

Work for a Workers World;  
Join the Workers Party!

# LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 23, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## What Policy Shall UE Ranks Follow?

By DAVID COOLIDGE

While it is true that every union in the country is faced with great difficulties in connection with the operations of the Taft-Hartley Act, the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE) membership has two problems in connection with the act. One is the Taft-Hartley Act itself, with all its anti-labor provisions and implications. The other is the "Communist Party" (Stalinist party) leadership of the UE. The UE is one of the internationals which has refused to sign the political party affidavit called for in the Taft-Hartley law. In this affidavit, officers of unions must say under oath: "I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party."

It is well known that the UE is under the leadership and domination of the Stalinists. The top officers of the UE are either members of the CP, Stalinist sympathizers and fellow travelers, or stooges of the Stalinists. This means that this large international in the electrical industry is controlled, managed and dominated by the Stalinists. The president of

the UE, Fitzgerald, is only a wooden Charlie McCarthy sitting on the lap of his Stalinist masters, who work his mouth in accord with the political line of the CP.

Why are the Stalinists in the United States holding out on the signing of the above quoted affidavit? Is it because they have principles against signing such affidavits? Is it because they are opposed to the interference of the capitalist government in the affairs of the unions and other workers' organizations? Is it because they believe that the affidavit is "un-constitutional" and a violation of fundamental political rights and immunities of American citizens? No! The Stalinists do not oppose signing for any of these correct reasons.

### STALINIST LINE SWINGS

They demonstrated during the imperialist Second World War that they have no such principles and no such scruples. They supported that war after June 22, 1941, and called it a "sacred war" after that date. They were against the war before June 22,

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## See Unified Strategy Key to UAW Demands

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Feb. 15.—Within 10 days Chrysler Corporation will be asked to grant a series of demands approved at the two-day wage conference of the UAW-CIO attended by delegates representing all Chrysler shops.

The Chrysler workers' conference approved a resolution calling for a 30-cent boost, plus a health insurance plan, an adequate pension plan, increased vacation pay, and adjustment of many important wage inequalities and classifications.

Although at first glance this seems to be far more than the GM workers' conference approved as its demands, Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, told the Chrysler conference that it was actually less, for the adjustments in wage inequalities in GM plants which shall be demanded bring the GM demands to MORE than a total of 40 cents an hour.

Reuther did not demand that the Chrysler workers follow the GM pattern, but rather spoke in explanation of why the GM demands were really higher than the Chrysler demands!

As a matter of fact, the whole question of demands on the corporation has been inflated into a factional issue in which everyone is determined not to be shown any less militant than the next person.

In local union discussions before the Chrysler conference, this was evident in the speeches of many well known "politicians" in the UAW. In one local union, for example, a resolution was introduced for a 25-cent increase, plus five cents for a medical plan. Before the discussion was over, a pension plan and other points were added to the resolution.

This is a good technique for avoiding the real issues, in our opinion. The ideas of a wage increase without a price increase and a cost of living bonus through an escalator clause were largely lost in the speech-making in which the "politicians" sought to show they weren't going to be put on the spot by asking what seemed like less than the previous speaker.

Even such conservatives as Norman Mathews, UAW director of the Chrysler department, went along with this

approach to the problem rather than lose "face."

Of course, everyone in the UAW knows that this kind of factional approach is due primarily to the attempt of the Stalinists to regain ground in the auto union by suddenly appearing as "militant" through outbidding and outspeaking anyone, especially Reuther, in anything he says or asks of the corporations.

The problem of unified strategy received more attention at local union meetings than at the conference, which did, of course, pass a resolution calling for unified strategy to a joint Chrysler-GM committee.

In local unions the idea of a unified CIO strategy to prevent the steel union, or the UE-CIO, from setting a poor pattern as they did during the 1945-46 General Motors strike (higher wages with higher prices) was discussed more fully. This type of fruitful discussion in which basic ideas of a wage struggle policy are presented, wasn't to the liking of many of the new "militants," who want to avoid an analysis of the past fights and the fruitful lessons for the present fight that can be derived from such an analysis.

Since Chrysler is and has been a tough customer in negotiations, there seems little likelihood that any good results will come quickly in negotiations unless its Wall Street owners decide to let this corporation be a "pattern" for all wage negotiations. In any event, the wage policy committee of the UAW which is unified in its goal will be in a position to handle these kinds of questions without any friction between the Chrysler and GM departments.

A far more important aspect of this "pattern question" is what the UE does and what the steel workers do. Unity in the CIO in its objectives and in the contracts signed, so that no union is sold short as the GM workers were in 1946, is a key question in this respect.

Likewise, the futility of higher wages with price increases has become so obvious that no one dares any longer in most UAW locals to ridicule the idea of higher wages without price increases—a demand raised in the last GM strike.

## Deportation Orders Threat to Liberties

By SUSAN GREEN

On February 16, outside his home in New York City, Ferdinand C. Smith, national secretary of the National Maritime Union, was arrested

### ISAACSON VOTE

A highly interesting congressional by-election was held this week in the 24th Congressional District of the Bronx, New York City. Election returns, which announce the victory of the Wallace-Stalinist candidate, Leo Isaacson, were published too late for analysis in this week issue. Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry a report of this election. Also in next week's issue: "Mikolajczyk Exposed," by A. Rudziński.

on a deportation warrant and escorted to Ellis Island by agents of both the Immigration and Naturalization Service and of the FBI. There he will await a hearing on charges of being illegally in the United States and of being a member of an organization advocating the overthrow of the United States government, namely, the Communist Party.

While waiting for his hearing, Smith may have the company of John Williamson, labor secretary of the Communist Party, consigned to Ellis Island six days previously, also on deportation charges. The Department of Justice has made it known that the arrests of Stalinists thus far are only the prelude to what is known as the department's plan to "clean out the Communists in the labor movement."

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# LABOR OFFENSIVE REMAINS ANSWER TO PRICE SQUEEZE!

## CP Control In CIO Body Under Attack

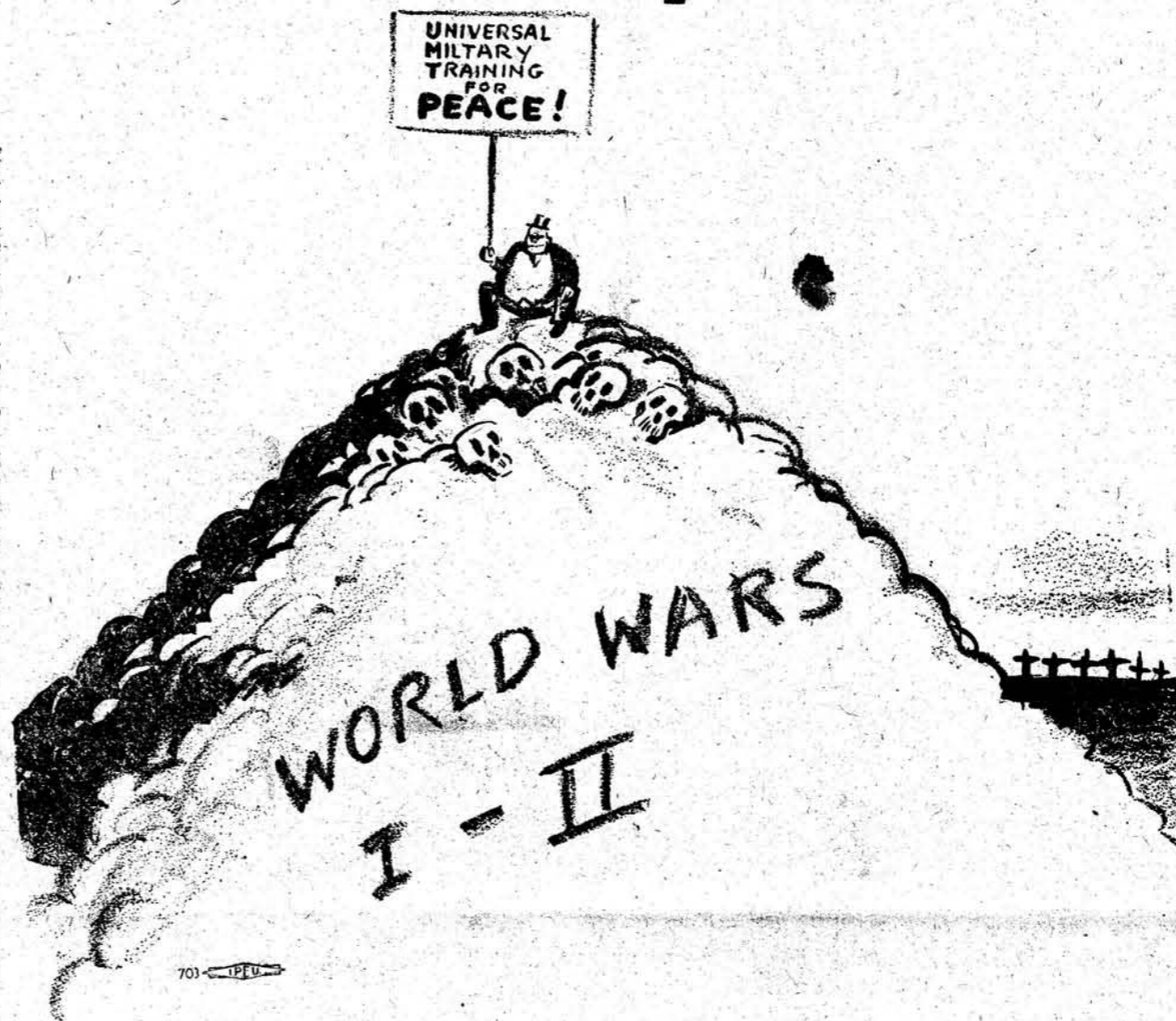
LOS ANGELES—The candidacy of Wallace and the question of the third party came up before the CIO Council here on Friday, February 7, and became the issue around which the self-styled Murray-CIO group opened its fight against Stalinist domination of the body.

