

**WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD;
JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!**

LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 30, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Tugwell Feels "Uneasy," Points to Possible Split In the Wallace Party

By JACK BRAD

The announcement this week by Rexford G. Tugwell that he considers himself only "an uneasy member" of the Wallace-Stalinist Progressive Party is the latest development in the growing schism between the increasingly more aggressive Stalinist wing and the painfully disquieted liberals.

Tugwell was the outstanding New Dealer in the Progressive Party and was generally considered to be Wallace's spokesman in the leadership. He served this function at the convention of the party last month.

Tugwell was chairman of the National Wallace-for-President Committee until the convention. At the convention he served as chairman of the Platform Committee, where he capitulated on every liberal proposal in the face of the Stalinist steamroller, which was run by Lee Pressman. Tugwell did not take a post in the Progressive Party, he was elected to none of its offices, he is not on its 180-man executive committee.

Speaking on the platform to the convention, Tugwell made a pitch for unity of all factions with the plea that, after all, not every one could be satisfied with everything in the platform. It was this plea which was the signal for the liberal capitulation to the Stalinists and which disorganized their opposition, limiting it to weak, ineffectual and dispersed protests. Tugwell, who is for the Marshall Plan and has spoken for it, stated he "did not consider it important enough" to fight over in the Platform Committee.

THREATENS TO WALK OUT

Now he is apparently not so certain that all is well.

He stated last week that "if the wrong people get control" he will openly leave the Progressive Party. To make his point unmistakable, he added: "I certainly don't know whether they are Communists, but they act as though they are."

He expressed the belief that the Stalinists had not taken warning at the convention but were crowding the liberals and strangling the party in their hold. His threat to walk out is an echo of the blunt statement of Scott Buchanan's speech at the convention: "I think there will be some of us walking out of this party" [if there is "minority" control].

Tugwell emphasized, "I want to be a Progressive." In this he expressed the wish that the Stalinists would permit the liberals to remain, and also the dilemma of the liberals who desire a political tie-up in which they can save face at least, and not be swamped openly by the Stalinists.

Tugwell's statements amount to a defection from the Progressive Party. In this he is not the first. Several weeks ago some leaders of the New Mexico Progressive Party resigned because of Stalinist domination. Be-

fore the convention, Kenny of California, a former national leader of the movement, and Frank Kingdon, former co-chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America, had also quit.

These departures indicate that the liberals will not fight for control of the Progressive Party from the inside. When they feel the hot breath of the Stalinists on their necks, they will fold their tents and steal away with varying degrees of silence. But they show no signs of fight for principles or party leadership.

STALINISTS IN RETREAT

It is not only the Stalinists who are disturbing the not-so-peaceful cohabitation of the Wallace-Tugwell wing. The anti-Stalinist drive in the trade unions has reduced their positions considerably.

The latest major defeats were in the Transport Workers Union and the National Maritime Union. A recent order forced all officials of the TWU, by bureaucratic direction, to resign from all posts in the American Labor Party (New York section of the Wallace-Stalinist party). In the Wholesale & Warehouse Union likewise, the Stalinists have suffered a series of defeats, losing shops to the UAW and to the Wolchok right-wing bureaucracy.

This growing isolation in the labor movement has forced the Stalinists to throw more and more forces into the Progressive Party as a haven and refuge and also as the instrument for recouping their losses. It is this increased Stalinist pressure which makes the Tugwells so restive and uneasy.

The reorientation of the national political scene also contributes to this growing rift between the two wings of the Progressive Party. Truman's stand on the special session, on price control and on Jim Crow, while futile and demagogic, has nevertheless provided the leadership of the AFL and CIO with the necessary political camouflage for supporting him. The victory of Chester Bowles and the Americans for Democratic Action in the Connecticut Democratic Party is a blow to the Tugwell-Wallace contention that the Democratic Party could no longer be dressed up as "liberal." In their opportunism, lack of principle and attraction to whatever is successful, the liberals find it difficult to resist the pressure of these events.

Finally, Walter Reuther's announcement of plans for a new party after November will hammer in the wedge, and make less tolerable political life in a party that is being daily strangled by Stalinism.

The Tugwell statement is only the latest indication that the coalition called the Progressive Party can hardly survive the elections by very long, and that Stalinist domination is increasing with the extension of the election campaign.

Israeli Parties Maneuver For Power in Fall Election

By ED FINDLEY

AUGUST 23—The Palestinian war is fast being dwarfed by internal political conflicts. Life in Israel today appears to be dominated by political polarization, party splits and jockeying for control of the 171-man Constituent Assembly to be elected this fall.

The Constituent Assembly is to be elected by country-wide proportional representation of all adults within the borders of Israel. Apparently this democratic rule was intended to apply to all Arabs now living in Israeli held territory. However, some doubt on this score is raised by reports, in the New York Yiddish press, that "security considerations" may be invoked to bar full Arab participation. In any event, the only organized political force that operates openly among the Arabs in Israel is the Arab League for National Liberation, the pseudonym of the Arab Stalinists. It would indeed be tragic if the only Arab voices heard in the Israeli Constituent Assembly were those of Moscow's agents.

In Jewish political circles two contradictory processes are developing. On the one hand there is an atomization of old political formations into a multitude of new parties. On the other, there is a tendency toward realignments into new, larger political units and electoral blocs.

During the past weeks the influential, though numerically small, bourgeois party of General Zionists

split into two wings: Group A, a sort of New Deal wing, "friendly" to labor; and Group B, a conservative wing, hostile to the union movement and in the past a protector of semi-fascist Irgun and Stern groups. Group A is reported to be negotiating with several important bourgeois groups to form a new "Progressive Zionist Party." Among these are the New Immigration Party (Aliya Chadasha), a moderate bourgeois party; the Zionist Worker group and the Wiza, a popular women's organization.

