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LABOR ACTION

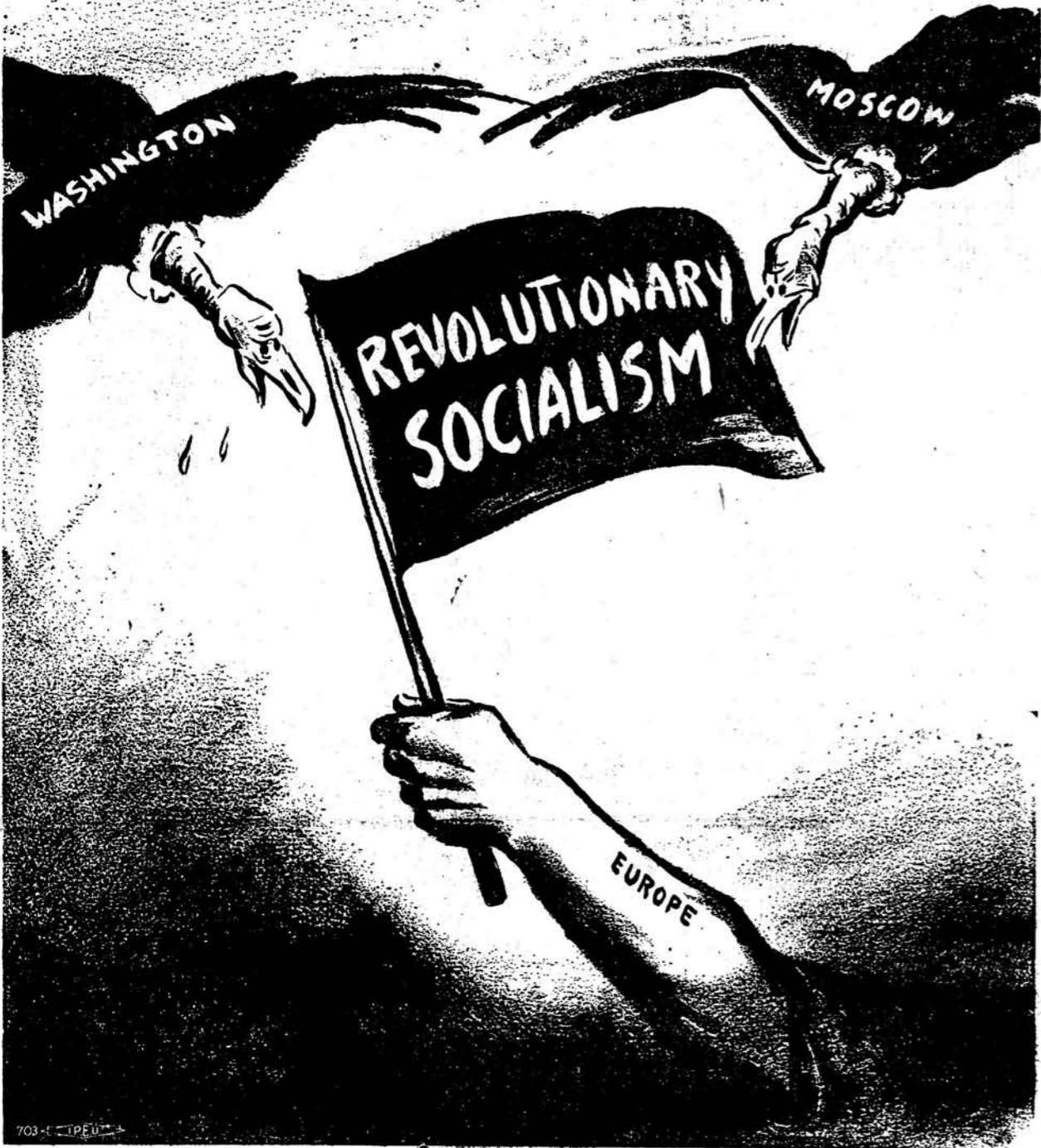
APRIL 26, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

FOR PEACE AND SOCIALIST FREEDOM -- NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW!

The Way Out!



Fining of Miners Exposes Government Machinations

By DAVID COOLIDGE

And so, according to the capitalist judge sitting in the Federal district court in Washington, John L. Lewis and the union of the coal diggers are guilty of "civil and criminal contempt of court." This "contempt" charge is a handy means the capitalist courts have of kicking the little people around without the little people having much of an opportunity to do anything about it. Almost always it is workers, workers organizations or working class leaders who are held in contempt by some little black-robed servant of the big corporations and big banks.

That's what has happened to Lewis and the UMWA. Lewis is fined \$20,000 and the union \$1,400,000. They didn't obey an order of the capitalist court to get back into the mines and start digging coal. For that Lewis was haled into court and found guilty.

The court was in a very benign mood before sentencing Lewis and the UMWA. Not toward the miners but toward the Government. Listen to the self-effacing little judge: "Now if the court was to use its individual judgment it would impose a prison

sentence upon the individual defendant. But the court is only one man, one individual. So the court feels it should adopt the recommendation made by the government." This is the most transparent eyewash. A one man court can find you guilty but needs the advice of the government in passing sentence.

WHAT IT MEANS

Why didn't the little judge sentence Lewis to prison? He knows and we know. We know too why he asked the government for recommendations. There ought to be a lesson in this for Lewis, for the miners, for all leaders of labor and for all the working class. Who is "the government" today? "The government" is the Democratic party, headed by Truman. The Department of Justice is the law enforcement section of the Truman government. The assistant attorney general who prosecuted Lewis and the miners, has his instructions from the head of "the government," that is, the head of the Democratic party which hopes to win the election in November and remain "the government."

"The government" (Democratic party) was really up against it. Joe Martin (Republican party) had stepped into the situation and had been successful in getting the strike settled. This made little Joe Martin talked about as a possible Republican candidate for president. This would never do; the Republicans must not be permitted to go into the campaign with the slogan "we settled the coal strike." "The government" (Democratic party) struck back at the Republicans. Lewis and the union had to be convicted.

But they were up against something very unpleasant: they were up against the miners. Miners are not easily scared. The weather is nice and this is the fishing season. The little judge was of a mind to put Lewis in jail. And we believe that "the government" shared this view. That would be a feather in the cap of the small fry from the Justice Department who represented "the government" (Democratic party). That would suit the coal operators, the NAM and the big capitalist newspapers.

"The government," however, preferred to temper justice with mercy. They did not want Lewis sent to jail. A fine would be sufficient. They recommended a good stiff fine, one bigger than the last fine. This of course is more eyewash.

LABOR LOYALTY

There is one reason and one reason only that Lewis was not sent to jail: the little judge knows, the Justice Department knows, Truman knows and the coal operators know, that not one ton of coal would be mined by the UMWA while Lewis was in jail. This and this alone is the reason that Lewis was not given a jail sentence. It was the solidarity, the loyalty, the grim and unshakable militancy of the miners which (Continued on page 6)

May Day 1948—a day dedicated to independent working-class struggle.

May Day 1948—a day demanding as never before the assertion of labor's independence, a rededication of socialist action.

Less than three years have passed since the hostilities of the Second World War ceased. Yet the world is again tormented by fear of war, torn by imperialist conflict.

Two colossal power blocs drive to impose their will on the peoples of the world.

Stalinist totalitarianism—under its heel the majority of the East European peoples and millions in Asia—seeks to extend its rule. It has conquered Czechoslovakia, where the working class seeking freedom from capitalist tyranny became the vassals of a Russian-model slave system.

In Italy, in France, in the United States—everywhere—Stalin's agents are operating, directly through the Communist Parties or indirectly through "fronts." They seek to ally these countries with Russia, to make their people the subjects of Russia's imperialist aims.

Untie the Strings on Aid!

United States imperialism, rich and powerful, rests on the cracked pillars of capitalism.

Racing against time with oncoming economic crisis, driven by its imperialist rivalry with Russia, it aims to fix its domination upon the battered lands of Europe and Asia and on the unscarred nations of Latin America.

Locked in contest with Moscow, the United States orders nations into its own orbit. With hypocritical humanitarianism it sells desperately needed economic aid at the price of submission to its own foreign policy.

It knows that the people of Europe cannot survive, cannot beat back the wave of Stalinist totalitarianism, unless their shattered industries are rebuilt. It knows that they must utilize aid from whatever source.

But we, as American workers, must see to it that this aid is given in a real European Recovery Program,—not in a Marshall Plan for the world domination of Wall Street and the strangulation of our European brothers' socialist goal.

Millions upon millions of Europe's working men and women are determined to rid themselves of a capitalist system which has brought them two wars in one generation, and indescribable misery. Must they be told by Washington that an American receivership is their only alternative to Stalinist conquest?

American labor's NO will resound through Europe and hearten them to fight

for the DEMOCRATIC alternative to capitalism—a real socialist government!

There is no way out for the imperialists of both camps except preparation for war. It is unlikely today or tomorrow. But whenever they are ready for it, they will slip the leash from the dogs of war.

And if they succeed—

Again the victims of the war will be the peoples of the world. The industrial machine, rebuilt today, will be smashed. This time atomic weapons will not leave the cities of the United States unscathed.

May Day, 1948, Statement by the Workers Party

There is no victory when that war is over. No problem is settled, no dispute solved. Economic security remains a mirage along ruins, and peace a vain hope—as long as imperialism, Stalinist variety or capitalist variety, still lives.

With this, only this, as their offering, the propaganda loudspeakers shriek that we must choose between Moscow or Washington—Washington or Moscow—poison or club.

There Is a Way Out

They lie. There is a way out for labor. For sixty-one May Days labor has fought for it. The heroes and martyrs, the fighters and victims of the working-class struggle gave everything they had—and when they died, they died standing up. We stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before, and look along the same way.

It is the alternative wherever men have fought for freedom. It is the alternative of an INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS REFUSING TO SUBMIT TO EITHER OF THE WAR CAMPS—LOCKING BOTH IN A STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST FREEDOM!

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW! BUILD THE THIRD CAMP OF LABOR AGAINST THE WAR!

The socialist movement, the forces of independent working-class action, are hard pressed. The leeches of Stalinist and U. S. imperialism are sapping the vitality of the THIRD CAMP.

Socialism a Practical Goal

In every country, the spineless parties of "official" socialism have gone over to one or the other of the two camps, becoming stooges either of the Kremlin or the White House.

The former tell us: The slavemasters and "butchers of the Russian people are bringing their "kind of socialism" to us too. The latter tell us: The fight for socialism is impractical now; let us hug the remains of democratic capitalism to our bosom.

Both are sliding into the pit of barbarism with their eyes closed.

THERE IS NOTHING MORE PRACTICAL THAN SOCIALISM IN THIS DEGENERATING WORLD. IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE "PRACTICAL" MEN ARE THOSE WHO WIELD THE WHIP OF ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL REPRESSION! IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR A WORLD OF PEACE AND PLENTY ARE VISIONARY DREAMERS!

IT IS NOT TRUE THAT WE MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN THE "PRACTICALITY" OF THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE AND THE DREAM OF UTOPIA. THE IDEALISM OF SOCIALIST LABOR IS BORN OF THE GREATEST PRACTICAL NEED AND THE GREATEST PRACTICAL POTENTIALITY FOR A WORLD OF ABUNDANCE.

THERE IS NO TASK BEFORE MANKIND SO PRACTICAL AS THAT OF REORGANIZING ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS SO THAT THEY WILL SERVE, NOT PROFITS, BUT HUMANITY—SO THAT THEY WILL SERVE, NOT OPPRESS, HUMANITY!

Wallace Party Is Not Labor's

What we say is most important for American labor. The working class of this country has suffered setbacks. But it has not suffered a major defeat. It is powerful. It is resourceful.

The problems that weigh upon the European worker also press upon the American worker. He lives in the same world. He too is confronted with the choice between Washington or Moscow, Wall Street or the Kremlin.

He too must answer: NEITHER.

We face many needs. The Taft-Hartley Law is still on the books. Housing is the shame of the nation. High prices are siphoning our paychecks into the pockets of the profiteers. Jim Crow poisons the air.

We cannot meet these problems as they have to be met unless we too assert our independence AS A CLASS.

Over all of these vital issues hangs the shadow, the world-wide clash between Washington and Moscow. The Democrats and Republicans, of course, speak for U. S. imperialism. The new-party movement which has Wallace as its figurehead is car-

(Continued on page 3)

GPU Kills Another Polish Socialist

GPU Bans News on Assassination of Janina Pajdak, Wife of Prominent Militant

By A. RUDZIENSKI

Following the assassination of Zdanowski, secretary-general of the Polish trade unions in the pre-war period, the terrible news has arrived of the death of Janina Pajdak in the jail of the GPU in Cracow, Poland. Janina Pajdak was the wife of Antoni Pajdak, railroad worker, leader of the Cracovian proletariat, and leader of the PPS (Polish Socialist Party). In 1930 Pajdak belonged to the leading group which organized the famous Left-Center Congress directed against the Pilsudski dictatorship. Deputy to the Polish Diet (parliament), he represented in the PPS the proletarian element, inclined toward the left.

During the period of Nazi occupation, he belonged to the leadership of the WRN Group (Freedom, Equality and Independence), hated by Stalinism. As the representative of the underground PPS, he was a minister in the underground government which led the armed insurrection.

When the Russians occupied Poland and imposed their puppet-government, the government of national resistance continued its work. Stalin invited the 16 members of this government, through the intermediary of one of his generals "to negotiate" the formation of a "new Polish Government" together with the Stalinists.

The invitation was guaranteed with the "word of honor of the Soviet general" and the "guarantees" of Roosevelt and Churchill, given to the Poles.