In a complicated local political situation, the Stalinists have had to tread warily in their efforts to gather support of the CIO unions to Wallace and the third party, represented in embryo form by the newly constructed Independent Progressive Party of California. But the issue came before the Council at its last meeting in the form of a report of its PAC committee headed by Chairman William Lawrence, member of the Los Angeles County Democratic Party and representative of Bridges' Longshoremen's Union which has already endorsed Wallace and the third party.

Lawrence reported but a majority policy statement which deliberately avoided the question of endorsement of Wallace and the third party directly, concentrating on the old chestnut of supporting "progressive, pro-labor congressmen and state legislators." In avoiding this question, Lawrence made it clear that he did not wish to put the Council in conflict with the CIO Executive Board, which specifically rejected Wallace and the

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## Advice From the Experts!



### An Editorial on Philip Murray's Challenge

## Indicted Under T-H Section 304

On February 11, a federal grand jury indicted Philip Murray and the CIO for violation of Section 304 of the Taft-Hartley Act. Section 304 prohibits political expenditures by labor unions. President Murray and the CIO deliberately invited a court test of this section of the act as an unconstitutional impingement on freedom of speech and the press. On July 12, 1947, three weeks after the act was passed, the CIO News, in a statement signed by Philip Murray as president of the CIO, called for the election of Edward Garmatz, Democratic candidate for Congress, in Baltimore. Since then the Justice Department has been working on the CIO's clear invitation to indictment, preparing for the case which will eventually go before the Supreme Court. On February 20, President Murray will plead "not guilty." The AFL, like the CIO, has also prepared for a court test of this section of the law. The Connecticut AFL has in fact packaged the evidence with regard to its own political activities and presented it to the proper government bodies, inviting indictment.

The court test is all to the good. The iniquitous provisions of the Taft-Hartley law have to be challenged in every way possible. And President Murray is obviously discharging his responsibilities as a labor leader in presenting the challenge. More than that, in challenging the constitutionality of the law, the CIO is defending a vital democratic right for ALL of the PEOPLE—namely, the right to think freely and to reflect that thinking in speech and action. Section 304 is indeed an invasion of the freedom of the press, as well as a particularly venomous attack on the cornerstone of labor's need: independent political action. Designed today primarily as an obstacle

toward labor's participation in political activities, it can and will, if permitted to stand on the books, be used tomorrow in a broader invasion of basic liberties.

However, several things have to be noted.

- Though Section 304 is of concern to the people as a whole, and not only labor, it is purest idiocy to equate the position of unions with banks and corporations under the law. And that is what Murray did. Whom was he trying to impress? The bankers and corporation executives? They probably chuckled themselves sick on reading Murray's statement. The Supreme Court? The august gentlemen of the court are perhaps not given to raucous snickers in the solemnity of their chambers, but they will surely read his observations with a decorous giggle.
- While commending the challenge, we ought not to overlook the specific occasion, that is, the support of Garmatz. The CIO challenge would have been infinitely more potent had it been based upon the support of a LABOR PARTY candidate, running on the ticket of a LABOR PARTY. Good as the principle of the challenge may be, the CIO had no business in backing Garmatz, a judge, running on the ticket of the Democratic Party, the party of the banks and corporations.

- Legal assaults are part of the campaign against the Taft-Hartley law. However, they are only a part, and not the major part, as Murray is trying to make them. The principal lines of attack depend on a comprehensive labor offensive, the kind that Murray and the entire CIO leadership DUCKED BEFORE passage of the act—specifically, the mobilization of millions of working men and women for an aggressive warning against passage of the act, a demonstration of labor's power and its intention to refuse to abide

by any of the restraining provisions of the law. Something of this attitude of Murrays' is indicated anew this week. It is the sort of thing which saps labor's strength and weakens its position, even if the given court case, for one reason or another, should be won. On February 16, Philip Murray, as president of the steel union, after a meeting of the union's executive board, issued a statement in which he promised the steel industry the union would not strike, though it would present wage demands. That is hardly the way to promote the steel workers' case. A strike may or may not prove to be advisable and possible. That is for the steel workers to decide. However, it can hardly serve the steel workers to declare IN ADVANCE that come what may the union will NOT strike. What then have the steel industrialists to fear? Strong talk? Persuasive arguments? But the most persuasive argument has already been ruled out. And it is safe to say that while the steel workers may get an increase, it will be nowhere near what they need.

The two things—the Taft-Hartley challenge and the steel demands—are related. Just as in the first, the CIO does well in forcing a legal test, so in the second it will probably do well in presenting the facts for a wage increase in a coming "Wage Report." The impetus for really successful conclusion of both is, however, missing. It is this impetus, the demand for an aggressive presentation of labor's case, and offensive action to match, that will have to be initiated by the rank and file. The Taft-Hartley law and the capitalist offensive which inspired it, do not begin and end with the constitutionality of Section 304. There is much more to the law and much more to the fight against it. Formation of a Labor Party would test the law one thousand times better than a court contest.

## Market Fall Will NOT Bring Relief

The break in commodity market prices will not substantially reduce prices on foods and other necessities.

That much has been made clear over this past week.

The best estimates anticipate a weekly saving of \$1.00 to the consumer. And that is by no means certain of continuation.

Thus the New York Times, in reporting the drop in food prices, nevertheless added: "But over all the drop was not great and there was no comparable decline in non-food prices."

Some price drops were "freakish," are already being cancelled, or will soon be cancelled. For example, in New York City the big food chains staged a little price war, especially on meat. However, one big chain, Grand Union, which reduced prices on certain cuts of meat to 63 cents a pound, has already raised them to 73 cents a pound.

Speculation is rife as to market manipulations causing the break. A government investigation is under way. There are even rumors that the price break was deliberately induced by certain traders out to make a killing and there has been talk about the break having been partly plotted to take the edge off control demands.

It is precisely to these price control demands that labor must return. Short of a major economic collapse, which will only heap disaster on the people, there is not a chance in a million that prices will come down through "the orderly processes of free enterprise."

Even should prices stay down on those articles where there has been a drop of a few cents, THEY ARE STILL IMPOSSIBLY HIGH!

Figures released by the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics show that on a statistical index, with 1939 representing 100, food prices rose to over 450 on the index in January, 1948, and came down to 400 after the February market break. Last year, food prices actually registered sharper declines—temporarily, of course, and invariably followed by an equally sharp rise. (It is interesting that stock market prices have remained almost stable on the statistical index from 1939 to 1948.)

The monopolists will not reduce prices. Labor must still speak for the people in pushing a program for:

- Vigorous price control legislation, enforced with the teeth of popular consumer-labor price control committees.

- Wage increases WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES, specified in union demand, sufficient to overcome the cuts imposed by rising prices, and to ADVANCE labor's standard of living.

- Escalator clauses in union contracts, providing for wage increases as prices go up.

The job of price control remains in the hands of the people. And organized labor has a responsibility to the people in presenting a proper program and directing it toward achievement.

## Government Prepares to Break Coal Strike

Federal Conciliator and Coal Advisory Board Threaten Taft-Hartley Club as Union Seeks Pension for Aged Miners

By GERRY McDERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA—Big business government has recently announced its intention of breaking any coal strike this spring.

Cyrus Ching, head of the Federal Conciliation Service, has announced that the government won't "permit" a soft coal shutdown. In short, the government intends to pursue its drive to smash the miners' union by bringing up the heavy artillery of the Taft-Hartley law. First step in this drive, now that Lewis has filed what

amounts to the 60-day strike notice required by the law, will undoubtedly be the use of the provisions of the law to postpone the strike another 80 days.

The background of this renewed attack against the UMWA is the union's demand for a pension plan for aged miners. The operators have already rejected this.

### PREPARE NEW CLUB

Not satisfied with their use of the yellow-dog injunction and the Taft-Hartley weapon, the government is trying to prepare still another club

to use on the miners. In its most recent price control bill, the administration asked for the right to fix wages in the coal industry (as well as other industries) and suggested a penalty of a \$5,000 fine and a year in jail for any workman who even ACCEPTS a pay raise! The new Coal Advisory Board recently set up by Secretary of the Interior Krug, and boycotted by Lewis, is really a move toward making the coal industry one big cartel and putting it more nearly on a war footing.