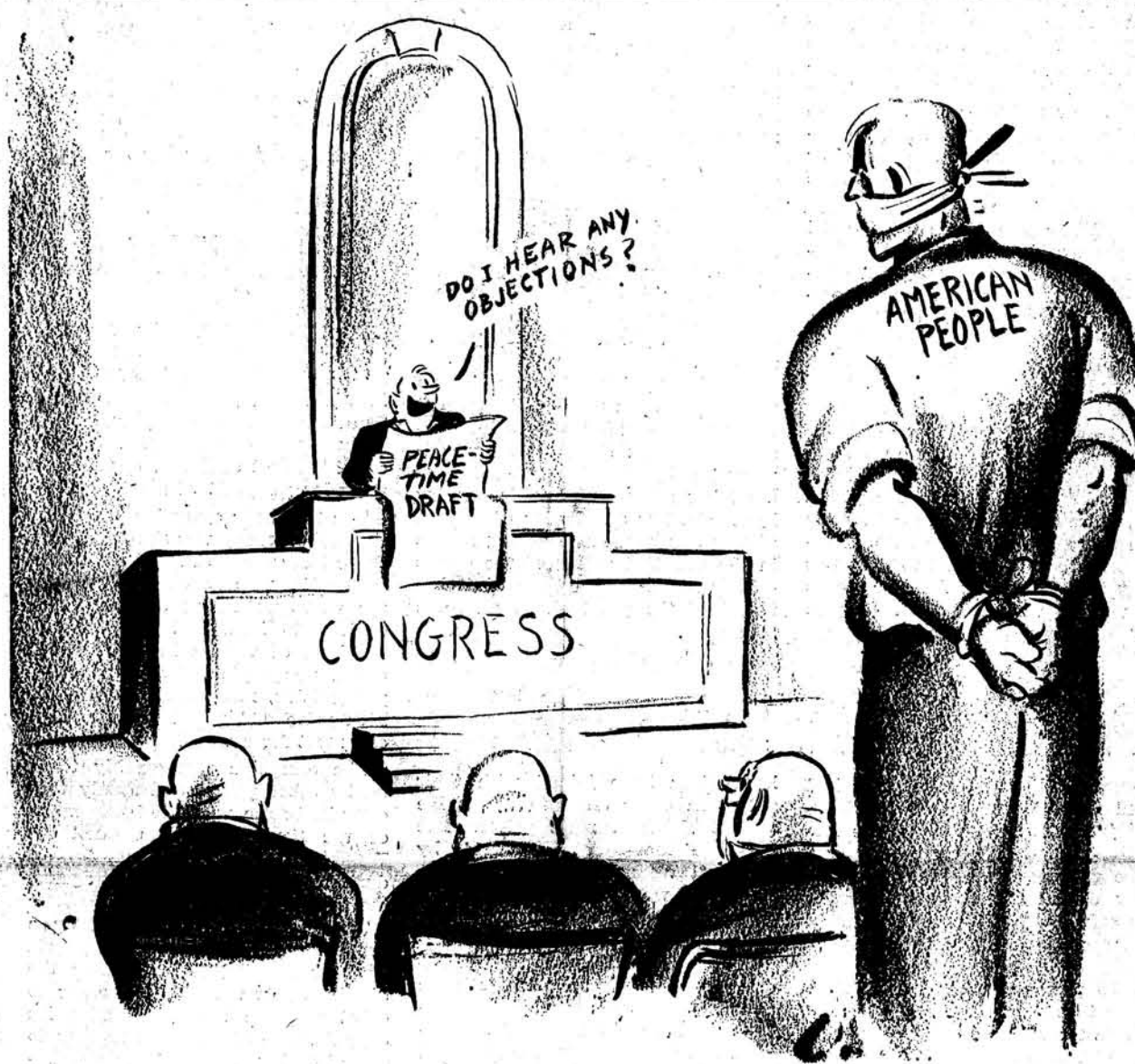
This realignment, if carried through, is likely to be a boon to the Mafai (Palestinian Workers Party), a reformist-socialist party which controls the labor movement and is the strongest party in the provisional government of Israel. It will give the Mafai greater maneuverability vis-à-vis its main opponent and competitor in the labor movement, the Mapam (United Workers Party), a left-wing, socialist-Zionist party whose self-Stalinization is proceeding very rapidly. The existence of a liberal bourgeois party will give the Mafai an opportunity to form a coalition government, less heavily weighted with rightists.

On the far right, two electoral blocs are probable. First, a political unit analogous to the Catholic Center Party of Germany or the Christian Democrats of Italy, composed of the following orthodox groups: Mizrachi, Agudath Israel and their affiliates.

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Typographical Union Starts Move

FOR A CONGRESS OF LABOR TO PLAN FIGHT ON T-H LAW



Draftees March Again — 3 Years After the War to End All Wars

On Monday, August 30, the youth of the nation will begin registration for the draft. That day will mark the first day of operation of the first peacetime draft in the United States.

It's a date to remember. It tickets the LONGEST STEP YET TAKEN TOWARD THE MILITARIZATION OF AMERICA.

The day is past when insulated Americans can sneer, as they used to do with poor understanding, at the arms-bristling life that has characterized the European nations since the end of the First World War. THE UNITED STATES TOO IS BEING "EUROPEANIZED."

The United States is truly being integrated into the "one world" of imperialist war preparations. Not the One World of those who promised a post-war era of security and peace just as soon as we got over the unpleasant business of slaughtering millions in the last battle for the spoils of the world—but a One World of decaying capitalism and totalitarian Stalinism equally goose-stepping along the road to World War III.

It is a sign and a portent. For this date also marks a significant anniversary—maybe by coincidence. ALMOST EXACTLY THREE YEARS AGO, THE SECOND WORLD WAR CAME TO AN END WITH V-J DAY.

