labor party, enter the November elections and get some practice for 1952.

Labor needs lots of experience. We can only get this experience by participating in elections. We can't learn how to fight the big capitalists by voting for their candidates. Neither can we learn how to participate in elections with our own party by waiting until after the election is over. That doesn't make any sense. We should form our party now and enter the November elections. Then we will be ready and in shape to win in 1952.

#### **Sanitation Workers** Warn N. Y. City

NEW YORK, Apr. 5-New York City's budget making officials are being urged to heed the advice of Sanitation Department employees concerning the annual executive budget.

With the admonition "We told you so a year ago," the Sanitation Men's Protective Association is reminding each member of the Board of Estimate and the Budget Director that the city will again become "snowbound" and "dirt-bound" next winter if funds are not provided for manpower, machinery and morale, Stanley B. Krasowski, president of the American Federation of State. County and Municipal Employees Union, AFL, in a letter to the Mayor, Comptroller, Council President and each of the five borough presidents, said "Our entire program would have cost the city 'peanuts' compared with the \$10,000,000 it has so far cost the taxpayers for one snowfall.

These were preliminary to and a he opposed mixed dancing.) build-up for the above - mentioned International Bowling Tournament. They have had the desirable effect of focusing a spotlight on the reactionary nature of the ABC. While a great deal of good had been accomplished by the efforts of the UAW up to now, it would be ignoring reality to deny that the struggle has been one of a symbolic and limited nature. This is due to the fact that few locals have instituted a genuine interracial bowling program. Admittedly, it is not a simple matter to put into effect the policy of nonsegregated bowling, because most bowling alleys in Detroit (and other cities) refuse to accept any but ABCsanctioned leagues (a convenient excuse to justify Jim Crow). However, a militant and determined campaign with rank-and-file support could ex-

ert sufficient pressure to "persuade" bowling-alley proprietors to accept non - ABC - sanctioned inter-racial leagues. Local union leaderships have not followed this progressive course for opportunist reasons mixed bowling might lose a few votes), or because they are themselves opposed to interracial bowling. (A chairman of a local recreation committee no less told this

**To End Wage Differentials** 

land law, must stay on the job. cording to Frank McCarty, repre-

nation of the wage differential of 24 cents an hour between the Baltimore plant and sugar plants in other parts of the country, and a common contract termination date with the other plants. There is also a demand for

day work.

1947, in an attempt to end the wage differentials, even proposing that the company submit its own plan for a gradual elimination. The company finally offered the union an eleven cent raise which was promptly turned down by the negotiating committee of Local 392, Sugar Division of the UPWA because it would leave the Baltimore sugar workers thirteen

A good example of what took place is afforded by the situation at Chrysler Local 7. When the UAW Executive Board ruling was communicated to the local, a few individual rankand-filers took the initiative in forming a bowling league. They received only minimum financial support from the Recreation Committee, and met a conspiracy of silence so far as the vital factor of publicity was concerned. One could also witness the shame-

ful spectacle of the former unionsponsored all-white league continuing its existence (without union sponsorship), with many union activists as participants (including several members of the recreation committee). Until such Jim Crow practices are corrected, the UAW cannot say, "We are on the road to eliminating from our ranks the spirit, as well as. the letter, of Jim Crow." To make the UAW drive against

Jim Crow in the ABC a success, it is necessary for the anti-Jim Crow union militants to carry on a bold program of education among the union membership (the local leadership as well as the rank-and-file). They can also enroll the largest possible number of union members, white and Negro, in the UAW bowling leagues next season. It is a task worthy of mixed bowling for the same reason

## (supporting

## **Baltimore Sugar Workers Out**

#### Bq A. CARLTON

BALTIMORE-Nine hundred workers at the American Sugar Refinery Plant have been on strike for two weeks. All workers came out and stayed out, with the exception of engineers and guards who, under Mary-The main issue of the strike, ac-

sentative of the United Packinghouse Workers of America. CIO, are elimi-

overtime pay for Saturday and Sun-The union has been negotiating

with the Company since November

cents an hour behind people doing

the best elements in the UAW. the picket line and morale is good.

Unfortunately, the strikers are not being served coffee and sandwiches on picket duty because the union has been unable to locate a hall of any sort for strike headquarters in the South Baltimore area where the plant is located which can be used to serve both Negro and white strikers. (Close to 80 per cent of the strikers are Negro.) In our opinion, such a situation is a revelation of the general lack of aggressiveness of the Baltimore labor movement on the lissue of Negro discrimination.

#### IMPORTANT STRUGGLE

The struggle of the sugar workers is very important to the Baltimore workers in two ways. First, several strikes have been lost, or nearly lost, here recently and a smashing victory is the only way to stop a trend among Baltimore workers to say, "What's the sense in going on strike. It never does any good. Look what happened to the shipyard workers . . . and Western Electric . . . and Bartlet-Haywood."

Second, it is time to put a stop to the idea that Baltimore workers can be paid less than workers in other parts of the country. Living costs are no cheaper. In fact, the congressional

## Sad, Sad Tale of a **Sad Sack**

#### By BILL CARNEY

This is the tale of not just one Sad Sack but of 1,400 Sad Sacks who, upon returning to civilian life, found themselves faced with the problem of finding a home for their little families in an area where there were no vacancies within range of their modest means. What old homes they might have purchased with their GI loans the government agency in charge of investigating such properties turned thumbs down on for one reason or other, generally on the ground that the value of the old house was too highly inflated.

As everyone knows, Congress was too scared of the national real estate lobby, bulwarked by that great patriotic body, the American Legion, to take the necessary steps to establish low cost housing. Private interests had no desire to build low-cost rental units. It smelled the enormous profits that could be had by building new, high-cost dwellings for unfortunate evicted renters and homehungry veterans.

#### LEMONS COME HIGH

One particular builder, not satisfled with just giving the buyers a gypping by selling them a new home at highly inflated prices, has foisted off on them a real lemon, 1,400 of them, in fact.

The first thing that happened to these new, modern homes was that the roofs leaked. Not just a small trickle. No, sir! A real deluge right down through the light fixtures, a cascade of water that ruined furniture, wall paper and plaster.

When the poor victim sought redress, he was told to read his roofing contract, which states that the roofing contractor is required to repair the leak. The buyer must stand for the damaged furniture and the rest.

The next blow the bover received was a stab in the back. In fact, a couple of stabs in the back. His garage floor and cement driveways buckled as a result of the severe weather's effect on hastily laid cement. Bricks laid during freezing weather, in which the mortar would not set properly, have allowed water to seep into chimneys and walls.

Paint not yet a year old is peeling off the backs of the houses; putty is falling out of the windows; green timbers, used for joists, are warping and garage walls are bulging. Bathroom fixtures with iron instead of brass and bronze innards are going bad. Se alle is neget

#### SET FOR A NEW CROP

Yes, this is indeed the tale of a Sad Sack-1,400 Sad Sacks. For the, majority of the hapless buyers of these beautiful examples of free enterprise are young vets. And what of the builder of these monstrosities, the Warner-West Corporation? Have they been censured for this? True, they have made some gesture of rep-

## Sanitation Men May Get "Sick" Again

BUFFALO - The inspiring militancy of the Buffalo sanitation workers, Local 629, United Public Workers-CIO, as demonstrated in their recent actions to secure a cost - of - living bonus of \$400. continues as a threat over the heads of the city administration.

This small group of newly organized workers who quit a decrepit AFL union, recently formed a CIO local which immediately launched a campaign to get a cost of living bonus from the city government. Not content with merely changing their name from AFL to CIO, this small local drew upon all the rich traditions of the CIO. In their militant strike a couple of weeks ago, they used all the techniques of the picket lines, flying squads, sit-downs. Showing a keen perception of events and choice of tactics, these workers, facing the dangers of the Condon-Wadlin act which means job dismissal and loss of long worked-for pensions, chose the path of direct action.

forbids public employees to strike and which was first put into effect against the Buffalo teachers strike last year, was courageously challenged by the Buffalo sanitation workers. Launching an effective "sickness campaign," these workers, following the example of the mine workers, correctly claimed that due to rigorously physical requirements and the unpleasantness of the work. there was nobody to replace them when they left their jobs. Evidence of this is the constant vacancies in the Buffalo sanitation department.