A sidelight of the announcement by Federal Conciliator Ching that the

government "will not tolerate" a coal strike was a howl of protest against government seizure by some Southern coal operators. No one should be fooled by this. They are afraid that the government, if it takes over the mines, will grant the miners a few crumbs. So the operators are howling now to make it plain to THEIR government that it should really be tough with the coal diggers and their union.

The miners are ready to fight and Lewis is apparently ready to call a strike. But the lesson of the yellow-dog injunction of last year must not

be forgotten. Political power is in the hands of the operators and their class through their political parties and their government, and that political power is stronger than the economic power of any one union. The answer—Independent labor political action—must be faced by the rank-and-file miner even if Lewis is reluctant to do so.

The miners can beat the operators any day of the week and twice on Sunday in an economic fight. Together with the rest of labor, they could do the same in a political fight. The time for action is now.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# IUMSWA Hears Labor Party Plea

CLEVELAND, Feb. 15—The 13th annual convention of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers convened February 9-13 in this city after a delay of several months due to the extended Bethlehem-Steel strike conducted by the union.

Almost immediately the convention faced the main problem of the working class today—political action. The first resolution of the Resolutions Committee called for a vigilant fight for minor political positions in states and cities as well as major national positions. It attacked Wallace for splitting the labor movement and

called for support of the PAC policy of the CIO.

A strong minority was very critical of the resolution. The Stalinists avoided an open battle though backing Wallace with the argument that Wallace would smoke out the reactionaries in both the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Pat McCann, of Local 1, addressed himself specifically to Jack Kroll, PAC director, in his talk in which he condemned the leadership of the CIO for coming out publicly for politicians and then "ramming it down the throats of the rank and file in the PAC." McCann indicated that the

PAC was almost as non-democratic as the two boss parties and stated that in this period in America "organizing politically is more important than organizing unions." He received a strong response from the delegates.

Bob Lenihan of Local 13 made the most militant speech of the entire convention when he condemned the resolution as being in actuality support of Strike-Breaker Truman and giving support to anti-working class parties since both Democrats and Republicans are responsible for anti-labor legislation.

Lenihan condemned Wallace for endangering labor's independent political action and explained how Wallace had no integrity or responsibility to the labor movement, since he was a capitalist through and through.

"Unions have to build a class political party with the same requirements for membership based on a class system, as we have in our unions. Company unionism in politics must go out. We must fight against the boss parties with labor's own political party." It seemed apparent from the response of the delegates that if a caucus had been organized within the IUMSWA for independent political action it would have carried its program. The political resolution was adopted by a hand vote after a voice vote was taken.

On the resolution on general policy and progress, the Executive Board supported its past program. A minority report asked for reasons for the defeat of the union at Bethlehem and criticized the leadership for being bureaucratic by lifting the autonomy of locals that were too critical of the leadership. On this question the leadership whitewashed itself by attacking Bethlehem Steel and made use of red-baiting in attacking the minority report.

One of the strongest fights of the convention came when the Executive Board tried to extend the term of officers from one year to two years. Locals 13 and 1 put up a determined fight against the resolution and finally beat it on a count of hands. In this battle, the chair bureaucratically refused to call for a vote of hands. Only after Locals 13 and 1 started to leave the hall did the chairman reverse his position and allow the hand vote.

Under the report of the Appeals Committee the repression of certain unions and members came out. A member of Local 15, allegedly a CP man, was penalized for passing out "Save Our Union" leaflets to his local. Local 73 had put in an appeal to have its autonomy restored but the committee ruled it out. A member of 73 was there to represent them but he was denied the right to speak by the chairman on the ground that he wasn't a delegate. Quite a feeling of resentment from the militants arose and they yelled "Let him speak," but the chair ruled it out of order.

## Quits Pittsburgh SWP Branch to Join the WP

The following letter was sent to the Pittsburgh branch of the Socialist Workers Party. LABOR ACTION welcomes Comrade C's adherence to the Workers Party.

When, two years ago, I left the Communist Party and joined the Socialist Workers Party, I expected to enter a healthy Trotskyist party. But my experiences have proved to me that the SWP is wrong politically on a number of decisive questions (Russia, the national question, etc.) and has a tendency to be a mere left Stalinist party.

At the same time the regime in the party is both bureaucratic and sectarian and does not encourage Marxist analysis in the ranks but rather docile acceptance of decisions given from the top. The longer the bureaucracy continues the more reluctant it is to admit past errors. A Bolshevik party cannot be built in this way.

For these reasons I hereby resign from the Pittsburgh branch of the SWP and expect to continue my revolutionary activity by joining the Workers Party, with which I am in almost complete agreement.

Yours,  
Roy C.

## ARMY CHIEF ADMITS U. S. FUNDS USED FOR UMT PROPAGANDA

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—An admission by Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall to House investigators that the War Department has been spending public money for plugging universal military training and that the Army had "no apology" to make brought a new request for federal proceedings to stop this illegal spending.

The request was made of U. S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark, by Rowland Watts, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, who last September supported a plea for such federal proceedings made by Representative Forest A. Harness, chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

Following the subcommittee's report, which gave evidence of expenditures made by the Army for pro-conscription propaganda during the first half of 1947, Representative Harness pointed out that use of federal funds for influencing federal legislation is illegal under Section 201, Title 18 of the U. S. Code.

In Washington Representative Leo E. Allen's refusal to clear the universal training bill for House debate indicates that it will not come up in the near future. Representative Walter G. Andrews, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, had asked Representative Allen, who is chairman of the House Rules Committee, to clear the bill, whereupon the WDL urged that the measure be returned to Representative Andrews' committee for further hearings.

# Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

By WILLIAM BARTON

OAKLAND, Feb. 14—The five-month-old strike of Sears-Roebuck CIO Warehousemen in San Francisco is over. The fifty workers involved have decided to stop picketing. Court injunctions and suits against the union were overcome by the militancy of the strikers and their wide public support. But the treachery of sections of the labor movement proved too much. The AFL unions at first completely respected the picket lines, and retail clerks stayed away from involved Sears stores. Then West Coast teamster chieftain Dave Beck intervened and not only ordered teamsters through the line and compelled clerks to do likewise, but arranged protection for scabs.

The truckdrivers comprise one of the finest sections of the labor movement with a great militant tradition here and everywhere. But their leadership remains one of the worst. It must never be forgotten that Beck and International President Dan Tobin ended the Oakland general strike, started when teamsters rebelled at police protection given to scab deliveries to two struck department stores. The same collection of characters has forced local teamster organizations out of the Oakland Central Labor Council rather than participate in its united front activity with the CIO that has been a beacon to the entire country.

One of the principal reasons for the great victory of the labor-sponsored candidates in last year's Oakland municipal election was the resentment against the Key System, the large transportation outfit of the East Bay (rumored to be owned by General Motors), which also operates the trains to San Francisco. The State Public Utilities Commission has granted it one fare increase after another. Now its franchise is up and it is asking for a new one which would allow the city absolutely no say in regulating the lines afterward. Under the pressure of the labor-sponsored Councilmen, the City Council has this time demanded the right to decide on the type of transit service, to buy up Key System property and to allow for competing lines. It has also called for a conference of all communities affected by the Key System. All this has apparently upset the traction magnates, who have delivered an ultimatum that their appeal for exclusive sovereignty be accepted by March 15 or else.

The "labor councilmen" have not particularly carried out their campaign promises; even their attitude toward the Key System has been acquiescent. This was one time they had to find an excuse for their existence, and the general unpopularity of the transit company and the extreme nature of their demands compelled the rest of the Council to agree.

The labor councilmen have also been active in attempting to provide for some continuing municipal rent control legislation in the event of Congressional inaction on this issue. They were stymied at last night's Council meeting by a technicality invoked by the opposition majority (only one of whom was chosen in the last election) to prevent a vote. It is likely to be brought up again this week, despite violent efforts of the real estate men to prevent any consideration.

The strike at the huge Di Giorgio ranch in the San Joaquin Valley resumes its old-fashioned California pace. The owners are continuing to import professional strike-breakers and scabs from Mexico, breaking up picket lines of the AFL National Farm Labor Union, trying to prevent aid from reaching the strikers, physically assaulting union members. An attempt was actually made to stop a police-escorted caravan bringing gifts of food and clothing from AFL organizations throughout the state. Several strikers were sent to the hospital by company goons, personally led, according to eyewitnesses, by ranch officials. Somehow, all deputy sheriffs were somewhere else at the time. The strike is a crucial step in combating the anti-labor activity of the long-tail powerful Associated Farmers, and is receiving appropriate support.

The printers of the two Seattle daily newspapers have been able to gain their desired \$13.25 a week pay increase without any strike action because of the promised solidarity of other AFL unions in advance. The publishers were reported all set for a long battle with the members of Local 202, International Typographical Union, but were not prepared to combat the entire labor movement of the city. The printers' rates in the city are now among the highest for that work anywhere.

## Hit CP Control - -

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third party, at the same time allowing international unions to decide the question for themselves. This latter action, however, does not apply to CIO Councils and apparently the Stalinist leadership was fully cognizant of this fact.

Thus, in one way, the Stalinists were avoiding the crucial question forced upon them by the decision of the CIO-EB and now being used by the right wing opposition in its fight to break the long-time control of the Stalinist-led majority, whose spokesmen are Lawrence and Philip Connelly of the Newspaper Guild.

