

Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

APRIL 12, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

The Camp Followers



Tie-Up Spreads to Anthracite In Answer to Coal Injunction

The coal strike is now spreading to the hard coal anthracite fields, according to late reports, and 70,000 anthracite miners are expected to join the strike out of sympathy with other miners and in defiance of the government's efforts to get an injunction.

By G. McDERMOTT

APRIL 5—As the showdown in the present coal stoppage approaches, Lewis and the miners are providing a lesson to CIO and AFL unions alike. In the face of the operator-government offensive, the miners have answered with an offensive of their own—new and militant demands. We hope that the rank and file of the steel workers, auto workers, rubber workers and the rest of labor take note.

In answer to Truman's newest yel-

low-dog injunction, the union has disclosed that it is seeking a 35-hour portal-to-portal week, a forty-cents-a-ton royalty on coal and more than doubled vacation payments.

However, if the rest of labor has a lesson to learn from the determined offensive of the miners, the miners themselves have a lesson to learn from events in Washington. The government belongs to big business, and labor must get into politics to change this. A welcome sign that the rank and file realized the need for independent political action was the call by UMW District 5 that John L. Lewis run for President.

BIASED BOARD

A good example of the anti-labor attitude of the government is the report of Truman's Taft-Hartley fact-finding board. When this board was appointed, Lewis charged that it was biased. He was certainly right. The

board found exactly the "facts" that the operators wanted it to find. The report says that (1) the operators did NOT dishonor the contract; (2) the UMW pension plan IS unsound, which the operators have maintained all along; and (3) Lewis is responsible for the stoppage, and not the 400,000 miners on strike.

This is exactly what Truman wanted, too. After Truman gave the go-ahead signal, it took only a few hours for the government to get an injunction against the strike. It takes months—perhaps years—for the courts to decide whether the Taft-Hartley law is unconstitutional, but it only takes hours to get out a strike-breaking injunction.

As this is written, there is a fair chance that the union will beat the injunction THIS TIME. Lewis actually did not call a strike; to further cover up, he told the miners to do as they pleased. Also, the contract clearly states that the miners will work only when they are willing. Therefore, the government, to break the strike, must tear up the contract and force INDIVIDUAL workers to return to work—which is slave labor, in plain words. The government is obviously reluctant to do this; after all, this is an election year, and then, too, they know the workers will only stand so much. In addition, the solidarity of the miners is frightening to the little handful of coal barons and their political stooges. These factors may save the day.

LOOPHOLES UNCERTAIN

However, a victory over THIS injunction will only be temporary. The union has found loopholes in the law and is using them. But Congress only needs to pass a few amendments and the loopholes will be plugged up! Labor will not be able to fight such amendments so long as workers give their votes to Democrats and Republicans.

The rank and file realize this more and more. That is why the Lewis-for-President action of District 5 is so important, Labor—the real majority—really needs its own man in the White House. It needs to run candidates for every other elective office in the land. Not only should every mine local in the country echo this demand, every other alert unionist should take up the cry, too.

In the meantime, there is the possibility that the courts will uphold the present injunction. If they do, immediate action must be the answer of the entire labor movement. Lewis should call on all other unions for aid in a nation-wide protest demonstration, and every worker in the country must see to it that his union does its duty.

MANY GRIEVANCES

Reactionary elements in the UE are playing a role locally in the secession and raiding movements. The Inquirer reported that "The new drive will be undertaken by rank and file members, led by a strong right-wing party which has swung behind the plan of the powerful UAW to give 'aid' to UE locals wishing to throw off communistic domination."

Similar reports were circulated in union circles. Apologists for the national UE leadership attempted categorically to identify this secessionist element with the Carey-Block caucus. (Continued on page 2)

Wage Raise Demands Face Threat of New "Pattern"

Stalin's Agents Assassinate Polish Socialist

In a Sealed Coffin

By A. RUDZIENSKI

We have received news of the assassination of Antoni Zdanowski, one of the 200 opposition Socialists arrested and put on trial in Poland. For some time now, we have been calling the attention of the American workers to the offensive of the Kremlin against the workers' opposition in Poland.

After the wave of strikes in Poland's industrial centers, principally the last strikes of the textile workers of Lodz, the GPU decided on the "destruction" of the cadres of the workers' opposition in Poland. The arrests embraced hundreds of socialist and trade union leaders and militants, among them prominent leaders of the PPS and the anti-Nazi resistance, like Puzak, Zdanowski, Dziegielewski, Cohn, Qbarski, Galaj, etc.

The news which came from behind the prison walls was terrible. The leaders of the workers' opposition were maltreated in a form worthy of the hangmen of the GPU. At the public trial, the leaders of the Peasant Party appeared without teeth, maltreated and physically broken.

LEADING UNIONIST

Antoni Zdanowski was a prominent figure of the Social Democracy in Poland. Deputy to the Parliament in the pre-war period, he was, at the same time, leader of the trade unions as secretary-general and editor of the union magazine.

During the Nazi occupation he belonged to the leadership of the workers' resistance movement against the Nazis. After the Russian occupation he belonged to the opposition PPS, whose legalization was prohibited by the NKVD. Under the pressure of Zdanowski, only Socialist representative in the Stalinist Parliament of Warsaw, Zdanowski entered the pro-Stalinist PPS and led the opposition against the Stalinists.

In 1945, the Warsaw workers elected him president of the Warsaw PPS Committee against the will of the NKVD. It was at this time that he aroused the ire of the Stalinists.

In 1945 Zdanowski and Zulawski left the pro-Stalinist PPS and presented their candidacies as Independent Socialists. The government's electoral commission cancelled Zdanowski's candidacy, fearing his electoral success among the Lodz weavers and the proletariat of Warsaw. When the NKVD (Security Police in Poland) decided to "liquidate" the Socialists of the opposition, Zdanowski headed the black list of victims. He was arrested in June of 1947. He was very badly treated during the questionings.

SEALED COFFIN

Now the news arrives that he was assassinated by the "Bezpieka." His remains were handed over to his family in a SEALED COFFIN; as was the custom of Hitler's hangmen, his family was prohibited from announcing his death. The death of Zdanowski is kept in strict secrecy. Even now the Stalinist hangmen

do not dare to kill the Socialists openly in prison. They killed the militants of lesser importance "accidentally." The assassination of Zdanowski, a leader of international reputation, constitutes the signal that the GPU intends to proceed to the liquidation en masse of the workers' opposition in Poland. Zdanowski refused to "go soft" under torture and, consequently, it would have been dangerous to have had him stand trial with the other members of the PPS.

At the same time news has arrived that the peasant deputy, Bryja, who fled with Mikolajczyk and was captured by the Czech Stalinists and returned to Bierut's Security Police, committed suicide in prison after being subjected to torture.

These assassinations signify that, in the countries of the Soviet zone, the era of the extermination of the workers and peasants' opposition, the

era of the "Moscow Trials," is beginning.

Those assassinated by the NKVD were not our comrades either in terms of doctrine or party. Nevertheless, they were our comrades in the struggle against Stalinism.

For this reason, we, the revolutionary socialists, must address ourselves to all the workers' tendencies in the world, especially in the United States, so that they may raise their voices in protest against the NKVD terror in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Russia, etc.

Comrades, American workers, raise your powerful voice of protest, regardless of differences of political belief. The cause of the assassinated and persecuted workers is your cause. Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat against the capitalist reaction and the Stalinist barbarism! Long live the socialist world front!

Unified Pay Strategy Is Union Need

As twice before since the end of the war, there is again the danger of labor's wage demands being strangled by a "pattern" which falls far below the needs of the men and women in the shops and their families.

This time it appears as though the pattern will fall into a 7 to 11 cent bracket though 25 cents or more would be a modest demand in the situation. Thus, U. S. News, a slick news magazine for business men, speaks confidently of an 11 cent pattern.

Negotiations are beginning in the steel industry. Steel will set the "tone" for the major industries. There is every reason to believe that Murray's demands on the steel corporations will be "temperate." There is already evidence that Murray's procedure is not calculated to beat a proper increase, corresponding to the needs of the workers, out of the corporation magnates. He has announced that the steel union will not seek recourse in any action beyond negotiation and polite pressures.

Many things are wrong with a "pattern." It obviously fixes an arbitrary standard that bears little relation to the requirements of labor in different industries. Furthermore, the very word "pattern" has virtually become synonymous, in actual practice, with a figure that undercuts drastically the demands of the unions. A "pattern" becomes a FREEZE!

One hundred thousand packinghouse workers are out on strike at this very moment. They hold that a \$40.80 pay check is inadequate to the needs of a family today, and they are asking a 29 cent an hour increase. With the increase they ask, the pay check would still fall below the \$3,500 that government agencies have held to be a minimum for decent living. Alongside this column we publish an explanation by the packinghouse workers union as to how they arrived at this figure. The meat packers are offering nine cents. The "pattern" therefore clearly matches wage standards of big business... not of the worker.

The auto workers union is preparing its fight for a 25 cents an hour increase. The UAW has documented its case well. In fact, the UAW has a well deserved reputation for resting its case on unassailable documentation. Nine or 11 cents an hour cannot possibly answer the needs of the auto workers.

(Continued on page 3 in edit. col.)

Why 29 Cents?

Our wage demand of 29 cents an hour may have puzzled some people. Why not 30 cents?

This is how the 29 cents figure came about. First, we concluded that the Department of Labor's recent Worker's Family Budget study provides a sound foundation for negotiation. Because, as the Department says, the Budget is "the first post war report on actual living costs of workers in 34 large cities."

BIRMINGHAM—LOS ANGELES

We took the two cities half way between the highest cost (Washington) and the lowest (New Orleans). Those two cities are Birmingham and Los Angeles—both packing cities.

Taking the Budget figures for June and adding 5 per cent for the increase in consumer prices down to October, gave us \$3,425 as a "necessary minimum" for a family of four. Broken down to an hourly figure, and assuming steady employment for 52 weeks of 40 hours each, would require \$1.65 cents an hour—\$66 per week.

But we know this would be impossible to win all at once, since for the men on the common labor rate of \$1.02 per hour, it would mean a 63 cents an hour increase. They need that much more, but what chance would there be of convincing packing managements?