The state Condon-Wadlin act which

#### MAYOR VETOES BONUS

Last week when the Democratic Party dominated Common Council "discovered" previously "unavailable" funds in the current fiscal budget and voted approval of a cost-ofliving bonus, Republican Mayor Dowd vetoed it. The substitute proposals of the Mayor for a bonus for ALL city employees to come from a proposed sales tax was just so much double talk to the sanitation workers who, if they are to get this year's cost - of - living bonus at all, must get it out of the current budget. The element of time is involved inasmuch as the new budget goes into effect July 1.

Finding themselves still merely a political football being tossed beween the Democratic Common Council and the Republican Mayor, the sanitation workers this time realized that action beyond the confines of their own organization was necessary.

On April 6, the sanitation workers resented a resolution to the Greater Buffalo CIO Industrial Council reviewing a history of their struggle with the city administration, emphasizing their need for the bonus, condemning the political machinations of both the Democratic and Republican parties, and calling for a conference of representatives of all CIO international unions in the Buffalo

cussion and more delay with July 1 approaching and no bonus.

Regional Director Thompson, disregarding the obviously necessary job action indicated by the full support of the rank and file of the CIO Council, chose the second road.

An attempt was made to call a conference of CIO representatives, Democratic and Republican administrators and party bosses, and socalled "impartial citizens" among whom was Alfred Kirchhofer, managing editor of the Buffalo Evening News, against whom the CIO Council frequently passes resolutions for its anti-CIO policies.

On April 9, at City Hall, when the CIO representatives approached Mayor Dowd in an attempt to discuss this conference with him, he bluntly stated, "I'll see no union men." In the City Hall corridor, brushing past Thompson, Mayor Dowd declared, "I'll talk only with employees and representaives of the City of Buffalo. I won't talk to union men."

As the mayor opened his office door. Thompson called, "I gather then that's a definite answer," and the mayor answered, "That's a very definite answer."

At its next meeting the Buffalo Common Council is expected to override the Mayor's vote, but this will far from guarantee the workers their bonus. No funds can be allocated without the Mayor's signature on a writ of necessity, and without a real force pressuring him it is not likely that he will do so.

#### MILITANCY STILL ALIVE

Despite the fact that the workers are being tied by the CIO officialdom whose policy of delay can only hinder their struggle, the militancy of the sanitation workers is still alive. Storming a Common Council budget hearing on April 10, a delegation of irate stewards of Local 629 demanded to know why they had not yet received pay checks.

In the council chambers James Morella, a sanitation worker steward from District 24 said. "Under the present setup I just don't bring home enough dough. I don't have enough to buy clothes. Some days I don't even have a pair of pants. My kid's wearing them." He removed his shoe and pointed to a hole in the sole and tugged at his khaki shirt?

"See these-I had to mooch them," he declared.

Joseph J. Cooley, South District councilman, who was presiding, retorted: "... we're not concerned about holes in shoes."

Steward Dominic Pieri of District 13, leaped up then to shout,

"Listen, I gotta worry about feeding my kids. Now the city's holding my pay. How's my family going to eat? The grocery store has shut us off."

Chairman Cooley observed that "it's not our responsibility to go looking for checks-we're legislators."

Just what kind of legislators occupy the chambers of the Common Council is obvious to members of

Reuther. We can't win with little Joe Martin, or Dewey, or Taft, or Truman. We can't win either with Eisenhower; the new desperation candidate of Murray, Reuther and the discarded liberals who make up Americans for Democratic Action. We can't win with these people because we can't win by giving our votes to the Republican and Democratic parties.

Every time a worker votes the Republican or Democratic ticket, or for any Republican or Democratic ticket, that worker throws his vote away. It would be far better not to vote at all. That at least would be saying to the Republicans and Democrats: "We are fired of you and your lies. We are sick of voting for you while you vote every time for the big manufacturers for street, bridge and highway reand the big bankers. We put you in

#### Subscribers - Attention!

Check your NAME-ADDRESS-CITY - ZONE - STATE appearing on the upper left-hand corner of on the up page one.

If there are any mistakes or if any-thing is left out of the address, especially the ZONE NUMBER, cut out your name and address and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed.

12-16 If this number appears at the bot-tom of your address, your sub-scription expires with this issue.

**RENEW NOW** EXTEND YOUR SUB

"And that's not the entire cost, either," Krasowski warned. "Wait until the repaying bills have to be met pairs. This could have been avoided in large part," he continued.

Last year the union urged the Board of Estimate to include funds, in the budget to purchase 500 new. trucks, to appoint 3,000 more men and to decentralize existing districts. The Board failed to provide the funds.

"The Sanitation Men's Protective Association warned the city officials publicly that New York would be unable to meet an emergency," Krasowski said. "The December 26 storm proved we knew what we were talking about. Our employees had to work for almost a month without a rest, hours of overtime, Sundays and holidays included. Emergency men were paid more than Sanitation men. We get off but one day a year."

APT.

ZONE..... STATE.

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Internst of Socialism

4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

(please print)

🗇 Bill me 🛛 Payment enclosed (Stamps, currency or Postal Note)

Please enter my subscription: \_\_NEW \_\_RENEWAL

Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents.

C One year (52 issues) at \$1.00.

NAME ...

CITY

ADDRESS ....

the same work in Boston and Brooklyn. The minimum for Baltimore workers is 93 cents an hour, and for Brooklyn workers is \$1.17.

#### STRIKE RUNS SMOOTHLY

At the Revere Sugar plant in Boston, the UPWA won its demands on the eve of a walkout. They eliminated the wage differential of eleven cents between their plant and Brooklyn, and won a common contract termination date with Brooklyn.

That leaves the Baltimore plant fighting it out alone, but with the financial aid of the other sugar locals, and full cooperation of the Baltimore CIO unions. Immediately on its strike settlement, the UPWA local at the Boston Revere plant donated \$500 apiece to both the sugar and the packinghouse strikers and, more important, the membership pledged ten dollars from each member as a donation from their own pay raise which is retroactive to January.

The strike organization is functioning smoothly with all members assigned to tours of picket duty or committee work. Daily strike bulletins are going out to the strikers on

price investigating committee found that there had been a greater percentage price increase in Baltimore than any other large city, bringing it up among the highest price cities. All Baltimore unions should get behind this strike-AFL, CIO and Independents-and show the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce that Baltimore workers are no longer willing to be discriminated against to boost the profits of the big corporations that locate here.

.

NOTE: An instructive side light on the strike of the sugar workers showed up in an eighth grade school class. Some pupils whose fathers are on strike wanted to debate the difuference between wage slavery and the 'slavery of pre-Civil War days. The panic-stricken school officials came up with the answer that it couldn't be done because some parents objected. Heaven forbid, that the public schools of our private profit system should teach the children the economic facts of life. It's better to let them grow up and learn it on the picket line.

aration. They have promised to repair the roof leaks and maybe repaper the damaged rooms, but move your furniture, friend, as they won't reimburse you for damage to that. What has the Veterans Administration done about this outrage? What has any branch of the government done about it? Nope, you are wrong there, gentle reader. The government didn't just ignore it. The Veterans Administration has just approved another \$17,000,000 (seventeen million bucks, friends) worth of veterans' housing contracts to Warner-West Corp.

Yea, verily! Barnum was right. There will be a new crop of Sad Sacks soon. We could draw a lesson from this, comrades, but we are quite sure that you can be trusted to draw your own conclusions.

> **50 Cents Buys** Six Month Sub to LABOR ACTION

area. This resolution was passed vigorously and unanimously by the rank and file delegates to the CIO Council.

One UAW council delegate declared, "Let the sanitation workers get 'sick' again. We'll do the picketing!"

An NMU port agent stated that they would have "a hundred sailors down there anytime they need pickets." The rank and file reaction was clearly and unmistakably for full support to any action the sanitation workers would undertake.

#### THOMPSON BACKS DELAY

The conference of CIO representatives was held and presided over by Hugh Thompson, CIO Regional Director. Two roads were open to the union representatives. One was to call for a repetition of the previous job action which had brought the Buffalo Common Council to heel. that is, to discovering the previously unavailable funds by a 14 to 1 vote. This job action had elicited widespread public support. The second choice was the same

old road of delay, investigation, dis-

Local 629. Indications are that the sanitation workers may blow the lid off the conservatism of the local CIO leadership and go beyond them in this struggle.

#### MACDONALD LECTURES AT CHICAGO U. CLUB

CHICAGO - An 'audience of two hundred heard Dwight Macdonald speak Friday afternoon at the University of Chicago under the auspices of the Socialist and Politics Clubs. The size of the attendance was larger than expected inasmuch as the lecture was held in competition with one by T. H. Tawney, the wellknown British historian. A thirty cent admission was charged.