ONLY three years ago! Three years of victory and peace.

WHOSE victory?
WHAT peace?

We have seen only the victory of the militarists in Washington and throughout the land, in a fashion that would have brought outrages of horror in the far-off days before 1939. We have seen only the victory of the profiteers, the rent-gougers, the Jim Crow politicians, the anti-labor Taft-Hartleys.

We have seen only a "peace" which is taken on all sides as only a breathing spell for the preparations of new wars.

See Page Four

In Memory of the Old Man

"LEON TROTSKY—AS OTHERS
SAW HIM"

The convention of the International Typographical Union this past week adopted a statement calling for labor unity. That in itself would not be news. What is more important is that they went beyond a mere expression of sentiment and made two specific proposals for action which deserve to be brought to the attention of every union man and woman in the country.

Both Philip Murray and William Green, as well as the executive boards of both AFL and CIO, are also "for" labor unity—on the record. Unfortunately that's about where their opinions on the subject have stayed—on paper. Here is what the typographers did:

(1) The convention instructed its delegates to the AFL to call for the formation of a National Labor Council, with representatives of ALL labor organizations, in order to work toward labor unity.

Tito Purges Kremlin Agents, Fight Sharpens

By WILLIAM BARTON

The not-so-silent "silent war" between Tito and the supporters of Stalin in Yugoslavia reached a new point in ferocity last week. All possibilities of a compromise seem, for the immediate future at least, quite out of the question. A war to the death, in which Tito will either suppress all of Stalin's supporters or will himself fall victim to their intrigues, will be fought out in Yugoslavia.

Moving with a ruthlessness he picked up as an agent of Stalinism, Tito this week went to work on the most troublesome area under his control: Montenegro. This province is said to be the most pro-Russian in sentiment, and as a result a number of Montenegrin officials were purged by Tito for suspected pro-Stalin sympathies. It is obvious that for minor politicians in Yugoslavia there must be great temptation in the possibility of tying up with Stalin to kick Tito out and win more power for themselves. Against such political maneuverers, Tito maneuvered quickly and ruthlessly. His jails were more crowded last week.

Further defections from Tito were reported in his foreign legations, notably in Iran. But the most important defection was that of Colonel General Arso Yovanovitch, former Yugoslav chief of staff. Yovanovitch tried to leave Yugoslavia and was murdered by a Tito soldier on the Yugoslav-Rumanian border. Significantly, Yovanovitch was a Montenegrin, as are many members of Tito's army and police force.

The Belgrade communiqué, which announced the shooting of Yovanovitch, also said that another general had been captured by the guards, a colonel had successfully crossed the border, and an accomplice had been killed. All of which means that trouble on a large scale is brewing in Yugoslavia. Tito and Stalin will fight to the death.

The Stalinist newspapers throughout the rest of Eastern Europe continue their violent attacks against Tito.

The New York Times correspondent in Trieste reports having been shown copies of letters circulated in Yugoslavia by Russian agents which purport to "explain" the Tito-Gomin-

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(2) The convention called upon labor organizations to join in convening a "national emergency congress" of labor in order to unite the struggle against the Taft-Hartley Law and against injunction rule.

LABOR ACTION has long advocated the idea of a national labor congress to achieve working united action by the trade-union movement of the nation. We think the typographers have put the finger on an idea with tremendous potential power and significance, if they really put their weight behind it. We think it's an idea that ought to be splashed in headlines over every union newspaper in the country.

SPARKPLUGS NEEDED

How serious the ITU itself is—that is, how important their leaders think it is and how far they intend to go in furthering it—we do not know. And though their action in convention is to be hailed, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE GOAL DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE ITU.

It is going to be put across only if thousands of rank-and-file militant unionists—as well as business agents, shop stewards, committeemen, labor paper editors and any other kind of leader in the unions—go out and sparkplug the move in their own locals and internationals.

There isn't a worker in the country who doesn't understand why the labor movement needs "a more perfect union—to provide for the common defense." During the past year we saw the spectacle of a wave of strikes—hard-fought strikes into which workers poured guts and sacrifice, strikes whose success or failure meant much to the labor movement—breaking out in different sectors of industry, at different times, with different policies. Each group of workers fought by themselves, and either went down by themselves or registered inadequate gains as compared to what SHOULD be possible for the strongest labor movement in the world.

On ceremonial occasions the labor leaders love to talk about the "army of labor." But the labor movement has not behaved like an army. At best it has carried on guerrilla operations. The difference lies in COORDINATION, the great power of STRIKING TOGETHER.

And precisely in the coming period, that quality is likely to be needed more than ever before!

There is stormy weather ahead in

(Continued on page 2)

N.Y. Petition Campaign Moves Beyond Required Minimum

NEW YORK—With a final mobilization of campaign workers Friday night to circulate petitions, the Workers Party officially closed its drive to place Emanuel Gellman on the ballot as a candidate for Congress in the 19th Congressional District on New York's East Side.

The number of signatures obtained is well beyond the legally required minimum of 3000. How closely the safety margin goal of 6000 signatures, set by the campaign committee, has been approached will be determined by

a careful count to be conducted in the next few days.

In preparing the petitions for presentation to the Election Board before the September 4 deadline, the campaign committee's technical staff is exercising the utmost care to conform to all requirements of the law.

It is anticipated that, as in the past, every conceivable technicality will be used by the Election Board in an effort to rule the Workers Party candidate off the ballot. The staff is therefore trying to plug every possible loophole.

That way is democratic socialism. Look into it—get into it—FIGHT FOR IT!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Seamen Face New Hiring Hall Fight

By N. R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Aug. 24—During the past two weeks both the National Maritime Union (CIO) and the Seafarers International Union (AFL) have signed agreements with their contracted companies. The AFL membership meetings were unanimous in their acceptance last week and the NMU membership meeting in the various ports last night also accepted the work of its negotiating committee.