To meet this practical problem, and also to meet the company contention that the "average" family is around three and not four, we derived the figure of \$1.39 cents an hour for the smaller family. We did this by again using the Department of Labor's Budget. The Budget study states that a family of three will require 84 per cent of the income necessary for a family of four—hence, the \$1.39.

\$1.10 AS DIVIDING LINE

At the same time, study of wage rate data showed us that two-thirds of all packinghouse workers are on hourly rates of \$1.10 or less. Twenty-nine cents (the difference between \$1.39 and \$1.10) would assure that one-third of the workers receive income sufficient to meet the needs of a family of three. While the other two-thirds would not have this income, a 29 cent increase represents a long step in the right direction.

Finally, we asked that the packers give recognition to the PRINCIPLE of the Family Budget and agree, at intervals, to make adjustments in rates so that within two years, the entire working force would be provided with this "necessary minimum" of income.

There you have it. Does it sound so "unrealistic," as the management claim? If you have doubts, recall the profit experience and prospects in the packing industry.—From the *Meat of It*, published by Research Department of United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO.

Unload Tobacco on Hungry Europe

Lobby Succeeds in Getting Government to Include Billion Dollars of Tobacco Orders in ERP

By MIKE STEVENS

Tobacco is one of those big businesses that is apt to be neglected when the influence of various industries upon the government is being discussed. And yet, at the present moment, the U. S. State Department is busy trying to unload almost ONE BILLION DOLLARS' WORTH of tobacco onto Europe, and also to create a market there for U. S. tobacco.

The New York Times carried a small article on March 27 with the harmless title, "U. S. to Ship Cigarettes to Spur Italian Workers." The rest of the article (which appeared almost identically the same in almost all the newspapers in the U. S.) reads: "The United States has ordered 300,000 packages of cigarettes for distribution in Sardinia under the interim aid program and may send a total of 1,860,000 packages at a cost not exceeding \$100,000, the State Department said today. The distribution of cigarettes would make for content-

ment, as every smoker knows, and therefore would be an incentive to work, the State Department said."

This is the only reference that has been made in the press connecting tobacco and the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan). The above newspaper story will be considered by the average newspaper reader as nothing more than just another lame-brain idea of the Truman Administration to influence the Italian elections.

LOBBY SUCCEEDS

Speeches have been made in Congress and the tobacco lobby has been working openly—but not a word about it in the newspapers. The capitalist press does not dare offend the tobacco industry, which spends more than \$55,000,000 a year in advertising.

In the past, the tobacco industry of this country has exported 35 to 40 per cent of its crop. But the export market has been shot to pieces. For ex-

ample, Great Britain was formerly a big customer but the high taxes in that country plus the dollar shortage, which placed a restriction on imports, has given the U. S. tobacco combine a huge surplus of tobacco and no market for it.

The tobacco lobby therefore, by applying pressure on the State Department, has been able to get the government to send almost half as much in tobacco as in all other foodstuffs to Europe (two billion dollars' worth in food and almost one billion in tobacco).

The State Department will buy the surplus and push it on the starving people of Europe, and will also try to create a market for American tobaccos—a market that American capitalism will be very eager to protect.

MONITOR REPORTS

Only one large newspaper has carried an article on this subject, the Christian Science Monitor. The Mon-

itor, which does not accept advertising from tobacco companies, had an article which said in part:

"There have been reports that Europe would prefer to have more food and other goods than to receive quantities of tobacco. There have also been rumors that American tobacco interests were pressing their product on the European Recovery Program to establish themselves on the European market. From the United States standpoint ERP imports of American tobacco are of 'vital importance' if the United States is to maintain its customary outlets."

The article has been discussed on the floor in Congress and has appeared in the Congressional Record—but not a word about it in the capitalist press. Nobody has questioned the article's honesty, nobody has denied it—just silence—and the continuing shipping of tobacco instead of food—only because it "makes for contentment."

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Buffalo Sanitation Men Win Pay Raise

BUFFALO—Last week approximately 700 Buffalo sanitation workers, members of Local 629, United Public Workers, CIO, won a wage increase. Though there are still some legal technicalities to be complied with, the Buffalo Common Council approved a cost of living bonus of \$400 for city employees, and all indications are to the effect that the money will shortly be in the pockets of the sanitation workers. The sudden discovery of "new money" in the city resources by City Comptroller Edward Neider came as a result of several weeks of activity on the part of the refuse collectors.

After asking, then demanding, a \$2.00-a-day cost-of-living increase, all to no avail, the sanitation workers began a slowdown of a few days' duration. This was ineffective inasmuch as the garbage collectors were scattered all over the city in small crews. There were constant threats of firing and police interference. Having accomplished little with the

slowdown, the sanitation men decided to pay a personal visit to the Common Council and Mayor Dowd.

On March 14 a hundred sanitation employees marched up to City Hall. At first ignored by the Mayor, who relied on his police department to handle the situation, the workers staged a sitdown in the tradition of the days of '37. Sitting, crouching and kneeling outside of Mayor Dowd's door, they refused to be budged by the police orders to quit the building. Police Commissioner McMahon, who was on the spot at the time, threatened, "You boys go out peacefully or we'll have to get you out." Cries of "united we win" and "let them throw us out" resounded through the corridors of City Hall.

"What have things come to when an employee can't even wait to see his boss?" inquired Joseph Cellura, Local 629 UPW-CIO president.

The police cars began to arrive when the cops realized that the workers were determined not to

leave the building without seeing the Mayor. Before the police were able to use strong-arm tactics, a message arrived from the Mayor promising a meeting with the sanitation workers on the following day.

Tossed between the Republican Mayor and the Democratically controlled Council, one passing the buck to the other, the meetings between the workers and the city officials brought no results.

On March 22 the sanitation workers carried their demands a step farther. Staging a new kind of strike, designed primarily to skirt the State Condon-Wadlin law, which forbids public employees to strike, members of Local 629 launched a "sickness campaign." Pickets marched in front of the Maryland Street Garage carrying placards which read: "We are sick because of low wages and the high cost of living. This is not a strike."

Cellura, local president, issued a similar statement: "We are sick be-

cause of the low wages . . . and we are not able to work."

Unsuccessful attempts were made by the city to break the strike with scab labor and the police, but the sanitation workers practiced all the techniques of labor's militant traditions. They threw themselves in front of trucks that attempted to roll from the garage; they pursued moving trucks in cars and persuaded the strike-breakers to go home. On the second day, only one truck, heavily escorted by five police cars, roamed about the city, attempting to make the garbage pickups. The capitalist press was forced to report that the "sickness campaign" was 100 per cent effective. The Buffalo curbs were lifted high with refuse.

The "campaign" lasted four days but after their return to work the sanitation workers made it clear that they would suffer a "relapse" if the raises did not come through.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By E. R. McKinney

RANDOLPH'S PROPOSAL

On March 31, Mr. A. Philip Randolph and Mr. Grant Reynolds appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee to testify in connection with universal military training and the peacetime draft program. Mr. Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Employees and Mr. Reynolds is a New York State Commissioner of Corrections. Both Randolph and Reynolds are officers of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training. Randolph, backed by Reynolds, told the committee that "passage now of a Jim Crow draft may only result in a mass civil disobedience movement along lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism."

Randolph said that he personally pledged himself "to openly council, aid and abet youth both white and Negro, to quarantine any Jim Crow conscription system. . . . I shall call upon Negro veterans to join this civil disobedience movement. . . . I shall appeal to Negro parents to lend their moral support to their sons—to stand behind them as they march with heads high to federal prisons with a telling demonstration to the world that Negroes have reached the limit of human endurance."

It can be said immediately and without qualification that it is totally correct for Negroes to carry on an irreconcilable struggle against Jim Crow in all forms. This is particularly true of one who is asked to consent peacefully to being shot and butchered in a Jim Crow outfit. Negroes get murdered in civil life in this Jim Crow U. S. and then are drafted into Jim Crow military units to be shot and murdered in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Furthermore, it is a fact that Negroes are not only Jim Crowed, mobbed and lynched in the U. S., but they are Jim Crowed as the victims of American capitalism. They are oppressed and exploited as workers, and oppressed and exploited as Negroes. To be drafted into a Jim Crow military outfit and sent off to die in one of the imperialist wars being waged by U. S. capitalism is again to be oppressed and exploited as a Negro and as a worker.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

When this is said, it is necessary to evaluate objectively the Randolph proposal for civil disobedience on the part of Negroes. In the first place it would be well for the sponsors of this idea to pay some attention to the differences between India and the U. S. and to the fact that there was actually a movement in India. It is not often possible to lift sociological concepts and political programs out of one environment and transfer them whole to another social, political, economic and cultural environment. The basis for the civil disobedience program of the Indians is not identical with the situation in which Negroes find themselves in the U. S. The Indians were engaged in a struggle for their national independence and for release from British

imperialism. They were demanding their own national state; the right of self-determination. It was not only these considerations which helped determine the nature of the struggle but also Gandhi himself. The passive resistance movement was organized by Gandhi on the basis of real philosophical and religious convictions in connection with the manner in which struggles of the masses should be conducted. Furthermore, the Indian movement came to its full development over a period of years. It did not spring full grown out of Gandhi's head.

The situation in the U. S. is not comparable to that of India except in a very superficial way, and Randolph is not a Gandhi. We do not mean this in derogation of Randolph's abilities or capabilities. What we mean is that so far as I have been able to learn Randolph is not himself a believer in passive resistance, or non-cooperation. For instance Randolph was not an opponent of the Second World Imperialist War; he only said that the democratic aims of the war could not be achieved if Negroes were subject to Jim Crow in the armed services, government and industry. In fact Randolph was a supporter of the war and only objected to the practice of Jim Crow against Negroes.

I have talked to Mr. Reynolds. He is certainly not a Gandhi; great or small. He is a full-blown American patriot, ardent supporter of "free enterprise," the capitalist class, the Republican Party and Governor Dewey. I have a hunch that Reynolds was thinking as much about embarrassing Truman and the Democratic Party as he was of Jim Crow. It is good to embarrass the Democratic Party but I don't have much faith in the exposure when made by Republican politicians. That is only the pot calling the kettle black.

These remarks do not, of course, apply to Randolph. He is of a different breed, and has a different record. However, Mr. Randolph is not on very solid ground in my opinion. I have already given some of the reasons. I do not say this because some Negro leaders have spoken in opposition to Randolph's proposals. Most of the Negro leaders would be against any militant proposals, precisely for the reason that it was militant and called for the mobilization of the Negro masses and those white persons who support militant activity by Negroes. I do not therefore support these Negro leaders.