Macdonald's speech on "Henry Wallace; the Man and the Myth" was largely an elaboration of the contents of his book. He probed behind the facade of liberalism which surrounds Wallace and revealed the essential truth: that Wallace has never lifted a finger to aid his recently adopted friend, the "common man.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor.

#### Wonders if It's **Too Hot to Handle**

Editor:

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE In regard to Jack Brad's article on Douglas MacArthur in the issue of March 29, 1948. In every article 1 have ever read concerning friend Mac I have found a consistent error of omission. It could be the item is "too hot to handle" for the capitalist press. But I will bet my last dollar that they would even fail to remember it if Doug turns out to be their "man on horseback" which they secretly long for over their champagne. The exact year has slipped my memory but the names I remember well. On or about the year 1934 when

Doug was glorying in his position of Chief of Staff of the General Staff Corps he was picked by a group of also of Montagu Collet Norman Wall Street buccaneers who were so (Governor of the Bank of England).

to see that Roosevelt was giving their economic system a new lease on life. He was picked by this group because their first appointee turned out to be a pure patriot of the old school and didn't care for any dirty work, even if it was 110 per cent American. Number one patriot (old style) was General Smedley D. Butler, a retired U. S. Marine Corps officer, Number two of course is our Doug. Civilian prompter of the gang was a gentle-

man named Murphy, Grayson M.-P.

Murphy. Murphy was and I think

still is head of Grayson M.-P. Mur-

phy, big New York Stock Exchange

operator. His London branch was

operated by Gérald Maxwell who

was a relative of the Duke of Nor-

folk (No. 1 duke of England), of the

Duke of Buccleuch, of Sir Eric Drum-

mond (Ambassador to Rome), and

shortsighted that they were unable So you can see that Murphy also tra- I honestly don't know but the means veled in the right company. A rough, tough unpolished piece of crude honesty like Smedley D. Butler wouldn't have felt at ease behind the White House phone extension to Wall Street anyway.

> Now, after the cast comes the plot. It was rumored that MacArthur would be very disappointed if he were not reappointed to the pinnacle of military success which he was occupying (Chief of Staff) and as FDR seemed to be following a "socialist" program (that shows how far to the Right the Right can move) it was felt by the members of this select group that a "man on horseback" was needed. They planned to have MacArthur appointed to the position of SECRETARY OF STATE, and from that position to be moved into the office of PRESIDENT in place of Roosevelt.

How were they to get rid of FDR?

are or could have been as numerous and interesting as those which the human mind is capable of hatching. Anyhow Butler squealed. MacArthur finished his term and maybe coincidental to the revealed plot it was found that it would be a suitable job for him to take over the Philippines and to stay there. MacArthur's last term as Chief of Staff expired on October 1, 1935 and hardly was it over than he was, as Brad explains "loaned to the Philippine government as military adviser." He has as other persons have noted been outside the continental limits of the U.S. for 18 years. Coincidence? Maybe. The French always exiled their generals to North Africa or farther points as did the Italians. The Czar and Stalin also, not North Africa of course as Russia has its points far away at home. As a sideline to this note on the

military: George C. Marshall while Chief of Staff in 1941 signed his name to an Army booklet which gives pointers on the use of everything that kills against the people of the United States. The words 'labor.' 'unions.' 'strikes,' etc. were not inserted but it was unnecessary as reference to the units of the Regular Army allying itself with the American Legion, the police departments, private detective agencies, railroad detectives, FBI agents, Internal Revenue agents (Secret Service) were there as big and shocking as life. There is no doubt that such a person as Marshall, who now holds such a potentially dangerous position as was picked for Mac, read the proofs before signing his name.

'Nuff said?

John DILLON

April 19, 1948

LABOR ACTION

## Editorials **Hoodlumism Cannot Be Tolerated!**

In various cities on his tour, Henry Wallace is being met by hoodlum mobs. In Evansville, Ind., there was not only attempted interference with his meeting, but Wallace was denied hotel space. A university professor who is chairman of the local Wallace committee has been expelled from his school.

These acts of organized hoodlumism and gangsterism call for the strongest condemnation. They are insupportable and indefensible from any point view except that of vigilante reaction. They arise moreover not out of antagonism to Stalinism, which the hoodlums do not understand at all, but out of antagonism to any movement which is independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Some sections of the labor movement have al-. ready protested the vicious harassing of the Wallace meetings. This is good. It is the proper way to discharge labor's responsibility in defending the liberties of speech and assembly.

Walter Reuther, president of the auto workers union, is reported to have called up Truman to broadcast a nationwide appeal against this interference with the Wallace campaign. Splendid! Truman is said to have replied that it is not in his province to do so, that it is the responsibility of local law enforcement officials. States rights, you know. Nonsense! Truman's demurrer may almost be equal to inciting the vigilante mobs.

It is also reported that Philip Murray let it be known that the steel union would not tolerate hoodlumism when Wallace spoke in Gary, Ind., a steel town. Again, we say, splendid!

We have heard it argued that the Stalinists who are the initiators of and the powers behind the Wallace movement have themselves been guilty repeatedly of hoodlumism. Gangsterism is in the very nature of Stalinism as of fascism and Klanism. Their hoodlum attacks on socialist and labor opponents (we have perhaps been their victims more often than others) have brought injury to the labor movement, in which the Stalinists manage to operate. Hoodlumism, when committed by Stalinists against socialist opponents is no whit different from hoodlumism committed by reactionary mobs, no matter who organizes these mobs Yet, we rise to protest the attacks on the Wallace meetings.

We are not protesting merely because the Wallace movement has managed to suck in thousands who have joined it out of their disgust with Democratic and Republican politics, and not at all because they are Stalinists. Nor are we protesting because these acts of hoodlumism will drive other thousands into the Wallace camp in demonstration against those who have no answer but to deny him the right to speak. We are protesting because we oppose this viciousness. Period. It injures demo-'cratic rights; it harms the labor movement.

Branches of the Workers Party, in circulating leaflets announcing meetings to discuss the Wallace movement; meetings which would be devoted to a criticism of Wallace, have included in these leaflets protests against attempts to deny Wallace the right to speak. One such was issued several months ago in Buffalo. That is the kind of thing which ought to be done elsewhere and everywhere.

We think this calls for union action. Where Wallace meetings are threatened by hoodlum attack in a given city, we think it the responsibility of the unions in that city to announce that they will not tolerate any invasion of his rights.

We take it for granted that the unions will also repudiate Wallace and his puppet-masters. Whether they do so or not, the unions still have the responsibility of blocking reactionary mobs. No section of the population has more reason to be concerned with democratic rights than the labor movement. It must show that concern in this instance as in others.

the evil stain which Deir Yassin represents upon the

banner of the Jewish struggle for freedom is to be

Those persons who, either wittingly or unwit-

tingly, have acted as the American representatives

of Jewish fascism owe a terrible responsibility

for the role they have played. The so-called "Ben

Hecht" committee mulcted millions of dollars from,

American Jews (and Gentiles) by carefully con-

cealing the true character of the Irgun organiza-

tion which they represented. Political playboys

like Hecht, despite their blood-thirsty jubilation

over the death of British soldiers, were themselves

both unaware of, and unconcerned with, the phi-

losophy and program of the movement they sup-

ported. They made themselves willing, even eager,

tools of the small group of Revisionist Zionists

who pulled the strings and planned the program

of hoaxing millions of American Jews. Yet any-

one who took the trouble to gain even a superficial

acquaintance with Revisionist literature could not

Arabs as a form of sub-human race who could

expunged, the murderers must be rounded up and

brought before a Jewish court of justice.

#### Italy's Crucial Election:

Italy votes at the end of this week. Approximately 25 million people are expected to cast their ballots in one of the most crucial and decisive elections of modern times. Months of campaigning and propagandizing are drawing to a close in an atmosphere of strife, conflict and widespread belief that the outcome of the election will be driven home perhaps by mass violence and civil war on a wide scale.

The campaign has developed into a test of strength. This test is not merely between the Italian Stalinist movement and the ruling, capitalist class of bourgeois Italy. In a far greater sense, it is a political test between American and Russian imperialism, their powers of propaganda and persuasion and their strength in determining the fate of Europe. This is why all of Europe in particular is watching the elections closely. The ability of America to develop and enforce its Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Western Europe will be influenced by its capacity to hold the Italian Stalinists in check. Actually, the elections are more crucial for Washington than for Moscow. This is why American intervention, in the form of speeches, letters, threats, declarations, naval maneuvers off Italy's coast etc. has been on a more open basis than Russian intervention, limited to newsprint shipments for propaganda and secret financing of their Italian Stalinist agents.