When the leaders of the resistance emerged from illegality in order to participate in the conference with the Stalinists, they were carried off to the prison of the GPU in Moscow, AND TRIED BY A RUSSIAN TRIBUNAL FOR THEIR ACTS AGAINST THE USSR. Among the 16 abducted was Antoni Pajdak, the railroad worker of Cracow, an authentic proletarian. He did not appear with the others at the trial, since his "treatment" during the investigation was so "scientific" that

until now he continues sick in the Russian prison.

His wife, Janina, was a brave leader of the PPS under the German occupation. She distinguished herself, among other things, by her activity in aiding and hiding the Jewish victims of the ghetto.

She was arrested last year together with her daughter. After several months, Radkiewicz hangmen were forced to admit her death, refusing, however, to yield up her mortal remains, and forbidding publication of news of her death. Nevertheless, the news has been gotten out of Poland.

Together with the pressure for the unity of the pro-Stalinist PPS (Polish Socialist Party) with the Stalinist PPR (Polish Workers Party), the GPU proceeds to the assassination of the most prominent Social-Democrats opposed to Stalinism. The assassination of Janina Pajdak is the first murder of a woman Socialist in Poland. However, the political assassinations reveal the political tension against the regime and the conscious

and stubborn opposition of the working class to the Stalinists. In Poland, we are at the beginning of that stage which corresponds to the Stalinist offensive against the Communist opposition in Russia in the years 1928-1938.

Then, the Social-Democrats like everybody else abandoned the Russian Left-Opposition to the tender mercies of the assassin, Stalin. But now, it is different. Now we, the revolutionary Socialists, shall not abandon our comrades-in-struggle, although they are Social-Democrats, to the hangman of the proletariat, but shall strive to succor them with international solidarity.

The revolutionary left of the United States must take the initiative in starting broad international action in defense of the Socialists of Poland.

Death to the hangmen of the Stalinist GPU.

Eternal glory to their victims, Janina Pajdak, Zdanowski, Bryja, and thousands of unknown others.

WP Wins in Pa. Superior Court; Fine Is Revoked

PHILADELPHIA—The decision of Judge McDevitt to fine the candidates of the Workers Party and Socialist Workers Party a total of \$300 was set aside by the State Superior Court this week. Judge McDevitt is a Republican leader in this city. It was under his ruling that the parties were removed from the ballot.

The Superior Court found that McDevitt's decision "had no basis

in law" and accepted completely the legal arguments of defense attorney David Felix for the WP and SWP. Thus, the case is brought to a close with a legal victory for the defense and with revocation of the fines. Precedents have been established which will prove useful for all labor organizations which attempt to buck the corrupt political machine of Philadelphia.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Auto Negotiations Reach Crucial Stage

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, April 18.—Negotiations in the auto industry reached a crucial stage this week when the United Automobile Workers-CIO rejected a miserable 6 cent an hour wage increase offer of Chrysler corporation, and General Motors laid off 200,000 workers in an attempt to influence forthcoming NLRB elections on the union shop.

An emergency conference of 100 delegates from 14 Chrysler plants on April 17 unanimously turned down the Chrysler corporation offer, and authorized a special five man strategy committee to get strike sanction from the international executive board meeting on Tuesday, April 20. This sanction is the last formality required for the calling of a strike. The UAW-CIO already had filed notice under the Taft-Hartley law, and also the Michigan state Bonine-Tripp Act, for strike action. These notices expired at midnight April 18, and thus the UAW-CIO can call a strike at any time at Chrysler.

It is very significant that only when the deadline for strike action neared, and the UAW-CIO made plans for strike machinery did the Chrysler corporation come through with its first serious bargaining. Until April 16, the two months of dilatory talks were marked by complete absence of any serious negotiations by Chrysler. Its spokesmen just listened to the union representatives, and sat tight.

SHOW HIGH PROFITS

What comes next is partly a matter of speculation, for no one knows exactly what the corporation has in mind. As for the UAW-CIO, it is most unlikely that the union would be satisfied with any such meager offers as the corporation wants to give.

Both the corporation and the union leaders will be influenced largely by the reactions in the shops to the six cent offer. The UAW-CIO militants, as shown at the emergency conference on Saturday, are in no mood to let the corporation get away with this contemptuous offer. Their views were confirmed by a report on Chrysler's probable 1948 earnings as presented by Nathan Weinberg, research director of the UAW-CIO, which showed that the corporation could easily pay the full 30 cents an hour demanded, without a price increase, and still make a huge profit.

The corporation has been literally insulting the union negotiators by telling them that the "ability to pay"

has nothing to do with the question. The corporation asserts that the men in the shops don't want a raise! The action of the emergency conference is the first reply to Chrysler. A series of shop meetings is expected this week, for the purpose of solidifying the men in the shops behind the struggle. Unless the corporation comes through with a much better offer, a shutdown of Chrysler is inevitable.

GM EMPLOYEES TRICKS

The situation in General Motors reflects the same stubborn anti-union attitude of the auto barons as in Chrysler. GM officials are fighting with every possible means to prevent a genuine election in the plants on the vital question of a union shop.

The UAW-CIO has obtained enough signatures to get such an election, but GM wants to include on the rolls all men laid off since 1946, since these persons would be counted, under NLRB rules, as being against the union shop, if they didn't vote, and obviously persons scattered all over the United States since 1946 would hardly be in a position to vote.

In addition, GM refuses to permit the balloting to take place in the shops, as it has on previous occasions involving NLRB elections. These actions brought a vigorous protest by Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president.

Fearing that even these technicalities wouldn't work, GM brought out another trick to work against the union. GM announced the lay-off of 20,000 workers from April 23 to May 3 allegedly because of a steel shortage. No one in the auto industry takes this excuse seriously. Rather, everyone knows that the only reason GM is laying off the workers is to penalize them for showing a union spirit which can bring victory to the UAW-CIO.

C. E. Wilson, GM president, in a speech before a business club last week, expressed the attitude of the auto barons toward the UAW-CIO when he said bluntly, "we have some unfinished business in America, more important than aid to Europe." That business was taking care of the unions!

SHOWDOWN COMING

At Hudson, Briggs and other companies at which negotiations are beginning or are about to begin, the same adamant anti-union attitude is shown by the auto barons. The UAW-

CIO has to get ready for a showdown. Unless Wall Street intervenes for its flunkies in auto management, and Phil Murray, CIO president, makes a deal with the steel companies which sets a pattern, the workers and the bosses in the auto industry are prepared to slug it out again. For the auto barons never learn. They have to be taught the hard way. As is their custom the auto companies are playing it safe all the way around. They have made statements that another price increase in automobiles can be expected. Henry Ford II told reporters this past week that 1949 models would sell for at least five per cent more than 1948 models. Which makes the UAW-CIO demand of higher wages without price increases more important than ever before.

Westinghouse Work Stoppage Demands Substantial Raise

PHILADELPHIA, April 13 — Local 107 of the United Electrical Workers, CIO, held a mass meeting yesterday afternoon just outside the gates of Westinghouse's big South Philadelphia Works. The meeting which lasted from 3:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. halted production in protest against the corporation's failure to grant a wage increase. The purpose of the meeting was to demonstrate to the company that the Westinghouse employees support the union's demand for a "substantial" wage raise. The walk-out indicated clearly the solidarity of the workers and the local union.

UE international representative Ed Matthews and business agent Francis Bradley described the pattern of negotiations to date. The Westinghouse Corporation has reversed its wage policy in the past few months. In February, G. A. Price, president of the Corporation, stated that Westinghouse could afford to give an increase "of a few cents." The inference was that the company was also willing to grant "the few cents." However, on March 30 vice-president W. O. Lippman, in a letter mailed to all employees, stated that the company was opposed to a third round of wage increases "which can only start up the inflationary spiral once more." The corporation furthermore claimed that the employees did not want such an inflationary increase.

CONFUSED REACTION

There was evidence at the rally that the Westinghouse propaganda aided by the capitalist press had succeeded to some extent in confusing the workers on the wage-price picture. The audience was very passive. In an effort to rouse the members, Ed Matthews asked, "Is the company right or wrong on their claim that you do not want an inflationary wage increase?" The response was a dozen "wongs" and six "rights." The workers were evidently not quite sure that wage increases were desirable when prices advanced to an even

greater extent as an apparent result. A slogan of "wage increases and a roll back in prices" would have met much better response.

After the meeting the second shift workers went back into the plant. The meeting had been successful in demonstrating the union's strength to the company. It also demonstrated that any strike action will result only after repeated provocation by the company.

The employees do not want a work stoppage. They have no financial reserve. The union has failed to provide an adequate wage-price program and slogan. Moreover the secrecy of the negotiations agreed to jointly by the UE and Westinghouse has worked to the disadvantage of the union. Only an informed union membership can be aroused. Yesterday's demonstration is but the first step needed to activate and organize Local 107 membership so that it can wage the fight for an improved contract and wage increase.

No one can deny that prices would have increased even if the workers had not gained a cent increase in the post-war period. However, the fact is that due to lack of control of prices, i.e., of political power by the unions, the real wage of the American worker has dropped since the end of the war. This fact, above all else, dominated the thinking of each union member.

Magazine Offers Space To Reply on Joe Hill

NEW YORK, April 13 — Michael Straight, editor of the New Republic, agreed this afternoon to give space in that weekly to the Friends of Joe Hill committee, to make "an adequate answer" to an article by Wallace Stegner published last January 5, which the committee contends defamed the memory of Joe Hill, labor organizer and labor song writer, executed for a Utah murder in 1915. (See LABOR ACTION, April 12.)

CHICAGO: A MAY DAY SURVEY

By JACK RANGER

CHICAGO, Ill. — Disunity in the union movement, even more than the Taft-Hartley law, is responsible for the economic and political weakness of the working-class of this city on the eve of May Day, 1948. Though many thousands of workers are courageously engaged in bitter strikes of many months' duration in this city, they are fighting under the severe handicaps of an antiquated craft union structure, of the continuing division between the AFL and CIO, and of the current political jockeying between the pro-Wall Street and pro-Russian top union bureaucrats.

The longest strike is that of 1,500 members of the AFL Typographical Union No. 16 against the Chicago daily papers. Since the strike began November 24, the publishers have been issuing papers reproduced by the vari-type method. The Chicago papers and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association provoked the strike ostensibly over refusal of the union to sign a written contract. Actually, the publishers offered to permit the union to continue all its former working rules if No. 16 would give up its demand for a wage increase to meet the rising cost of living. Late in March, a federal judge in Hammond, Ind., issued an injunction against the ITU, under the lines sought by Robert N. Denham, czar of the Taft-Hartley law. The injunction forbade the union from continuing its "no contract policy."

The union is negotiating, as ordered by the court. But it is still on strike. "This injunction doesn't mean we have to accept the Taft-Hartley brand of open-shop contracts which the publishers have been demanding," announced union officials.

The ITU is on strike in nine cities. Strikers have received the moral and financial support of many international, thousands of local unions, and hundreds of veterans' posts, women's clubs, and civic organizations. The union is asking all workers to refuse to buy the Chicago daily papers. A sad feature of the strike is that other craft unions in the newspaper industry, including many members of the striking union engaged in other work such as mailing, have continued to work throughout the strike. AFL drivers have continued to drive through picket lines. At no time have the labor-hating Chicago publishers felt the UNITED POWER of the workers.

Since the middle of March, several thousand members of the ITU in 47 commercial printing plants of Chicago have also been picketing, having been locked out by the owners when they refused to toil on "struck work." Mailers are negotiating for a new contract to replace the old agreement which expired January 3.

"HOG BUTCHER" IS IDLE

A division of the nation's meat packing workers between the AFL and CIO is responsible for the failure of the packinghouse workers to receive a decent wage increase from the industry. Since March 16, more than 100,000 packinghouse workers have been on strike against 62 plants, many of them in Chicago. An emergency board appointed by President Truman has sided with the bosses by terming "adequate" a measly offer of a 9-cent hourly wage increase. CIO strikers are demanding 29 cents. Since the strike began, Mayor Kennelly of Chicago (a director of Wilson's, one of the "Big Four") has kept 1,500 to 2,000 cops on duty in packingtown. This "liberal," hailed by the union bureaucrats as a great friend of labor's when he ran against Albert Goldman, mayorally candidate of the Workers Party in the last city election, hasn't touched a single major problem facing the people of Chicago since he took office, but has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in protecting the big packers and the scabs.

At this writing, Armour & Co. has broken off negotiations with the United Packinghouse Workers and has announced it will try to operate with scabs. Police Captain George Barnes' hated strike-breaking detail has begun to arrest pickets, and the mayor has thrown 500 more cops against the picket line.

The CIO strike has been greatly weakened by the fact that the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters accepted the 9-cent raise and members of that union throughout the nation have continued to work, 7,500 of them in Chicago. AFL-organized plants of the Big Four in other cities, together with unorganized independent plants, have moved into the marketing field previously held by the Chicago packers.

NORTH SHORE RAIL STRIKE

Since March 26 about 800 employees of the Chicago North Shore & Milwaukee Railroad have been on strike, following refusal of the railroad to grant a wage increase of 15 1/2 cents hourly which an emergency board recommended for the nation's rail workers. Though the line has \$2,400,000 in cash in the till, and doesn't owe a dollar, it has refused to grant its workers the same increase obtained from other rail carriers. It is demanding a 100 per cent increase in fares of its 72,000 daily passengers from the Illinois Commerce Commission before it agrees to pay the wage increase and resume operations.

The same union involved in the above strike, the AFL Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, has demanded a 23-cent hourly increase, with double-time for

work on Sundays and holidays, from the Chicago Transit Authority for the 20,500 operating employees of the city-owned street cars and buses. The present union contract expires June 1.

For the past several months a valiant little army of AFL Building Service Employees has been striking against Chicago's swank Union League Club on Jackson Boulevard. Republican big-shots in the club have been manning elevators, shoveling coal, and sweeping the joint up.