SOMETHING MORE NEEDED

In my opinion it would have been better for Randolph to have been farther along the road toward the formation of something concrete in the way of a movement before he made such categorical statements as those before the Senate committee. A program for civil disobedience is not something to play around with. It is not something that one can turn on and off like a kitchen faucet. Also, there is no need to drag in India and Indian civil disobedience. Negroes in the U. S. have every concrete and

practical reason for organizing and fighting against all Jim Crow, wherever it occurs, in any way which will be effective. Negroes have the right and the duty to mass protest and mass organize against Jim Crow in the armed services or any other place. I can see no difference between submitting to Jim Crow in the army and submitting to Jim Crow in a theater or restaurant. Negroes protest in various ways against Jim Crow travel laws. I can see no reason why we should not protest against and organize against a Jim Crow military set-up.

I don't think much of passive resistance, however. I am not for Negroes preparing to submit peacefully to "a country-wide terrorism." I am not for Negroes marching "with heads high to federal prisons." Not much of a struggle can be carried on in a federal prison. Some Negroes may go to jail as a result of a militant struggle against Jim Crow army and navy, but that is different from mass marching to jail by Negroes, or mass dragging to jail in passive "resistance." I am for a positive struggle against Jim Crow, outside of the capitalist jails.

I am for a struggle against imperialism war also. I am against the coming war even though every Negro in the country is given the opportunity to become Chief of Staff and Chief of Naval Operations, and no Jim Crow anywhere. A fundamental principle of the struggle against Jim Crow in the armed services is to struggle against Jim Crow everywhere and also against capitalism and U. S. imperialism.

RECORD SPEAKS

My final observation is in connection with what I said before about not playing with such ideas as those advanced by Randolph. This is serious business. Mr. Randolph should remember that he once was the head of a March on Washington Movement. Some of us remember that there was no march; that the march was called off. I do not believe that Randolph's reasons for calling off that march were valid. The very fact that we are still faced with Jim Crow in the armed services gives support to this contention.

Now, Randolph has a new scheme. He should go slow and say nothing that he is not ready to follow through and only that which there is reason to believe can be carried out. Nobody is interested in Randolph saving his own soul, important as that may be. We are interested in what we can do as Negroes to organize an effective struggle against Jim Crow everywhere; the armed services included.

I see no virtue in marching to jail with "heads high" or low. I CAN see virtue in fighting, in resisting, in marching on Washington, in organizing for our defense, in casting out every Negro traitor and compromiser, every Negro who licks at the Republican or Democratic Party boots. These are only a few suggestions for A. Philip Randolph to think about before he marches to a federal prison.

Workers Party Observer Ousted by SP From "United" May Day Conference

NEW YORK—Paul Bern, representing the Workers Party as an observer, was excluded from a United May Day Conference called by the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation on Monday evening, March 22.

Informed that trade unions and various organizations were being asked by invitation to attend the conference, and not anticipating any difficulties, the City Committee of Local New York, Workers Party, decided to send an observer in order to inform itself of the political demands of the conference, the nature of the organizations represented, the actions proposed, and decide upon the basis of this essential information whether or not it would seek participation in the work of the conference. However, Irving Barshop, chairman of the conference, immediately upon taking the chair, demanded that "Mr. Bern" leave the conference on the ground that the callers of the conference were opposed to "all forms of bolshevism."

LABOR ACTION has since learned that the organizers of the conference claim that Comrade Bern was excluded purely on the technical ground that the WP was not invited. Their claim leaves unanswered the fact that at the conference itself the weight of argument against Comrade Bern sitting as observer was not based on the technicality but on stated political grounds; it also leaves unanswered by what standards a conference called as an anti-Stalinist conference and announcing itself as a "united conference," judges the admissibility ("inviolability") of organizations other than by the bureaucratic, factional standards of the Socialist Party.

We print below a report by Paul Bern as to what took place, and following it, a letter addressed by Ernest Erber, organizer of Local New York, Workers Party, to the members of the Socialist Party, the Social People's Socialist League and to all anti-Stalinist radicals:

BERN'S REPORT

"Upon arriving at the hall I received a card to fill out with my name and organization, as did everyone else. I plainly noted on the card that I was present only in the capacity of an observer.

"Following a report of a committee that had been sent to contact unions, the conference proceeded to elect a chairman and chose Irving Barshop, a member of the Socialist Party. Upon taking the chair, Barshop's first action was to state, in a hostile and accusatory tone, 'Will Mr. Paul Bern leave the room.' I was so flabbergasted that I was not sure that I had heard right and Barshop repeated his demand with greater insistence. I stated in reply, 'I don't understand. I am sitting in as an observer for the Workers Party.' I was cut short and the floor was given to Samuel Friedman, representing the Socialist Party. Friedman, who is thoroughly familiar with our party, asked the chairman, 'Would you please tell us who the Workers Party is?' The reply to his question was, 'They are one of these Trotskyist outfits.' At this point I again stated that I did not understand what they were up to, that this was called as a conference of anti-Stalinist organizations and that the Workers Party was certainly an anti-Stalinist organization, and that, in any case, the decision should not be made by the chairman but be voted on by the conference. Hearing this, Barshop immediately said, 'All right, let's vote.' As he was putting the question to a vote, a delegate interrupted to say: 'Did I hear this man say he was here only as an observer? I think he should be permitted to stay as an observer.' The vote was already under way and on a show of hands approximately ten out of forty delegates voted to permit the Workers Party observer to remain. At the conclusion of the vote, I rose to leave but protested the action as I walked to the door. Barshop answered by saying 'We are not only against Stalinism, but all forms of bolshevism, and we are not here to debate with you.' I thereupon left the hall.

"Paul Bern."

To All Members of the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Federation and the YPSL, and to All Anti-Stalinist Radicals

Dear Friends and Comrades: The episode dealt with in the attached report (see above—Ed.) has, in our opinion, serious implications for the future development of the anti-Stalinist labor and radical movement. It marks a long step toward imposing upon the latter movement a form of anti-Stalinist "Stalinism," the essence of which is the subordination of the entire movement to the historical and theoretical doctrine of one political tendency. This process has long been recognized as the hallmark of Stalinist procedure in every labor organization. It becomes all the more ominous when the episode in question also marks the first instance in which avowed anti-Stalinists have accepted and acted upon the concept that "Trotskyists" have no place in the labor movement, a view for which the Communist Party has long contended. The Stalinists seek to give their

action against "Trotskyists" some semblance of logic by basing it on the slanderous charge that "Trotskyists" are fascists. To our knowledge, neither the Socialist Party nor the Social Democratic Federation have ever accused the Workers Party of being a totalitarian organization, or an agency of a foreign imperialism or in any other way an enemy of the labor movement. Their action is based on the highly theoretical contention that "Trotskyism" WILL in the course of its development, lead to Stalinism. Yet the SP and the SDF ultimatically demand that the labor movement accept their party doctrine on this point and act toward "Trotskyists" today as if they were already Stalinists. This is no different than the position of those reactionaries in the labor movement who refuse to have anything to do with socialists on the theory that all forms of socialism will lead to a police state and, therefore, all socialists are basically totalitarian.

IMPERMISSIBLE STAND

We in no way seek to deny the right of the SP and SDF to hold and propagate its views on the future course of our movement. We, in turn, in no way intend to give up our right to hold and express views about the SP and the SDF and their probable further development. These are normal differences between parties and the legitimate subject matter for political polemics. What is illegitimate from the point of view of a democratic labor movement, and what constitutes a long step toward totalitarian concepts, is the demand by one organization that its theories about another organization be accepted by the labor movement as a condition for joint action.

Totalitarian concepts lead to totalitarian practices. The SP and SDF conducted themselves at the May Day Conference in a manner that corresponded to their position. The uncivility toward our representative, the undignified haste, the bureaucratic procedure, the curt order ("get out"), the stooge question ("... who is the Workers Party?"), the contemptuous characterization ("one of these Trotskyist outfits"), the hostile atmosphere—what are these reminiscent of other than conferences dominated by the Stalinists?

What is the implication of the declaration "we are not here to debate with you" other than the view that "Trotskyism" stands judged and condemned and is no longer to be accorded the civilities due an honest workers' organization, regardless of one's political differences with it?

Fraternally yours,
E. Erber, City Organizer,
Local New York,
Workers Party.

April 5, 1948.

Copies of the above were sent to the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.

The logical extension of this view is to be found in the clause in the constitution of the Communist Party which forbids its members from "associating with Trotskyists."

The concept that a political group can be given a status as pariahs, to be shunned by all upright men, because of the possible future implications which are read into its views by its political opponents cannot but lead to the most dire consequences. If "Trotskyists" are to be denied a place among anti-Stalinist labor organizations, whose definition of "Trotskyist" is to be accepted? In this case, obviously the definitions of the SP and the SDF. We have already witnessed what a convenient, and often terrible, weapon the label of "Trotskyist" became in the hands of the Stalinists. It has been used by them to designate people with as widely divergent views as Arthur Koestler, Emil Mazey, Dwight Macdonald, André Gide, Norman Thomas, James Burnham etc. In Russia, every person on the blacklist of the GPU is labelled a "Trotskyist."

ASKS PROTEST

We are quite well aware that the action of the SP leaders at the May Day Conference was taken without serious thought as to its implications. In measure, their conduct was, no doubt, the result of accumulated bitterness over old disputes, of pride in their "mass party" and contempt for our "splinter group" and of an eagerness to demonstrate to the SDF that the SP leaders have been thoroughly cured of their Trotskyist leanings. To the degree that their conduct was impetuous rather than premeditated, the SP leadership should find no difficulty in understanding the implications of its action and taking steps toward rectifying its consequences.

We urge all members of the SP and the SDF to seriously consider this matter and ask their organizations to reverse the positions they took at the conference on the admission of the WP observer. We likewise urge all who are interested in safeguarding the anti-Stalinist labor movement from the very methods and procedures it fights in their open Stalinist form to write to the SP and SDF in protest against their action at the conference.

Fraternally yours,
E. Erber, City Organizer,
Local New York,
Workers Party.

April 5, 1948.

Copies of the above were sent to the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.