#### HOW THE BLOCS SHAPE-UP

How do matters stack up on election eve? The parties of the so-called "left," organized in the Democratic Popular Front constitute a solid group, entirely under Stalinist leadership. This bloc, headed by the sinister GPU agent Togliatti (a cynical and ruthless Stalinist agent if one ever existed), stretched out to include the pro-Stalinist Nenni Socialist Party and even the leftwing youth of the recently split Saragat Socialist Party which is supporting the Stalinist candidates in the elections. The electoral lists of the Stalinist bloc include some individual bourgeois candidates, placed there by the Stalinists who were disappointed by the fact that no bourgeois party adhered to their bloc. This fact has led certain ignorant theoreticians to denounce the Stalinists for "running after capitalists to capitulate to"! The Trotskyists in Italy, who are heavily influenced by 'Bordhigist" (ultra-leftist) ideas, are not participating in the elections, while the European Fourth International leadership is supporting the Stalinist electoral bloc! Meanwhile, it is clear that the Stalinists will receive the overwhelming support of the working class and poor peasantry to whom it has promised a quick distribution of land if it comes to power.

An exception to this is the Saragat Socialist Party, now part of the government, and an extremely conservative and right-wing Social Democratic party. It is running candidates and will obtain a measure of support from the more skilled and privileged workers, particularly of northern Italy. This party is committed to full support of the Marshall Plan and a coalition government for Italy. It is reported that many members of the pro-Stalinist SP of Nenni are leaving it in disgust, and going to the Saragat Party. This party may reveal surprising strength in the elections.

In the bourgeois camp there is, of course, primarily the Christian - Democratic party which has governed Italy for over two years. It is the Party of Catholicism. the Pope and American imperialism. It is committed entirely to a conservative, pro-American course and its victory is naturally strongly desired by Washington. Unlike the parties of the labor movement, adhered into a single bloc by the Stalinists, the parties of the Right are sharply divided among themselves and could not form any kind of an electoral bloc. The Stalinists are counting heavily upon this division to give them, at least, a plurality in the election results and thus a semilegal basis to demand the right to be the governing party

For the Right, there is the Christian Democratic party and the Republican party, representing the sofail to know that the Revisionists regarded the called liberal forces; then, further to the Right, stand the various nationalist, neo-fascist and monarchist movement (l'Uomo Qualungue, Italian Social Movement etc.). They will effectively split the rightist vote, but clearly the Christian Democrats and the Stalinist are the two great mass parties squared off against each other. The elections are for candidates for the new parliament that is to be created under the recently constituted Italian Republic. This, the first election, may well turn out to be the last!

51 per cent of the votes, form a government under the new Constitution-perhaps invite a few Nenni Stalino-Socialists and even some liberals to participate-and, having peacefully gained control of the state apparatus, set about their job of building a totalitarian state in Italy. This was their road in Czechoslovakia. But this cannot be their road in Italy, for the situation is much different. Russian armies never penetrated into Italy to set the stage for an eventual seizure of power. The Italian bourgeoisie controls the army and state apparatus at present and presents far greater capacities for resistance than did that of Czechoslovakia. Finally, the presence of American imperialism is far more direct and potent than was the case elsewhere.

There is no peaceful road to power for Italian Stalinism. Even if the Stalinists should legitimately gain 51 per cent of the votes, it is clear that the present Italian government would never admit this publicly but would count the Stalinists out by fraud and miscounting of ballots. To admit that the Stalinists have won the elections (that is, have the right to be the government) would be tantamount to suicide by the Italian bourgeoi-

But it seems most unlikely that the Stalinists will win a majority of the votes .. Present indications of the most objective kind give them between one third and 45 percent (maximum) of the total. This is more than enough (8 to 11 million!) and would indicate their solid base among the masses! The Christian Democrats, while not wnning a majority, will probably gain close to this. A plurality is sufficient for them to stay in governmental power, since the Saragat SP and other right wing parties will give them a majority in the new Parliament. In this sense, the electoral vote will constitute a roll call of the nation's politics, but will hardly decide the issues in themselves. The struggle will go on. The Saragat SP, particularly if it gains in strength, wll probably hold the power balance in the new Parliament.

#### AND AFTER THE ELECTIONS?

And what after the elections? Armed with their vast popular vote which fell short of a majority, what will the Stalinists do? The Christian Democrats, still in power and now reinforced by operation of the Marshall Plan, will appear to have a durable perspective in the country. Can Stalinism take this lying down? Clearly, this will be a crucial test for Stalinist perspective in Italy and Europe. Will the Stalinists launch civil war, attempt to seize power by extra-legal means, arm the workers who support them? Will they limit themselves to a partial civil war, seizing only key industrial centers in Northern Italy and attempt to hold out there, reinforced by aid from Jugoslavia (that is, Russia)?

Certainly these are possibilities and Stalinist calculations, dealing with the masses as so much capital to be expended for definite goals, will not quail before such adventures provided that (1) the conviction existed that American imperialism would not fight over this, and (2) such a civil war could be isolated and confined as, for example, that of Greece is. While we do not believe this possibility will materialize, it certainly cannot be excluded. However, there is good reason to believe that civil war is not imminent in Italy at present. Why? Even the Stalinist supporters are unprepared, politically and psychologically, for such a desperate adventure and gamble whose consequences are too involved for anyone to foresee. Furthermore, since American imperialism would have so much at stake (control of the Mediterranean and future of its Marshall Plan), a quick and major intervention could result. This might lead to what + Stalin dreads before all else-a premature world war between Moscow and Washington. There are other reasons that make open civil war unlikely.

Far more likely is that the Stalinists will confine themselves, for the present, to a protracted hit-and-run game against the Marshall Plan. This means strikes, open sabotage, a constant stirring up and disturbance of the country. Keep the Italian pots of discontent boiling-this will be the probable Stalinist strategy. They will attempt to prolong the confusion, uneasiness, uncertainty and insecurity for an indefinite period of time.

The great tragedy of Italy, it goes without saying,

is that no alternative political party to that of Stalin-

ism. Christian Democracy or the hopelessly conserva-

tive Social Democracy of Saragat has been thrown up.

The Italian worker, seeing no alternative to the Chris-

tian Democrats, goes to the Stalinists. The problem in

Italy, now, as before, is to create a new party of the

workers-neither Stalinist, nor Social Democratic-but

a revolutionary socialist party. Late as it is, it can still



Page 3

Everyone, we suppose, has those days when he feels that the human race is one of the good Lord's poorer inventions. Here we are crawling around on this earth waiting for the day when pin-ball machine and Beethoven quartet, the New Look and the Old Urge, the Communist Party and the Established Church will all impartially vanish in an atomic cloud. And yet a body continues to run into persons who chirrup, "Socialism won't work. You can't change human nature. Who'd want to collect the garbage under socialism?"

We admit the problem. During the period preliminary to the establishment of socialism, before the garbage disposal units now accessible only to the well-off are available to all, garbage collections will have to be made. A friend of ours who reads all the confession magazines informs us that he learned from Dwight Macdonald's "Politics" that Fourier, the great utopian socialist, proposed that thirteen and fourteen year-old children be delegated to the job.

We have a better idea. Why not employ all the scoundrels and fools in public life who have made a career peddling filth of all sorts? We'd like to begin by nominating a few persons from the ranks of those who have been contributing to the present war crisis.

First there is John L. Sullivan, the secretary of the navy. This is the character who recently announced that submarines "not belonging to any nation west of the Iron Curtain have been sighted off our shores." It turns out that "off our shores" when translated from Political English means "in the Johnston-Palmyra Island area southwest of the Hawaiian islands" and "in a vague area defined as 'off the Aleutians,' the westernmost of which lies 440 miles from Russian Kamchatka."

Then there is our old buddy of World War II days, George C. Marshall, now secretary of state. Marshall testified at the same time as Sullivan that the army is "a hollow shell." This prompted Hanson W. Baldwin, the military analyst, to remark that "the obvious retort of the citizen in this country is an inquiry into the intellectual capacity and administrative efficiency of our military leadership if \$10,000,000,000 and \$11,000,000,000 defense budgets can buy us only a 'hollow shell.'"

There is Bernard M. Baruch, with thirty years of war mongering behind him, who recently testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that UMT would be useful as a means "of rehabilitating youths with physical and mental defects which can be corrected" . . . by such persons as "off-shore" Sullivan, no doubt.