POLITICAL DEAD END

The Chicago unions have not only been disunited in their current struggles, but they have gone into battle without the protecting guns of their own political party.

Thanks to the Phil Murrays and William Greens and A. F. Whiteys, the Chicago workers are as impotent politically as their brothers and sisters elsewhere. President Truman is held in such contempt by the city's masses that Jake Arvey, Democratic county chairman and former Mayor Kelly's chief henchman, has openly come out for Eisenhower, as has Professor Paul Douglas, a liberal phony whom the Democrats have nominated for U. S. Senator. The Democrats are doing their best to keep the "Progressive Party," a Wallace outfit, off the ballot in November. Locally, the Stalinists have nominated Grant Oakes, international president of the CIO United Farm Equipment Workers, for governor on the Illinois Progressive ticket. The state and city CIO councils, controlled by followers of Phil Murray, have come out against Oakes. So far, Chicago workers have been offered only a choice between Wall Street politicians in the Republican-Democratic party and men like Wallace and Oakes who defend Russia's brand of imperialism. Sentiment for an independent labor party, locally and nationally, grows increasingly stronger, but thus far the top union bureaucrats have been able to prevent its taking organizational form.

On the bright side this May Day must be recorded the important victories of union militants in a number of recent local union elections, and the very noticeable increase in interest among Chicago students and veterans in the teachings of revolutionary socialism. They are fore-shadows of a brighter future in the tremendous mass struggles which are shaping up in this city in this year of Discontent.

Discussion in New York: "What Policy for Palestine?" HAL DRAPER — ED FINDLEY Wed.—April 28—8:30 p.m. 114 W. 14th St. — New York City

With the Workers Party

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

- AKRON: Write to Box 221. BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Public forums every second Friday of each month. Discussion group on remaining Friday evenings. BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours, 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion groups Thursday evenings. CHICAGO: 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor. Chicago 7. Tel.: CHESAPEAKE 5728. Office hours, Tuesdays, 4 to 10 p.m.; Wednesdays, 6 to 10 p.m. CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8:00 p.m., in Room 4, Slovenian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave. Write to Bernard Douglas, Box 1190, Cleveland 3, Ohio. DETROIT: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Telephone: PLAZA 5559. Open on Tuesdays and Fridays, 1 to 5 p.m. LOS ANGELES: 3214 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7. Tel.: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-3067). Office hours, 2 to 5 p.m. daily.

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Buy Extra L. A. Copies Comrades, Enclosed 30 cents in stamps to pay for a few extra copies of the April 12 issue of LABOR ACTION. I like the "Stalinist Counter-revolution" cartoon. Let's have some more of that kind. L. R., St. Louis, Mo.

On the Treatment of Russia's Artists

In recent discussions with members and sympathizers of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, I have criticized the treatment of artists, writers and composers in Russia (with particular reference to the recent criticism of Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Khatchaturian) as an instance of the totalitarian regimentation of culture in the interests of the Stalinist ruling class. The objections to my criticism have been along three lines. First, it is argued that regulation of culture is to a large extent in the hands of the artists themselves, through the device of self-criticism. Secondly, the artists are not compelled to follow the line laid down by the various cultural institutions—except that if they don't, they may lose their jobs and the privilege of having their work made public. Thirdly, the government is justified in removing artists whose work it criticizes from public office, and in suppressing the publication of their works, since the state supports the artists and pays the expenses of exhibitions, and to some extent of music performances and publishing. Besides, they argue, the state publishing house cannot publish the works of any upstart who happens to write a book. Supposing the book is pure trash, even aside from the political point of view it may take. Therefore, the state must pick, choose and thus inevitably criticize.

Let us examine these arguments more closely. First, in a society, where there is no guarantee of freedom to criticize the regime and its policies in a fundamental manner, either directly or by artistic implication, and where the state may threat-

en the artist with loss of his job and loss of the right to be published at state expense, the artist, if he wishes to remain an artist (let alone if he wishes to avoid arrest), must capitulate to the standards of the regime. The object self-criticism in art, music and literature in Russia is not independent self-expression but merely the way in which the artists carry out their capitulation. Secondly, the freedom to produce a work of art is meaningless without the right to have it published and without job security, irrespective of the attitude of the regime. In this connection, we point out that the Nazi regime destroyed surrealist art in Germany, not by forbidding painters to paint in that style, in private, but by making the exhibition of such paintings a crime and by refusing such painters state stipends while granting them to painters sympathetic to the Nazi party. Or to put it in another way, the worker in capitalist society, as everyone knows, is not forced to be a worker; if he refuses, he has the free choice of starvation.

The third point of the Stalinists is a little more significant. Should not the state have the right to criticize artists whom it pays? Indeed, since it must decide whom to hire, whom to publish and not to publish, is it not compelled to discriminate between artists? Finally, say the Stalinists, even if the state's choice of artists to be exhibited, novelists to be published, etc., was made with no reference to politics at all, there would still be some form of discrimination between artists, and consequently some kind of limitation on their freedom.

These arguments show how little these people understand the socialist ideal (or perhaps, how much of it they must forget in justifying Stalinism). In a true socialist society, a society of plenty, with a tremendously high standard of living, and a tremendously high productivity of labor, no artist would be dependent on the state for an income as an artist. Every person's income, including the artist's, would stem from some type of productive labor. The artist would not be a distinct category, economically dependent on the state, but an economically independent citizen. But with the high level of productivity

of socialism, there would be a tremendous growth of leisure (conceivably no more than eight hours of labor a week would be asked of any citizen in a socialist commonwealth), and he would be able to devote himself to art while enjoying, together with all other citizens, economic independence and an extended period of leisure time—as the result of his labor together with the other citizens of the commonwealth in some economic sphere.

Furthermore, it would be the right of any citizen of a socialist society to have published at public expense, a thousand copies of any book, picture, or musical composition he produces, every year (the figure is arbitrary and the citizens of the future socialist commonwealth will probably find it ridiculously conservative) for distribution among friends, relatives, the general public and the public library. If the work attracted an additional demand, if it became a socialist "best seller" (the name is a misnomer since the work would be distributed and not sold), additional copies would be made available at public expense to anybody who signed up to receive one.

In a socialist society, every artist would thus not only have complete freedom to work according to his own standards and as he saw fit, without having to please either capitalist publisher or Stalinist bureaucrat, but also every citizen would have the right to become an artist.

If Stalinist critics object that Russia is not rich enough to afford such a system as yet, we will agree with them. (Though this is still no excuse for the undemocratic and unsocialist regimentation of artists within the framework of Russian society as it is today.) But we will point out that this was the kind of society Stalin and his faction took upon themselves to achieve in Russia, when they advanced the theory of the possibility of "socialism in one country." Over 24 years ago, Trotsky criticized them for that theory, on the grounds that socialism could not be built in an isolated, backward, agricultural country faced with hostile capitalist rivals, and constantly compelled to devote whatever industrialization it would achieve to the production of war materials, rather than to raising

the living standards of the masses. In 24 years of Stalinist domination they have still to raise the standards of living in Russia to the level even of decadent capitalist countries like the United States or England, much less even approach the level of a socialist society. (And if supporters of Stalinism will even compare the present Russian living standards with those of Czarist Russia in 1913 they will receive a shocking surprise.) The very arguments Stalinism must use in self-justification today indicate that what has been achieved in Russia is not socialism, but its totalitarian counterpart.

George FOWLER, Ithaca, N. Y.

Irgun Plays With Fire...

Dear Editor: I can't resist writing something about the battle of Dir Yassin.

Dir Yassin is an Arab village along the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway, and adjacent to the village of Kastel. Kastel has been occupied by Haganah, to insure food for Jerusalem. The Irgun and Stern groups could not allow the Haganah this prestige and they therefore proceeded to occupy Dir Yassin. A glowing communique was issued. A big battle has taken place. Half of the villagers, 200 men, women and children, have been killed. Regret was expressed on the killing of women and children.

This provocative communique could be nothing but an invitation to the Mufti bands to massacre Jewish women and children. Bah—says the Irgun and Stern group—it will frighten the Arabs. Isn't it a well-known fact that Arabs can easily be intimidated. What actually took place was a small battle, according to the British, in which a few houses were destroyed and there were not more than 10 casualties. The bragging of the Irgun-Stern group reminds me of the "Invasion of Jaffa" by sea, claimed by the Irgun last February. The Irgun at that time claimed to have invaded Jaffa and killed 83 Arabs. What actually happened was that a boatload of Irgunists exchanged a FEW SHOTS with a sea patrol from Jaffa and no one was hurt.

While the Jaffa incident was pure bunk with little damage done, the Dir Yassin communique is the height of irresponsibility and can touch off one of the worst massacres the world has seen. A. L.

Revolutionary Greetings! To the Socialist Fighters for Freedom Throughout the World from AKRON BRANCH PITTSBURGH BRANCH SEATTLE BRANCH YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH BROWNSVILLE BRANCH New York Local SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE Brooklyn and Manhattan Units From All the Comrades in BOSTON ST. LOUIS STREATOR

DETROIT MAY DAY RALLY Movie—Speakers—Singing SUNDAY, MAY 2, 3:15 P. M. Craftsmen's Club 275 E. Ferry Subscription: 25¢

Real Labor Politics Requires a Labor Party!

By HERMAN BENSON

In their feeble vision, the members of the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers, now solidly in the hands of the pro-Reuther bloc, have conjured up a weird resolution on political action in preparation for the 1948 elections. The resolution unambiguously repudiates Wallace, among other things, because "all attempts to build a political party from the top around a particular individual are pre-declared to dismal failure" and because the Wallace movement "exposes labor to the self-defeating course of supporting false friends in order to prevent the election of declared enemies."

Therefore? The executive board declares itself firmly in favor of the "defeat of reactionaries" and the election of so-called progressives, or true friends. And to ensure the triumph of the Democratic Party which they support in the '48 elections they have discovered that one man and one man alone can guarantee victory—General Dwight D. Eisenhower—and they are now pounding their heads to obtain his nomination at the Democratic national convention. This is known as the "boom" or "beating of drums" for Eisenhower.

Only one possibility exists to get them out of the strange dilemma which finds them supporting in

A ringing call must be issued: we will join the Democratic Party. There, he continues, we will "dig in" and "cling." Not because we want to dominate, he adds, but simply because, as the vast majority of the voting population, we are entitled to some recognition. Surely a modest request! The Democratic ward heelers reply: we will not accept this CIO "dictatorship." Ungrateful beasts that they are, they begrudge Scholle the very mud in which he grovels. But perhaps we do Scholle an injustice. After all, things will be tough enough. The PAC has been living long enough with the cigar-chewing Democratic punks; it will look nicer if the marriage ceremony is performed. Especially since there is now some new suitor in the field.

Scholle is a candidate for delegate to the Democratic national convention. In 1944, E. J. Thomas, then president of the UAW, went as a Democratic delegate. Reuther has been playing with the same idea recently for the '48 convention; but, it is reported, he has finally abandoned it. At least one reason for this change in plans is a desire on his part to make a concession to the easily satisfied pro-labor party elements on his executive board.

The political action resolution of the UAW is a compromise between the right wing and the more militant wing of the Reuther coalition. In return for acceptance in action now of the old line of supporting phony "progressives" in the Democratic Party, the right wing has signed a promissory note, written no doubt in disappearing ink, that some time in the future it will support the formation of a new, mass party.

Emil Mazey, who is the leading silent spokesman of the pro-labor party forces in the top leadership and who is the secretary-treasurer of the union, obviously has been one of the participants in this rotten compromise which justifies the capitulation of today by the hypothetical promise of a better tomorrow. This was to be expected of Mazey who himself endorsed the anti-labor Jeffries as the lesser evil candidate for Mayor of Detroit in the last elections. Mazey today spends his time boasting of stabilizing the financial status of the union while its political status is in a dizzy whirl.

BLINDMAN'S BLUFF

The pro-Stalinist grouping in the UAW is preparing for an attempted "come-back" although they have lost some ground in recent local elections. Wallace-for-president clubs are being formed in the locals. These clubs which will profit from the total, abysmal, and obvious repulsiveness of the old line political policies of the CIO, will inevitably gain sympathy and support for the almost discredited old anti-Reuther bloc. This "natural" course of events is helped along by the general blindness of the present officialdom.

A series of anti-democratic attacks on the pro-Wallace forces and provocative lynch-inviting speeches by the new Detroit chief of police, a "strong" man who intends to act

ruthlessly against hoodlums, union "reds," and delinquent teen-agers, met with no formal protest from the labor leadership. We have not even heard of a single resolution of simple solidarity with the mine strikers. No, the attention of the anti-Stalinist union brass hats is concentrated on trying to effect a bureaucratic removal

of the present pro-Stalinist leadership of the Wayne County CIO Council. All this in the name of supporting the Marshall Plan. These myopic creatures, wandering in the dark with blinders over their eyes, want to blaze a big path in world affairs. But they can't even find their way along the neighborhood lanes.

Mine Monopoly Means Tyranny for Coal Diggers

By G. McDERMOTT

Four men will die this May Day in the coal mines of the United States. That is, four will be killed if the accident rate is average. There is the possibility, of course, that one hundred and eleven will die, as they did at Centralia last year.

Thousands of miners will come home from the dark tunnels grimy with coal dust and wish that company houses had bath tubs. Many will wish for running water. The miners will wish for a lot of other things, too—garbage collection, rubbish collection, inside toilets, a coat of paint on the house, sidewalks, a little grass. They will wish that their sons never have to enter the mines. Wives will wish that their husbands had an "outside job" at the mine.

There is nothing new about this in the mining camps. Pretty much the same problems faced the miners on the first May Day more than half a century ago.