Reuther Says Time for Political Action Has Come, But Ducks Concrete Suggestions

BUFFALO—Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, addressed a meeting of some 250 UAW workers here last week. Coming to Buffalo in the heat of the General Motors negotiations, the purpose of Reuther's visit was to give the area GM locals an organizational push behind the GM drive.

In his speech, Reuther adequately described the conditions in the country today. He warned again and again that "we're heading for trouble" and that it was the responsibility of the unions to help find the economic balance between production and consumption. He denounced the new war talk and declared that this time "we're playing for keeps." After outlining some of the GM demands for which the UAW is now fighting, Reuther said that it was high time for political action. "Too many workers stay home and read the funny papers on Election Day," he said. He urged the workers to "get out the vote, because we have the same mentality in Washington

that paved the way for economic collapse in 1929."

"They can spend billions for the destruction of lives, but they get out the congressional eye-dropper when it comes to saving the lives and the welfare of the people."

However, still tied to the apron strings of Murray and the Democratic Party, Reuther could not offer any concrete suggestions as to just what the workers should do about the November election. The lack of genuine and necessary direction toward independent political action created a gigantic gap in Reuther's speech and left the worker audience shrugging its shoulders.

Outside of the meeting hall, there was a successful sale of the LABOR ACTION issue which carried the headline—"Labor Party Time Is Now!"

**50 Cents Buys
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UE in Philadelphia Area - -

(Continued from page 1)

cus, "UE Members for Democratic Action." Block spiked these reports by publicly urging "CIO-minded people in the UEW to stay in the union, get rid of the Communists at top and local levels."

There is no doubt that many local UE unions have real grievances against the national UE leadership. The concern of this leadership with following the twisting and turning line of the Communist (Stalinist) Party has of necessity meant neglect in conduct of union affairs. Many locals have been denied democratic rights. Articles sent to the UE News by Philadelphia area locals advocating independent political action, escalator wage clauses, denouncement of the post-war no-strike pledge and other progressive planks have been refused space.

But secession is no answer to these needs and most of the local unions have correctly recognized that fact. The UAW program of raids has to some extent strengthened the hand of the Stalinists in the UE. Their cries of being victimized in a witch-hunt and red-baiting conspiracy has worked on the sympathies of many militant but bewildered UE members.

Gerber of the UAW and Block of the UE also cloud the picture when they lend credence to the "red-baiting" charge by accusing the UE leadership of practicing "un-American principles."

Everyone can plainly see that the national UE follows a pro-Moscow line. What everyone does not see is that the Moscow line serves the interest of the EXPLOITING ruling class of Russia. It follows, by cold logic, that the interest of the Russian exploiters cannot be anything but the opposite of the interests of the members of the UE. These facts

are known to Gerber and Block but they hide behind the smoke screen of patriotism. These facts are known to Price but he echoes the walls of the "victimized" UE leadership.

FATE OF UE

The fate of the UE hangs in the balance. Throttled and bled by the pro-Stalinist national leadership, it now must struggle against organizational blows by the UAW leadership. The victory of the anti-Stalinist

forces in the UAW points the way for the UE rank and file. A militant bloc based on a progressive and anti-Stalinist program must be formed.

Such a militant bloc—working with progressive UAW and other CIO forces in the State CIO Conference here in Philadelphia on April 20 to 22 can combat the forces of the anti-working class Stalinists and the forces of the conservative Murray-United Steel Workers machine.

WDL HOLDS TAFT-HARTLEY REPORT ERRS

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—Senator Joseph H. Ball's interim report to Congress that the Taft-Hartley Act is "working well and does not require amendment at this time" displays a lack of knowledge of the practical facts of the law, attorneys for the Workers Defense League contend.

Reporting for the joint congressional committee on labor-management relations, Senator Ball reported that strikes have steadily declined, that jurisdictional strikes are being settled without necessity of formal action, that wages have not suffered through the operation of the law, and that the National Labor Relations Board has grown in public confidence.

Max Nelson, national counsel for the WDL, said: "The Labor Relations Board has a heavier backlog of cases than at any time in its history except during the last days of the old Board when the Taft-Hartley bill was pending before Congress. The act is an omnibus law which unsuccessfully attempts to deal with miscellaneous, unrelated problems which form no basis for an impartial regulation by the government of labor disputes. To say that the Board has grown in pub-

lic confidence when organized labor, a substantial part of the public, is universally opposed to it, is an absurdity. Under a biased law, the Board cannot function impartially."

Carl Rachlin, a WDL attorney, commented: "The statement of the Senator concerning the incidence of strikes was at best premature. At the present time there are widespread strikes in the following key industries: coal, meat packing and publishing. Strikes are threatening on the financial exchanges, in the automobile industry and in transportation." David Ashe, another WDL lawyer, pointed out that the printers' strike in Chicago, New York and other parts of the country are directly attributable to the anti-closed shop provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, which has broken a pattern of over fifty years of peace in the industry.

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Big May Day Issue!

Plans are under way to publish an enlarged issue of LABOR ACTION to celebrate May Day and the Eighth Anniversary of the Workers Party. Built around the war situation and the labor scene in this country, with reports from various cities, this May Day issue, as all our May Day issues have been in the past, will be of exceptional interest. The front page of the issue will carry a statement by the Political Committee of the Workers Party, "Neither Washington Nor Moscow!"

There will be cartoons—Carlo cartoons! There will be various special features and articles.

As in the past, a section of the paper will be given over to greetings to LABOR ACTION on May Day, and to the Workers Party on its anniversary. Friends of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are being asked to send greetings.

Rates for greetings are as follows:

Height	One Col.	Two Col.	Three Col.
1 inch	\$2.00		
2 inches	4.00	\$8.00	
3 inches	6.00	10.00	\$15.00
4 inches	8.00	15.00	20.00
5 inches	10.00	20.00	25.00

Branches of the WP and friends sending in greetings are asked to submit a text for their greetings in accordance with the size ordered. Payments must accompany greetings! INDIVIDUAL GREETINGS WILL BE LISTED FOR \$1.00.

So that the issue will be in the hands of all our readers by May 1, the May Day issue will be mailed on April 23. Articles and greetings intended for this issue, will therefore have to be in our office by April 15.

WORLD POLITICS

Secretary of State Marshall, at the very moment when he and Truman were deliberately whipping up the war atmosphere to an unprecedented degree, urged calm consideration by Americans of the international situation. Socialists are always in favor of calm analysis, the better to propose revolutionary solutions. Since business managers are notoriously calm and sober people, with a clear-headed insight into events, the editors of LABOR ACTION have invited our business manager, Paul Bern, who has the additional advantage of being a Marxist, to give us his considered estimate of the situation, particularly on the question of the imminence of war.

A Calm View of the World Today

So much has happened in the world in the last few weeks that now is a good time to take a calm look at the world today.

The United States is drawing a line, particularly in Europe, beyond which it will not permit further expansion of Russian imperialism. But it is still only in the process of drawing that line, it has not been definitely established. The Truman Doctrine stands, but it has not been more energetically defined as an attempt to halt both external expansion by Russian and internal "aggression," such as seizure of power in Czechoslovakia, etc.

A commitment is being made by the United States to stop Stalinist imperialism at about its present borders. The iron heel to drive home this commitment is, first of all, the attempt to stabilize Western European capitalism through the Marshall Plan, now in effect. This plan, no matter how it is worded, is clearly not an altruistic plan to increase industrial and food production in Europe, but is essentially a military plan for the stabilization of Europe as the advanced base for American imperialism and its allies in the event of a shooting war against Russia. The weakness of the American labor movement is further emphasized by its tailing behind the so-called bi-partisan foreign policy of the State Department, instead of developing its own program of class solidarity with its European brothers. It would have developed its own program for food supplies and industrial help to Europe, without any strings attached to such aid. It would have worked up a program to be administered by the trade unions, which would encourage democratic workers' control of industry and likewise enhanced the socialist transformation of European political and economic life. For only such a positive social program can definitively defeat the Stalinist parties in Europe.

IS WAR CLOSE AT HAND?

A United States-Russian war still seems a remote rather than an immediate prospect. Russia is almost totally unprepared economically, and lacks the military weapons and strength for a war of the Atomic Age. No one in the United States wants war and a chill of horror crept up the backs of all in America after Truman's speech calling for the revival of the draft. But Russia will take more chances—as it is now doing in Berlin—to gain further footholds by political means, short of war. War, however, could come almost automatically if the Stalinists make any overt moves threatening to seize Western Germany, France or perhaps even the Scandinavian countries.

But what of the possibilities of civil wars within the remaining nations of Europe where Stalinism has not yet conquered power? Such civil wars may not be immediately followed by a direct shooting war between the imperialist giants. According to all responsible opinion in American imperialist upper circles, there is

a 50-50 chance of an isolated civil war occurring in Italy, no matter how the April 18 elections go. If the Stalinists get a majority or near majority (which is increasingly doubtful), then a civil war, provoked by the parties supporting capitalism as a desperate measure to prevent a similar fate to that of the Czech capitalist parties, is possible. Or, if the Stalinists are defeated, they may attempt to take over at least the entire region of Italy north of Rome, the Industrial North. Such a civil war in Italy would speed up the conflict in France immensely and might even lead to an attempt to join up southern France (based upon Stalinist Marseille and the Spanish Stalinists in southern France) with Stalinist controlled Northern Italy. Only the eventual involvement of all of France itself could lead to precipitation of World War III. A civil war in Italy could remain temporarily isolated.

Meanwhile, the effect of this perspective upon the United States is clear enough. What lies in the cards now as preparation for the shooting war is pushed ahead? A gigantic rearmament program is under way and will be gradually speeded up. Its effects upon the cost of living can already be felt in the fact that the trend toward price drops, after the grain market crash, has already stopped. A new period of scarcities will shortly begin, tending to actually push upwards once more the price level. An additional \$3 billions is proposed by Truman for armaments, and this may lead to as high as \$10 billions if the present tension continues, as it certainly will. This will completely kill any chance of a mass housing program, if the Administration has its way. Unpopular UMT will not be put through yet, but a flexible form of Draft, to be enforced in accordance with the situation, is very likely within a few months, or after the elections are over. There will definitely be a substantially larger army, navy and air force, with conscription, by the end of the year.

WHAT PROGRAM FOR SOCIALISTS?