In a minority policy statement presented by Herbert Wilson of the Rubber Workers, the Council was called on to support the decision of the CIO EB by rejecting the candidacy of Wallace and the organization of a third party and endorsing the Marshall Plan. The Stalinist majority was forced into a corner. This is obviously not the season for Stalinist social patriotism on a national scale. Completely devoted to the foreign policy of the Kremlin, they were compelled to fight vigorously against the minority brand of native social patriotism.

Each side spoke for unity, peace and the CIO program of struggle against the Taft-Hartley bill, high prices, housing, etc. But while peace to the Stalinists means support of Russian imperialist policy, peace to the minority means support to American imperialist policy. In the debate, the anti-Stalinists got off some telling blows on the Hitler-Stalin pact and the war record of the Stalinists. While the latter wanted to vote against the minority statement, they could not vote against a resolution calling for support of CIO policy. The Stalinists are clearly not ready for such a step, although some indicated that nothing could stop them in their support of Wallace.

In trying to work out of this dilemma, one Stalinist follower moved to table the minority policy statement and vote only on the majority statement. But this obvious trick brought too much protest and resulted in a compromise proposal moved by Connelly to vote yes for either resolution, the one winning the most votes becoming policy for the local Council.

The majority resolution carried, but for the first time in many years the anti-Stalinist minority is a serious threat to the present leadership. Although its program is in no way consistent with a progressive union policy, the minority forces count on their "regularity," as supporters of Murray

and the Executive Board, to help whip the Stalinists. In this they have gained new support from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which has broken with the Stalinists over Wallace and the third party.

One curious note was introduced into the discussion by Delegate Rosen of the UAW, who spoke in favor of "critical support" to the majority resolution. He reasoned that it was proper to allow everybody to decide for himself what to do in the forthcoming elections, but more important, saw, in one way or another, that the majority resolution very confusedly pointed a way to real independent political action of labor. Very few others could see the same thing in the Stalinist resolution.

The issue before the Council was more clearly a fight over whether the CIO here would support Wallace or Truman. There was nothing in between these resolutions. What was missing in the debate was a stirring voice in behalf of genuine independent political action, a Labor Party of the entire working class.

## Judge Okays Jim Crow in Palisades Park

NEWARK (WDL)—The anti-discrimination provisions of the federal civil rights law do not apply to a private amusement park, ruled U. S. Judge William F. Smith in dismissing 20 counts of a 26-count damage suit charging the owners of Palisades Amusement Park and the police chief of Fort Lee with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of 10 Negroes and white persons from New York.

Plans for an appeal were promptly announced by Meyer Pesin and Hiram Elfenbein, Workers Defense League attorneys who handled the case. The 10 Negroes and white persons were manhandled by police and park guards after being refused admission to the pool.

"The full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations and facilities of a private amusement park is not a right or privilege secured by the Constitution," Judge Smith ruled. "It necessarily follows that the Act, as heretofore construed, may not be invoked."

Six counts charging false arrest and police brutality were allowed to stand by Judge Smith. He stated he would in addition permit amendments to these charges.

## Policy in UE - -

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1941, but after that date they began bellowing for more war and for the U. S. to get into it immediately. They wanted a "second front," full production of war equipment, less production of consumer goods, full support to the government, the War Labor Board, to the "progressive capitalists," "incentive pay" (piecework wages), and no strikes. They insisted on every union signing and abiding by the no-strike pledge. Because the Workers Party opposed the war and called it an imperialist war, the Stalinist party labelled the WP "German agents" and "Japanese spies." They demanded that the government take action to deny newsprint to the WP for the publishing of LABOR ACTION.

Now they have made a swing. They call it going back to "Marxism-Leninism." They talk about the evils of "American imperialism." They are for strikes again. They are against the Marshall Plan and American "imperialism in Greece." They are behind Henry Wallace and want to make him President of the United States. And the top three officers of the UE, Fitzgerald, Mattes and Emspak, have been touring the locals of the UE presenting the Stalinist political line on Wallace and the Marshall Plan.

If the Stalinists are not against signing the affidavits for reasons of principle, then why are they? Well for one reason, there is really such a thing as being a member of the "Communist Party." More important, however, is the fact that the Stalinists now have a new line. Conflict is going on between the U. S. and Russia. When the line changes in Moscow, it changes in the "Communist Parties" of every country in the world. The Russian Stalinist bureaucrats are against the Marshall Plan, against Truman and against the U. S. now. Refusal to sign the affidavits is part and parcel of their opposition to the "Truman government." At the moment, if that moment should come, there is a change in the relations between Russia and the U. S., the Stalinists will go for the Marshall Plan, dump Henry Wallace, support Truman for re-election and begin yelling for more production and fewer strikes.

That is the way the Stalinists drag the workers around; that is, all the workers who are backward enough or stupid enough to follow them. That is what they are doing right now in the UE. They are disrupting that international and betraying its members by taking the position they do against the signing of this affidavit. The union is in difficulty at Remington-Rand. The International Association of Machinists, supported by the Westinghouse Co., is endangering the Westinghouse Local. This is true in Pittsburgh, Beaver and Meadville, Pa. One local in New York City has voted to get out of the UE. The UE will face other difficulties as time passes. It will have difficulties getting contracts renewed and in getting bargaining rights for UE members.

All the answer the Stalinists give is that "we will strike if we do not get bargaining rights from the companies." What they will more likely do is attempt to make some kind of backdoor, shady, "sweetheart" deal with the electrical manufacturers. That's the kind of "principles" these disrupters and betrayers have.

Workers in the UE should not confuse the attitude of their leadership on the affidavits with that of the printers or the steel workers, who

also have not signed. Whatever the motives of the printers and the steel workers, they are not the same as those of the Stalinists. The Stalinists are acting solely in support of the present political line of Stalin and the Stalinist bureaucracy. They have no interest whatsoever in the fundamental and primary welfare of the trade union movement and the working class. Therefore they place the UE in very grave danger.

### ON THE AFFIDAVITS

The Workers Party has already expressed its position on the Taft-Hartley act and on the affidavit. We are against the act and are opposed to the affidavit. We believe that the organized labor movement should have refused to sign this affidavit. At first the big AFL and CIO unions did refuse to sign. Then they began one by one to vote for the signing of the affidavit. The Workers Party believes that they were incorrect. We believe that by an organized and militant struggle against the whole Taft-Hartley law it could have been rendered ineffectual and useless. The unions did not take this course.

It is the position of the WP that after so many of the big unions have signed, it was pointless for the remaining unions to jeopardize their bargaining position and their memberships by refusing to sign. Furthermore, we do not believe that this affidavit is the most dastardly section of the Taft-Hartley law. We believe that the section dealing with political contributions is far more damaging to the welfare of the unions and of labor. There are other sections of the law which are far more detrimental to the progress of the labor movement than this anti-"Communist Party" affidavit.

We are doubly concerned about the situation in the UE, when we know that this international is under the strangling influence of the "Communist Party." We know these scoundrels, these purveyors of anti-labor politics and all manner of Stalinist filth. We believe that the membership of the UE should take steps at once to protect their international from disruption and from being weakened by a leadership only bent on doing the will of their master in the Kremlin. The UE membership should take steps to protect their international from inroads by the AFL's machinists' and electricians' unions.

### OPPOSE UNION WRECKERS

While we fight against the Stalinists and Stalinism, we oppose them for the reasons the Workers Party has stated again and again. The "Communist Party" is a reactionary outfit. It is a party led by an aggregation of totalitarian gangsters.

The Workers Party opposes the "Communist Party" because it is not a communist party and not a socialist party. It is an anti-working class party, a police party serving the interests of a police state. The Workers Party is also in opposition to such organizations as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) on this question. The anti-Stalinist position of the ACTU is a reactionary position. This organization is against socialism and against the struggle of the working class for socialism. The ACTU would be just as strongly opposed to real socialism and a real socialist party as it is against the phony brand of socialism paraded by the Stalinists. The ACTU and the Stalinists both are enemies of the struggle of labor to free itself from the tolls of capitalist oppression.

### ADMIT NEW GROUPS

There was a strong fight on the floor over the resolution on the admission of the Progressive Metal Workers Council, a dissident group which split from the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, CIO, charging the latter with being Stalinist controlled. The resolution of the Executive Board for the admission of these 25,000 workers was finally adopted. Later in the convention the union also accepted the United Railroad Workers of the CIO. The 60,000 workers of the United Railroad Workers, plus the 25,000 Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, will almost double the membership of the disintegrating IUMSWA. Apparently, the IUMSWA, with CIO approval, is spreading outward in the manner of John L. Lewis' District 50.

Resolutions adopted included one advocating the scrapping of obsolete ships and calling for a Merchant Marine shipbuilding program. Resolutions on the return of price control, of a restoration of the excess profits tax, the repeal of the sales tax, tax exemption of \$1,500 for single persons and \$3,000 for married persons were passed.

A resolution opposed to the Taft-Hartley law and calling for officers to sign the "non-communist" affidavits was introduced by the Executive Board. Several delegates spoke strongly against the signing of the affidavits.