NEW PROBLEMS TAKE PLACE OF OLD

That is not to say that there has been no progress. As this May Day rolls around, the miners have the strongest union they have ever had, probably the strongest labor union in the world. The UMWA has just chalked up another victory. Jobs are secure. If a man is hurt, the welfare fund provides a pension. When a man reaches 62, he can retire. Deputy Sheriffs and company gunmen no longer rule, and the scab has become a rare curiosity. Miners' children have enough to eat and shoes to wear.

But if the operators' thugs and the barbed-wire enclosed camps are gone, new problems have taken their place. The union, after a battle of seventy-five years, has built the power to bring the operators to terms. But now there is another enemy—the government. Behind Pitt Consoil and Bethlehem, Island Creek and Old Ben and Frick stand the courts and the Congress and the President. The yellow-dog Baldwin-Felts detective has been replaced by a U. S. Marshal with a yellow-dog injunction.

There is another problem facing the miners. It is not so dramatic as a government injunction; it does not make the headlines. But it is there, and closely connected to the problem of government intervention.

That problem is monopoly. Monopoly capitalism, the huge corporation, the stop-watch and the speed-up, the newer and faster machine that takes jobs.

Monopoly and all it means is not a new problem to most workers. It is not exactly new to the miners, just as government injunctions are not exactly new. But in the last few years, the process has spurred tremendously in the industry, and it is picking up speed.

Full-blown monopoly has come late to the coal fields. The big corporations, the big laboratories, and the "management engineers" have been busy in oil and auto, steel and radio, machine tools and rubber. "Old" industries like coal mining and railroading were passed by for a while.

But the drive for profits never ceases; the capitalist bloodsuckers have turned to coal. Pittsburgh Consolidation, a huge new combine owned by Mellon, Rockefeller and Hanna is driving to do to coal mining what Ford did to auto-making. A few figures tell the story; last year, 3.9 per cent of the mines in the nation produced 42 per cent of the total tonnage mined. It is this monopolization that explains why the government is so attentive to the coal operators.

THIS TYRANNY CAN BE ENDED

There is nothing wrong with the new machines, the new conveyors, the revolutionary methods being introduced. No one wants to go back to the carbide lamp and the mine pony, the pick and the shovel. The tragedy is that fewer and fewer miners produce more and more coal, and still life for the miner remains the same—dirty, lonely, company towns, economic insecurity, and sudden death.

And so on May Day, 1948, the Workers Party repeats again the message that it carries to its brother workers every week of the year: socialism will solve these problems; a workers' government will end this tyranny and this drudgery; a united working class will mean that the miner and his wife and children can at last stand in the full sun of human civilization.



May Day—a Workers' Day Created in Struggle And Labor Solidarity

By MIMI SLATER

May 1, 1948, marks the sixty-second anniversary of the celebration of "May Day."

In 1884, with the U. S. in the grip of a devastating economic crisis, the newly formed Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (forerunner of the AFL) saw an opportunity for organizing the unorganized around the issue of the eight-hour day.

On May 7, 1884 at a convention of the Federation in Chicago, Gabriel Edmonston of the Carpenter's introduced a proposal that, beginning on May 1, 1886, "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor." The delegates not only approved Edmonston's resolution but the convention also called for a general nation-wide strike on May 1, 1886 to enforce the demand.

BOSSSES FIGHT BACK

Chicago was the center of the movement for the eight-hour day. Late in April, 1886, many Chicago employers, anticipating a great show of strength by the workers in their fight for the shorter day, set out to destroy the movement.

Executives and Managers of industry, both large and small, met in the Hotel Sherman and agreed to fight together against the eight-hour demand, "even if it would mean a temporary loss of profits and the hiring of thousands of strikebreakers."

Encouraged by the news of this united opposition, a vicious attack on the eight-hour "lunacy" was unleashed through the pulpit, the schools and the press.

Despite all intimidation, the May Day strike was a complete success. Union after union throughout the country supported the strike and, in Chicago, some 38,000 workers had left their jobs on the morning of May 1, 1886 to be joined later by tens of thousands more. In the packing houses, the mere threat of a walkout won the eight-hour day for the workers.

The first May Day had been both peaceful and successful.

It wasn't long though, before the real trouble began.

Fourteen hundred workers at the Chicago McCormick Reaper Works had been locked-out of their jobs in February, 1886 in reply to a demand for the rehiring of workers fired for union and strike activities.

FOUR STRIKERS KILLED

On the afternoon of May 3, 1886, when the lockout had been in effect for three months, the strikers held an open air rally outside the Reaper Works on the question of the eight-hour day.

When the strikebreakers emerged from the plant at the close of their work day, a battle ensued between the strikebreakers and some of the strikers. The fight had hardly begun when the arrival of the police attracted the remaining audience then still at the rally. As they walked over to determine the cause for the excitement, the police opened fire and four of the strikers were killed and twenty wounded.

A protest meeting was called for the next night in Haymarket Square. The meeting was attended by about 3,000 people, including the Mayor of Chicago, Carter H. Harrison, who was there to prove himself a friend of labor, and to see that order was preserved.

The meeting was extremely quiet, being conducted on a note of mourning. Shortly after ten, Mayor Harrison left, and reported to the nearby Police Precinct that the meeting was

tame and "nothing is likely to occur that will require interference."

THE HAYMARKET RIOT

Shortly after he left, however, 200 police left the station and marched on the meeting, demanding that the audience disperse.

An unidentified person, perhaps a member of the audience, perhaps not—with indications pointing to an agent provocateur—threw a bomb which landed near the wagon serving as a speakers' stand. In panic, the police shot into the crowd and some of the workers fought back. Within five minutes, 67 policemen were wounded—seven fatally, and about 200 workers were killed or injured.

Blame for the bomb-throwing was placed on the anarchists who had issued the call for the meeting, and eight of their leaders were arrested.

At their trial, the judge ruled that it was not necessary to prove that any of the arrested men were present at the time the bomb was thrown, but that it was enough to prove that they encouraged the use of violence.

In his summation to the jury, the States' Attorney frankly said: "Law is upon trial. Anarchy is on trial. These men have been selected, picked out by the grand jury and indicted because they were leaders. They are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them. . . . Convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions."

Although no proof was ever found to show that any one of the eight threw the bomb, all were convicted; seven being condemned to death and one to imprisonment. Of the eight, four were hanged, one committed suicide and the sentence of two was commuted to life imprisonment.

In 1893, Governor J. P. Altgeld pardoned the three who survived, on the ground that none of the eight defendants had had a fair trial, and that all had been the victims of a judicial frame-up.

INTERNATIONAL RIOT

The Haymarket Riot, the anarchists and the movement for the eight hour day were identified as one, and the episode fully exploited by the press and employers. Labor suffered under their vicious attacks. Despite the brutality of the opposition's desperation, however, by May 15, 42,000 workers had won an eight hour day by striking, and an additional 150,000 workers had gotten shorter hours and better conditions because of those strikers.

In 1890, the AFL voted to reorganize the eight-hour movement, again on May 1. At its convention in Paris, the Second (Socialist) International passed a resolution calling for a world-wide demonstration for the eight-hour day by all workers, to be held on May 1.

Since then, May 1 has come to be the day on which the workers of this country and throughout the world express their solidarity and voice their demands for better conditions.

In the words of the resolution presented to the strikers at Union Square on May 1, 1890:

"... While striking for the eight-hour day, we will not lose sight of the ultimate aim, the abolition of the wage system."

Today the original demand (the eight hour day) is a reality. This May Day, as always, we fight on toward the achievement of "the ultimate aim," the establishment of a world socialist society of peace and plenty for all.

Live Program Urgent Need In Baltimore

By A. CARLTON

BALTIMORE—Baltimore sleeps uneasily amidst the rumblings of discontent from its population of something over a million. Disorganized demands keep rising for better housing, better city government, better educational and recreational facilities, better unions and an end to the sales tax. Unfortunately, Baltimore labor has responded poorly, and has only been stirred by the issue of letting the opportunity to build a live labor movement in a growing industrial city slip by. Labor must face the facts. There is no better time to do so than on May Day.

In the past year most of the big plants have been involved in nationwide strikes.—General Motors, Western Electric, the shipyards, Westinghouse, Bethlehem steel. While unions all over the country had to face the problem of wage gains made on the picket line being eaten away by the rising cost of living, some Baltimore unions nearly lost their strikes because of the generally weak condition of the Baltimore labor movement. The long strikes in the Western Electric plant and the shipyards both came close to being lost. The unions made poor settlements, and lost some good conditions that existed before the strike, although they won wage raises.

The Baltimore Federation of Labor, AFL central body, has been dead on its feet for so long that no one thinks about it any more. The Baltimore CIO Industrial Council is in a little better shape. For several years it had been dominated by Stalinists. That picture has changed. The opposition managed to defeat the Stalinist candidates to the CIO convention, then followed that by a defeat of most of the Stalinist followers in the election of new officers in January.

BAD POLITICS

Baltimore labor has been in politics for a long time—the wrong kind of politics. Harry Cohen, president of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, has long been known for his political maneuvering with various local bigwigs, but no one can show any good that his politics has done the workers.

Thomas Healy, president of the Teamsters Joint Council, also dabbles in politics. He and Cohen seem to be competitors, but their results are the same—putting Democrats and Republicans in office for the benefit of business interests. Healy formed a united labor committee of AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and Independent unions to support various candidates. Governor Lane was one of them and he promptly pushed through the sales tax—presumably to reward for electing him. Labor also backed Mayor D'Allesandro, who has been very cautious about showing where he stands on much of anything to date, though he recently refused to back a local rent law. He is too busy maneuvering with the local political bosses including Jack Pollack.

CIO-PAC has played along with most of these moves, including the campaign to elect the Democratic Judge Garzatt to Congress.

There is one bright spot in Baltimore labor politics. Local 33 of the IUMSWA at the Bethlehem shipyard, has a tradition of running independent candidates from their Local in the city council elections. They have not run them on the Republican or Democratic tickets but strictly as independent labor candidates. We hope that such a spirit will catch on in the rest of the unions.

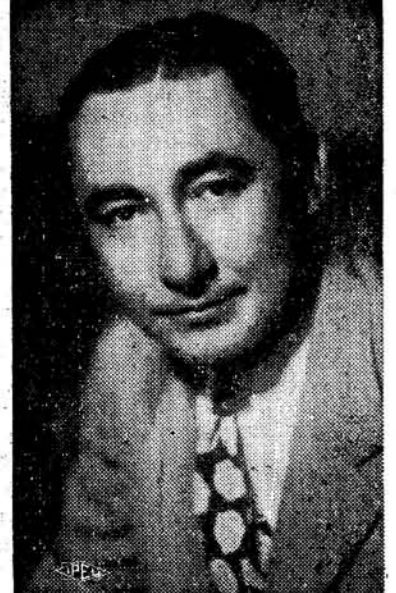
The Wallace backers have organized the Progressive Party of Maryland, which is composed of the usual collection of Stalinist-controlled unions and sympathizers. However, it appeared at the founding convention, held in Baltimore, that there was a considerable number of uncontrolled delegates, though, of course, not a majority. There was opposition to anti-democratic sections of the constitution, including a section that gave the state committee power to add to itself. It was opposed on the grounds that it could be used to bring in Stalinist-controlled organizations when and as needed to keep the control secure.

No picture of Baltimore would be complete without showing the treatment of Negroes. Segregation is complete in Baltimore, except for street cars and buses, and goes the deep South one better by exclusion from the "better" department stores.

Most AFL unions are segregated except for the teachers, teamsters and ladies garment union. However, the teamsters union holds official banquets from which its large Negro membership is excluded because the hotels don't allow them in.

The CIO follows the national pattern of non-segregation, but race relations are none too good. For example, the Chevrolet plant, with its UAW locals, hires no Negroes, and none of the unions run joint socials for Negro and white.

Baltimore is a growing industrial (Continued on page 4)



EMIL MAZEY

Dwight what they reject in Henry. If by some quirk of symmetrical justice, the Republican Party could be induced to nominate General Douglas A. MacArthur for president, the imaginative UAW leadership might be persuaded to abandon the election slogan which they apparently realize is worn out: "support the lesser of two evils." The new one could be "vote for the greater of two generals."

DIGGING AND CLINGING

Act II of the farce: August Scholle, president of the Michigan CIO, announces, with a straight face, that the Michigan CIO-PAC in view of the critical situation will absolutely abandon its previous, well-established "non-partisan" political policy.

AN OPEN LETTER TO WALTER REUTHER

By now it must be clear both to you and the secondary leaders of the UAW that the expectations—or rather hopes veiled as expectations—that Henry Wallace would poll only an insignificant vote among CIO workers is false. While it is impossible at the moment to prove such matters statistically, there is every reason to believe that, barring some unexpected and major shift of events, Wallace will poll a sizable "protest" vote among the nation's workers, including UAW members.

This likelihood, we have heard, fills the UAW leadership with considerable alarm, as well it might. It is clear that a large section of the Wallace vote will come from workers who are not Stalinists and are not even under Stalinist influence—perhaps the majority of the Wallace vote. Such workers will vote for Wallace because they are weary of the old alternatives, the two major parties, and seek for something "new," something that offers a shred of hope for peace and security. Wallace will get their votes because he will be the only candidate, except perhaps those of a few tiny sects, who will even talk about such things. Though we understand, and you no doubt too, that Wallace is being used as a tool by the Stalinists, such considerations will not influence many of the workers who will support him.

For Wallace speaks of peace and everyone desperately wants peace, everyone desperately fears another war. Wallace speaks of internal reform and every worker knows that it is necessary to wipe out the Taft-Hartley law and to pass pro-labor legislation. Wallace speaks of civil liberties and domestic democracy and many workers, especially Negro workers, who still smart under the whip of Jim Crow, know that it is necessary to defend democratic rights and to extend them.

So long then as Wallace is the only candidate who pays any sort of lip service to the needs of the workers, he will get many votes that he should not get—votes that will seem to uphold the Stalinist camp. And in the meantime, many sincere people who vaguely yearn for some sort of social improvement, some sort of social change, will be sucked into the Stalinist orbit by becoming Wallace workers.