What must we do? The Marshall Plan has now been adopted and is already at work. We always favored full material aid for Europe, and we still do. We opposed the Marshall Plan because of its fundamental nature, and because of the strings and conditions attached to it. We must now continue our struggle for full aid to Europe by opposing, at each and every turn, all efforts to administer or effect the ERP in a reactionary, imperialist manner. If, for example, the ERP chief administrator proposes to cut off a country from aid because of a left turn in its inner political life, we must combat this tooth-and-nail. We must oppose any effort to make use of the Plan for beating down the European labor movement. Full aid to Europe, but no conditions to such aid.

Within America, the building of a Labor Party assumes a greater importance than ever. In what other way can we expect American labor to break its present subordination to imperialist foreign policy and work out its own independent program of cooperation with its European brothers? By what other road can we fight the militarization trend, and convert the armament billions into housing billions? The time is indeed growing short and American workers must create their Labor Party within the next period, or the opportunity will be lost forever. As for revolutionary socialists, the demand of LABOR ACTION for a national referendum before conscription is imposed offers, at present, the best opportunity for putting forward their anti-war program as opposed to the war drive of the Administration.

Paul BERN



THE IMPACT OF TRUMAN'S NEW WAR PROGRAM . . .

The government's new military program is of such scope that it becomes a decisive factor for the immediate future of the nation's economy. It will more than compensate for other factors—such as a drop in foreign trade, a drop in domestic tool orders, growing unemployment, lack of consumer purchasing power—which were taking the economy downhill. That is the consensus of the nation's leading economists.

The Truman-Forrestal program to increase the already-huge \$11 billion armament program for the fiscal year 1948-49 by \$3 billions, to \$14 billions, has reversed the field. The program came hardly a day too soon to bolster the post-war boom. Prices will rise yet higher for many commodities. Labor will soon become scarce. Industry will begin to tool up for war. Government spending will again exceed government income. Profits of war industries will rise to new heights.

Together with the Marshall Plan, the military program will put off any economic collapse in the United States for many months. If the new war program is not just a diplomatic move calculated to influence the Italian election, if it is an action which will be carried through regardless of political events of the next few months, then it means that the beginning of the First Atomic War is not far off, if Wall Street's will prevails.

Up until Forrestal placed his enlarged military program before Congress, the trend of the economy was unmistakably downward. Industrial employment was falling. Business failures in January and February of 1948 totaled 1,152, almost twice the 630 businesses whose doors closed in the same period last year. Business expansion plans, while still substantial, were not "gaudy." Inventory buying was slowing up, credit was getting tighter, department store sales were disappointing, there was a decline in order backlogs. Cancellation of furniture orders were climbing. Bakery goods and soft drinks were harder to sell. The output of radios and small motors had outstripped demand. Food prices had lowered slightly since the February 4 commodity break. Shoe prices were preparing to fall.

A fairly good business indicator is dine-and-dance patronage at the leading hotels. Such patronage dropped 27.5% in 34 of the nation's leading hotels in January and February, compared to the same months last year. Nearly one-third of the cabarets not owned by hotels have had to discontinue operation in recent months. Incomplete returns for March indicated that the downward trend in dine-and-dance business is proceeding at an accelerated rate, according to a survey just completed by a group of leading Chicago hotel operators.

A prominent firm of investment counselors warned that the crest of the inflation spiral had passed; that the movement of textiles and shoes through retail channels had been discouraging since the first of the year; that a further decline in employment in the coming months was indicated; that even a modest decline in building activity would lead to sharply depressed prices for building materials; that capital expenditures would be smaller this year than in 1947; that "unless an unexpected reversal in trend occurs," cotton prices will decline sharply; and that sales of men's clothing were running below expectations. This prognosis, made after the announcement of Truman's military program, indicates that deflationary forces were so far advanced that they would continue to gain momentum in the near-term future, because the expanding influences as the result of increased military expenditures may not be generated in time.

As recently as March 14, a group of government economists queried by the N. Y. Journal of Commerce agreed "that a rapid deterioration in the international situation, accompanied by much higher military outlays, was the only force in the foreseeable future that might set the inflationary spiral on an upward course again."

Truman and Forrestal must surely have been informed of this analysis. Possibly it was a factor in their decision.

Industrial capital goods manufacturers are jubilant about the war program. They were reporting a falling off in new orders for such equipment as hydraulic and mechanical presses and machine tools, and even smaller tools. New orders are not keeping up with delivery rates.

All that is to be shortly changed. The production-war program outlined by Washington offers a radiant future to the tool manufacturers. Some executives, it is reported, believe that the new military program, combined with the European aid plan, will necessitate a return this year to priorities and materials allocations, such as were used during the early stages of the war program in 1940 and 1941.

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

No sooner had Truman delivered his military preparedness message than Washington economists agreed that the Presidential action could be expected to give another fillip to the inflationary spiral. Said one expert: "Only an improved international outlook can dim the business outlook."

Expectations of larger military orders will more than offset the repercussions of the February 4 commodity price break, it is believed. Truman's new tough military policy means not only large defense budgets for some years, but probably means larger budgets than had been anticipated. There is a report current in Washington that, in addition to the \$3 billion addition to the U. S. armament expenditures, proposals are secretly being prepared to help arm "friendly governments" through legislation akin to lend-lease, at an additional cost of \$2 billion.

The financial pages are drooping as the war danger grows (the full import of a Third World War has not yet sunk in). "Imminence of government buying, similar to that of the enlarged defense program following the fall of France," says a writer in the New York Journal of Commerce. "Aircraft and other munitions manufacturers would get the lion's share of the new orders, particularly since other manufacturers would require some time to convert again to war production. While earnings would tend to rise in industries directly or indirectly concerned with war, they would be adversely affected in others. . . . War should bring both an expansion of sales and higher prices for the economy as a whole, once the initial readjustments have occurred. . . . Government expenditures

(Continued on page 4)

Editorials

Wage "Pattern"

(Continued from page 1)

In February, the CIO issued, through its Economic Outlook, an excellent study of "CIO's 1948 Wage Case." We understand that copies of this are available in bundles, and we are all for workers acquainting themselves with the material in the Outlook which is handsomely illustrated with pictorial graphs. It is a good job, but two things are missing: (1) a clear statement of what the demands ought to be in the various industries; (2) a CLEAR statement that wages must not be accompanied by higher prices.

The CIO maintains that "wages have lagged behind prices, resulting in declining purchasing power and lower standards of living," and that "profits have reached extortionate levels."

We regret that we were unable to obtain copies of the charts in time for publication in this issue of LABOR ACTION, but they set forth the following facts:

Percentage profit return on net worth jumped between 1945 and 1947 from 11.2 to 19.8 per cent in food, from 4.7 to 11.0 per cent in iron and steel, from 10.3 to 17.7 per cent in electrical equipment, from 11.2 to 20.0 per cent in autos and equipment, from 8.8 to 16.4 per cent in all manufacturing. "In dollar terms, profits after taxes in 1947 totaled \$17 billion for all corporations, \$8.9 billion in 1945, \$10.4 billion in 1943, the wartime peak, and \$5 billion in 1937."

In this period, while profits were going up 89.9 per cent, wages and salaries went up a mere 27.9 per cent. It is interesting to note that the farmer also gets it in the neck in comparison with big business, for farm income rose only 35.6 per cent in this period. And, with these figures, the CIO proves that previous wage increases (the 18 per cent increase in 1945 and the 10 per cent increase in 1946) were drops in the bucket and were more than compensated for by higher profits—proving that wage raises could have been paid without prices one cent.

To make the point clearer: \$1 of clear profits was made for every \$4 paid in wages and salaries in 1947, as against \$1 of clear profits for \$7 in wages and salaries in 1945.

Everything in this situation has worked to the advantage of the corporations: Undistributed profits (corporate savings) have jumped from \$46 billion in 1939 to \$92 billion in 1947. Corporations are financing new plant and equipment internally. "This, in effect, means that the consumer, by paying exorbitant prices, is largely financing the tremendous post-war expansion in corporate plant and equipment." Consumers are also paying for reserves with which the corporations will be able to weather a decline in business.

Now, we know what has happened on the price front while the corporations were raking in profits. On the three basic items of living—food, clothing and shelter—as illustrated in the CIO Outlook, prices went up 42 per cent in food and 22 per cent in clothing in the 18 months since OPA died, and rent went up 5.7 in the six months after rent controls were weakened.

"Average weekly earnings in manufacturing" have been engaged in an, up to now, futile chase after the "consumer price index." Money earnings may have gone up, but they depreciated in buying power. Thus, money earnings of \$52.21 a week today "will purchase only \$38.29 worth of merchandise in 1945 dollars." And in 1945 prices were, as we know, already inflated to tremendous extent!

The result has been that wartime savings have been eaten up, amounts outstanding on consumer credit have risen alarmingly (from \$6.6 billion in

1945 to \$13.3 billion in 1947) and the worker has gone deeper and deeper into the hole.

A chart on the last page of the CIO Outlook shows the boss telling a worker in March 1946: "Look at those wages—\$42.15," and the worker answering: "but living costs are \$53.50 so I am \$11.35 in the hole." And the same boss telling the worker in December 1947: "Wages higher than ever—\$52.51," with the worker answering: "Now the least I can live on is \$66.00 so I'm \$13.49 in the hole."

These are the facts, unchallengeable, well presented. But something more than the statistics is needed. We suspect that the corporation executives are well aware of them. Appealing to their good nature will do little good. They find the situation eminently satisfactory. They are out to pile up profits, and it probably gives them a good feeling to read the CIO's figures—things are going well for the rich!

But where does that leave the CIO? It would appear that the CIO Executive Board which issued this statement is not prejudicing the individual unions; in fact, it is assisting them, and the CIO Outlook says so. However, the menace of the low "pattern" remains, and it will likely be set unalterably by the head of the CIO who is also head of the steel workers union. Whatever Mr. Murray decides amicably with Benjamin Fairless of U. S. Steel may be fixed on auto workers, etc. What happens then to the average \$13 a week raise which the CIO has proved is necessary?

The CIO Executive Board includes this in its statement. . . . "in order to insure that increased wages are not drained off through higher prices, a coordinated and effective anti-inflation program . . . must be enacted through Congress. Only through such an inflation program can our new level of wages be protected from another onslaught brought on by even further unjustified price increases."