The gains in both cases were moderate—an over-all \$12.50 a month increase for most ratings. The AFL got \$25 for bosuns but surrendered the

guaranteed overtime clause which usually comes to more than the above. The NMU obtained \$30.32 for its freighter bosuns. More important was the \$18.42 monthly increase the NMU obtained for able seamen, look-outmen, quartermasters and masters-at-arms.

In examining NMU and SIU wage rates now one finds that for the first time in years, because of the upward revision of certain NMU rates, they are almost exactly the same. In the past SIU rates were slightly higher.

Other minor gains were scored but working conditions were not im-

proved by the new agreements. By and large the AFL union still has the better set of working rules but, as with the past disparity in wage rates, it is assumed by most that the new rank-and-file leadership of the NMU will set itself the goal of really improving the working rules under its contract.

As to the hiring-hall question, both contracts provide for maintenance of the status quo. The SIU agreement contains the previous clauses with insignificant modification, while the NMU agreement maintains the traditional method of hiring "until the matter is ruled on by a court of com-

petent jurisdiction." This has been generally taken to mean a Supreme Court decision. Indication as to the eventual outcome of the court case was given last week by the National Labor Relations Board. In its ruling on the Great Lakes dispute it said that the NMU hiring hall was illegal under the Taft-Hartley Law since they found that the hall discriminated against non-union seamen. Nevertheless the status quo is being observed by the shipping companies.

Thus, for the time being, the attempts of the shipowners to smash the hiring setup has been frustrated. However, in the case of the NMU, the barricades erected against further attempts to weaken the hiring hall are built on sand since it depends too much on the decisions of the big-business-minded courts.

The SIU has thus far successfully stayed off shipowners' suits before the NLRB by engaging in limited and well-timed job actions against any company that sought to bring such suits. While these methods are useful and effective at this stage, a final decision by the courts against the hiring hall will leave the SIU in much the same position as its sister maritime unions.

Now that the Stalinists have been voted out of the leadership by the rank and file of the NMU, nothing should stand in the way of a real joint-strategy conference of all maritime unions which would plan and prepare for the full-scale war seafaring unions will have to wage in defense of their most sacred possession.

The back of maritime unionism would be broken without the present union control of hiring, which represents the most democratic and advanced achievement any section of the labor movement in this country has made. For any leader of seamen to sow any confidence among sailors in the eventual ruling of the courts on this question would constitute betrayal of the great strike struggles of 1934-37.

Coast Farm Strike Tests T-H Law

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 20—An early Supreme Court test of the constitutionality of nearly all provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act is in the making in a case being considered by the National Labor Relations Board at hearings in Los Angeles. These hearings are now in their third week.

A local of the National Farm Labor Union (AFL), on strike against the hundred-million-dollar Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation ranch near Bakersfield, Calif., two locals of the Teamsters Union and one of the Winery & Distillery Workers Union are accused of violating the secondary boycott provisions of the act.

The NLRB is conducting hearings to determine whether or not a temporary federal court injunction shall be made permanent and the unions penalized for violating the law.

The union attorneys have challenged the right of the Labor Board to enjoin peaceful picketing. Alleged to be a secondary boycott. In this case they maintain that not only are the charges unfounded but that the unions have a right to picket, which is as elemental a right as free speech.

They are also attacking the rule of labor unions by government injunction issued at the request of an NLRB employee on suspicion that the law is being violated, when the law gives no opportunity to the unions to challenge the issuance of a federal court injunction.

The union's lawyers have bitterly denounced a practice permitted in the Los Angeles hearing of allowing the counsel for the corporation to assist the NLRB attorneys in trying the government's case. At one point, the union attorneys threatened to walk out of the hearings when it was shown that the government's witnesses had been duped by their employer, with the connivance of the National Labor Relations Board, into signing affidavits and swearing falsely against the unions in federal court. One such witness admitted perjury on cross-examination.

Other issues at stake are the discriminatory features of the Taft-Hartley Act, which exempts agricultural workers from any by-product benefits of its provisions but at the same time penalizes their organization. Appeals have been made to the board in Washington for a ruling as to what constitutes a labor organization in the meaning of the law.

H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union, issued the following statement as the NLRB hearings started in their third week: "We believe that more is at stake

than the welfare of 1,100 poorly paid farm workers in California. We feel that if this law can be used by an employer to destroy a union of agricultural workers, then it can be used to break any kind of labor organization. We are anxious to see whether or not the U. S. Supreme Court intends to smash all labor organizations in the U.S.A. as the Labor Board seems determined to smash the National Farm Labor Union."

Meanwhile the strike of the Di Giorgio workers goes into its eleventh month, with pickets on the 20-mile-long line about the ranch holding their own in spite of beatings, shootings, arrests, frame-ups and government injunctions. Word has been received that James Price, president of the local union on strike, has now recovered from gun-shot wounds inflicted by hired gunmen in an attempt to assassinate the strike leaders on May 17. Back on the picket line, Price said: "No matter how the case turns out, with the help of organized labor, we intend to fight this thing to a finish. It's fight or starve for us, and we know we can't give up."

Cleveland Vets Protest Draft Setup

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, Aug. 22—With the actual drafting of young men in preparation for World War III just a few weeks ahead, one of the larger veterans' organizations in Cleveland has blasted the draft board setup.

The Cuyahoga County (greater Cleveland area) Council of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has refused to cooperate with the local boards in registering men, charging that politics played a large part in draft-board appointments and that veterans received little representation. The VFW failed to point out an even greater bias in regard to labor participation.