In the course of the discussion, the national office of the union was exposed for doing nothing against the Taft-Hartley bill until it became a law. The Baltimore Local had organized a March on Washington, but this was bureaucratically suppressed by the national office. The resolution was adopted.

Support to the Marshall Plan was passed with the demand that the transfer of ships to foreign registries be halted.

## Philly Transit Workers Win

By JACK BRAD

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 14—Thanks to the clear thinking of Local 234's transport worker membership, a satisfactory agreement was signed today between the union and the Philadelphia Transit Company. Militant, united and vigorous rank and file determination alone made possible the gains that were negotiated.

PTC is one of the worst anti-labor outfits in the city. Its record in labor relations earn it this reputation. Every year, at contract expiration time, it becomes necessary to force a crisis before the company considers the union's demands seriously. In addition, PTC has an ugly reputation for racial discrimination and, in the past, company unionism. Its wage rates are miserable. Even under the new contract, the 40-hour week is not established, since the bulk of the operating workers still have a 44-hour week.

The men won a 15-cent an hour raise, bringing the new scales to \$1.35 and \$1.27 for car and bus operators. These new wage rates are indicative of the low pay. In a 40-hour week, a driver who operates a bus or trolley alone, takes fares, issues transfers, guards the money and keeps the records—besides driving—earns \$54 now. Many of the new scales are below this base, such as that of cashiers and many maintenance men.

A real victory was won in a model guaranteed work week provision. In addition, there were increases in clothing allowance and six paid holidays.

### RANK AND FILE VICTORY

The offensive was really launched by the rank and file and to a lesser degree by the defeated Gallagher minority. Michael Quill, international

Transport Workers Union president, and Joe Dougherty, local president, did everything to restrict the men.

At the membership meeting preceding contract expiration, these Stalinist fronts introduced proposals to leave a strike call to their discretion. But the membership knew the company better, this company that had offered six cents against the union's demand for 40 cents. The men voted with one single dissent: NO CONTRACT, NO WORK! Quill and Dougherty tried every trick in the book, including threatening the membership with the Taft-Hartley law, even though the company had agreed that the law was not applicable. This leadership was swamped in a vote of no confidence and for the strike proposal.

It was this big gun, the threat of a transit strike, tying up three million passengers, that brought the new gains. It is interesting that Quill later gave full credit for the gains to . . . Mayor Samuel, Republican machine man, whose anti-labor record is known to all unionists in the city. Quill's fulsome praise of the head of one of the most corrupt and anti-labor machines needs explanation. Can it be that Stalinist fellow-traveler Quill is acting on Wallace's advice that the Republican Party is the "lesser evil"?

### SERIOUS WEAKNESS

It must be noted that, as compared with to years ago, the transport workers did not enjoy quite as much popular support. There are two reasons for this. First, the Quill-Dougherty leadership, opposing a strike, made no effort to enlist popular support in advance of a possible strike call. There was not attempt at public education, though such support is especially essential in transport.



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The Life of the Mind in Russia

# STALIN PURGES MUSICIANS

By IRVING HOWE

The three most prominent Russian composers—Sergei Prokofiev, Dmitri Shostakovich and Aram Khatchaturian—were publicly denounced last week by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist (Stalinist) Party for writing music that is “inexpressive, poor, unharmonious, muddled” and that “smells strongly of the spirit of the modern bourgeois music of Europe and America, which reflect the marasmus (emaciation) of bourgeois culture.”

Among the other crimes of which these and other Russian composers were accused are: “formalistic distortions and anti-democratic tendencies alien to the Soviet people . . . denial of the main principles of classic music, propaganda of atonality, dissonance and disharmony . . . renunciation of such most important foundations of musical creation as melody, a passion for muddled neuropathic combinations which transform music into a cacophonous and chaotic heaping of sounds.”

The Central Committee's statement, bristling with innuendoes against those sufficiently perverse to compose along atonal lines, demands music which combines “a high content of artistic perfection and musical form,” which moves in a “realistic direction” and which recognizes the “truthfulness and reality of music, of its deep organic connection with the people and their music and songs.”

Simultaneously with this ukase there come reports from Russia of an “ideological offensive” in the field of biology. Anton R. Zherbak, until recently president of the White Russian Academy of Sciences, is in disgrace. Zherbak is guilty of criticizing an American scientist who had written a criticism of the Russian geneticist, Lyenko, which implied that Lyenko is a representative figure of Russian science. Zherbak deprecated Lyenko's status. This matter goes back to 1936, when Lyenko was involved in a dispute with the great geneticist Vavilov—a dispute which ended with Vavilov's exile to a Siberian concentration camp. That is the way scientific disputes are settled in Russia, and if Zherbak does not confess the monstrosity of his error he is likely to travel the same one-way road.

In themselves these events are perhaps not of first importance. So many intellectuals have been debased by the Stalinist regime; so many have been forced to recant their heretical views (heretical, that is, in holding aesthetic notions different from those of that great artist-writer-musician-mathematician-scientist-philosopher-sage-BELOVED LEADER, Stalin); so many have been imprisoned, driven to suicide or silence—that the sight of a few others being whipped by the ideological lash might ordinarily provoke a mere sad and muted reflection on the fate of the intellectual in a totalitarian society.

But there are a few special characteristics about these latest events which are worth glancing at for a moment:

In some ways the plight of the intellectual under Stalinism is now worse than it ever was under Hitler. This may seem like an extreme statement, but I think the facts justify it. The degree of totalitarian supervision exercised by the Stalinist state over all forms of intellectual work is now greater than it was even under Hitler's dictatorship. The Stalinist state is tighter in its organization; it has a more precise ideological criterion than Hitlerism did because its demands are strictly utilitarian, direct and immediate, while those of the Nazi state were enmeshed in a mystical verbiage which gave a few writers a certain “leeway.” (I hope no one is foolish or malicious enough to read these remarks as any kind of “defense” of Hitlerism; rather should they be seen as an indication of how barbaric Stalinism is.)

I would cite as proof of these remarks one simple fact: in Nazi Germany, Ernest Juenger, a nationalistic novelist, was able to circulate a

novel during the war years which contained a disguised attack on the Nazi regime. The Stalinist censors would have immediately noticed its critical intentions; they have learned to suspect any work of art which does not actively praise the state. And rightly so, since the production of a “neutral” work of art in a totalitarian society is an act of defiance against it; such a work of art presumes to a value of its own quite apart from its use to the state. And that is the sort of defiance the Stalinist state cannot tolerate. We may therefore predict that the famous Russian poet, Boris Pasternak, who has been driven to translating Shakespeare into Russian as a means of escaping the problem of writing independently, will soon feel, publicly or privately, the blows of the Central Committee aestheticians.

The statement of the Central Committee on music is indicative of the undisguised barbarism which Stalinism has produced in Russia. Imagine trying to write a satire on this subject; it would be quite impossible to write anything as weird, as wild, as utterly nonsensical and meaningless—as flagrantly nonsensical and meaningless—as the Central Committee has produced. One suspects that part of the half-conscious motive in this sort of thing is merely to show how all-powerful the Stalinist bureaucracy is—to show that if it wishes it can even make adult, intelligent men repeat nonsense syllables with an air of complete gravity.

Behind the general ideological purge now taking place in Russia there is of course a very fundamental political reason: the anti-Western drive of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But, given this basic motivation, can it be denied that there is also an element of sheer flaunting of power in such gibberish? The inner mechanics of a totalitarian state are such that, despite its desire to produce a completely utilitarian intellectual atmosphere, it often indulges in displays of absurdity that are not directly utilitarian. For who will dare to criticize or disagree?

And what about the American Stalinists? What about those unhappy souls who flocked to hear Shostakovich's music because it was an augury of “Soviet culture,” who eagerly cheered Khatchaturian's *kitsch* because it came from the blessed country? Alas, they are again at sea. No sooner have they settled down after the disturbance of Browder's liquidation than they learn that they can't listen to a Prokofiev concerto without feeling the corrective breath of the Kremlin on their necks. How uncertain, how troubling life must be for the Stalinist intellectuals who eagerly flock to the “cultural lectures” of the CP's front groups. Next thing you know even Josh White may be considered impure!

And while on this subject, just a word about the last issue of *The Nation*, where there appears a wonderfully-timed article by its Moscow correspondent, Alexander Werth, a persistent Stalinophile. With exquisite delicacy Werth describes Stalinist rubber-hose treatment of its intellectuals as “functionalism.” He gravely reports the enthusiastic reception of Prokofiev's “more than usually profound” Sixth Symphony. It will be interesting to see if Werth bothers to say anything about this latest purge. And how much longer will *The Nation* print dispatches from this wretched creature who writes of “Soviet art” without once mentioning the simple, basic fact that it exists in a vast concentration camp?

Finally, one returns to the poor unfortunates denounced in the Stalinist statement. Whatever one may think of their music, how can one avoid a feeling of deep sympathy for them in their present plight? Most of these composers are quite apolitical; they wish merely to be left alone so that they can work. But suppose they wearily decide to knuckle under in order to be able to keep working—what do they do then? What kind of music will satisfy the Russian prison-keepers? How exactly are they to fulfill the specification that their composition recognize the “truthfulness and reality of music?”