We maintain that that is so much gobbledygook. In the first place, the demands for a check on prices must necessarily be made part of the wage negotiations. In 1946 the CIO convention presumably adopted a program for wage increases without price increases. It was never implemented, and there is no sign that it will be implemented now. Of what use are figures, uncontested demonstrations of truth, if they are not backed in action and demand?

And, second, we remember, and no worker should forget it, that during the big strike wave of 1946 labor's wage gains were stolen in Washington as fast as they were won, through the connivance of the White House and labor officials in agreeing to price rises. Murray agreed to rises in steel!

Yes, demands on Congress make sense. However, for them to have any meaning they have to be made in such a way as can be effective. To a Congress confronted by the organized anger of the working class, expressed in political action through a Labor Party, or through militant demonstrations and ultimatum, it would make sense. Such agitation would have to be concrete; would have to carry conviction—the conviction of preparedness for actions—it would have to be localized around demands for WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES; it would have to be presented as part of a UNIFIED, WAGE-PRICE STRATEGY.

These are missing in the CIO's statement. We do not doubt that when the CIO board meets it discusses the demands of the respective industries. The fact nevertheless remains that there is no unified strategy, mapped by representatives democratically chosen by the various unions on a national and local scale, based upon coordinating the efforts of auto workers, steel workers, packing-house workers, etc.—each buttressing the other, all of them together presenting a common front to the employer.

The danger of a new and unsatisfactory "pattern" followed by outrageous price increases which make the effort of getting any kind of increase worthless, must be met. What will it avail the auto workers to skirmish for 25 cents an hour if Murray settles for 9 or 11 cents in steel and the weight of an industry-decided pattern is then brought on the auto workers? What will it avail them if they win 25 cents and prices jump 30 cents?

The issue must be frankly and openly discussed at union meetings, and the cry raised for: NO SELF-DEFEATING "PATTERNS," WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES, A UNIFIED DEMOCRATICALLY PLANNED STRATEGY!

Protest Slander of Joe Hill

Pickets Hit New Republic Article on Labor's Famous Poet and Hero

NEW YORK CITY—Picketing of the New Republic, weekly magazine, was begun Tuesday morning by friends of Joe Hill, labor organizer and song writer for the trade union movement, executed in Utah for alleged murder, to compel that periodical to retract "defamatory" statements about Hill in a recently published article.

Demands for "justice to Joe Hill's memory" were made upon Michael Straight, the magazine's present editor, and Henry A. Wallace, then editor and now its contributing editor, in signs carried by pickets and in leaflets handed to onlookers outside the New Republic's offices at 40 East 49th Street. The signs and handbills averred that Hill (born Hillstrom in Sweden) was innocent, was "framed up" because of his militancy in strikes led by the Industrial Workers of the World, and was convicted "on flimsy circumstantial evidence."

The article in question was written by Wallace Stegner, novelist and professor of English at Stanford University. Though admitting that the prosecution "hardly proved" Hill's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt, the author voiced his belief that he "probably" killed J. C. Morrison, a Salt Lake City grocer. Members of the IWW and others joining in the protest object to the article on the ground that Stegner based his opinion "largely on hearsay from anonymous sources."

RAID CONVICTION

"Joe Hill was convicted despite vague identification testimony," a statement issued by the picketing committee today said, "and despite the fact that the state never proved any motive on his part for killing J. C. Morrison, nor that he had ever known him. Morrison was slain when two masked men entered his grocery. 'We've got you now!' one yelled. They shot him down; then fled, taking nothing."

"So raw was Joe's conviction that it aroused a storm of protest from organized labor in many lands. All labor and liberal elements which investigated the case have always believed that he was innocent. . . . Joe Hill's name has come down to us as a symbol of courage and self-sacrifice in the struggle to abolish wage slavery. Justice demands that this slander fostered by the New Republic be wiped out."

This demonstration recalled that

President Woodrow Wilson twice intervened in attempts to save Hill from execution in 1915. The Swedish government acted toward the same end, and cable messages, telegrams and letters numbering more than 10,000 urging a new trial poured in on Governor William Spry of Utah. He granted one month's reprieve. "I don't want a pardon or a commutation of sentence," the prisoner said then. "All I ask is a new trial." He didn't get one.

On the night before the execution hour, the Seattle police telegraphed the Utah officials that a man named William Busky had made affidavit that he was with Hill on the evening of the murder, and that he was innocent. But Governor Spry refused any further delay. Hill was shot by a firing squad November 19, 1915.

RAN OWN DEFENSE

"When Stegner's article appeared," John Shuskie, a spokesman for the Friends of Joe Hill Committee, said, "letters taking issue with his loose assertions were sent to the New Republic

from various parts of the country. It printed only three of these, cutting them drastically. It ignored a letter from Ralph Chaplin, active in Hill's defense and author of the world's best known labor song, "Solidarity Forever," though Stegner had used information from Chaplin wrongly. But Stegner was given unlimited additional space in which to amplify his unjust story."

Joe Hill wrote many songs that have inspired workers around the globe. He wrote the famous "Casey Jones" strike song and "You'll Get Pie in the Sky When You Die."

Early in the state's case against him in Salt Lake City, the committee here explained, he discharged his two attorneys, declaring they were aiding the prosecution. A compromise followed, the judge appointing the two as "amicus curiae" (friends of the court) to protect the legal rights of the accused, while Hill insisted on conducting his own defense. He did so under great handicaps.

RECEIVE FULL TEXT OF NATALIA TROTSKY LETTER TO N. Y. TIMES ON SULZBERGER TALE

In the March 22 issue of LABOR ACTION we published a transcript of a letter addressed by Natalia Sedoff-Trotsky to the New York Times concerning allegations made in a dispatch by Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger which bracketed André Malraux, ex-Stalinist and now chief publicist for de Gaulle, with Leon Trotsky on the basis of a letter sent by Victor Serge to Malraux. (Serge died last year.) The full text of the letter has been sent to us by Natalia Trotsky. We note that the Times in publishing the letter made several deletions. We herewith add those sentences deleted:

After the first sentence of the second paragraph: "This is but a renewal in a new form of slander of the revolutionist who can no longer answer for himself."

In the next to the last sentence of that paragraph, the word "Jesuitical" after "Malraux."

At the end of the same paragraph: "Malraux, having apparently broken with Stalinism yet merely apes his former masters when he tried to link Trotskyism with reaction."

At the end of the third paragraph:

"Here is what Trotsky wrote in No. 73 of the Russian Opposition Bulletin, January, 1939: 'Some friends ask us what is Victor Serge's attitude to the Fourth International. We are forced to reply that his is the attitude of an opponent. For Victor Serge's politics neither the Russian section nor the Fourth International as a whole bear the slightest responsibility.' Again in No. 79 of this Bulletin Leon Trotsky wrote: 'And Victor Serge? He has no thought-out point of view. . . . The moralizing of Victor Serge and others like him is a bridge from revolution to reaction.'"

And before the last paragraph: "Mr. Sulzberger implies that there were friendly relations between Serge and Trotsky in Mexico. He is evidently unaware that Serge arrived in Mexico in September, 1941, thirteen months after the death of Trotsky. The letter from Serge to Malraux serves merely to confirm what Trotsky wrote concerning Serge's lack of a point of view."

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IMPACT OF TRUMAN'S NEW WAR PROGRAM - -

(Continued from page 3)

would soar, the budget surplus would disappear, and tax increases rather than reductions would be the fiscal issue of the day.

"The stock market declined immediately after the entry of the U. S. into World War II because the excess profits tax was expected to cut deeply into corporate profits. This expectation proved generally unfounded. It was shown that aggregate profits could increase despite imposition of an excess profits tax. It is doubtful, therefore, that a similar wave of liquidation due to fear of the excess profits tax would occur."

WORK-OR-ELSE PROGRAM COMING

What about the effects of a return to the draft on workers? Its impact on the industrial economy "is hard to overestimate," according to a recent study by Ray Moulden in the Chicago Journal of Commerce. "This time there is no sizable backlog of unemployment and the removal of a relatively few workers from industry could have a severe effect immediately. Therefore, there is concentrated thinking under way in Washington on revival of manpower controls so as to have a program ready much earlier than it was before the last war. If there is any doubt in businessmen's minds that we are preparing for this sort of thing, they need only talk to the Army and Navy reservists in their employ. The Navy has called in many officer reserves and asked them to accept active duty voluntarily, with the notice that they will be forced up ultimately. There is a sizable rush for commissions in all branches of the service."

The Army-Navy Munitions Board is of the

opinion that for the immediate future the new military program will have a moderate impact on the civilian economy "if the foreign situation does not get worse in the next few weeks" (a reference to the April 18 election in Italy—J. R.). What the program does mean, the board agrees, is no recession, assured high employment, sustained prices, "and a consequent effort by banks to seek higher earnings."

The President's Council of Economic Advisers describes the situation as "very sobering."

"You can't put the new arms program on top of a \$6 billion foreign recovery program without a very strong inflationary push," believes Dr. Edwin Nourse, head of the Council.

FACTORY SURVEYS BEGIN

The armed services are beginning the task of surveying 25,000 to 30,000 factories across the country, cataloguing production possibilities and capacities, lining up certain factories for specific branches of the armed services, offering "educational orders." At the same time, war agencies are beginning to train business executives. According to accounts in the Wall Street Journal: "Another M-Day—if it comes—would bring quicker, more complete governmental control of industry than anything seen in the last war. . . . Mobilization plan blueprints, as they're made, will be passed around the country to leading industrialists for suggestion and criticism. One such preliminary plan is already circulating among a hundred or so key businessmen."

M-Day plans! Do readers recall that book by Rose Stein entitled "M-Day," issued before the 1939-45 war, with dire warnings of Army plans

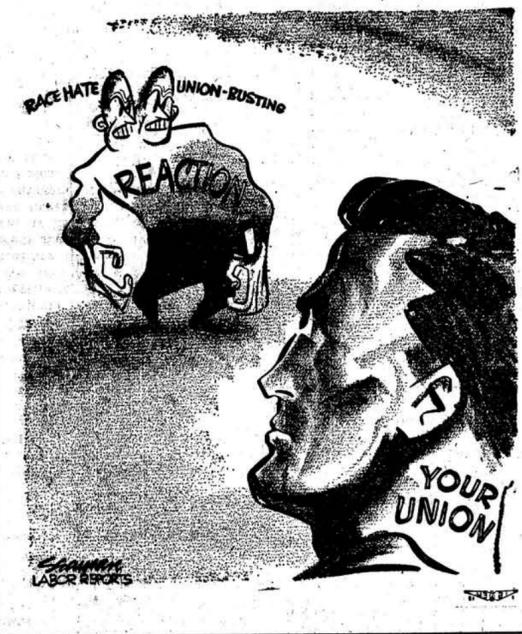
to take over the day war was declared? That was not the way it worked out. Instead, parts of the old industrial mobilization plan were introduced piecemeal as the war progressed.