Gen. Eisenhower easily makes the grade by his latest action in accepting membership on the national executive board of the boy scouts, an act calculated to accelerate the mlitarization of the very young and condition them for the slaughter.

Philip Murray, the head of the CIO, is another. Numerous sources report his as ready to dumpwhat's his name? Oh yes-Truman and support Eisenhower for president. Such support would be all that is necessary to ensure the success of the strong Democratic draft-Eisenhower boom which is in the making.

Add to the list Republican senator Morse of Oregon who "voiced deep concern over a threat by two Negro leaders to call millions of their race to a sit-down strike against UMT and the draft." The threat came from A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Grant Reynolds, New York state commissioner of correction. Their purpose, the Negroes said, "is to force an end to segregation and racial discrimination by the armed forces.' This would lead to charges of treason said Morse.

Throw in Professor Arnold Toy

### **The Shame of Deir Yassin**

On Friday, April 9, units of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern gang massacred the bulk of the inhabitants of the Arab village of Deir Yassin. The bodies of some one hundred and fifty men, women and children had been thrown down a cistern while some ninety other bodies were scattered about according to Jacques De Reynier, International Red Cross representative, who visited the scene of the outrage. Those women and children whose lives had been spared were marched through the streets of neighboring Jewish villages by the Zionist terrorists and displayed as "trophies of war."

The brutal carnage at Deir Yassin is the first instance of mass extermination in the Palestinian war. Its occurrence, however, was no accident. It took place in accordance with the philosophy and avowed aims of its perpetrators, the Jewish Revisionists. The Revisionist movement, which praised Mussolini and glorified as patriots the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, was bound to beget such abominations as the wanton slaughter at Deir Yassin. Those who took offense at our reference to the Revisionist terrorists as having fascist inclinations at the time the latter were directing their blows against the British should now understand that a fascist-or semi-fascist, if you will-who struggles for national liberation does not thereby cease being a fascist . . . or semi-fascist. Even their struggle against the British was carried out with tactics based upon their repulsive theories as seen in the assassination of British private and the needless killing of civilians in bombings.

The daily press in New York, which has played

and the Jewish Agency could do little less. One has a right to expect much more." To "dissociate" and to mark as "utterly repugnant" is a feeble gesture when compared with the enormity of the crime. It is necessary to indict the practitioners of genocide as enemies, not only of the Jewish struggle for freedom, but of mankind itself. The depraved fanatics who turned Deir Yassin into an abattoir must not be shielded from the justified hatred and contempt which civilized men everywhere expressed for the hangmen of Lidice. If

oits of the Lionist terrorists in catering 'to Jewish circulation, has buried the handiwork of these "heroes" at Deir Yassin at the bottom of the dispatches from Palestine. With the cynicism that becomes an integral part of the thinking of men who coin profits out of human misery, the editors calculated that headlines on the Deir Yassin butchery would prove very unpopular with many of their readers. Their attitude is an insult to the vast majority of the Jewish population, above all the Jewish workers who have in recent years joined the struggle for a Jewish homeland in Palestine as a struggle on behalf of the homeless Jews of Europe. The overwhelming majority of Jews in America have viewed their support of the struggle in Palestine as an extension of their struggles on behalf of democratic rights and of freedom for the oppressed, and most certainly not as support to a policy of oppression and extermination of the Arabs.

The Jewish workers of New York, traditionally in the front ranks of organized labor, cannot but view the Jewish Revisionists with their antilabor program, as implacable, enemies, once they are informed of their true nature. That is why the true fighters on behalf of the rights of the Jews, above all those who fight for the right of unrestricted immigration to Palestine must be the first to raise their voices in protest against the foul deed committed at Deir Yassin and use it as an occasion to enlighten the Jewish masses in this country as to the real character of the Revisionists and their military offspring, the Irgun and the Stern gangs.

The press reports that Haganah, the official military force of the Jewish Agency, "dissociated" itself from the outrage and took over Deir Yassin from the Irgun and Stern gangs, liberating the remaining women and children captives. The Jewish Agency itself followed this with a statement that characterized the conduct of the Irgun and Stern gangs as "utterly repugnant to the spirit of the Yishuv (the Jewish homeland)." The Haganah tribute.

not be permitted to stand in the way of the higher civilization and culture of the Jews in Palestine, a view in keeping with that of a Bilbo or a Rankin on the Negroes. Monuments to Jewish civilization and culture which will be erected in Palestine by the Revisionists, who represent Jewish civilization and culture as little as the Nazis represented that of Germany, can only take the form of Deir Yas-

The secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, Dr. Khalidi, has stated that the Arabs do not intend to take reprisal actions for Deir Yassin. Without probing the sincerity of the announcement, it is obvious that the story of Deir Yassin will inflame Arab fighters and cannot but bring closer a war of extermination. Deir Yassin was an isolated Arab village surrounded by Jewish settlements. According to Arab sources, it lived peacefully during the current disorders on the basis of an agreement with its Jewish neighbors. Hundreds of isolated Jewish and Arab villages exist today on the basis of such local understandings. Deir Yas-. sin can give rise to such an envenomed atmosphere that no Jewish or Arab household would be safe without the protection of its own armed forces. The result would be wholesale pogroms and lynchings of non-combatants. Immediate and vigorous action against the murderers of Deir Yassin may yet serve to confine the struggle to military actions, as regrettable and futile as this form of bloodshed may be in Palestine today. Yet if such limitation could avert covering Palestine with Oswiecims and Majdaneks, operated by both sides, it could save both peoples from being dragged down to the animal level on which everyone is either nurderer or victim.

The glorious chapter written into Jewish and world history by the Jewish resistance movement under the Nazis, above all the imperishable pages written by the heroic Ghetto fighters of Warsaw. must not be dimmed by the kind of chapter which the craven murderers of Deir Yassin would con-

#### WHO WILL WIN THE ELECTIONS?

sition between the two giant impe-

rialisms - American and Russian -

dominates the Assembly and will de-

at. One thing is clear: none of the

proposals, plans or schemes will have

as their base the interests of either

Jew or Arab. At best, they will be

of oil, strategic bases, etc.

The Italian Stalinists seek to come to power legally and constitutionally. Above all, they would like to gain

New UN Palestine Debate -

#### as instructed by Washington. There is no doubt the U. S. can force the Assembly to adopt ANY scheme it wants, but the question remains: Can it evolve a workable plan even from its own imperialist point of view. This seems very doubtful. Trusteeship cannot work without a major U. S. military force and the U.S. is not ready to assume the main responsibility. Britain refuses to stay, and all attempts to find small



Henry JUDD

#### TRUCE FAILS

Both Jews and Arabs-have categorically rejected Trusteeship, as was predicted by LABOR ACTION. U. N. attempts at arranging a truce -which some considered a test point and a preliminary to Trusteeshiphas failed. Rumors are circulating that the Arab League is considering allowing Abdullah to occupy all of Palestine. Other rumors have the Arab League accepting Trusteeship on condition that it or an Arab State be the Trustee.

Fighting in Palestine continuesand continues to grow in intensity. Two months ago LABOR ACTION wrote "Defeat of Partition by the Mufti will not bring peace." It has not. and will not. All it can do is intensify the fighting.

The U. S. abandonment of partition struck a body blow to the Zionist leaders who placed their hopes in smart politics and maneuvers with the big powers. A Jewish State was proclaimed-but only after May 15. England still legally rules until then, and hasn't she given her word that she is leaving on that date? Whatever one may think of the advisability of declaring a Jewish State, one thing is clear: independencewith an appeal to the Arabs to make it an all-Palestine independence should have been declared immediately. It's an open secret that anything that the Big Five may do between now and May 15 will be some scheme that will make Palestine independence more difficult.

called as a historian. Toynbee contributes his bit to making the coming war seem more palatable by suggesting that the atom bomb is so horrible it may not be used.

Count in a Mr. A. V. Cleaver, author of a report in the "Journal of the British Interplanetary. Society" who contributes to the general hysteria by saying, "... I find it very easy to believe in a future race to establish national bases on the moon. . . . This means whoever first establishes a working base on the moon will be able to launch infinitely bigger and better missles than any earth-bound enemy."

Then last and least there is Col. H. S. Ruth, General MacArthur's fiscal director. Late last month all American occupation money defaced with political slogans was called in. Most of the slogans, said Ruth, were favorable to MacArthur. Yeah.

And there are people who think it will be difficult to get garbage collected under socialism!