For even if they want to knuckle under, there is no clear indication of what they are to do. The novelists know that they are to write heroic tales about the new Five Year Plan and the greatness of Stalin. But how is one to transmute Stalin's greatness into musical idiom?

Every creative personality, every honest intellectual in Russia must today be filled with a deep despair at the humiliation to which the Stalinist regime subjects him. Precisely because the intellectual can be of greater use to the regime than the individual worker does it subject him to more merciless supervision. If the regime grants him better living conditions than it does to the worker, it enslaves his mind and corrupts his soul.

Today we are accustomed to the despair that runs through artistic work in capitalist society. But when the intellectuals of Russia are at last freed from Stalinist slavery, we shall learn the full extent of despair to which contemporary society drives the human mind.

# WORLD POLITICS

## ERP and Its Strings

It is paradoxical that just at the moment when the Marshall Plan shows signs of finally taking on specific shape, with the approval last week by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee of an actual bill for recommendation to the Senate, the plan itself, as originally conceived of, is rapidly dying from lack of interest and boredom! The Marshall Plan bears a resemblance to the famous Al Schacht, the ball-playing comedian, who tied himself into a knot winding up and then let fly with his famous pop-out slow ball!

From a propagandistic and political standpoint, all the ineptitudes and weaknesses of American imperialism, that would-be world beater, have been shown up in the handling of the Marshall Plan. The whole conception of European recovery, organized along majestic lines with America pouring its wealth and material into the collapsed veins of the Old World has given way to a knock-down brawl over how much, what conditions and by whom administered. And simultaneously with the evaporation of the grandiose Marshall scheme there has been a definite, tangible economic recovery in many countries of Western Europe over the past three months!

While Western Europe must still seek and accept aid, it is clear that the need is decreasing (coal production in England, France and Germany is steadily upward, and crop prospects for spring and next autumn's harvest are excellent due to the extreme mildness of the winter) and that the capitalist powers of Western Europe will feel more able to resist American demands. While the donor has been quibbling over the details, the future beneficiary has grown stronger and America will find, perhaps to its astonishment, that its help will go, not to a broken-down beggar, grateful for each crumb, but to a dignified gentleman now more able to take care of himself.

## BILL NAMES CONDITIONS

All the more ironic, then, is the fact that precisely at this moment the Senate committee proposes to attach obvious and provocative strings to the bill just voted out by it. But first, the terms of this bill, contrasting with the original Marshall-Truman proposals: the committee recommends \$5.3 billion, for one year starting April 1. Truman had originally drafted a five-year plan, then dropped down to \$6.8 billions for 15 months. The Senate wants to be able to review the ERP within one year, before giving another dime. The Senate has removed administration from the hands of the State Department and given it, in effect, to a congressional committee of 14. Thus the link Marshall wishes to establish between the working out of the plan and the State Department, actual administrative organ of American imperialism, is broken—a sharp defeat for him and Truman. Finally, where Marshall cautioned about conditions, the Senate committee, as we shall see below, outdid itself in listing such conditions. With all this, Senator Vandenberg is more than cautious about the future even of this bill! The House has yet to be heard from. “I have received no assurance of any nature regarding the health or mortality of this measure,” said Vandenberg. It comes belatedly into the world, but its condition is that of a prematurely-born infant.

The bill proposed by the Senate committee provides for the cutting off of any aid to any nation “out of step” with the program. What are some of the “out of

step considerations? A summary indicates what is meant by being “in step” with America's ERP proposition:

(1) Each of the 16 European nations involved must sign a multilateral treaty with the United States, accepting the pledges and production goals contained in the ERP itself.

(2) Each country must submit, for approval by the American over-all administrator, “programs for the increased production of coal, steel, transportation facilities and food.”

(3) The American administration has power, at will, to halt aid to any nation which he considers to be violating the agreement. The meaning of this is concretized in the clause that terminates aid “because of changed conditions,” which, further concretized, means if a nation has the misfortune to come under Stalinist control or rule, or any other political regime not quite satisfactory to America. Popular elections will shortly be held in Italy, then France and, long before ERP has run its course, all the 16 nations involved. This clause, if finally adopted, will be held over their heads like a club. De Gasperi, Italy's Prime Minister, has already used it in the opening rounds of his electoral campaign. In passing, we might raise the question as to whether aid to the Greek monarchy would cease if that miserable dictatorship were to become a popular republic? Changed conditions?

(4) Treaties must provide for promotion of industrial and agricultural production to permit the nation concerned to become independent of outside economic aid. What can this mean? That will depend upon the concrete evolution of economic factors, always to be judged, however, in a unilateral fashion by the American administrator. He may decide that recovery has advanced to a sufficiently high point in a given country, but the working masses of that country may have different ideas about the meaning of the word “recovery.”

(5) Finally, treaties must facilitate transfer to the United States, for stock-piling purposes, of raw materials deficient here. This, of course, is to further tighten American control over such deficient and rare materials as uranium, manganese, oil, tin, etc.

## CONFIRMS IMPERIALIST CHARACTER

Considered in any light, the Senate proposed bill is striking confirmation of the imperialist character of the Marshall Plan as conceived of by America's political leaders. It proposes terms which infringe in more than one way upon the national independence of the 16 countries involved, since aid to be given is at a price, a price which is not even clearly set in advance, but is obviously subject to raises as dictated by American political interests!

Even a socialist is entitled to be surprised at the cold-blooded and open character of the “strings” attached to this bill. It will certainly not sit well in the 16 European capitals, and will further provide European Stalinism with agitational material for its mills. For those who, like LABOR ACTION, support the idea of full and unhampered material and economic aid to all European countries, an important part of the task of fighting for this kind of action is the exposure and condemnation of such terms as those proposed in the Senate, and shortly to be debated in the House.

Henry JUDD.

# International Socialist Notes

## Indo-China

JANUARY (IPS)—There are at present 100,000 Vietnamese in Siam, which has become the center of gravity of the resistance movement.

The following details about the Trotskyist movement in Tonkin are of considerable interest. The Trotskyist group is supported by a large number of workers and students. It has organized many big meetings in which even speakers of the Viet Nam government participated. For instance, at Bach Mai (near the Robin Hospital), the meeting had great success and the population of this region in its vast majority approved of the political line of Trotskyism. This meeting resulted in a serious failure of the Viet Nam propaganda.

After this meeting, Ho Chi Minh secretly gave orders to arrest the leader of the Trotskyist movement in Tonking, as well as other militants of the Fourth International. Nevertheless, he could not suppress the illegal publication of the paper “Chien Dau” (The Struggle) at the same time with participation of the Fourth International group in the resistance movement.

The Tonking group has published several books to explain the problems of the revolution and has set up Marxist study circles.

An encouraging sign for the movement is the participation of women of working class and petty bourgeois origin. They stick posters, distribute pamphlets during demonstrations and have been of great assistance in the

maintenance of liaisons.

T. (former leader of the printing workers' union of Tonking in 1937-38) and another militant of the Fourth International, H. (former political deportee to the Son-Lassard labor camp), have been arrested. They managed to escape, however, and are at present fighting in the Tonking “maquis.”

To sum up, the Fourth International movement in Tonking has been able to build up a methodically working organization which is even stronger than that of Cochinchina, thanks to the activities of the courageous militants, workers and students. But the group is suffering the same terror as the Cochinchina group. A large number of Trotskyists died during the period of the resistance movement.

# Deportation Order Threat--

(Continued from page 1)

This purpose of the FBI is the product of the hostile relations between the United States and Russia. It is called “a national security measure”—in preparation for World War III. The United States government is not going to have agents of the prospective enemy in key positions in important unions. The Department of Justice intends to show in the case of Williamson that he is a native of Scotland and, though he has posed as an American citizen, never became one. (Williamson claims he was born in San Francisco.) Thus, since he is an alien and a member of the Communist Party, which the department contends stands for the overthrow of the United States government, Williamson is banned from this country under an act passed in 1918.

## THEN—AND NOW

The case of Ferdinand C. Smith is even more technical. While Smith is a native of Jamaica, British West Indies, and never became a citizen of the United States, the charges against him are merely that he returned to this country in 1945, after a visit to Mexico, without a visa. This makes him an alien illegally in this country, and of course he is also a member of the Communist Party.

It is reported that the government has known about Smith's alien status at least since 1944. But then the Communist Party line was different and Smith was touring nine states in behalf of the fourth term campaign of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. Dur-

ing the Stalin-Hitler pact, we remember, Roosevelt was the “imperialist warmonger.” In 1944, however, FDR had become the great democrat fighting with the democracy-loving Stalin against Hitler. In 1948 the line has turned back on itself and Roosevelt's presidential successor is the “imperialist warmonger.”

In the halcyon days of the Stalin-Roosevelt “friendship,” Ferdinand C. Smith—the alien advocating the overthrow of the United States government—was given a testimonial dinner at which Democratic Party leaders praised him for lining up the Negro people behind Roosevelt. The capitalist government and politicians are as unprincipled in following their own interests as are the Stalinists in following the party line.