Just the other day Col. J. V. McDowell, of the industrial mobilization planning division of the quartermaster purchasing office, explained what happened to the old M-Day program. In outlining the Army's current industrial mobilization plan for the underwear industry, to the Underwear Institute, Colonel McDowell said:

There are several reasons why the over-all industrial mobilization plan that was formulated by the services prior to World War II was never put fully into effect. There was no sharply defined M-Day, and we progressed through the period of emergency and the initial stages of the war in a creeping type of mobilization. Furthermore, the plans developed had been too generalized and did not recognize the extent to which the country's entire economy must contribute to modern warfare. This error is understandable, but it is also one we cannot again afford to make. American industry was able to support their armed forces to the extent necessary for victory in the recent conflict, largely because we had powerful allies who provided our country the time in which to mobilize our resources and economy. Allies and time are not assets that we are likely to enjoy in the event of another war. Victory or defeat may well be determined by our effectiveness during the first year—perhaps even during the first six months."

There in brief is the consensus of some leading economists and military men on the recent war developments in Washington.

LABOR FIGHTS TWO-FACED MONSTER



Detroit Gets New Police "Red Squad"

By LEE ROBERTS

DETROIT — Detroit's new "Red" squad, a special body of police set up by Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy to keep this city safe from "subversive elements," is now attracting nationwide attention through its attempted intimidation of the Wallace-Stalinist Progressive Party.

In existence for one month, the squad is guided by the openly-enunciated policy of Commissioner Toy that "all those engaged in un-American activities ought to be either shot, thrown out of the country, or put in jail." It is this statement which elicited the charge by Henry Wallace, in a recent radio speech over NBC, that Toy was "inciting to violence." In turn, Toy has demanded of NBC that he be given adequate time to answer Wallace over a nationwide hook-up.

INTERFERE IN UNIONS

The "Red" squad is supposed to have members in every precinct in the city, and much of its work will be under-cover. Some of its activities have been made known publicly, however, and consist thus far of intervention in at least three local union disturbances and of acts of intimidation against the Wallace party. The unions involved are Briggs Local 212 of the United Auto Workers, where three Communist Party (Stalinist) members were ousted from their jobs by a reactionary group in the shop; Plymouth Local 51, UAW, where two members were injured in a fight; and the Detroit Corporation, where the United Electrical Workers is involved in a struggle to maintain its bargaining rights. Results of the squad's investigations have not been made known.

On March 23 the Progressive Party (Wallace-Stalinist) had scheduled a rally at the Danish Brotherhood Hall. When members arrived to attend the meeting, they found the building surrounded by and filled with policemen. There was no overt attempt to prevent the meeting from taking place, but the janitor was so intimidated that he refused to turn on the lights and requested that the rally be called off. The meeting took place in darkness.

Another provocative incident was the arrest of two Wayne University students, members of the Wayne University Students for Wallace Club, while circulating a petition in opposition to universal military training. There were no charges filed against them and they were released after "questioning," but the case was turned over to the "Red" squad, which, it is reported, has conducted its investigation by putting pressure on the parents of the students.

ANTI-SEMITIC TOUCH

The most vicious statement by Commissioner Toy, the self-styled defender of "Americanism," is the one made during a radio discussion on communism: that Soviet Russian agents are entering this country through Canada "disguised as Jewish rabbis." (One wonders just what is Toy's mental picture of Jewish rabbis, and how they differ in appearance from ordinary people. Perhaps he means that they all have long beards—with bombs hidden beneath them.) This dangerous appeal to anti-Semitic prejudices was protested by the Progressive Party in a letter to Toy. His reply ignored completely the whole question of anti-Semitism, called the Wallace party "un-American," and repeated his statement that those engaged in "un-American" activities should be shot, deported or jailed.

These incidents in Detroit are merely a foretaste of what will take place as the anti-red drive gains momentum. Not only the Stalinists and their Wallace parties, but also genuine socialists and even militant unionists will become the target of the "Red" squad. The entire labor movement must fight every attempt to interfere with democratic rights, even though it is opposed to the Communist Party. The UAW in Detroit should demand the removal of Police Commissioner Toy and should insist that the police stay out of union affairs.

JIM CROW BUS RIDERS GET MAXIMUM SENTENCE.

HILLSBORO, N. C. (WDL) — Sentences of 30 days on the road, the maximum under North Carolina's Jim Crow law, were imposed by Orange County Superior Court Judge Chester W. Morris on four Negroes and whites arrested last April in Chapel Hill for violating the Jim Crow seating pattern aboard a Trailways bus.

They were released on \$150 bail each pending appeal to the State Supreme Court. Sentence was imposed after an all-white jury, which deliberated 20 minutes, handed down guilty verdicts, thus upholding the lower court in Chapel Hill. The four were Joe Felmet, southern field secretary of the Workers Defense League, Bayard Rustin, Igal Roodenko and Andrew Johnson. They were defended by NAACP attorneys.

A HALF-BAKED POLITICIAN FROM IDAHO Senator Taylor: Wallace's Running Mate

By JACK RANGER

Henry Wallace's running mate on the no-name third party ticket is a rather interesting Stalinoid liberal who will be, at least until 1951, the senior Senator from Idaho (population, 524,873). This man, Glen H. Taylor, rose in the United States Senate the other day and tossed off an amazing literary comment.

"One of the most serious complaints that Mr. Kravchenko has to make against Russia in his book 'I Choose Freedom,' is," said the Senator, "that Russian government ex-

ecutives must work long hours trying to make their economy work ever better and thereby raise the standard of living of the Russian people."

A man who could so distort the substance of Kravchenko's expose of the murderous bureaucracy has either (1) never read the book, (2) read the book but understood not one word, or (3) read the book and decided to misrepresent its contents, for the purpose of covering up for Stalinism. Senator Taylor's recent history points unmistakably to the third interpretation.

The Evolution of a "Wallace Man"

Taylor was born April 12, 1904, in Portland, Oregon. His folks came from Texas, where they were active in Democratic Party politics. His father, "Pleasant John Taylor," was the youngest Texas Ranger in history. Glen was the twelfth of thirteen children, all of whom have been actors. He was reared on a homestead near Kooskia, Idaho. A sign outside the town reads: "You Are Coming to Kooskia. Population, 411."

Glen's father had come to the Northwest for his health. He became a traveling sky pilot, preaching in mining camps and sawmills. This was the period when the IWW was a strong factor among the migratory workers of the West. The Wobblies had a certain attitude toward sky pilots, summed up in Joe Hill's song: Long-haired preachers come out every night, Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right, But when asked "How 'bout something to eat?" They will answer in voices so sweet: "You will eat, by and by, In that golden land above the sky. Work and play, live on hay, You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

Glen left school at the eighth grade to make his living. He herded sheep in the Bitterroots for a while. At the age of 13 he became manager of two theaters owned by his brother. A little later he moved to Santa Rosa, Calif., where another brother lived, and played in the stock company there. The two Taylor brothers formed their own company, the Taylor Players. When the depression of 1921 sank that enterprise, Glen switched to a job with the Slade Musical Comedy Company. In 1922 he married for the first time, in New Mexico. He separated from his wife in 1926, divorced her in 1929, married his present wife in 1931. From 1926 Glen was, in his own words, "owner and manager in various branches of the entertainment field."

The 1929 depression meant tough times for the little theatrical troupes with which Taylor traveled. The depression, as it decreased Glen's intake of vitamins, increased his receptivity to ideas, as it did with so many millions. Glen was particularly impressed, he has told interviewers, with two books—Stuart Chase's "A New Deal" and a pamphlet written in 1924 by King Gillette entitled "The People's Corporation." Both books are pretty sorry things, but they represented the best sociological ideas that Taylor had run across.

There followed a period of unemployment. In 1935, Taylor (according to Current Biography, October, 1947) tried to organize a Farmer-Labor Party in the mountains of Nevada and Montana. This was about the period when the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party was sending Howard Y. Williams around the West trying to extend the Minnesota organization into other states. It was also the pe-

riod when the Stalinists, in the course of their switch from Third Period ultra-leftism to People's Frontism, were also attempting to organize Farmer-Labor Parties. None of those who have written articles on Taylor has traced the influence which set him to organizing a Farmer-Labor Party. This was the closest Taylor ever came to the right political path for the masses.

A "FULL-BLOWN HUMMER" ENTERS THE SENATE

But building a Farmer-Labor Party requires stamina. It's a hard job. Taylor soon gave up in disgust. According to The Nation (August 24, 1946), "his failure convinced him that the Democratic Party under Franklin D. Roosevelt was the only practical vehicle for the common people to ride."

In the next few years, Taylor made his decision. If he couldn't rise with the masses, he would rise above the masses. He entered Democratic Party politics to get himself elected to office, of course, and not to educate and organize the masses for their own self-emancipation. There followed a series of unsuccessful attempts to gain office.

In 1938 he ran for Congress in Idaho, finishing fourth in a field of nine. In 1940 he ran for the U. S. Senate in a race to finish Borah's unexpired term. He lost in the finals to Thomas. Taylor went to California, worked as a painter's helper and in 1942 bought a horse and a big hat, returned to Idaho and campaigned on horseback, again for the Senate. Thomas again beat him. Taylor sold his horse, went to San Francisco and took a job in a war plant as a sheet metal worker. But his heart was back in Idaho politics.

In 1944 he returned to Pocatello. He wrote 3,000 letters in longhand to acquaintances and "names," drumming up interest in his current campaign for the Senate. Taylor beat D. Worth Clark in the primaries by 216 votes. In the finals, his Republican opponent was Governor C. A. Bottolfsen. Taylor beat him by 5,000 votes and headed for Washington.