Thousands of people who might become the rank and file mainstays of a genuine labor party, if one were formed, are now being tragically deflected to the Wallace morass.

And we say that you must share responsibility for that situation.

EISENHOWER BOOM BESPEAKS BANKRUPTCY

Whom will the UAW support in the coming election? Not Wallace, certainly. Not whichever reactionary deadhead the Republicans nominate. And, apparently, not Truman, a nonentity who stands no more chance of being elected than the candidate of the Prohibition party. You, together with other leaders of the CIO and the Americans for Democratic Action, are desperately searching for a way out of your dilemma. You and some of your associates have hit on what you think is the magic key: Eisenhower.

Think what a preposterous business the Eisenhower boom is. Here is a group of presumed liberals—the leaders of the ADA, of the Liberal Party and of the social democratic wing of the CIO and AFL leaderships—which enthusiastically endorses a man for President without having the slightest knowledge of what his political beliefs are. Here are people who make themselves out to be such staunch defenders of a program throwing themselves at the mercy of a general who is completely without political experience, background, orientation or profession. Is that not a token of total bankruptcy?

But wait a moment. Eisenhower has recently spoken up on two political matters: the draft and Jim Crow in the army. He has come out in favor of the draft and has endorsed the continuation of Jim Crow in the army.

Is that your liberal standard bearer? Is that the man who will prevent Negro voters from casting in their lot with Wallace because they are thoroughly disillusioned with the two old parties? Yes, Eisenhower may win, but do these two statements of his give you much cause for confidence in his subsequent presidency?

And does the whole idea of a military man taking over the government at this period of war hysteria and militarization strike you as the kind of firecracker liberals or radicals should be playing with?

The Eisenhower candidacy is a desperate measure taken by people who are up against the wall and doomed to defeat.

THERE IS A WAY FOR LABOR

But there is a way out—and you know the way out. Many members of your own union have

been urging it upon the UAW leadership—organize an independent party of labor! Inside such a party there might be all manner of differences on what its program should be, on what it should do, etc. But at least it would provide a rallying ground for all those seeking a new road for labor politics. Such a party would win the support of those many non-Stalinist workers who are thinking of voting for Wallace because they see nothing else to do.

True, the UAW executive board has come out for a new party—after the presidential elections. But doesn't such a stand come under the heading of locking the door after the horse has been stolen? Will there ever be an election as important as this coming one? Will there ever be an election in which an independent labor voice will be needed as much as in this one?

Supporters of your policy say that it is now too late to start an independent labor party, that it could never get on the ballot, etc. Perhaps that is true. But the question arises: why, if you were really in favor of a labor party, have you waited so long and thereby put yourself in your present impossible position?

But even if it is too late to actually form a party to run a labor candidate in 1948—which is by no means certain—then the next best thing to do is to begin working for the formation of a labor party now, regardless of when it runs candidates. If the UAW were boldly to come out for such a labor party, were to begin educating its own ranks consistently and dramatically about the need for such a party and were to begin spreading the word in other unions—then the whole political situation would be changed. There would appear to the workers some genuine alternative to Wallace; there would appear to them a party of their own to which they could devote their energies and talents.

To procrastinate is to play directly into the hands of the Stalinists.

The UAW leadership has great opportunities, great possibilities if only it will summon the courage and boldness to discharge its responsibility to the future of American labor. The UAW stands today as the most democratic and militant union in this country. Let it extend those traits to the political field and it can truly help to change the course of American history.

A UAW Member.

Socialist Fight Can Free European Labor From Grip of Wall Street and the Kremlin

By HENRY JUDD

May Day of 1948 finds the United States more deeply involved and concerned in the affairs of Europe than ever in its history. The most influential factor in American politics today is the European situation as it affects America. The basic issues in the coming Presidential campaign relate to foreign policy and even internal, "domestic" problems—such as inflation, prices and employment—are more tied up than ever with the intervention of America in Europe. The multi-billion Marshall Plan is now in operation and its effects, political, social and economic, will bind together, perhaps closer than hitherto, the common destinies of the European and American working class.

What is the situation of the European worker today, three years after the conclusion of World War II? Three years after the conclusion of the First World War, his situation, terrible as it was, was much better than it is today, both in material terms and above all, in terms of his future. Today, the European working class is struggling to surmount economic conditions infinitely more desperate than ever before—inflation, low productivity, disruption of pre-war trade and commerce. Will it succeed in making headway and advancing reasonably towards its pre-war standards? Great sections of the European working class are today hungry, ill-fed, living in ancient buildings or homes half ruined by the

war, incapable of long and sustained working effort. What effect will the Marshall Plan, allegedly to stimulate the rebuilding and reconstruction of the war-ruined countries of Western Europe, actually have?

If the Marshall Plan was what it pretends to be—a vast plan for economic and material help to Europe—there is no doubt that an economic upsurge could be expected. There is enough work and rebuilding to be done in Europe to last many decades—new factories, homes, industrialization of agriculture, etc. But this will not happen under the REAL Marshall Plan—that is, the plan of American imperialism for the revival of Western Europe's heavy and basic industries for the production of war goods and capital goods. Of course this expenditure of billions will have some effect upon Europe's economy and will provide work and more goods for the workers of Western Europe. But this will all be secondary and subordinate to the primary objectives of the Plan and its operation. It is this knowledge that has made the European labor movement suspicious and doubtful about America's plan.

STALINIST INFLUENCE

Politically, as we all know, the European labor movement has suffered a series of disastrous defeats that are far greater than those inflicted upon this same labor movement in the post-war period after 1918. These defeats have come from

two sources—the capitalist governments of the Western European nations, and the conquering imperialism of Stalin's Russia. But in either case, the organizer and inflictor of the defeats has been the Stalinist movement and its political machine. The entire history of post-war Europe has been—and for a long time to come, will be—dominated by the sensational rise of Stalinism which has managed to exploit for its own vicious purposes the desire of Europe's masses to overturn capitalism.

In country after country—Poland, the Balkans, the Baltics, Czechoslovakia, etc.—we have witnessed the extinction of the traditional free labor and democratic movement, and its replacement by a brutal dictatorship fashioned in the Stalin mold. The pattern has become sickeningly familiar to all of us—misleadership and manipulation of the workers in their legitimate struggle against the capitalists; the seizure of power by combined fraud, duplicity and trickery by these same organized criminals, and the wiping out of everything vital to the workers—freedom of speech, press, the right of critical opposition, etc.

At the same time, thanks to the desperation of the Stalinists in the struggle with their American rivals, we have seen these same people lead the workers to bitter defeats in those nations of western Europe (France, Belgium, Italy) where the time and conditions do not yet permit a seiz-

ure of power by these Stalinists. It is doubtful if a single important or major strike, for example, was won by any segment of the European labor movement last year. These political adventures instituted by the Stalinists, of course, actually helped the reactionary government of these countries to deal heavy blows to the workers. They likewise resulted in serious splits in the ranks of labor as, for example, in France where two labor federations now rival each other.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS CRAWL

Politically, May Day this year finds the European worker in a seriously confused and divided state of affairs. With the Old World becoming more and more a battle field between American and Russian imperialism, it would seem to be the duty of European labor leaders to attempt to assert and strengthen their independence of both rival blocs, neither of which offers any future to the worker of Europe. Actually, the labor leadership has withdrawn from any acts of independence and permitted itself to become a part of one or the other bloc.

This holds true for labor's political as well as trade union leadership. The Social Democrats, for example, have either given up entirely, to become minor and petty functionaries in the Stalinist apparatus of those countries taken over by Russia and Stalinism; or they are entirely at the service of America and their own governments, as is the case with Saragat's Italian Socialist Party, Blum's French SP and Bevin's British Labor Party. There is not one sign of independence out of these gentlemen.

The Stalinist labor leadership, in those countries where it has not yet attained power, merely exists to advance the interests of its party, by any means conceivable, in its struggle for power. It awaits only the day when conditions favor its seizure of the state, its strangulation of all opposition, and its imposition upon the people of dictatorships modeled after Stalin, Tito and Gottwald.

The truth of the matter is—and it must be faced—that this year marks unquestionably an all-time low point in independent working class struggle and socialist progress in Europe. Politically without leadership of an independent nature, and confused by the permanent struggle between Russia and America, the European worker has fallen into a state partly of apathy, partly of confusion and partly of demoralization. Does this mean that European labor is through, doomed to be pushed about by whatever force is stronger, and that the prospect of a socialist revival in Europe must be dismissed? No, such an answer would be entirely wrong!

WE CAN ASSIST

Stalinism has not yet conquered Europe and is still far from completing this task it has set for itself. The most important countries of Western Europe—Italy, Germany, France and England—still can develop powerful anti-Stalinist labor movements that will not merely rush into the American camp.

If the working class of these countries can force the MATERIAL aspects of the Marshall Plan to be used in their interest and with the purpose of reviving their living standards, then the workers of these countries will take new hope, will have their courage for struggle revived. And, with the assistance of a new socialist leadership, they can strike

out on a fresh road, independent of both America and Stalinism. The creation a short time ago of the Revolutionary and Democratic Front in France—a new movement independent of both the Stalinists and Social Democrats—is the one bright spot in the entire European political and labor scene. Next May Day may see the spread and organization of such movements in all the countries of, at least, Western Europe!

What is needed more than anything else is a breaking up of the hide-bound parties of the working class, the Stalinist and Socialist parties, with the organization of new movements with clean hands, unstained by either Stalinism or Social Democracy. What is also needed is a successful year of struggle by the American working class, to act as a stimulus and example for the weary but still struggling workers of Europe.

CALIFORNIA AND MARXIST THEORY

1848 - Two Centennials - 1948

By WILLIAM BARTON

On January 24 in the small town of Coloma near the legendary spot where a man named James Marshall discovered a flake of gold while building a sawmill for the now historic "Sutter Ranch" just a hundred years earlier, the state of California began a year of centennial celebration. The growth of California began in 1848. The mad rush of people to get in on the "gold rush" during the next two years transformed a sparsely settled wilderness into a new state of the United States.

This immense territory, mostly inhabited by Indians who were technically the most primitive in North America, dotted with a few Spanish missions separated by long distances, containing a few trading outposts of Russia and the developed American East, colonized by a handful of farmers from Mexico and the United States proper, was officially taken from Mexico the same year in the peace treaty ending the Mexican War. It is now officially the third most populous state in the Union. In a hundred years it has become the land of giant fruit and vegetable "factories of the field," movie production, airplane factories, large seaports, oil wells, fads, religious sects and weather boasting. The Centennial is truly a celebration of a remarkable history of "empire building."

AN HISTORIC YEAR

1848 was for capitalist America the year that initiated the leap-frogging across the country which began the complete conquest of the West, the adventure that symbolized the advance of its economic might. It was an historic year in Europe, too, the time of the sweep of revolution against the reactionary structure under the domination of "Holy Alliance"—abortive in some countries, more or less successful in others. From them also emerged the pattern of the coming capitalist development in Europe.

But the workers of the world, particularly its revolutionary socialist vanguard, are celebrating an event of far greater historical importance. At the very moment that world capitalism was entering its maturity, two young Germans, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, were



publishing the historic clarion call for its overthrow—the "Communist Manifesto."

Many American commentators have caustically attacked the presumption of its authors in asking for the substitution of an economic organization that had just begun to feel its oats, particularly on the North American Continent. How ridiculous, they say, to speak of the "haunting specter of Communism" when precious yellow nuggets could be had by anybody with initiative and a metal pan, when there were so many virgin forests to be cut, millions of new acres to be tilled, unknown new mineral wealth, countless new industries to be developed in newly expanding areas.

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

And many will claim that the history of California refutes the contentions of Marx and Engels made in the year I of its history. For capi-

ever. Its history, like the history of all class society, has been marked by the dominance of the most powerful economic groups and the struggle of the dominated against them.

The gold seekers lost their regional importance early in the game. The men who owned the railroads soon became top-dogs. Mark Hopkins and Leland Stanford were as ruthless and all-powerful as their colleagues, Vanderbilt and Drew, back east. After a long struggle, the large farmers were able to match them; now, organized in the notorious "Associated Farmers," they have become one of the most significant ruling elements in the state. Their existence reveals that California has developed "capitalism on the land" along lines predicted by Marx and Engels more fully than any other spot on earth.

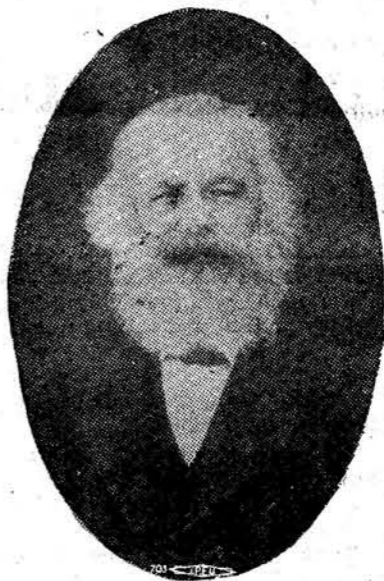
The railway robber barons and the farmers of several thousand acres have since been joined by scores of at least equally strong and greedy industrial and financial titans. The high-salaried movie magnates, oil men like Ed Pauley, construction-contractor-turned-all-around-tycoon Henry Kaiser, yellow journalism king Hearst, airplane manufacturer Donald Douglas, the owners of the Pacific Gas and Electric utilities system, the cannery, and food packing, and steamship officials, A. E. Giannini of Bank of America—these are as conspicuous symbols of capitalism as Morgan of New York, Mellon of Pittsburgh and Ford of Detroit.