County Commander Morton Icove wrote a strong protest to President Truman, demonstrating that of the 41 men appointed to the county's 14 draft boards, only 16 were veterans, with three boards having no vets. He also objected that, out of the 41, 32 are registered Republicans, six are Democrats and three are not registered. The president appointed these men on the recommendation of Ohio's Republican Governor

Thomas Herbert, who in turn had asked for the advice of two Cleveland judges, both of whom are Republicans.

The governor and judges have already denied the charges, claiming it is only a coincidence. This isn't a matter of political patronage, they say—it only happens accidentally that 80 per cent of the appointees belong to our gang!

While the charges concerning politics and veteran representation made front-page news in Cleveland, no one bothered to protest that practically all appointees were doctors, lawyers, ministers, a few businessmen and several ward leaders. With working-class youth bearing the biggest burden of the draft, they have no one from their group, not even anyone who could qualify as being in sympathy with them, to hand down the rulings as to who goes and who doesn't. Still this is publicized throughout the land as the "democratic way," the "American way," whereby men are sent into the armed forces by their peers.

For the past week Cleveland

housewives have joined with their sisters in other cities in the strike against sky-high meat prices. The Cleveland movement was started by the local Women for Wallace Committee but was quickly picked up by other groups and individuals.

While there was very little picketing, the strike must have made a sizable reduction in meat sales, to judge by the whistling-in-the-dark statements of the local butchers' associations. The sales may have gone down, but so far the prices have not.

Some of the women's organizations have called for a continuation of the meat strike. Cleveland has a very large number of workers engaged in heavy industry, and it appears difficult to ask these workers to go without meat of any kind for an extended period. Perhaps a campaign to limit all meat purchases to a certain ceiling, say 59 cents a pound, would be more practical.

This would enable those who need meat to continue to eat it, and would show the meat trust that the consumers were determined to refuse to pay outrageous prices.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By E. R. McKinney

A. Philip Randolph has announced that the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation is being abandoned. This is the group which he set up to urge non-compliance with the draft as long as racial segregation was in practice in the armed forces.

In other words, Randolph and Grant Reynolds are getting out. According to Bayard Rustin, the League will continue to function. Randolph announced that he is giving up the non-violent struggle on the strength of Truman's announced plan to end segregation in the armed forces.

What this means is very difficult to say. It is not easy to say just what the Truman directive means. The chief of staff seems to have a view which is not that held by Senator McGrath, who gave Randolph the assurance as to the meaning of the Truman statement.

Whatever the meaning of the Truman statement, the McGrath interpretation, or Randolph's opinion as to its meaning, this really has nothing to do with the abandonment of the League. This movement was in

a state of abandonment from the day of its founding. We commented on this in LABOR ACTION the first week the movement got under way in a hearing before a Senate committee.

The movement was born in the capitol at Washington and not out in the country where hundreds of thousands of future Negro conscripts reside. It has never had any reality or any real base among Negroes except perhaps among a few pacifists, careerists, publicity seekers and crackpots. It was an attempt to import the essence of the Gandhi movement into the United States for use by American Negroes, in a totally mechanical and artificial manner.

We certainly have not the slightest objection to the importation of movements or ideas. What we objected to was the attempt to organize a Gandhi movement among Negroes who had no background for such a movement: psychologically, socially or politically.

Furthermore we attempted in that same article to explain that it was incorrect to separate army segrega-

tion from any other type of segregation. Also we asked the question whether or not Randolph and his followers were taking the position that they would not oppose the present militarization program if there were no segregation. Or would Randolph support American imperialism provided it was conducted on a non-segregated basis?

There may be other reasons for the abandonment of the League. Perhaps the Stalinists were sneaking in through the Wallace Party, which is being supported by some of the League members.

We said right at the beginning that Grant Reynolds would not be in at the finish unless the finish came in just the manner it has. Reynolds is just an ordinary little Republican pro-Dewey politician. He was merely out to take a rap at Truman in the interests of Dewey and the Republican Party. That was all.

We intend to have more to say on this matter after we have learned more about the developments in the League.

Housewives Rebel Against HCL

"Mama's OPA" Boycotts Meat in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20—Last week, the people of this area witnessed its second petticoat rebellion in six months. The housewives of San Francisco, furious over the skyrocketing prices of meat and the general high cost of living, undertook a week-long boycott of meat.

The telephone campaign which initiated the boycott was started by Mrs. Peter Kavanaugh of San Francisco, a housewife, who in desperation over the rapidly zooming cost of living, decided to intervene. She followed the lead of women in other states, called up people listed in the telephone book, remonstrated about the high price and urged them to boycott meat for a week.

The campaign was quickly taken up by other people and finally took organized form with the intervention of the San Francisco Council for Women Shoppers—a group formed during the recent campaign against the high cost of milk.

The Council was organized by a group of housewives in the Valencia Gardens housing project, after the dissolution of the OPA, in order to exert pressure for continued price controls. The idea spread rapidly to other housing projects and neighborhoods until now there exist shoppers' clubs in many other parts of the city.

Throughout the campaign, the boycott has received much publicity in the daily press and over the radio, although almost invariably the extent and success of the boycott has been underestimated.

Some of the actions which the petticoat rebels have taken to dramatize their boycott have been: a protest picket-line which included 56 mothers and 27 children around Armour's and Swift's packing houses; a radio debate with the meat packers, during which they were told to go home and buy more meat in order

to lower prices; a visit to the mayor to request that he take legislative action to control meat prices. "Hiz-zoner" gave the housewives the standard rundown.

During the time of the boycott, the butchers' contract comes up for renewal. The meat dealers very cleverly took this opportunity to advise the Council that if the butchers were to get a raise it would be necessary to raise the price of meat; if the housewives were opposed to raising the price of meat, they were obviously opposed to a wage increase for the butchers; consequently they, the housewives, were anti-labor and the meat dealers were pro-labor. Clever, eh?