## A DESPICABLE MEASURE

The despicable anti-working class role that the Stalinists in the unions are playing as agents of the Russian bureaucratic dictatorship should not blind the workers to the ominous game the government has started. The workers themselves must by their own union methods clean the treacherous Stalinists out of key positions in the unions because they are dangerous to the unions.

The fight in the National Maritime Union, where President Curran headed the anti-Stalinist forces against National Secretary Smith, heading the Stalinist crew, is a legitimate union struggle to cleanse the union. However, when the government, un-

der cover of a “national security measure,” starts “cleaning out” of unions those whom it selects for this purpose, it is time to raise loud protest. This constitutes a threat to labor's right of self-determination within its unions.

Labor wants no deportations. Deportations are as despicable a device as any employed by the rulers of society. It will settle its own score with the enemies within its ranks. Neither will outlawing the Communist Party serve labor's interests. That will simply set a precedent for outlawing a minority party whose program is based on labor's interests—though the CP line is not. Any “outlawing” that is to be done, labor can do by withholding its votes and its support.

No deportations and no outlawing!

## They've Got You Outfigured...

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which takes odds that they will get theirs before you get yours, has announced that the average life expectancy of industrial workers is now 66½ years. So after 25 years of working and paying his social security tax, the worker retires and has on an average 1½ years in which to enjoy his weekly old age insurance check of about \$9.00. This is called the American way of life.

# GANDHI

## APPRAISING THE MAN AND HIS MOVEMENT

By an INDIAN CORRESPONDENT

JANUARY 31—The death of Gandhi removes a picturesque personality from the political arena. For a quarter of a century he held the very center of the stage. He was the axis around which the politics of India revolved. He was, in many ways, a complex and enigmatic personality. But all his life he pursued a single aim. The India of his dreams remains in the realm of Utopia—a single and undivided India.

His son describes him as father of India. Little did he realize how true is the description. The present ruling class in India is really Gandhi's creation. There never existed any Indian bourgeoisie before him. But for him this class would have been groveling in the dust, instead of sharing as it does today that division of power with Great Britain. Gandhi put them on their feet. The result is the growth of a powerful social and economic class while their opposite numbers in different colonial countries are so feeble.

There is nothing like a colonial bourgeoisie in Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon, in the sense of being the dominant class in society, as in India. The nearest approximation to it is the Chinese compradores. But their social base is fragile. It is really a tottering and crumbling regime. No colonial bourgeoisie in the world can even aspire to such a wide base of popular support as commanded by the present Indian rulers. Without Gandhi's clear-sighted perspective, the Indian bourgeoisie would have gone the way of all colonial bourgeoisies. To say that Gandhi was the “Father of India” is only too true.

## HELD BACK MASS MOVEMENT

It seems as if, by a conjuring trick he brought forth from the nether world, a class which did not exist hitherto. It was achieved, as it were, by a simple magic incantation—boycott of foreign goods. Indian industries, especially textile, would not have survived British competition otherwise. So it is possible today to speak of Indian millionaires and multi-millionaires, whose palatial homes in Bombay's Marine Drive would make even their older European counterparts green with envy. It is no irony that Gandhi died on the steps of a magnificent villa owned by one of India's foremost industrial magnates.

In a way Gandhi was an unconscious fool of history. He mobilized millions which produced the first mass movement against imperialism in the colonies. The dynamics of the movement could topple down any empire in a mighty crash. Nobody knew it better than Gandhi. But he held it back—and he alone could do that. He kept it within bounds every time when, Frankenstein-like, it threatened to devour the class that gave it birth. But the inarticulate masses became imbued with life. The mighty force of national consciousness is the result of Gandhi's anti-imperialist struggles.

But what in all humility and modesty he described as his Himalayan blunders, was really the irresistible urge of the masses, the movement he had created, for an out and out struggle against all vested interests—native and foreign. One could only wish that such blunders had been multiplied.

## RULED OUT CLASS STRUGGLE

Gandhi's non-violence really ruled out any form of class struggle. Yet it was the class issue which alone could have cut across all communal and factional interests. It was this he was up against. He died in a heroic struggle against the dark forces which could only be combated by methods and techniques different from his own. He found even his own personality unequal to the task and died as the dreamer of a mighty dream which never came true and could only come true by means which were not compatible with his articles of faith.

No personality ever exercised such an unparalleled influence over the masses of people. The organization which he has built up has a power compared with which the Kuomintang, in the best days of Sun Yat-sen, is a flea bite. Still the underdog is no better off. What even Gandhi could not accomplish, it would be futile to expect from the host of mediocrities upon whom his mantle has fallen. They would pursue blatantly and in a more undisciplined form the interests of the class to which they belong.

Gandhi leaves a void. The future is pregnant with possibilities for good or evil, no prophet can tell. But his successors, it is certain, will show less wisdom in a situation in which even Gandhi's best could accomplish but little.

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**"IS WORKING CLASS ACTION THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM?"**

**"NO!"**  
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**"YES!"**  
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PART II OF A SERIES ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT

Southern Demagogues Fear "Poor Whites" Too!

By E. R. MCKINNEY

The "Solid South" is in revolt. The rebel yell is being heard again all the way from the Capitol in Washington to the canebrake of Louisiana...



The dirt and kiss the feet of the minorities? What Klan-minded Gossett means by "minorities" is "niggers," "kikes," "wops" and "communists," that is, those groups which do not come within "the purposes of Southern democracy."

MILLIONS DISFRANCHISED BY SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS

We will now expose one reason why the leaders of the rebel pack are against the abolition of the poll-tax and all other Dixie restrictions on the right to vote. Senator Ellender of Louisiana was elected to the Senate by the votes of only 85,488 people despite the fact that the population of Louisiana is 2,363,880.

Gossett, who was quoted above, is from a Texas district of 279,924 population. He was elected by only 17,718 voters. Whitten of Mississippi has 27,701 people in his district but only 6,491 voted and he got all of that number. Dorn of South Carolina comes from a district with 304,379 population. Dorn was elected in 1946 with only 3,530 citizens voting and he got 3,527 votes.

As is their custom when aroused, the leaders of the Dixie lynchings are garrulous, bombastic and demagogic. It must be added also that they are somewhat ignorant or illiterate. Cox of Georgia belittled from the House floor that Truman's program sounds "like the platform of the Communist Party."

Perhaps the majority of Southern congressmen and political leaders are descendants not of the old slaveholding aristocracy, but of the poverty-stricken white non-slaveholding group. This group was not only excluded from the slave economy and therefore from political influence, but also from social and civic life during the slave regime.

Deal. They want to hold on. This group of Southern political leaders is not qualified or competent to assume the leadership of an industrialized South. Any significant transformation of the South, industrially, socially or politically, demands a new political leadership.

"POOR WHITES" WILL LEARN IN TIME

This is due in part to their passionate desire to maintain their political supremacy as a group. They are late arrivals on the scene of political leadership. They have distinct bureaucratic interests somewhat similar to the bureaucratic interests of the minor bureaucracy which flourished in Washington under the New Deal.

When will these intellectually primitive blatherskites begin to understand, if ever, the meaning of their own expression about the South being a "conquered province?" According to their demagogic utterances, it is the anti-lynching bill which will keep the South in bondage to the North. How? They should explain these things, not to the Negroes but to the white masses of the South.

What is this new "revolt" of the South? In our opinion it is merely another rebel yell. Will they withdraw from the Democratic Party and set up their own Dixie brand if the civil rights recommendations stand? We do not believe so. They are stupid, but not that stupid. What would they gain? Outside the Democratic Party this group will be in the same fix with a Democratic administration in Washington as the national Democratic Party is under a Republican administration.

GENUINE "REVOLT"—OR ONLY A REBEL YELL?

When will these intellectually primitive blatherskites begin to understand, if ever, the meaning of their own expression about the South being a "conquered province?" According to their demagogic utterances, it is the anti-lynching bill which will keep the South in bondage to the North. How? They should explain these things, not to the Negroes but to the white masses of the South.

Militarization of U. S. Dangerous Trend

Anti-Conscription Survey Shows Extent to Which Military Is Invading Fields of Diplomacy, Science and Economics

By EUGENE KELLER

The growing power and influence of the military in American social and political life constitutes an ominous threat to the democratic rights and freedom of the American people. Traditional civilian control over all matters of policy, including military policy, is slowly but surely being transferred into the hands of generals and colonels, admirals and captains, whose interests and ideas are utterly foreign to all democratic concepts.

The reasons for this are by no means purely "military." Preparations for a third world war necessitates more than propaganda and the securing of strategic advance bases. They also necessitate the establishment of firm control levers over all aspects of the social, economic and political life of the United States.

FACTUAL SURVEY

A factual survey of the increasing power and control wielded by the military was recently published by the National Council Against Conscription (1013 18th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.).

The authors adduce a wealth of facts to prove their assertion that "not only are the military men mov-

ing into key positions in government, but the Army and Navy are extending their influence into science, education and industry."

In dealing with the field of foreign affairs, the pamphlet amply proves that General Marshall is far from being a lonely representative of the military in the State Department. The Army and Navy Bulletin of January 19, 1947, quoted in the pamphlet, states: "Today the army has virtual control of foreign affairs."

Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, wrote in the December 18, 1946, edition of that paper that the National War College is attempting "to unify under one roof not only an academy for the higher study of war, but an institution to integrate, examine, analyze and study various aspects of the problems of national power and foreign policy."

The most important positions in the U. S. delegation to the United Nations are held by the military, "excepting" Warren Austin, head of the delegation, who, however, during his tenure in Congress, was an enthusiastic supporter of the military.

the existence of the UN organization, entrusted to the military gentlemen, who, as is well known, have always been most solicitous to further the cause of peace.

ECONOMIC CONTROL

In the economic sphere, the pamphlet recalls the struggle between Donald Nelson and the Armed Forces over who was to control the War Production Board with its tremendous powers of the American war economy. While at the time the military did not wholly succeed in imposing its rule, the tendency toward "total" (pronounce totalitarian) control of the economy by the military continued to exist unabated and is making itself felt again today.

Extensive factual information on this aspect of the military's growing power is collated in the pamphlet. In order that "industry... be kept in the same state of semi-mobilization as our armed forces," as stated by Gen. Brehon Somervell, wartime chief of the Army Services of Supply, in a speech to the National Industrial Conference Board (New York Times, May 29, 1947), a number of "advisory committees" for all phases of industry and business have been and are being set up to work with the Army and Navy Munitions Board.

The industrial mobilization plans are by no means allowed to remain in the "planning stage"—they are already being put into effect. According to the New York Times of August 8, 1947, the Army Air Force signed an agreement with Aeronca Aircraft Corp. "calling for a company-sponsored military unit."

These are only a few examples, of course, of a continuing process. The design of this part of the military's industrial mobilization is to avoid "the long and costly period of basic training" and to send the men in these industrial units "directly to the places they are needed" (New York Times, August 8, 1947, quoting Gen. T. J. Hanley of the Air Force).

Other features of the industrial mobilization plans include (Chicago Tribune, October 5, 1947): "Distribution of skilled and unskilled workers in geographical areas in disregard of individual desires is necessary; elimination of strikes and all work stoppages with a huge army to back up enforcement of this rule; other powers conferred upon the government would vastly exceed in scope those of World War II."

"We must not wait to prepare our national economy for war until international relations have begun to deteriorate," warns the official report of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces on Industrial Mobilization, and this is but one of many similar statements made by the military betraying its impatience with the "slow speed" at which its plans are realized.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

While as yet it must go relatively slowly in the economic sphere, the military is rapidly establishing its hold over other fields of social pursuit. Regarding the field of science, Business Week (September 14, 1946) had this to say: "Partly by design, partly by default, federal support of pure science is today almost completely under military control. Its general direction is being set by military needs; its finances are coming from military funds. The odds are getting better all the time that pure scientific research will become permanently a branch of the military establishment."

Says Philip Morrison, a physicist with the Manhattan Project (atomic bombs) in the summer, 1947, edition of American Scholar, with more than a touch of bad conscience: "We cannot tie science to the military and hope to see it used for peace, no matter how ingeniously we write the contracts nor how circumspect the men of good will remain."

The increasing control by the military of major scientific research projects corresponds to its increasing hold upon education. The number of students participating in these projects is still relatively small but its rise is continual. Under the Navy's Holloway plan a maximum of 14,000 students are trained at the Navy's expense each year. Tuition as well as personal expenses are paid. "How many colleges will be prepared to disagree strongly with the Navy's requests when there is danger of the Navy's moving the program, including its financial support, to other colleges?"

The authors of the pamphlet, many of whom are associated with universities, ought to know what they are talking about! Moreover, "each boy, of course, under this program, must sign a contract obligating him to accept a commission in the Navy or Marine Corps, and upon the termination of such commission at least a six-year period in the Reserve."

into the South and attempt to revive the party there. The present Southern political bureaucrats would find themselves on the outside in a "conquered province."

This arrogant bureaucracy, for the first time, is between the hammer and the anvil. I will discuss the basic foundations of its dilemma next week. Right now it is only necessary to say that this is an election year. Whereas the Democratic Party needs Southern votes to defeat Wallace and the Republicans, the Republicans need the votes of the "minorities" in the North to defeat Truman and Wallace. Taft doesn't like the FEPC and the anti-lynching bill any more than Rankin does. But there are some votes in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania which he must try to keep Truman from getting. Truman doesn't want to lose the Mississippi vote but he must get Negro votes in those four states and keep them away from Taft and Wallace. Also Truman and the Democratic leaders know that no matter what Rankin & Co. say, the majority of the white voters in the South will vote the Democratic ticket in November.

Next week I will return to the Civil Rights Report itself and the message to discuss what is the meaning of this sudden burst of demands for civil rights, particularly for Negroes.

portunity to "prepare" young men and women for their patriotic duties. The total enrollment in ROTC units, both in high schools and colleges as of January 1, 1947, numbered 120,000. The Army hopes to expand this to a total of 425,000. According to the President's Commission on Universal Training, "it plans to expand into 239 colleges and universities, thus affecting most of the male students of the nation."

An interest in military pursuits is built up among high school youth, too. The armed forces have at their disposal such powerful talking points as free college attendance plans, which, of course, involve the youth in a military "career." They use "Army Day" or "Navy Day" to impress their power and prestige, in close collaboration, to be sure, with the various Boards of Education. There being no limit to their hunger for manpower, actual or potential, they do not hesitate to draw even the Boy Scouts into their vast dragnet; They gladly "cooperate" with the Boy Scouts' leadership in teaching little boys the arts of drilling, standing inspection, etc. (Boys Life, March, 1947).

The military will not rest content, however, until it has direct training control over all of the youth. Only the enactment of universal military training legislation can give it this control. The ramifications of the UMT act cannot be gone into in the present article. Suffice it to quote from a book on the subject, written by Col. Edward A. Fitzpatrick: "... a major part of the adult civilian population will be reserves in the armed forces under military control."

As a survey of facts, this pamphlet represents a laudable job, although the striking omission of any data on the military involvement of atomic energy makes it only half complete. No analysis is undertaken, however, and the initial statement by the authors that "militarism leads to war and to loss of freedom," is, to put it charitably, quite superficial. The close ties of the militarists to big business, epitomized in many cases by the "personal union" of big business executives in the role of staff and general staff officers, cannot be a secret to the authors.

The military bureaucrats have, to be sure, interests of their own in promoting policies which would add to their power and prestige. However, it is a fatal error to suppose that it is they who bring on wars. Rather, the trend to war is inherent in an economic system controlled by vast monopolies and insatiably hungry for profits and cheap raw materials. The increasing militarization of America reflects and accelerates, but does not initiate this trend.

On the other hand, however, the authors are entirely correct when they imply that the continued trend toward military control gravely threatens democratic rights and institutions in the United States. It is because the military acts as the strong right arm of the American imperialists that a relentless fight must be waged against it, and it is the youth which, being its most sought after victim, must be in the forefront of this fight.

There Is Time to Go Over Fund Drive Top!

By YETTA BARSH, Campaign Director

FEBRUARY 15—As of the date of this writing, only two weeks remain before the end of our Fund Drive. We have raised 80 per cent of our \$15,000 goal. We would like to see MORE than the remaining 20 per cent raised in the period before March 1, and we feel that this is possible if the units participating in the Drive continue to push hard.

Of the 28 participating units, 12 hit the 100 per cent mark some weeks ago. Philadelphia, which is in this group, continued its excellent record in the Drive by sending in another \$53.50, raising its fulfillment percentage to 113 per cent. Streator, one of the units with a smaller quota, raised its percentage to 115

per cent with a \$2.00 contribution last week. Buffalo writes that within the next week there is no doubt that it will raise enough additional funds to raise its total to \$800. These units have set the pace which should be matched by all others.

From Detroit we have heard as follows: "We are in the third week of a 'gas shortage' shutdown which might last till the first of March." Nevertheless, Detroit jumped from 85 per cent to 93 per cent with its \$64.00 contribution this week and promises that it "should reach the 100 per cent mark next week." We cannot but be impressed with the splendid efforts of our Detroit comrades, who persist in raising their quota despite the personal hardships which a good number of them face.

SMALL EFFORT NEEDED TO EXCEED QUOTAS

Reading's latest \$17 contribution made a considerable change in its Fund Drive standing and was accompanied by the promise that it will go over the top. A number of other units in the Drive are so close to the top that only a little extra effort is necessary for them to exceed their quotas by March 1. We urge all of them to follow this course.

This week's receipts include the following contributions: National Office—\$350; New York, City—\$207; Newark—\$65.25; Chicago—\$40.50; Youngstown—\$25; Akron—\$19.75; Los Angeles—\$18, and Miscellaneous—\$10. The total for the week was \$872.

Make the last two weeks of the drive count! Continue to drive hard! Go over the top by March 1!

Table with columns: Branch, Quota, Feb. 16, and Pct. Lists various cities and their progress towards the \$15,000 goal.

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Do your share! Help us hit the 100 per cent mark early. Send us your contribution immediately. WORKERS PARTY 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. Enclosed find a \$... contribution to the \$15,000 fund drive. Name, Address, City, State, Date.

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