MILITANT LABOR HISTORY

And the oppressed part of the population, which has found it difficult to discover the land of milk and honey advertised by the Chambers of Commerce, have been no more remiss in fighting their rulers than their kind anywhere else. Sometimes the desire for economic amelioration has taken a peculiar California twist. For this is the home of Upton Sinclair's EPIC movement, of Ham and Eggs solutions, of the Townsend Plan, of the continued thriving of Technocracy after it had become a mere subject of popular histories in other places. It has also long been the home of an active labor movement and sharp and bitter class struggle.

San Francisco had its Mooney-Billings frame-up, and Los Angeles its MacNamara case. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had much of its strength in California and its neighbors to the north. The Socialist Party was large and influential in the early part of the century. The agricultural workers have time and again made bold attempts to organize, nearly always met by the violence of the Associated Farmers—a campaign that is still just beginning to have some success. San Francisco has been known for some time as one of the best union towns. The Sailors Union of the Pacific and the west coast longshoremen have inscribed a record of militancy that few can emulate. San Francisco Bay saw two general strikes on opposite shores about a dozen years apart. Even glamorous Hollywood has hit the nation's headlines with its "labor troubles."

As this article is being written in commemoration of May Day in the year of the centennial of both the Communist Manifesto and the California Gold Rush, the newspapers throughout the state report items like these—lumber workers in redwood forest call off strike after more than two years; over 50 metal trades shops in Bay Area struck by AFL and Machinists Union, with practically all similar plants expected to join soon; maritime unions map strategy for June fight for retention of hiring hall and other demands; housing petition in opposition to state realty interests being pushed by labor, veterans' and civic groups. The men of the gold rush had their day in California. But, Marx and Engels took over here, too, a long time ago.



KARL MARX

talist California has undoubtedly developed faster and farther than the "communism" which was supposed to be just about ready to overthrow capitalist economic order everywhere back in 1848. A quick trip through the state would reveal to anyone a growth hardly matched anywhere at any time.

A hundred years ago this was a region of Indians without much agriculture, fur traders, Mission "oases" for the weary traveller, and very, very few "ranches." Today, two giant bridges span San Francisco Bay, while nearly a million people crowd the hills of an already-historically rich metropolis, observing a steady stream of ships coming in and out of the harbor and noting more and more cities mushrooming out of villages in the environs. The city of Los Angeles sprawls over more than 400 square miles, firmly established as the fourth most populous city in the country. Its county mass-produces a sizeable proportion of the world's commercial entertainment. Lockheed and Douglas and Consolidated and North American Aircraft have their home bases within a hundred miles of Los Angeles.

San Francisco's Montgomery Street has become an important sub-station for Wall Street. Tremendous, highly productive agricultural "ranches," with few parallels in the world, stretch through the San Joaquin and Imperial and Sacramento Valleys. A well-developed road system connects widely-dispersed regions in mountains, valleys, sea coasts and deserts. Numerous railways come and go in every direction. It takes a good tourist's guide to find the museum relics of California before the gold rush—the missions.

MARXIAN ANALYSIS

Yes, California history shows that Marx and Engels may have misjudged their over-all prediction of the tempo of capitalist crisis. Nevertheless, the development of California has never been able to escape Marxist analysis, today less than

A May Day Reminder of Recent History

Fruits of Class Collaboration

By SUSAN GREEN

To make progress, the labor movement must constantly examine itself, criticize itself, face its mistakes unflinchingly, benefit by them—a very good thing to do on May Day.

During World War II leaders of the CIO and AFL, but especially of the CIO, rubbed their hands with glee and triumph, thinking they had at last found the way, if not for labor to control its own destiny, at least for labor leaders to have full participation in shaping the policies of the government—the capitalist government, that is. The formula for this modest millennium was government-management-labor participation on more and more boards, committees, functions of government. Labor's voice was to be heard and to carry weight as a third partner equal with the other two.

The new role of labor leaders during the war as one of the Big Three, turned the heads of many of them. For a while quite a few of them made public spectacles of themselves by speaking of their doings in Washington—especially of their confabs with Roosevelt—in the same manner as a young and ignorant office boy might boast when the boss, in a "democratic" mood, invites the boy out to lunch. Sydney Hillman was more guilty than most, of this kind of silly effusion.

Later, top labor leaders took the war-time three-cornered arrangement more seriously. They considered that they had a permanent "in." They concluded that a trend had been established for this new form of class collaboration. Labor would no more have to beg hat in hand, but would have its reserved seat at more and more conference tables where policy was made. The needs and point of view of labor were to be component parts of every national decision.

Turning back to past issues of the CIO News, one reads editorials and articles expounding this goal for the labor movement. A war having been fought for democracy a second time, what would be more democratic than for labor to be allowed to participate, along with government and management, in shaping the post-war world? Not only labor leaders and the union press but so-called labor columnists like Victor Riesel of the New York Post, envisaged a class-collaborationist paradise in which the strike weapon would be antiquated and any direct action by the workers would be horse-and-buggy stuff, because labor's needs would be amply taken care of by a wise, understanding, co-operating triumvirate—government-management-labor.

Labor, therefore was permanently

to throw its lot in with the capitalist class and the capitalist government—with labor having that reserved seat. So there was naturally no need for any new political perspectives. Labor was going to make the Democratic Party more democratic. The idea of a labor party was definitely outdated by that seat at the conference table. And, of course, the goal of a working people's government as opposed to the capitalist government, just had no place at all when labor was sitting in with its good partners, management and government.

Not that labor leaders were completely satisfied with their role on the three-cornered boards and committees of wartime. They knew well enough that management didn't like them around all the time, giving their unasked-for advice. But the labor leaders were confident that time would heal the class sensitivity of the industrialists, that the ideal of national interest would finally prevail, that a more equitable division of national income between profits and wages would be accepted as for the general good, and so on. Hope springs eternal, and so does the folly of labor leaders willing to believe in anything except the power, ability and historic necessity of the working people to work out their own destiny.

TOTALING THE SCORE

It didn't take too much political astuteness to understand what the wartime government-management-labor so-called partnership amounted to. President Roosevelt, suave and shrewd politician and manipulator that he was, used the device to get labor to swallow the bitter pills of war without too much coughing and spitting. When he had the labor leaders eating the bitter pills out of his hand, he often used that hand to slap them in the face. When he officially ditched the New Deal, it was a safe bet that he was also looking with a jaundiced eye on the government-management-labor episode.

Management—the inoffensive name for the capitalist class—was, of course, chafing at the bit. They could hardly wait for the end of the war to start their campaign to get rid of the labor "impostors." The National Association of Manufacturers and its watchdog press knew they were going to do a job on labor to put it back "where it belongs." Anti-labor propaganda began long before the bombs stopped falling. The miners' strike was only the handy pretext for the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law. Its real motivation was the determination of capital to stop labor from throwing its weight around, to end the "nonsense" of a government-management-labor partnership, to put labor within bounds.

Totaling the score, now that the government-management-labor game is over, the capitalists and their government came out way in front. They succeeded in putting over on the workers, with the help of the labor leaders sitting in that reserved seat at the conference table, an outrageous wage-freezing while wartime profits kept soaring. To prevent the workers from doing anything about it, the labor leaders obligingly made the infamous no-strike pledge.

Next to the veterans, the workers emerged from the war as the worst-off section of the population. The wage-freeze on the one side and the skyrocketing cost of living on the other caught the working people in an awful squeeze, where they are

still caught. That's the score on the workers' side.

Having lost their seats at the long, mahogany tables, reserved only for the duration, the labor leaders now again stand hat in hand. James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, spends weeks in Europe trying to popularize the Marshall Plan with the European trade unions, and when the State Department hampers his efforts to help it, he gently complains. The AFL and CIO begged for representation at the Latin-American conference in Bogota, and the State Department lied that there are not enough rooms in Bogota and that anyway the State Department hasn't the money to finance a labor representation. Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and head of the CIO Latin-American Affairs Committee, notes this as a regression from past inter-American conferences and sadly warns the State Department that it'll be sorry. This is what has happened to the dream of the labor leaders that by being good class collaborators they would gain full participation in shaping the post-war world!

Have the CIO and AFL leaders, the editors and article writers, who were so voluble in their enthusiasm for the government-management-labor arrangement and in their hopes for its continuing after the war, found a word, a single word, for a public admission of their ghastly mistake? No! Neither have they moved an inch away from their basic policy of class collaboration, towards independent working class policy and action.

This is something for the rank and file to think about this May Day.

SUDDEN CONCERN FOR THE INDIAN

By SCOTT BYER

SAN FRANCISCO—Two months ago the capitalist press suddenly became aware of the terrible plight of the Navajo Indians who are trying to scratch a living from the waste lands of New Mexico and Arizona. Articles appeared in the daily newspapers, and large national weekly magazines and Sunday supplements devoted much space to portraying in words and photos the deplorable social and living conditions of these native Americans. Statistics were also given on disease and mortality rates which in themselves are proof that unless the Navajos receive immediate aid, famine and disease will all but completely wipe out their people.

We know that the "bought press" has not exaggerated this plight, and that if they are running true to form, conditions among the Navajos are even worse than portrayed. We also know that American capitalism, its government and its press have known for over 100 years the misery they have imposed not only upon the Navajos but upon all the Indian peoples; that the largest sections of the Indian population that once existed in America have been killed off or have been forced to live on waste lands as the Navajos are now doing, by the greed of American capitalism; and that the Navajos are but one of the last outposts of the

struggle of the American Indian to exist.

IT BECOMES CLEARER

So we have asked ourselves why? Why this sudden interest of American capitalism in the fate of the Navajos? Why is it that they are shedding crocodile tears about this tragedy that has existed for so many years? The answer was not long in coming. Drew Pearson's column, the Washington Merry-Go-Round of March 30, gave us the answer, more ironical than expected, with the headline, "Navajos Own Uranium Deposits."

Pearson states that only a part of this story can be told within the limits of NATIONAL SECURITY. But from the information given by him, we learn that the Navajos are tending their pitiful flocks above A HIDDEN ATOMIC TREASURE, the only uranium deposit inside the borders of the U. S. Further, that for some time the Vanadium Corporation of America has been quietly extracting vanadium, a metal from which the uranium is processed, from the Navajo territory.

The Navajos, however, have not yet received a penny for the uranium taken from their land, nor has the price the Atomic Energy Commission has been paying the Vanadium Corporation for the uranium been made public, for as Pearson states, they are "military secrets."

Vanadium Corporation has all of the six leases to dig on this territory and these leases specify that the Navajos are to receive 10 per cent of the royalty, not on the uranium or the vanadium, but on the vanadium oxide, which is a by product and is worth far less than the other two metals.

SINKING THE KNIFE

So with this sprinkling of information that has leaked past "military" censorship, it is clear to all who care to see, just why American capitalism is now interested in the (Navajo) Indians. It becomes clear why they are now to be given CHARITY.

We cannot predict what kind of help they will be given by relief agencies, philanthropists, and the government. Whatever form the relief to the Navajos takes whether it be "tin plate" charity or the offer of a new land grant "elsewhere," we can be sure of one thing; the relief will be a sop, to at first, ease the pain of the knife American capitalism intends to break off in them.

Thus we see in this, as in every other instance, that capitalist morality is IMMORAL, and is determined by the struggle for profit which will be eliminated only when the mass of working people enter the struggle with a new and real morality to overthrow Capitalism and establish a Socialist Workers government.

Baltimore--

(Continued from page 3)

city. Two instances of that are shown in the growth of harbor business that has brought Baltimore close to being the first port of the nation, and Bethlehem Steel's action in buying up land for expansion. It plans to increase its labor force from 25,000 to 35,000 in the next year.

The labor movement will have to wake up to match the growth of its industries, and raise the standards of its working people so that Baltimore will no longer be known as a cheap labor town.

WP Statement: Neither Washington Nor Moscow

(Continued from page 1)

rying the ball for the Russian contenders, masterminded by the American Stalinists.

The Wallace-Stalinist movement pretends to be a "party of the people," it presents a program covering many issues, above all it offers a "peace program." But its "peace program," which is the real basis for its existence at this time, proposes only to divide the whole world into Russian and American dominions and thus appease Stalin's appetite—temporarily.

That is why it was created by the Stalinists. That is why it is NOT THE INDEPENDENT THIRD CAMP OF LABOR which points the only way out for labor.

Here at home Wallace offers the work-

The Camp of World Labor

"The Third Camp has nothing in common with the two imperialist war camps—it is their deadly enemy.

"The Third Camp is the camp of the workers in factory and field, in mine and on railroad. It is the camp of the slaves of all colors who yearn and fight for their independence from imperialism. It is the camp of labor, fighting against profit-lusting employers. It is the camp of labor fighting against the governments of the employers. It is the camp of the peasants and sharecroppers and farmers fighting against the grasping trusts, the railroad magnates, the bank sharpers."—From the May Day Manifesto in the first issue of LABOR ACTION, May Day, 1940.

ing class only the choice between Moscow or Washington—not the choice between independent labor politics and capitalist politics. THAT IS THE ONLY CHOICE WHICH MEANS ANYTHING!

We Must Have Our Own Party

Here at home our capitalist rulers have been emboldened to put anti-labor laws on the books BECAUSE THEY SEE A WORKING CLASS STILL ATTACHED TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF CAPITALISM, the Democrats and Republicans—a working class which has not yet decided to use its tremendous economic strength on the political field also.

The capitalists do not need a new party. The two old parties are theirs. They have a government at their disposal. We do not even yet have a party which can strive to make that government ours.

It is to the building of such a party that we address ourselves this May Day.

On May Day we speak as a class. Bankers and industrialists do not celebrate our May Day. It is a class celebration. The idea that lies behind May Day is the idea that lies behind the need for a Labor Party—a party based on our unions, a party embracing the needs of all the people in its program, a party looking forward to working-class victory.