"Mama's OPA," as the Council is commonly called, very correctly replied that the butchers' wage increase could come out of profits already accumulated by the meat industry and that prices could be lowered greatly without affecting the wages of people working in the meat industry. This was an obvious attempt by the meat dealers to set the organized labor movement against the boycott and against price control in general.

TOWARD WORKERS' CONTROL

The boycott itself was enthusiastically supported by the housewives of the city. In some cases it did cause the price of meat to fall temporarily. But the important point of the whole campaign is that the housewives—the consumers of meat—have decided that they too, and not only the meat packers, should have something to say about the price of meat.

Urge Labor Congress —

(Continued from page 1)

the field of the struggle between the classes.

The fact that this is a presidential election year has contributed toward holding the lid down—on both sides. On the side of both labor and capital, there has been a pulling of punches. The Taft-Hartley Law has not yet been used for all it's worth

to the employers; and we say that with full knowledge of the fact that it has already been used to club labor all over the place. The year 1949 is likely to see a new wave of strike struggles all over the country, with the government-employer combine in possession of the T-H apparatus of strike-breaking. The labor movement may well be facing tests greater than any since the end of the war.

In this situation we do not look upon the proposition for a Congress of Labor as merely providing a meeting ground where the top union leaders can chew the fat in negotiations for AFL-CIO unity, important as that is. We look upon it as a channel through which the labor movement can make provision for a GENERAL STAFF of the army of labor in face of the looming battles, provision for coordinating the strategy of labor in the contest. And this is also a road toward overcoming all obstacles in the path of labor unity itself.

There is one other consideration, which is NOT included in the ITU statement, but which—whether the top leaders like it or not—is bound to come up as soon as the aim of unity becomes a reality. That is the fact that it is not enough to unite labor's force on the ECONOMIC field.

A united American labor movement would be MORE than merely the largest labor organization in the world. It would be the largest organization of any kind in the world. (We are not including the Russian "trade unions," since we do not consider the inmates of a prison as being "mem-

bers" of an "organization.") It would be the strongest social force in the United States. It would also be MORE than merely the sum of the strength of the AFL, CIO and independent unions—unity itself will add, to these forces, an "X" quantity which is immeasurable.

It is groups such as these that the working people must organize and develop as a way of struggling against capitalism's attack on their living standards.

"Mama's OPA" has decided to continue its battle against the high price of meat by boycotting all meat over 65 cents a pound and by calling upon trade unions and other working people's groups for cooperation and support.

One woman said in support of this idea: "We know that the boycott is not enough to bring prices down, but we know also that the housewives are a very powerful group in the United States. It is foolish for them to confine their power to just housewives' groups. Consider how much more powerful they would be if they could get the full cooperation and support of the trade unions. Just think of what would happen if after being approached, the workers in the meat industry—the slaughterers, packers and curers—all the people who take care of killing and preparing meat for the market, decided to support the price campaign to the extent of refusing to handle meat any more until its price came down to a certain point—if they simply walked out and refused to touch it. Prices would have to come down then, wouldn't they?"

For such a giant power to toddle along behind the Democrats and Republicans while whining complainingly would be fanstastic. The ITU justly links up the necessity for a Congress of Labor with the struggle against the Taft-Hartley Law. But the T-H battle was not won by the bosses on the economic field. They won it through THEIR political parties—the Democrats and Republicans. The very phraseology which the ITU adopts—a CONGRESS of labor—points to the fact that labor must organize like its enemy—POLITICALLY, in its OWN party, a LABOR PARTY.

UNITE POLITICALLY TOO!

We have singled out the ITU proposal this week—in spite of the fact that it did not make the scareheads in the metropolitan press—because it points the road. But it is incomplete. To it we have to add the call to action issued by Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers—with all its defects, which we noted in last week's LABOR ACTION—in order to fill out the picture: the call for a NEW PARTY, a new party which must not be merely another third capitalist party but a genuine PARTY OF LABOR'S INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.

For a Congress of Labor called by the trade unions, to an official Congress of labor, a workers' government, in the capital—to travel that road requires a national economic strategy and a national party set up by the labor movement on the political field. That way the test ahead can be met.

PROS AND CONS: A Discussion Corner

Calls Statement On ERP Weak

Much of the LABOR ACTION discussion on the Marshall Plan has been about secondary related issues, rather than specifically about aid to Europe. The result is that no matter what position one takes one finds allies who have presented extremely uncomfortable arguments and have inclinations toward other positions that are not acceptable.

The European Recovery Plan is not a diabolically-engineered scheme for American political and economic domination; it is a means for maintaining a domination that automatically ensued from the state of the world after the war, and for increasing that edge for the showdown with the only serious rival—Stalinist Russia. U. S. is the country with the wealth, in all phases of economic life, to send material for European recovery. The East-West split has accentuated the American preeminence.

Economically, it was hoped that world dominance would allow for a sufficient export of goods and capital funds to keep production and economic health at a high peak. Politically, the continuation of top-peak industrial activity in the States, plus the American help toward the overwhelmingly industrially superior "American" sector of Europe, would cow Russia into acceptance of the "American century."

Some of this hope has been realized. Western Europe, with the exception of Germany, is at least up

to pre-war industrial production. Susan Green is completely wrong when she credits the industrial revival to the Marshall Plan. I suggest that she and those who agree with her read the statistics as of last summer.

But that has not meant economic health. The continued low level of production in ever-important Western Germany has been an obvious serious drawback. Agricultural produce is only now approaching pre-war figures. The Iron Curtain separation of the industrial West and the agricultural East has likewise been very injurious to living standards. And production figures do not tell the entire story, since so much of what is now produced must go into reconstruction. Imports, particularly in raw materials, had to come from non-European countries, overwhelmingly led by the U. S.