#### Making It Plain

"We must have military support and protection for our economic investments wherever forces threaten everything we hold dear."-Gen. Wedemeyer before House Foreign Affairs Committee, March 4, 1948.

#### WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member.

Name					
Address					
1	86 E B				
3.	,		·····		<b>.</b>
Sec. 1. 16	1000	and there is	Libraria -	at 11 83 8	



Published Weekly by the

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



Vol. 12, No. 16 April 19, 1948 'Emanuel Garrett, Editor Editorial Board: Albert Gates, Henry Judd, Irving Howe Business Manager: Paul Bern

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



be done.

#### ed. In public, however, they voted (Continued from page 1) tionalist groups, and as a product of

the wrong policies of the Zionist leadership, this movement mistakenly looks on the Jewish immigrant and his aspirations, as an enemy. These are the two main forces directly concerned and their focus lies not only in Palestine, but in the Jews of the world and the Arabs of the entire Near East. Overshadowing them both is the danger of war. The jockeying for po-

powers to do the job are likely to end in failure. Is there any wonder then at the gloom that hangs over Lake Success termine what decision it will arrive when the Palestine questions is secondary or tertiary to the problems DETROIT This special session was called into survey.

DAY

Movie—Speakers—Singing

SUNDAY, MAY 2, 3:15 P. M.

**Craftsmen's Club** 

275 E. Ferry

Subscription: 25¢

er ni

being by a resolution of the Security Council, offered by the United States. Russia claimed to be opposed, but did not veto the resolution. Russia is not reluctant to use its veto when its own imperialist interests are at stake, but the interests of the Jews is not sufficient to move the Stalinists into determined action.

In conjunction with this resolution a motion for a truce was unanimously adopted. The United States, which had announced its plan for a UN Trusteeship failed to press for it and contented itself with the call for a special session. The so-called independent states on the Security Council, in private, sharply criticized the U. S. proposal on the grounds that Trusteeship would require more force than would Partition, and that the U. S. proposal was vague as to how the Trusteeship would be implement-

#### Page 4

## Full, Democratic Discussion Essential **To Producing Strong Pa. CIO Program**

Local 601 Membership Again

**Rebuffs Stalinist UE Leaders** 

READING, Pa .- With the Pennsylvania State CIO Convention scheduled to meet in Philadelphia on April 20 and 21, it is clear that the Murray leadership is primarily oriented at the moment toward ousting the Stalinists from leading positions in the CIO. This is absolutely necessary and correct. BUT THEY MUST BE DE-FEATED BY WINNING THE CIO TO A MILITANT, PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL PROGRAM. Only in this way will the labor movement benefit from the elimination of the Stalinists influence.

This is not the kind of program which Philip Murray is pushing today. He is, at least, against the Stalinists, but his attitude is hardly a progressive one. Thus, he is against Wallace, but he is also against independent working class politics

#### BAR DISCUSSION

In Berks County, the Murray "program" is being used by the local CIO officials to prevent a really serious consideration of the many profound and fundamental issues that the unions must solve. Any attempt to discuss within the local unions, or to raise questions in the CIO Council here, is frowned upon, discouraged and knocked down on the basis that Murray has a program and we must support it or else. The arrogance of the local international representatives on these matters and their insistence that only Murray's program can be discussed (!!) and adoptedthis arrogance only conceals their real lack of any views of their own. Their groveling before Murray reyeals their own helplessness.

Some locals, especially Local 2715, USA-CIO, have discussed many of these questions. Among other things, Local 2715 has gone on record in favor of the formation of a National Independent Labor Party. Note that this local adopted a position expressing its point of view WITHIN THE the motion.

LABOR MOVEMENT. Yet, this was immediately pounced upon by the local international representatives.

By STAN LAUREN

Creek High School.

PITTSBURGH, Apr. 11-The mem-

bership of Westinghouse Local 601

slapped the Stalinists down to de-

feat again this month at a tremen-

dous membership meeting at Turtle

Ever since the last membership

meeting, when the membership went

on record in favor of signing the

necessary affidavits under the Taft

Hartley Law at a stormy meeting, the

Communist Party people have been

frantic. Using the union newspaper

to slander their rank and file oppo-

sition with claims that they stood for

super-seniority for firemen in the

plant, the Stalinists hoped to whip

up sentiment against the rank and

file and create a reversal of policy.

The Stalinists tried to place a mo-

tion to reconsider the action of the

previous meeting but this was out of

order inasmuch as such a motion

could only be presented by someone

who had previously voted for the

motion. No such person would make

It's about time the healthy discussion and adoption of different points of view, and the right of locals to officially express their viewpoint on questions, even if contrary to Murray's program, are recognized rights and even duties. How else will the trade-union movement develop a program that will advance its interests? Apparently, some officials think that it can only be announced from above, by all-powerful officials who are infallibly correct.

The truth is that Murray and the official leadership of the CIO have no really positive or bold program for labor in this crucial period for labor. They offer a weak, ineffectual wage program to compensate the workers for the decline in their living conditions. They offer no effective methods for fighting for control of constantly higher prices. They offer no realistic methods of fighting the Taft-Hartley act.

One thing they do: they continue to keep the workers tied to the Democratic Party. Instead of delivering a body blow to that corrupt instru-

ment of the owners of industry by organizing an independent labor party, they continue to bolster it and corral labor to support it by the futile and false policy of "Support Friends of Labor.' A call for the organization of a

Labor Party based upon the millions of organized workers would sweep the nation, and give the millions of workers who are disgusted with the Democratic and Republican Parties an inspiring and concrete objective to fight for. The call for a labor party would rout the Stalinist-Wallace third party which is really a combination of a third capitalist party and a Stalinist creature aimed at channelizing the discontent of the people into the service of Russian imperialism. A Labor party would channelize the discontent of the working class for constructive purposes-the reorganization of the nation's economy in the interest of the people. - 1 es

The Pennsylvania CIO Convention can very well serve as a beginning in redirecting the union movement. We therefore believe that delegates to the Convention ought to insist on a real and thorough discussion of the most basic economic and political questions facing the labor movement. Adoption of Murray's negative program will not aid labor. The convention should reject the Stalinists by adopting a bold call for a LABOR PARTY BASED UPON THE UNION MOVEMENT and a bold program of economic and political demands in the interest of all the people. That is the way to defeat reaction. That is the road that the Pennsylvania CIO Convention can help labor choose.

### Greetings to Pennsylvania CIO Convention\_ **The Road for All Labor**

The Pennsylvania State CIO convention will bring together a large number of delegates from the various CIO internationals all over the state. We have no way of knowing what action the convention will take or what resolutions it will pass. We do know, however, that the workers of Pennsylvania. who will be represented by these delegates, face the very same problems which labor faces all over the nation. This is true despite the fact that in each state there are certain specific acts of legislatures and city councils which workers in that state must pay attention to. Pennsylvania, for example, illegalized the closed shop in June, 1947. In this state it is also illegal to pay unemployment benefits to strikers or to workers in a struck plant.

The chief problems however are the main problems of the whole labor movemenf. They are: (1) Independent political action by labor. (2) Rejection of Stalinist leadership in the unions and the Stalinist program for labor. (3) Thorough democratic discussion of all issues and genuine democratic decisions made by the rank and file membership. This is not the case at present.

There is too much Murray domination in the whole CIO. There is far too much of David McDonald's bureaucratic and arrogant domination of the United Steel Workers. The CIO top bureaucracy, which is Murray, is against the Wallace candidacy but that is all; they are just against Wallace. All a worker has to do next November is go to the

polls and vote against Wallace. How? That question will have to be asked of Phil Murray.

There has been some hoping, praying and conniving around with the Eisenhower boom. We are talking about the same Eisenhower who up to last week had maintained a firm silence on every public question except universal military training. He is for that. Last week he added one other plank to his platform; retention of a Jimcrow military set-up. Now he has two planks in his political platform: UMT and a Jimcrow army.

Even on the question of the Stalinists, Murray is in a very weak position. He didn't begin opposing the Stalinists until the conflict between Russia and the U.S. arose. He is only trailing along behind the State Department. He is not today opposing the Stalinists because of their anti-labor disruption and because of their anti-working class activities but only because they are no longer in the good graces of the Government.

The only way to provide the proper course of labor is by way of independent labor political action. Not as proposed by the UAW -"after the 1948 elections"-but before and FOR the 1948 elections. What will Republicans and Democrats have to worry about if labor always decides that we will not resort to independent political action until after we have put one of the capitalist parties back in the Capital and the White House!