Housing, Jim Crow, inflated prices, peace—we cannot hope to tackle any of our class problems without a party of our class, a Labor Party, an independent political force of labor which is not concerned about protecting profiteering or the "rights" of monopolistic "free enterprise."

Towards a Socialist World

What we achieve here will have tremen-

dous meaning for the people of Europe. If we create our independent force here, we will encourage our brothers in other lands to create their Third Force. They will know they have us to rely on. They will know we will not permit American dollars to buy off the freedom of other peoples.

Stalinism can only be met and halted in Europe by the development of a socialist movement which can oppose itself to the Stalinist despoilers of socialism. A Labor Party here will encourage the mobilization of that socialist movement.

The Wallace movement, attracting thousands upon thousands who are not Stalinists but who wish to register their opposition to the parties of capitalist, bankruptcy, can be checked by building an independent party of labor which owes allegiance to no oppressor, and which can win the great majority of people to its side.

Capitalism—infirm, incapable even of providing employment without the prop of war preparations—can be hastened to its end by labor taking the road of independent political organization.

Socialism is the only practical goal for mankind's progress. We cannot reach that goal without first asserting our independence, without undertaking our independent organization.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW! OURS IS THE CAMP OF WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE. LET US BUILD A LABOR PARTY. LET US UNITE WITH THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF HUMANITY.

Political Committee of the Workers Party, May 1, 1948.

New York WP Local Submits Petitions On Fare to O'Dwyer

The following letter was submitted to Mayor O'Dwyer on Tuesday, April 20. A public hearing on the fare issue was scheduled for that day. Present indications point to a fare rise. Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry a full story.

Mayor O'Dwyer
City Hall
New York City

The Workers Party and Socialist Youth League, in submitting petitions with about 3,000 names protesting any increase in transportation fares, and demanding a referendum on the issue, wish to make the following statement regarding the question of the fare and the wage increase demanded by the Transport Workers Union.

We support the wage demand of the TWU, unqualifiedly. Considering the conditions under which the transport workers operate and the tremendous increase in the cost of living, their demand is extremely modest.

We are, however, opposed to shifting the cost of this increase on to the people of New York City. This shift merely perpetuates the same problem of increased living costs, and the effective wiping out of wage increases by price increases. The inflationary danger which this represents has been pointed out many times.

The wage increase, along with the increased needs of New York City for hospitals, schools, improved subways, etc., can and must be met by those who can afford to pay.

We propose the following methods of increasing the revenue of the city:

1. Increase the real estate tax limit to 3 per cent
2. Rescind the state income tax cuts
3. Reassess local property
4. Tax real estate speculators who strike it rich whenever new subways or roads are built near their property
5. Press for doubled state aid to education

We consider the proposed fare increase an unjust and unnecessary burden upon the working people of New York City. We further consider that the announcement of the increase without the referendum promised by Mayor O'Dwyer in February 1947 is a brazen betrayal of his pledge to the people of New York City.

signed Jack Brad

Organizer, Local New York, WP.

WORLD POLITICS

West Germany—East Germany

The split of Germany into Eastern and Western states is with us. Only the formalities and final construction of divided Germany remains to be organized. Russian Germany, with 25 millions, will confront Anglo-American-French Germany, with 40 millions. Each Germany, if those responsible for this tragic division have their way, will be shaped to conform with the social, political and economic doctrines of the imperialist power in charge. This means conflict and struggle, ultimately ending in armed war as a part of the world struggle between Russia and America. Who doubts that a split Germany will provide one, if not the principle battle field in such a war?

The failure of the Great Powers' final effort at London to settle the German question made this split inevitable. The April 8 speech of Gen. Sir Brian Robertson, British Military Governor, in Dusseldorf, announced the intention of the Allies to proceed to the creation of a Western Germany, based upon the existing bizonal Economic Administration in Frankfurt. The struggle around and about Berlin shortly followed, and the Stalinists running Eastern Germany proclaimed their intention to hold a "plebisite" on the issue of German "unity." The two power blocs have been proceeding with great speed in their respective zones to make the split definitive.

NATIONAL FREEDOM REMAINS KEY NEED

The struggle over Berlin is essentially irrelevant to this split, but will continue indefinitely since prestige and "face" are at issue. Regardless of what happens at Berlin—eventual Allied withdrawal, or not—the two Germanies will now be set up. The Allied Economic Control Council is apparently dead and the remaining formal ties between the powers will rapidly be dissolved. The infamous Potsdam Treaty survived a bare 2 years! Western Germany has been brought into the sphere of the Marshall Plan and a common policy for its participation in this plan has been adopted. Before long, after satisfactory compromises and concessions to the avaricious French, a trizonal régime instead of the present bi-zonal one will exist, with its headquarters at Frankfurt.

The Allies appear intent upon proceeding rapidly now because the industrial and economic recovery of Western Germany (primarily the Ruhr) plays an important part in their plans. A German plan for the use of \$2 billions of Marshall Plan money has been presented and is under consideration. German currency reform (devaluation of the worthless mark), new price schedules etc. are all on the agenda for action. Meanwhile, in their zone, the Stalinists plan to proceed to the final nationalization of all industry (that is, what is left after Russian plundering for 3 years) and complete their setting up of a model Stalinist totalitarian dictatorship over the unfortunate part of Germany under their occupation. Such are the facts after three years of imperialist occupation.

Now, what does all this signify. It is perfectly clear, of course, that the joint occupation and its alleged purposes (Nazi purge, democratization, rebuilding the German nation as a peaceful unity, etc.) has all gone up in smoke. Everything is now being dumped, discarded and cast overboard. Germany is a pliant tool, split in twain,

in the hands of two great power groups, each of which wishes to use its section for (a) conquest of the other section, and (b) preparation for eventual war. The farce, fraud and deceit of the imperialist occupation is clear to all. The policy of deindustrialization (was this not to be the principle means, according to Potsdam, by which Germany was to be made a "peace-loving nation" like the Allies?) has exploded and we shall see instead a feverish reindustrialization, primarily for war purposes.

Who is responsible? All of them, in equal share and proportion. We cannot follow those liberals and Social Democrats who try to lay the blame for Germany's division at the exclusive doors of Stalinist Russia. The Allies participated jointly in the division and carving up of Germany up to the point where their differences among themselves forced a reversal in policy. The hypocritical cries for "unity" on both sides are as fraudulent now as ever. Stalin wants German "unity" under joint Russian Army-SED control; Truman wants German "unity" under Anglo-American imperialist control, to provide a base for military operations against Russia. Each power, in its own way and through its own crimes, must be blamed for this division which now seems so definitive. Even though tactics and methods must now be divided in accordance with the new situation, the basic political strategy for the German people still remains the winning of their national freedom by an independence struggle waged equally against all the occupants who have brought about this mess. Germany cannot recover split in half and dismembered. Economic recovery alone would require the restoration of commerce and trade, now more disrupted than ever, between Eastern and Western Germany.

The division is an accomplished fact, imposed upon an unwilling and hostile people who are denied every right of expressing themselves. Revolutionary socialists in Germany cannot accept responsibility for it, nor approve it in the slightest degree. They are against this split, and must retain their fundamental belief and stand for fundamental unity. But within Western Germany they must also fight against the kind of rump German state the Allies give every indication of creating. The reactionary, Christian Democratic dominated Frankfurt Economic Assembly is not a freely elected, democratic Parliament. It is an Allied hand-picked body. The document drawn up by this body asking for \$2 billion Marshall Plan money is entirely the work of right wing Christian Democrats and has been rejected by the Social Democrats.

The struggle for German unification can well begin in Western Germany, over the issue of this pseudo-Parliament and the demand to make out of it a genuine parliamentary body, democratically elected and with real powers. Likewise, in accepting Marshall Plan aid, the revived German labor movement must attempt to prevent its use exclusively for war and military purposes, rather than a start for the rebuilding of the country's ruined cities and industries.

Germany has been torn in half, despite and against her will. But this does not end the story. The struggle for the reunification of Germany, independent of any and all forces of occupation, is entirely a part of the struggle against making of Germany the slaughter and battle field for the war now being actively prepared for by those who have brought about this same split.

Henry JUDD

Reviewing a New Italian Film

"Paisan"—Message of Doom

By EUGENE KELLER

This film, recently produced in Italy, concerns itself with the futility of war. The title, a colloquial form of address, indicates the broadness of presentation which is attempted. It is indeed a "new kind of film"; one in which subject matter and technique fuse, which rigorously ignores the "emotional needs" of the audience to which Hollywood has been catering with waning success. While possibly "Paisan" will not circulate very widely, its importance lies in its meaning and in its unquestionable influence upon films to come, including those from Hollywood.

The film consists of a number of outwardly unconnected scenes, apparently picked at random, occurring during the Allied offensive in Italy. The first depicts a small number of American soldiers, just landed in Sicily, seeking to establish contact with the enemy and reluctantly accepting a young woman as guide through heavily mined country. Since they must return to their command post, they leave the girl together with one of their own men to guard her. The girl's erstwhile hostile indifference to her homesick guard slowly changes to sympathy and both make touching attempts to overcome the language barrier. German soldiers, however, spotting the GI lighting a cigarette at night, shoot and kill him. The returning Americans, finding their buddy dead, believe the girl had something to do with it and kill her.

SQUALOR AND DEGRADATION

The second scene shows a small ruffian in Naples stealing the boots off a drunken Negro soldier. When three days later the Negro, an MP, arrests the same boy who is about to steal from an Army truck, the former compels him to take him to his home to return the boots. But so appalled is the colored soldier by the squalor and misery of the boy's quarters—where men, women and children crawl like ants in filth and poverty, that he leaves the boots to the boy and hurriedly departs in his jeep.

The third scene finds a prostitute picking up a drunken GI. As the soldier, sick at heart, reminisces about the freshness and spring-like beauty of girls from Rome when the Allies first entered the Italian capital, and compares it to how low they have fallen after that, the prostitute recognizes him as the greasy young tank driver to whom she had happily offered the hospitality of her home, when, on that day of victory, he had asked for water. Sadly reflecting upon what had become of herself,

she goes out, leaving her address with him. In vain she waits for him the next day. For, believing it to be the address of just another house of prostitution, he discards her address.

The fourth scene shows the search by an American nurse for a former lover of hers in embattled Florence. He is a leader in the partisan movement and his hideout is almost inaccessible surrounded by Germans and fascist snipers in that part of Florence still held by the enemy. Her despair and love lead her to defy a thousand dangers, only to find that her lover has been killed shortly before she reaches his hide-out.

In the fifth scene three Army chaplains of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faith seek shelter for a night in a secluded monastery where monks, completely absorbed in the medieval tenets of Catholicism, live a life of prayer and devotion untouched by war. With two "non-believers" present, their foremost concern is with the conversion, and saving of their souls. Imploring the Catholic chaplain's aid, they meet his measured refusal, which leads them to fast in the hope that their prayers will move God into making the "non-believers" see the true light. The scene ends with the Catholic chaplain expressing his deep emotion over having found true serenity of spirit within the walls of the monastery.

The sixth and last scene depicts the fight, behind enemy lines, of partisans together with American OSS men, in the marshes of the Po valley. When they are discovered by the Germans, the OSS men are taken away as prisoners on a motor launch. When the captured partisans are tied and dumped into the river from the same launch, the enraged and horrified OSS men almost instinctively rush to their aid, only to meet their death by tommy gun bullets.

MESSAGE OF DOOM

The impact and realism of the film are achieved not only by an uncompromising approach to the subject matter, not only by superb acting, but also by the form in which it is presented. This form is borrowed from the documentary film, and establishes an inner relationship between the individual scenes and gives to the audience a sense of fatefulness, of inevitability. The documentary film by its very nature is impersonal, relating supra-personal incidents and events to which the individual bears a relation he has no power to determine or to control. The message implicit in "Paisan" is impressed upon the audience with a plausibility and subtle power difficult to resist.

The individual scenes and incidents in "Paisan" truthfully and eloquently portray the destructiveness of war, of human values and the disintegration of human society. The deep pessimism in the film may partly have been engendered by a feeling of futility caused by what appears like a tragic interim between two wars.

Yet the film, in its own way, contributes to the ideological preparation for World War III, and in that sense it is not an anti-war picture. For it affirms the utter inevitability and irresistibility of the destruction of moral values, and consequently the inescapable decline of man himself.

The Sicilian girl, the hard core of her bitter hostility pierced by the mute yearning of a homesick soldier, is nonetheless destroyed. The Roman prostitute, stirred once more to a will to fight herself out of the maws of her existence, vainly waits for her clean young soldier, who cynically tears up the slip of paper with her address. The bitter fight of partisans and OSS men end in the inglorious death of the former, and the latter's instinctive reaction to the outrage is condemned to frustration from the beginning. The film ends with the partisans (true fighters against national oppression in the last war) dying as captives, as defenseless victims.

The stark realism of the individual scenes should not obscure the pattern of the whole: Man is fated to be a victim, all attempts at mastering his fate are not only bound to end in tragic failure but their defeat is pre-ordained, and therefore their futility is manifest. This is a message of doom, despite the fine qualities of the picture. It can be rejected only in action, by men who, like the Italian partisans, refuse to submit.

Coming Next Week:

THE BOGOTA CONFERENCE

by A. Ferrara

EXOTIC CALIFORNIA

by Albert Gates

THE NEW YORK FARE

by Jack Brad

ELECTIONS IN ITALY

by Henry Judd

Discussion Article—Union News

OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

STUDENTS AND THE WAR THREAT

"Yes, I was opposed to the war. I am perfectly willing, on that account, to be branded as a disloyalist, and if it is a crime under the American law punishable by imprisonment for being opposed to human bloodshed, I am perfectly willing to be clothed in the stripes of a convict and to end my days in a prison cell."

That is the voice of Eugene V. Debs addressing the jury of the federal court which sentenced him to prison in 1918 for opposing World War I.