At best, the desire of the leaders in Western European countries was to shove production very high, export a large proportion, and use the return from these sales to purchase from the U. S. Even very productive Britain has not been able to thus satisfy its needs and has had to liquidate much of its income from foreign investments. And there was absolutely no way for Germany to do any importing on the basis of its current production.

A system of American loans helped for a while. But, especially with American inflation, these were soon exhausted. To even keep American exports at anything like previous

amounts, to further continue the economic revival of Western Europe as a good market, to politically defeat the local Stalinists and to prepare an industrial and military European base against Russia, the new form of extending credit was devised. (I am intentionally ignoring the sending of military aid under the Truman Doctrine, an integral but not identical feature of the over-all scheme.)

BASIC OUTLINE

The basic outline of the plan is simple. The U. S. government provides credit for participating countries and enterprises to make purchases in America. In return for these grants, the U. S. assumes overall control of their use, designed to continue American political and economic dominance, even at the expense of the recipient nations. The details have been many times covered in LABOR ACTION, The New International and other publications.

The position adopted by the National Committee (of the WP) states categorically that it is against the entire business as part of the drive of American imperialism to effectively encompass the world. The original Political Committee line was opposition to the specific Marshall Plan but for some form of aid. At present, the task would be to attempt to alter the administration of the plan in the direction of popular control and the elimination of strings. There was much else included in the original resolution, much that I do not like. Many of its supporters have present-

ed dangerous arguments. Nevertheless, it is the more tenable of the two positions.

The National Committee line is unequivocally against credit for industrial rehabilitation from capitalist U. S. to capitalist Europe. As an internationalist, I cannot see it. It's simple arithmetic. At present, capitalist Europe needs American material; it cannot buy because of shortage of American dollars. Grants or loans are therefore necessary. The NC line is against any aid; it therefore appears as purely negative, inferior even to the Stalinist-Wallace line of aid through UN. It has actually already been effectively attacked as being against European rehabilitation.

At present, we cannot change national policy. But we can gain support for a meaningful political pro-

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By JACK RANGER

Notes on Next M-Day

A few weeks ago in Chicago the armed forces' Industrial College held a special, semi-secret two-week industrial and economic mobilization course for big businessmen.

Only one newspaper, the Chicago Journal of Commerce, covered the event, and that paper was permitted to discuss only certain portions of the information divulged.

The student body consisted of 140 "civilian conferees"—executives from seven banks, two large merchandising firms, four utilities, five railroads and 80 manufacturing and other companies, together with seven universities.

Competition among industrialists to attend was reported "very keen," the reason no doubt being that attendance would place a halo of "know how" around the persons and companies represented, and would also give them "connections" with the nation's military leaders in charge of placing war orders.

It is significant that the favored companies were instructed to send not their chiefs but the "heirs apparent" in the next decade. This might indicate that the U. S. political and military leaders do not contemplate any immediate armed conflict with Stalin's government.

TOOLING UP FOR WAR

Army lecturers revealed that the productive capacity of 7,780 American manufacturing plants had already been tentatively allocated to one or more of the three military services in the program of economic mobilization which began last winter.

The allocation process includes a concrete agreement providing for the major part of a plant's industrial capacity to produce a specific item of munitions at a specific rate of output, according to the Journal. The corps of engineers is planning requirements for a period described as M-Day plus two years, and is vigorously pushing the allocation program through six area procurement offices.

In preparation for the coming war, the Army-Navy Machine Tool Committee has set itself the objective of stockpiling 182,000 tools as a national reserve. In addition to the equipment already acquired, the military has impounded in cosmine the war production machine tools of 151 large plants.

(Naturally these war preparations do not bring sobbs from the machine-tool builders. The last war saved their financial necks. In the depression years their annual sales went down to only \$22,000,000. By 1942 sales had increased 65-fold, to \$1,320,000,000, and in 1947 were at a level above \$300,000,000.)

One of the most interesting talks must have been that made by Lt.-Col. James Massey. He warned his audience that if the armed forces and industry consumed as much of the nation's natural resources in another war as they did in the Second World War, "we'll be bankrupt. We wasted as much as we used."

BEDROCK ECONOMY

If and when the United States is called upon to fight another major war, the American standard of living will be cut to bedrock, he said. Massey and other brass made it clear that the civilian economy would take second place in the war. Commander W. T. Greenhalgh said that the conversion to "bedrock economy" would be "quick, brutal and absolute."

The lectures on manpower were not reported, but they must have hinted at plans ominous for the future of the labor movement and of civil liberties.

Apparently, the bankers, industrialists, politicians and military men are seriously concerned about the possibility of a "collapse of the home front" in the event the nation suffers the rigors of atomic war. Commander Gold said that present planning was directed solely toward victory, "with the single reservation that the home front must be guarded against collapse, as the civilian economy of Germany collapsed in earlier years."

That is the classic position of the capitalist class in wartime: Victory is possible, but by all means hold the lid down at home.

As in the last war, it is probable that the political leaders of the nation will not be able to apply a rigid, preconceived plan designed to strap the people into the straightjacket of war. Rather it will be an inch-by-inch affair, with democratic rights and civil liberties being progressively withdrawn. At the rate events are moving—Taft-Hartleyism, Goldsborough injunctions, red-baiting, the draft, both parties committed to universal military training—the process has already been set in motion.

Read and Subscribe to LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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NORMAN THOMAS STILL A SPOKESMAN FOR PINK SOCIALISM

By SUSAN GREEN

In spite of political differences with the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have advised sympathizers and readers to vote for the candidate of any one of these parties in the coming presidential election, since the Workers Party itself is not in a position this year to run its own candidate.

But the political criticisms that the Workers Party makes of these other groups requires presentation so that those who are sincerely working for a socialist world may judge what kind of program is most likely to bring a socialist victory. It is for this reason that the acceptance speech of Norman Thomas at Reading, Pa., on May 8, 1948, delivered as presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, needs to be scrutinized by all socialists.