### Stalin's Agents in France Plant Forged Document.

## **GPU Invents New Lies Against Trotsky**

#### By EMANUEL GARRETT

A crude forgery purporting to be a "testament" in which Leon Trotsky turned his back on the proletarian revolution and the ideas he had championed in a life dedicated to socialist struggle, was recently planted by his assassins in March 21 issue of the Paris weekly, France Dimanche," one of the numerous newspaper channels used by the Stalinists in France, h to the

Eight years have passed since the great revolutionary leader was struck down at his work-desk by a GPU agent who completed his part of a plot directed from New York, as disclosed a year ago in the revelations of ex-Daily Worker editor, Louis Budenz, But" the murderer, Stalin, is still tormented by the vitality of his victims ideas.

There is reason to believe that the "rediscovery" of the "testament" was planned to coincide with the publication in France of Trotsky's biog-

Kahn and Sayers, and published in this country as "The Great Conspir-

#### PUBLISHERS DISCARD BOOK

acy."

"The Great Conspiracy" fell flat here. Nowhere outside of Stalinist circles was it given a moment's attention.

In an act almost unparalleled in publishing history, THE PUBLISH-ERS, LITTLE BROWN, WASHED THEIR HANDS OF THE BOOK 20, 1940.) COMPLETELY, REASSIGNING IT TO THE AUTHORS ON APRIL 29, 1946, LESS THAN TWO MONTHS AFTER ITS PUBLICATION. Various court challenges of the book were threatened. The publishers had to admit that they had not checked the facts and threw the book back at the authors, since when it has been peddled exclusively by Stalinists (with Wallace's endorsement!) Publication of the forgery is, ap-



(The date they chose to give the document is interesting. Trotsky was killed in August. The "testament" was supposedly written on "May 20, 1940 at the time when Hitler was winning the battle of France." The only ones who knew that a "testaa ruling class.' ment" would be needed that year were the GPU agents who planned the assassination which was finally committed by Jacque Van den Dreshd - Mornard - Jacson on August

Further, the document presumably came to light because Trotsky entrusted three copies to Victor Serge, and one of Serge's friends "has just brought it to Europe." The forgery gets more confusing: (1) Serge did not arrive in Mexico until thirteen months after Trotsky died. How could the document have been entrusted to him? (2) Trotsky had all manner of political collaborators, of which Serge was not one. Why did he not give this important "testa-

have added a sentence completely foreign to Trotsky (and the Workers Party!) that the "bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union brings with it proof of the congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become

#### WHAT WORRIES STALIN

Everything Trotsky wrote up to the day he died stands in contradiction to that forgery. Trotsky never lost his socialist faith in the ability of the working class to lead humanity, and, constitutionally, he could not lose that confidence in the working class. Hence the forgeries. For Trotsky also was confident that the working class would in time destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is a thought that Stalin cannot tolerate!

It is not enough to have killed Trotsky. The Kremlin butcher must kill as well any idea that the workers whom he has placed in bondage, and whom he seeks to place in bondage, can lift themselves t ) free What worries Stalin and his agents is not that Trotsky lost his faith in the working class, but that he did NOT; and that there are others who have not lost and will not lose that confidence until of Stalinism there remains only a fearful memory.

## From the Hothouse **Of the Fierlingers**

#### By STAN GREY

The feebleminded and the blind have a certain license not granted to normal people. Their excesses are the products of disease not of malice, and unless they become socially harmful, they are permitted to stumble along.

But there are limits to this license. These bounds are broken by the New Leader in its April 3 issue in a little piece of scurrility which cannot be passed off simply as the inevitable product of well-known senility and stalinophobiac blindness. Written by Henri Guizot, this little package of villification is entitled "The Fourth Force" and subtitled "The Breeding

the iron curtain have their Fierlingers and, behold, they all come from

Of course, the New Leader now disavows Fierlinger. That was to be expected, for Fierlinger betrayed the cardinal tenet of "socialist" theory by deserting American imperialism to which social democracy is dedicated and offering his services to Stalinist imperialism. It reaches a kind of high in shamelessess for the social democrats of the New Leader to shout "Fierlinger" at this new French group whose tremendous virtue lies precisely in that it is striving to forge a force which is independent of both imperialisms.

cialism. Countries on both sides of

the camp of the social democracy!

Their complete rout must be effected in the months to come. Westinghouse Local **Condemns Raiding Of UE, Secessions** PHILADELPHIA, April 7-Westinghouse Local 107 UE (CIO) has gone on record to condemn the raiding of

But the rank and file group, seeing this was a representative meeting because of the huge attendance of more than 1000 people, desired to indicate once more where the membership stood on the issue and make the Stalinists shut up once and for all. They knew that the membership was in favor of signing the affidavits so as to make recognition of new plants easier and to eliminate company

tricks to bog down on negotiations.

Therefore Charles Copeland, business

agent of the local, made a motion

"NOT to reconsider" the action of

the previous meeting. He was sup-

ported by executive board members

Eugene Rath and William Peeler of

The motion was upheld by an over-

whelming majority. The membership likewise instructed Copeland to send

copies of the motion to sign the affi-

The most indicative thing about

the meeting was that the Stalinists were defeated because the member-

ship came out in force. Their con-

trol in the past has been rested largely on their discouragement of membership participation. The rank and file group on the other hand has con-

sistently urged the membership to

come down and express itself. When

they came the Stalinist bureaucrats

Slanderous charges about the rank

and file's position on super-seniority

were exploded on the floor of the

meeting. The membership denied the

It appears that the membership has

started the Stalinists on the run.

firemen super-seniority rights.

the rank and file group.

davits to other UE locals.

were routed.

of French Fierlingers." It is a roundhouse denunciation of the new French formation "The Rassemblement Democratique Revolutionnaire" (Revolutionary Democratic Front), headed by Sartre, Rousset and other intellectuals and socialists. It is furthermore, a denunciation in purest STALINIST style - from venom to amalgam.

The charge of the Social Democrat attorney is that this group is preparing itself for the role of the Czech Fierlinger in the coming French events. It (RDR) denounces capitalism as bankrupt and seeks to achieve socialism without the "extremes of Communism." It (RDR) denounces the Socialist party for having followed Leon Blum and given up the "doctrine of the revolutionary class struggle," thereby deteriorating into a "faithful manager of the capitalist state." In a word, it (RDR) is little more than a cover for Stalinism.

#### WHO WAS FIERLINGER?

Here indeed is a spectacle which, if it were not coming from the camp of the social democrats would be considered impossible. Who, if you please, WAS Fierlinger? Was he a case - hardened Bolshevik - Leninist -Trotskvist (whose theories must lead to Stalinism, as every Social Democrat knows)?

No, of course he was no Trotskyist. Could it be that Fierlinger was a Social Democrat, that is, someone whose theories do not lead to Stalinism? We are forced to admit it and we say it in a whisper. Yes, Fierlinger was a social Democrat. FIER-LINGER WAS A LEADING SOCIAL DEMOCRAT. He was a leader in the movement which the New Leader, and the inspired author of the Stalinist-minded article, consider the genuine force for democracy and so-

#### Don't Miss the NI!

The March issue of The New International features a lengthy review of the events in Czechoslovakia by Ernest Erber. The first installment of Victor Serge's "Year One" and other material make for an exceptionally interesting issue. Order your copy today from The New International, 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. 25¢ per copy.

THAT HURTS THEM That is what pricks our Social

Democratic New Leader to its excesses; that is what makes it pass off its own children on others. The RDR (the French group) condemns American imperialism which, for the Ten Commandments at once. It condemns Leon Blum and the Socialist Party for having abandoned a revolutionary socialist struggle. This Leon Blum it condemns writes in the current "Modern Review" (put out by political bosses of the New Leader) "for twelve years, from 1924 to 1936, and my comrade Vincent Auriol, devoted ourselves principally to preventing the Socialist parties from taking power." This is what hurts, and it must have been a deep wound to produce such a wholesale slander. Stalinophobia is a disease which comes from a blind hatred of Stalinism. And like a blind man, the Stalinophobiacs stumble through politics with their white stick avoiding everything that feels like Stalinism. They make no effort to ANALYZE the phenomenon of Stalinist totalitarianism. The disadvantage of being blind, however, is that it makes it difficult to see the DIRECTION in which things are moving. One of the weaknesses of the proclamation of the RDR group was that it was not sharp and precise enough in its denunciation of the "extremes of Communism." It was vague on Stalinism. For a Stalinophobiac that is a death sentence.