Taylor has been a Wallace man for years. When he made his first speech in the U. S. Senate, wrote Kyle Crichton (in the June 30, 1945, Collier's), he "spoke on behalf of Henry Wallace in such fine ringing tones that ancient solons . . . looked up in pained surprise. What they were hearing was the voice of the musical tabloid show and the dramatic repertoire troupe. Mr. Taylor was the first full-blown mummer the U. S. has ever known."

In Idaho, Taylor was known as the crooning cowboy. He conducted his first campaign at the head of his own theatrical company. With his wife Dora playing the trombone and he the banjo, the pair gathered a crowd, whereupon Glen launched "into" a speech.

Undoubtedly his stage training gave a certain form to his speeches. Vardis Fisher, the Idaho novelist, has

said that "I listen to Glen every time I get a chance, not because he ever says anything but because he says nothing superbly."

In his 1944 campaign he would wheel into town in a sound truck, yodel "Oh, Susanna!" and launch into a speech. His two main campaign is-

Presenting: The Liberal Song-and-Dance Routine

Early in his political career, Taylor noted that a number of Southern demagogues were getting themselves elected by campaigning with hill-billy bands and similar shenanigans. He decided to use the same techniques. He justifies his clowning by claiming it is the only way he can get publicity. In the summer of 1947 he began a "Paul Revere" horseback ride from California to Washington to arouse the people against the Marshall Plan and the war danger. He had to cut his trek short when Truman called the special session of Congress.

Taylor lives in a \$15,000 house in Washington. As is quite common with Congressmen, his wife is his secretary. He quickly joined the "liberal bloc" of the Democratic Party and received assignments to the following committees: banking and currency, Indian affairs, public lands, post offices and post roads, and claims.

Until his agreement to run on the Wallace ticket as vice-presidential candidate, Taylor was a fair-haired boy with both The Nation and New Republic. He has the liberal song-and-dance routine down pat. Senator Taylor was one of the sponsors of the Murray-Wagner full-employment bill, and warned that jobs for all are necessary to the preservation of the private enterprise system. He has sought in the Senate to strengthen the United Nations, that tool of U. S. imperialism; has espoused the Zionist cause; has urged the nation to break relations with Franco Spain; has opposed Truman's program for aid to Greece and Turkey as an "oil grab."

Originally a supporter of the \$4,000,000,000 loan to Britain, according to Current Biography, "he reversed his stand upon hearing that it might lead to an Anglo-American economic bloc competing with a Soviet bloc." Taylor supports Wallace's farm program of planned scarcity. In January, 1947, he told Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, the synthetic farmer, "about the need for potato dumping to maintain support prices" for Idaho spuds.

In January, 1947, Taylor introduced Senate Resolution 1, to bar the seating of the late Senator Bilbo. Other bills he has introduced called for the coinage of \$50 gold pieces; for a modified Townsend old-age pension plan. He endorsed the Capper bill to ban national liquor advertising. He joined in sponsoring the Pepper bill for federal aid to state maternal and child health services. With Vito Marcantonio, Taylor introduced an anti-filibuster measure. But in June he joined Pepper and Morse in filibustering against the overriding of Tru-

man's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Southern Senators have always been successful in their reactionary use of the filibuster against bills which threaten Jim Crow practices. The Taylor-Pepper-Morse filibuster was not successful. The liberal trio pooped out in a few days.

Taylor has also introduced a resolution calling on Congress to publish at the end of each session a "tabulation of the voting records of all members on all roll-calls, together with a brief description of the issues voted against."

This isn't a bad idea, and the proposal so enraged a group of Senators that they complained to Pageant magazine that Taylor is "the least effective member of the Senate."

"THE CHAMP IS DEAD, BUT THE GAME GOES ON"

Up until his recent defection to Wallace, Taylor has been an advocate of the policy of building up the Democratic Party. Taylor wrote a letter to The Nation, published in the issue of July 19, 1947, about "my last-ditch effort to block the Taft-Hartley Act."

The Democratic Party in 1946, wrote Taylor, "had forthright and progressive candidates in the field. Throughout the country the Democratic primaries had resulted in a long string of victories for progressive pro-labor candidates who were connected by word and by deed to the continuation of the New Deal. Yet many people allowed themselves to be confused by the constant emphasis on petty wartime shortages and annoyances in the always pro-Republican press. Too many allowed themselves to forget the real issues, which had been classically stated and restated over the years by President Roosevelt. (There is a good rolling sentence in the style of Wallace, calculated to warm the cockles of liberal hearts everywhere.—J. R.) In-

deed, ever since the death of President Roosevelt too many Americans, including union men, are like the baseball fans whose interest in the game dropped off after the retirement of Babe Ruth. But politics is much more serious (this from the banjo-playing, yodeling, horseback-riding ex-actor). Sure, the champ is dead, but the game goes on. The Democratic Party will be as progressive as you make it, but it is up to every union man, every farmer and every small businessman to do a real job."

His warm praises for the progressive character of the Democratic Party just eight months ago hardly square with his current attacks on that party from Wallace's third capitalist party platform.

As though there are any "excess plants" in Germany today, after the vultures from the U. S., Britain, France and Russia have got through lifting everything of value from that unhappy nation.

When one of the Wall Street puppets in the Senate questioned Taylor's patriotism, Senator Pepper, of Florida, the other Stalinoid in the upper house, rushed to Taylor's defense, magnanimously proclaiming: "There is not a better American in the United States Senate, or in America, than the Senator from Idaho."

And the Senator Presents His Ideas
A glimpse of the ideas which are currently coursing through the brain of the senior Senator from Idaho may be had by studying his 35,000-word speech presented March 9 and 10 in the Senate, against the European Recovery Plan and in support of his own bill, the "peace and reconstruction act of 1948," which provides that the U. S. shall contribute immediately to the United Nations \$5,000,000,000 for that body to administer in financing a reconstruction and economic development program for Europe.

clared, charging that the Marshall Plan will undermine and eventually destroy the UN.

He explained the current war scare in a truly liberal way. Wars, as every liberal with penetrating eyes will agree, do not occur under capitalism because of the driving forces generated by the economy of each imperialist nation, but because the "wrong people" are in power. At the close of the recent war, he argued, the generals were afraid they would be out of work, and began a plot against the peace. In Taylor's world, the military leaders tell big business what to do.

At every point in his speech Taylor "covered up" for Stalin. "I believe our recent publication of the secret documents (concerning the interesting history of the Stalin-Hitler pact) was the most senseless piece of warmongering one can possibly imagine," he said. Taylor would like to keep the documents secret and the masses of the world unenlightened as to the realities of power politics in the world.

OFFERS HAIR-RAISING PROGRAM FOR GERMANY

His program for Germany is positively hair-raising, the Senator still clinging at this late date to the essentials of the Morgenthau-Roosevelt plan of reducing Germany to a backward nation. "Instead of dismantling any large number of German plants and turning them over to the people of the lands they devastated," he complains, "we are breaking our word, and going to leave them in Germany where the boys can build them up with the help of their old friends who so recently were helping Adolf. We will build up Germany again. That will prevent the other European nations from ever becoming very prosperous, but we will have quite a war potential there for this party the boys are cooking up for Joe."

As an economist, it can be seen that Taylor possesses not the slightest understanding of the key role that Germany must play if there is to be any industrial revival at all anywhere in Europe. As a politician, Taylor embraces the fallacy that the German people as a whole must be punished for the sins of the German imperialists and Hitler. As a Stalinist stooge, Taylor will use any argument to protect the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. He hasn't a trace of faith that the German workers themselves might possible decide that German industry shall be used neither to aid U. S. nor Russian imperialism. Very likely this thought would scare Taylor more than any other.

Questioned by Senator Cain of Washington, Taylor gave his own program for Germany: "We should leave Germany just the minimum necessary to let her people have a decent standard of living, but not as good as their neighbors whom they have devastated. Just leave them a decent standard of living and remove the excess plants to the neighboring countries—the ones they overran and destroyed."

As though there are any "excess plants" in Germany today, after the vultures from the U. S., Britain, France and Russia have got through lifting everything of value from that unhappy nation.

When one of the Wall Street puppets in the Senate questioned Taylor's patriotism, Senator Pepper, of Florida, the other Stalinoid in the upper house, rushed to Taylor's defense, magnanimously proclaiming: "There is not a better American in the United States Senate, or in America, than the Senator from Idaho."

In the course of his speech attacking the Marshall Plan, Taylor leveled extremely effective criticism at the plan. That is, it would have been effective if more than 90 of the 96 Senators hadn't left the chamber when he began talking. He went round the world, country by country, beginning with the Philippines, showing how Washington's reactionary foreign policies have alienated the masses everywhere, until today the people of all nations hate and fear the United States and would welcome the chance to oppose this nation in a war with Russia.

This is absolutely true. It is also true that the masses everywhere have reason to hate and fear the Stalinist bureaucracy and would combat it effectively were they presented with genuine socialist weapons. But Taylor didn't say this, of course, because he is a Stalinoid. This is THE truth that capitalist and Stalinist politicians everywhere are conspiring to hide. The tragedy of world politics today is that nowhere, outside of a minority in the Trotskyist movement, is there a voice to proclaim it.

Taylor's decision to string along with Wallace is a shrewd one. He retains his seat in the Senate, of course, and by the year 1950, he figures, the political situation in the nation will have so altered that his 1948 campaign will either have been forgotten, or will be a political asset. Taylor realizes that Truman is a dead duck, and that the chances are great that a Republican will be elected to the White House in November.

Wallace's vice-presidential candidate has shown one dominating principle, which is to get elected to office. He recalls that in 1944 he got precious little support from the Democratic State Committee in Idaho, and that the Idaho Statesman and the Pocatello Tribune regard him as a locust. Still he got elected.

With all his clowning and his present support of Stalinism, one receives the sad impression that Taylor, had he come under the influence of the socialist movement at a certain stage, could possibly have contributed to the emancipation of the working class. He has considerable talents and energies. And if he hasn't the right friends, he certainly has the right enemies and knows how to face up to them. Unlike almost all his colleagues in the Senate, Taylor has endured the seamy side of life and knows what it is like to work in a factory, if only for a few years.

As the Marxist movement grows in the United States and as the real Labor Party begins to form and take root in the unions, men like Taylor will gravitate to and take political direction from it, instead of from the tools of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the United States.

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