Those words, spoken thirty years ago in a Cleveland courtroom, ring with an ardor and conviction which must seem naive to many in our age of cynicism and broken wills.

For it is true that, given the relative isolation of the revolutionary socialist movement, perspectives capable of setting afire the imagination of youth, and especially of student youth, seem to have historical but not actual significance.

Student movements have customarily been hotbeds of progressive thought. The tradition is a long and honorable one. Alexander Herzen, the inspirer of Russian populism, was first sent into exile while he was yet a student. Thousands were to follow him. In Germany the Young Hegelians of the 1830's, among whom Marx shaped his thinking, were tempered in the same fires. Hardly a temple of orthodox thought was left standing when they got through. Of necessity developing later, the student bodies of colonial countries have long since discharged their debts to mankind. Among the first were students of China, who in the early 1920's initiated a surge of colonial unrest which has not yet subsided.

THE U. S. STUDENT MOVEMENT

Marxist ideas (as reviewed in the light of the Russian revolution) first made headway on American campuses during the 1930's as a result of the depression. Though they had a Stalinist caste which was later to be bled off into the famous "fight against war and fascism," they were not the gross distortions which the CP currently peddles.

Those were the days when students of the University of Pittsburgh picketed their commencement exercises in protest against General MacArthur's speaking; when hundreds of Oxford students pledged never to support any war in which England fought; and when the late Frank Kingdon, then president of Newark University, used to lead the student body in picket lines on occasion just to keep the edge on its social consciousness.

But who would think of writing a "Revolt on the Campus" today? Generally speaking, there is no spirit of revolt on the campus. There is a malaise. It has its origin in the still sinewy U. S. economy, the absence of a serious number of war casualties, the lack of war damage, the social fire insurance provided by the GI Bill, the government war propaganda, Stalinism—and the relative weakness of revolutionary forces who could pose an alternative to Washington and Moscow. But there is no sharply oriented opposition.

WALLACE'S FOREIGN POLICY

There is an anti-war sentiment on the American campus. Its most articulate and staunch elements are being corralled by the Wallace movement—which is to say, by the CPers, the AYD (American Youth for Democracy) crowd, the PCA (Progressive Citizens of America)—all of whom are subordinating whatever independent activity they may have been carrying on to the Wallace campaign. Since Wallace is the only candidate even advocating a peace program the movement is bound to grow. An elemental task for revolutionary socialists is to win away from the Stalinists such students as have been attracted by their pseudo-peace program.

Wallace's program resembles the "a" blot used in the Rorschach tests—everyone can see in it what he will.

The first and foremost fact about Wallace's program, however, is that his foreign policy is that of Russia. He can fiddle with other parts of his program pretty much as he wishes, but once he tampers with his current foreign policy the Communist Party, which created him out of New Deal mud and gave him his present ideology, will dump him with scant ceremony.

Whatever Wallace's subjective intentions may be his present program is designed to weaken U. S. imperialism without similarly weakening Russian imperialism. He does not address the same demands to Russia in regard to the draft, military expenditures, domination of peoples, civil liberties, and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries that he can, with reason, address to the United States.

The CP hopes to utilize the "peace" demagoguery in order to recruit members for the time when the internal situation in the U. S. permits it to engage in such activities as we have been witness to in France—all of which have had little to do with the interests of the French worker but a great deal to do with Russian foreign policy. In the shorter term it hopes to stave off war for a period by the pressure exercised by Wallace supporters.

WALLACE'S DOMESTIC PROGRAM

The rest of Wallace's program is the come-on. It serves the same purpose as the free chinaware at the Thursday night class B movie.

This is Wallace: the wrathful man who is opposed to the use of the atom bomb—and the innocent who helped create it. The crusader against Jim Crow—and the coward who didn't lift his little finger against it when he was in office. The apostle of the era of abundance—and the great intellect who thought of nothing else but plowing under crops during the depression. The defender of democratic practices—and the man who NOW calls for a convention to choose him presidential candidate and to ratify his platform. The enemy of imperialism—and the scoundrel who wants to make the UN work, that is, guarantee the imperialist status quo. The friend of Palestine—and the hypocrite who, when the news was greatest, raised no campaign for the Jews of Europe. The friend of labor—and . . . just what is his labor record?

Wallace is not a new beginning. He is the end product of post-war Communist Party politics. Support for him only cements the hold of Stalinism upon the world.

The task for those among the country's students who take ideas seriously is, in the spirit of the quotation with which we began this column, to aid in creating an independent party of the working class which is equally opposed to the war plans of Washington and Moscow, and to bring to such a party the full measure of their energy, their courage, and their intelligence.

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Workers Party, Local New York

CELEBRATING THE EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORKERS PARTY

In Socialist Struggle for Working Class Freedom

By E. R. McKINNEY

National Secretary, Workers Party
The Workers Party observes its 8th birthday this year on May 1 simultaneously with the celebration of May Day. There is a fitting connection between the birthday of the Workers Party and the celebration of May Day. In the beginning, and for decades thereafter, May Day represented and symbolized the struggle of the toilers against the exploiting capitalist ruling class. The workers and their allies all over the world poured into the streets and demonstrated before their masters and all the people that the working class really possessed the manpower necessary to end the rule of the capital-

ist exploiters. The one thing needed above all others was the program, discipline and activity of revolutionary socialism: of Marxism.

The old social-democracy, that is the Second International, did not supply this program nor this discipline and activity. The social-democracy of today does not and can not. In Europe this social-democracy is submitting without a struggle to the seduction and the bribery of Moscow or Washington. In the United States the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas has been engaged in congratulating Churchill, uttering pious platitudes about "democratic socialism" (as though there were any other kind of socialism), and supporting

American imperialism.

There is the so-called Social-Democratic Federation. It is a federation of anti-Stalinists who are also anti-socialist and anti-Marxist. It is an aggregation of liberal do-gooders, near liberal busybodies, old-fashioned conservative trade union business agents, Daily Forwarders, politically anaemic college professors who want to pose as politicians and at the same time not jeopardize their jobs; and old, encrusted, moss covered, morally palsied social-democratic hacks who were yelling for the U. S. to enter the last World Imperialist War long before the big capitalists.

The "Communist" Parties (Stalinists) cannot supply the program, discipline and activity of Marxism. This is not their aim or their goal. They are peddlers of Stalinist totalitarianism, terrorism, bureaucracy, stultification and Stalinist slavery. They are purveyors of evil, uncleanness and indecency.

In every case where the working class places any confidence in the Stalinists, that section of the working class will be lead away to slavery, or corrupted and broken on the wheel of Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialism.

PROGRAM OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Not one of these groups therefore can present a program of socialism to the working class. Not one of these

three groups will or can call the working class of the U. S. and of the world to gird itself for a real, genuine and irreconcilable struggle against our capitalist masters, oppressors and exploiters. Not one of these groups can lead or inspire the working class even to carry on the economic struggle in any militant way. Not one of these groups will aid the working class to open its eyes and rise to its feet for the independent political struggle and for a proletarian victory over the capitalist ruling class.

The social democrats and the liberals of all stripes have only the program of class collaboration, class peace and surrender to the capitalist

exploiters to offer the working class. They can only aid the bourgeoisie to chain the workers to the next imperialist war. They cannot guide the working class to freedom but only toward the graveyards of capitalist imperialism and the gas chambers of fascism.

The Stalinists will beguile the proletariat away from U. S. imperialism only to fasten them to Russian imperialism and Stalinist bureaucratic collectivism. They will not lead and guide the working class to freedom but only to the graveyards of Stalinist imperialism and the slave camps and torture chambers of Stalinist totalitarianism.

On this May Day and on its 8th birthday the Workers Party proclaims its adherence, without apologies or compromise, to the program of the class struggle, to the program of proletarian socialist revolution, to the program of Marx and Lenin. Our voice does not carry far into the ranks of the toilers but where we are heard we call on labor to rally to the program of class struggle, to forsake the ways of class peace and collaboration. To the extent that the Workers Party can be heard, we call on labor not to turn its back on Stalinism but to wage eternal warfare and unremitting struggle against Stalinism and all its works.

—Karl Marx

The Workers Party does not carry on the struggle against Stalinism in the manner of the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Federation and the Johnny-come-lately liberals. These others do not call on the working class to defeat the Stalinists by independent working class economic and political action. They demand that the capitalist ruling class organize the fight against Stalinism and that the working class place itself at the disposal of the capitalist exploiters and imperialists in the struggle between Washington and Moscow. The social-democrats and liberals are not thinking of a powerful militant working class acting in its own name and for its own class interests in the struggle against Stalinism, but only of the millions of workers fighting against Stalinism

under the command of the State Department and its social-democratic stooges and hirelings.

ROAD TO FREEDOM

On this May Day and on our 8th birthday the Workers Party remains actively and militantly steadfast and uncorrupted, in the daily struggle for socialist freedom. NEITHER WASHINGTON nor MOSCOW. Neither the road to Washington nor the road to Moscow is the road to socialist freedom. Neither the program of Washington nor the program of Moscow can free humanity from war, starvation, ignorance, nakedness and misery.

The lamentations of the soul sick, the political gyrations of those who shop around from one party to the next, the sophisticated gushing of those who seek enlightenment as to the "viability of socialism," all those who want to be convinced that the working class is capable of heading the government, those who want guarantees that the proletarian revolution will be successful, those who will join in the struggle for socialism after all the "radical parties get together," and all those who are conducting researches to discover whether or not "Stalinism springs from Bolshevism;" will not be of aid to the working class. On the contrary all of these people will be and can only be of comfort to Stalinism and American capitalism.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW! A working class standing erect on its feet; refusing to be pushed to its knees. A working class resorting to independent political action and class struggle. A working class fighting against the imperialists and imperialist war. A working class fighting for socialism and socialist freedom.

AGAINST WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW! AGAINST THE SUPPORTERS AND HIRELINGS OF WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW. FIGHT AGAINST THE COMING 3RD IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR. INTO THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKING CLASS FREEDOM. FOR SOCIALIST FREEDOM. FOR THE FREEDOM OF ALL MANKIND.

Georgia's "Justice" Sentences Ingrams to Life Imprisonment

By KATE LEONARD

In another example of Georgia's "more than justice" for the Negro, Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons, Wallace, 17, and Sammie Lee, 14, have been sentenced to life imprisonment. Judge Wm. H. Harper of the Southwest Georgia Judicial Circuit committed their death sentences to life imprisonment and denied new trials.

LABOR ACTION in its issue of March 22 gave the facts around the Ingram case. Sharecroppers, they were originally sentenced to die in the electric chair on February 7, after conviction of murder by an all-white jury, for the slaying of John E. Stratford, a white sharecropper, in self-defense.

The hearing on the motion for a new trial on March 25 was the usual farce. Solicitor General E. L. Forrester contended that the defense had not challenged the fairness of the first trial. Apparently, to his mind it is not possible to challenge a Georgia court, as this state and its courts have "an illustrious history," earned dispensing "more than justice" a la Talmadge. He admitted that he "did not tell the jury they shouldn't electrocute a teen-ager, and I never intend to."

The defense had contended that the most the Ingrams could have been legally convicted of was manslaughter, and argued that the jury had ignored the instructions of Judge Harper that if Wallace and Sammie Lee were going to assist their mother they were in no way guilty of a

crime. The defense also stressed a little matter of a gun in the hands of Stratford at the time of the quarrel.

The NAACP has announced that it is taking complete charge of the further defense of the Ingrams. Before April 24 they will file a bill of exceptions enabling the defense to carry the case to the Georgia Supreme court. They have stated they will take it to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary, on the grounds of exclusion of Negroes from the jury. The aim in this labor defense case from here on out is to save the Ingrams from the Georgia State Penitentiary at Reidsville. They have had more than enough of Georgia's "more than justice."

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights could have been speaking of this case when it so nicely said that in some cases lynchers are dissuaded by promises that the desired result will be accomplished "legally" and the machinery of justice is sometimes sensitive to the demands of such implied bargains.

In the meantime, it is announced that the nine younger children in the Ingram family (there are 12 all together, one daughter being married) are being cared for by funds made available by the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee.

This money is on hand as it was posted for the apprehension of the Monroe lynchers in 1946. Monroe, Walton County is indeed not far from Ellaville, as Jim Crow flies. Johnson County, Talmadge stamping ground, is also down that way.

Miners Fined - -

(Continued from page 1)
deterred the government and the court.

It is the business of all labor today to express its solidarity with the miners. All labor should be prepared to back up the miners in the days to come. Who knows what may come next. All differences, all differences should be pushed aside or at least put on the shelf until this case of the miners reaches some temporary adjustment.

We said above that there were lessons in this case for labor. We hope that Lewis learns something. Above all we hope that the miners and the rest of the ranks of labor learn something. The workers see here, right before their eyes, an indecent scramble between the Republicans and Democrats for the right to pick the bones of the miners; for their votes on election day.

But far more important for us is this: we see in this case of the miners and the government, the reluctance of the government to use its full force for fear of arousing the anger

of the miners. What does this mean? It means that the miners have demonstrated their might and their strength. This shows that neither the miners nor labor as a whole need depend on the demagogic and rotten maneuvers of a reactionary Republican Joe Martin nor on the good will of an equally rotten Democratic administration, whether of Roosevelt or Truman.

Labor can sail under its own banner and get its own program. Even this little conflict between the miners and the government proves this. Labor does not need the Republicans with their Joe Martin tricks. Labor does not need the Democrats with their "friends of labor" bribery. What labor doesn't need is its own party which will become "the government" and drive the Republicans and the Democrats from the seats of power.

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FRIDAY, APRIL 30—8:30 P. M.

LABOR ACTION HALL—1139, W. Girard Ave.

In Los Angeles:

MAY DAY AND 100 YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Speaker: Albert Gates

SUNDAY, MAY 2—8:00 P. M.

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