But for those who can see and who really want to build up genuine socialist anti-Stalinist forces, it is imperative to recognize that this formulation, vague as it might be, comes from people who yesterday were vaguely DEFENDING Stalinism. From a vague defense to a vague attack is a tremendous leap, one which, if made sharper, more extensive and more effective, can be decisive at this turn in history.

That is the great importance and merit of the RDR, one which escapes the closed eyes of the New Leader. Fierlinger, indeed! Yes, there are Fierlingers and there are Noskes. The one betrays socialism for the Stalinist bureaucracy, the other for the capitalist class. Both of them are the children of the Social Democracy, and that is their only brood.

2.35

its disapproval of those locals which secede from the UE and go to the UAW. A resolution was passed which read that Local 107 opposes both the raiding of the UE locals by the UAW and the secession of UE locals from the parent organization. It was voted that copies of the resolution be sent New Leader, is now a violation of all to all UE and UAW locals in the area.

the United Electrical Workers by the

UAW. At the same meeting, the mem-

n of Local 107 also expressed

While the local took this position against raiding and secession, speakers also condemned the leadership of the UE for its anti-democratic practices. It was pointed out that the UE News refuses to print stories which do no follow a pro-Stalinist line. There is much discontent in the UE. This is directed at the pro-Stalinist policies of Fitzgerald, Emspak and Matles. The Stalinists were pitiable and

reprehensible. They read passages from Lincoln on "Liberty" and said that to call for the nationalization of industry is "dictatorial." The Stalinists came in for more

adverse criticism under discussion of national negotiations. The union contract has been extended to the end of 1948. This extension was initiated by Matles and Matthews to get around difficulties in connection with non-recognition at the Beaver plant. The UE is not recognized at the Beaver plant of Westinghouse in Beaver, Pa. The company has refused to recognize the UE because the officers have not signed the anti-Com-

munist Party affidavits. The Beaver workers were called out on strike by the leadership, to force recognition from the company. The strike has been in progress for several weeks. UE members are contributing to the Beaver strike fund but are questioning the failure of the national leadership to finance the strike in the manner promised.

**By Leon Trotsky:** Living Thoughts of Karl Marx .....\$1.50 Stalin (a biography).... 5.00 Cash with orders-We pay postage Send for our complete list! LABOR ACTION **BOOK SERVICE** 

4 Court Sq., Long Isl. City 1, N, Y.

raphy of Stalin, and was also arranged to buttress a full dress campaign to justify the infamous Moscow Trials.

#### MORE FORGERIES POSSIBLE

There is as well reason to believe that additional forgeries will soon see the light of day. While the Nuremberg Court was in session, a petition, signed by scores of interna--tionally prominent men and women -labor leaders, writers, scientists, etc. (Max Shachtman, Workers Party National Chairman was, among the signers)-was presented to the Court asking that the Nazi defendants, notably Rudolph Hess, be interrogated with respect to accusations made in the Moseow Trials linking Stalin's victims with a Hitler conspiracy. Natalia Trotsky asked the Court for permission to be represented in person or by counsel in questioning the defendants about charges made against Trotsky and other revolutionists, charges which were proved to be palpable frame-ups by the Commission of Inquiry, chaired by the noted philosopher, John Dewey.

The petition was unanswered. It is certain that the Russian prosecutor would not permit any such interrogation. Had the accusations in the Moscow Trials had so much as a grain of truth in them, the Russian prosecutor would certainly have seized upon the opportunity to justify the Moscow Trials before world opinion which holds these trials to have been monstrous frameups. However, what Stalin did not dare attempt in open court, he may now attempt where there cannot be examination of the evidence. The Russians have announced that they are publishing a counterpart to the U.S. documents on Nazi-Russian relations It is possible that in these Russian published documents, forgeries designed to justify Stalin's murder of revolutionists, will be included. LA-BOR ACTION warns its readers of this in advance. The forgery published in Paris may be a trial balloon for greater frauds to come!

Also, so anxious is Stalin's murder machine to justify the Moscow Trials after its failure to do so at Nuremberg, and so anxious are his agents to offset the effects of Trotsky's book on Stalin in the volatile French situation, that they have launched a sweeping campaign to put over the Stalinist fabrication concocted by 之 一 一



LEON TROTSKY

parently connected with publication of the French edition of the Kahn-Sayers book. The Stalinists are going to great lengths to put its filth over. There are reports that a room at the Sorbonne (France's big university) has been taken to either study the book or "investigate" the Moscow Trials, with the obvious intention of lending the name of the Sorbonne to the scurrilous findings of Stalinist "students." The forgery would thus appear to serve as an attempt to provide a "logical" basis for the Moscow slanders, on the theory presumably that the man who in 1940 discarded his ideas in writing might have done so in practice earlier.

The forgery itself is so "clever" as to be self - defeating. It "cleverly" simulates Trotsky's style by the simple device of lifting from PUB-LISHED writings of Trotsky, and twisting a phrase or adding a sentence.

The very manner of its "discovery" explodes the fake. According to France Dimanche, "toward the end of July 1940 a Soviet agent succeeded in securing a copy of the testament which Trotsky had entrusted to one of his intimate friends and the document was transmitted to Moscow." But France Dimanche also reports that, "This document, so extraordinary in every respect, has remained secret for eight years. It was believed to have been destroyed." In other words. Moscow had the document in 1940, but "it was believed to have been destroyed." Now, why in the name of any kind of intelligence, would Moscow, which a month later was to send a murderer to the home of the great revolutionist, "destroy" this evidence against him?

to one of those who, at least would have been able to transmit the document to the movement Trotsky built? (3) The document is sent to Moscow in 1940. It is "believed" destroyed. It is "just brought to Europe." One thing is certain: it was never destroyed for the good reason that it was just written! That is why it "just arrived."

#### **OBVIOUS DISTORTIONS**

The "testament" is hardly worth quoting at length. The gist of it is: "I am a veteran of the revolution who in the last hours of his life finds himself compelled to revise all the ideas and conceptions which he had formerly held. I firmly believed in the regeneration of mankind through the proletarian revolution. I begin to doubt that the class on which I placed all my hopes is capable of attempting the colossal task which history wants to assign to it."

There is a certain caution here, aimed at making the "testament" authentic. The Stalinist forgers are using restraint. Their next "discoveries" will be less so. Here they do not have Trotsky engaging in acts of conspiracy with Hitler (as they charged in the Moscow Trials), but merely reflecting on the impossibility of proletarian revolution, on the correct vision of "certain elements in the left wing of the Socialist move-

ment." The biggest part of the revelation purports to show that Trotsky had changed his mind on defending Russia. As anyone who has the slightest knowledge at all knows, Trotsky was then engaged in a fierce polemic with those of us who founded the Workers Party because WE felt that it was wrong for revolutionists to defend Russia in the imperialist war. Trotsky was in our view wrong, but the fact remains that whether or not he would have changed his mind had he lived, Trotsky polemized against our view while he lived.

The forgers have also taken a section of a document ("In Defense of Marxism") which Trotsky wrote AGAINST a view then being developed by the Workers Party that Russia was a new kind of exploitive state, bureaucratic collectivism, and changed it to read: "This [the victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy] will be the epoch of a new exploitive class, born from the Bonapartist bureaucracy of Stalin." And the forgers PARTY!

There will be new and grosser forgeries. We must take that for granted. The answer lies in fighting ceaselessly against the bestial totalitarianism of Stalinism!

### No Substitute - -

(Continued from page 1).

for Eisenhower-anybody at all-so that he won't have to support a Republican candidate.

Reuther is in a worse position. He, unlike Murray, has spoken of organizing independent political action. The UAW has even promised to do something along those lines AFTER November. To recognize the need of independent political labor action, however indirectly, and then to cry for a capitalist savior is indeed playing slimy politics.

There is no substitute for a Labor Party. And the labor leaders will never find one. Every issue of the day demonstrates the need of labor's intervention in politics under its own

banner and with its own program. If workers are rallying to Wallace it is not because all of them are Stalinists. Few are. But they are looking for an instrument through which they can express their independent will. They are wrong in thinking that this Stalinist concoction is that instrument. But that is what they want. A Labor Party would not merely dispose of the Wallace movement (a wayside effort by itself), it would enter labor upon a new road of social and economic achievement.

A new war is being fashioned by the imperialists. Multiple problems press on us-high prices, 'inadequate wages, Jim Crow, government by injunction. We are voiceless and weaponless in meeting these problems, in expressing our will on these matters, on the full scale that they must be met, without a Labor Party.

Eisenhower won't do. Truman won't do. Wallace won't do. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A LABOR