PEACE, PEACE—BUT HOW?

Certainly no fault can be found with Candidate Thomas when he says that the "great concern in this campaign must be with the winning of peace."

"Any politician is a liar," said Thomas, "who will promise the people to stop price inflation or to provide them with houses, hospitals and schools, if annually from 20 to 30 billion dollars' worth of resources and human energy are to be wholly withdrawn from the satisfaction of human needs to the provision of more gigantic instrumentalities for mass destruction." Good, sound words, Candidate Thomas.

"And—I say it weighing my words—any militarist is a liar, or at least dangerously deceived, who says that there will be protection in such hysterical armament, or that the denial of liberty implicit in peacetime military conscription will contribute to our national safety. On the contrary, it makes more war likely." Again, one hundred per cent perfect!

Since Candidate Thomas has stated the war issue so irrefutably and has brushed aside all other issues as subordinate, eagerly one wants to know how Norman Thomas and his party are going to work for peace. What is their program to lead the people to peace, to end the mad expenditure of human effort for destruction, to terminate the threat of annihilation by atomic warfare?

Again, here are the words of Candidate Thomas: "Of course abiding peace requires world government. But world government will be either impossible or else a monstrous tyranny unless it is based on a democracy of race relations and economic and political controls beyond our immediate grasp. But not beyond our attainment, perhaps sooner than we think, if we will seek peace as passionately as we have waged war." So now Thomas has made the form of world peace more concrete: world government embodying bona fide political and economic democracy.

BLURRING CLASS LINES

"World government" is now a phrase employed by most well-intentioned capitalist liberals. Socialists, on the other hand, have placed their hopes in the international brotherhood of socialist nations, which gradually would develop into higher forms of internationalism as the whole idea of nationalism loses meaning and use.

This socialist version of internationalism is based, first and foremost, upon the abolition of the capitalist system and exploitation in the nations and the establishment of socialist workers' governments. But Candidate Thomas, along with the well-intentioned capitalist liberals, thinks there can be some magic way of getting their world government without the awful bother of the working people of the nations getting rid of their respective capitalist governments.

To quote further from Candidate Thomas' speech: "... America through her every voice, official and unofficial, should cry out to the nations of the world. . . . Before waiting to find out what official and unofficial 'America' should cry out, we pause, for there is already something wrong. There is an America which is the sum total of the politicians, the militarists, the capitalists, the imperialists, whom Thomas so rightly blasts, and there is an America which is the mass of working people.

But Thomas does not base his hope on the working people recognizing themselves as a class distinct from the rest. He does not call on the working people of America to cry out to the working people of Europe. It has always been and still is typical of the Socialist Party to blur class lines. That is why, in a crisis, the reformist Socialist Parties have so often gone over to the side of those very politicians and imperialists whom Candidate Thomas calls liars.

LIBERALISTIC SOCIALISM

They preach the hope of a world dedicated to peace and plenty without preaching the necessity of a revolutionary transformation which will eliminate imperialism and its power conflicts.

Thus Candidate Thomas and the Socialist Party are still among those political antediluvians who after World War I believed in the League of (Imperialist) Nations, and who now, after World War II, place their hope in the United (Imperialist) Nations.

As a matter of fact, the one concrete idea contained in the whole speech reveals Candidate Thomas' reliance on the United Nations. He desires the official and unofficial voice of America to cry out to the world: "We want reform to make the United Nations effective in providing security."

After the performance of the United Nations and the damning revelation of its character, Candidate Thomas' optimism about reforming it—for no less a purpose than to bring security to the world—is exactly tantamount to the Socialist Party's unchanging hopefulness about reforming capitalism itself in spite of the fully exposed innate rottenness of that system.

There are plenty of capitalist liberals who give out with phrases about reform. Socialists—real socialists—have a different job: to bring to the fore the necessity for a SOCIALIST world before man's hopes of peace and security can be achieved. A "socialism" which makes itself indistinguishable from liberalism—like Candidate Thomas—is simply a piece of futility.

WORLD POLITICS

NATIONALIZATION IN BRITAIN

"The Revolution must go on or the nation will perish." Thus wrote Michael Foot, editor of the Tribune and one of the left Labor MPs, in a recent issue of that magazine.

With these words the agitated but hardly agitational MP urged the Labor government to carry out its election promise to nationalize the iron and steel industry.

It is, of course, only too patently true that without thoroughgoing root-and-branch revolutions radically transforming and overturning capitalist society, it will not only be the British nation which will perish, but the whole world will collapse in wreck and ruin. We thank our lucky stars that Michael Foot has seen the necessity for the "revolution" to go on.

But for Comrade Foot to label the present policies of the British Labor government as revolutionary is to make absurd and nonsensical all that this concept embraces. Michael Foot may mean well, but he is only engaging in the current practice of corrupting the crystal-clear definitions and concepts of Marxian socialism, to which the Tribune sometimes pays tardy respect.

REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND?

A social revolution—as precisely and scientifically developed and formulated by Marxists (in strict opposition to all flamboyant demagogic and distorted usages) is the transfer of state power from one class to another. The socialist revolution is the act whereby all the poor and exploited, led by the working class, in a great burst of revolutionary and intolerable energy, smash all the old intolerable shackles and institutions, and by winning political supremacy take into their own hands the new machinery of power they have theretofore created. With political supremacy in their hands and operating through their own unique democratic organs of power—i.e., workers' councils—the revolutionary working class wrests all economic power from the grasp of the former dominant capitalist ruling class.

By so doing, the working class together with all the poor masses establish their control both of the state and of the new socialized or state-owned or nationalized economic resources—without compensation creating a new society.

This, in brief outline, is what we understand by the term "revolution." Nothing of the sort has, of course, taken place in Britain.

The British Labor government has, contrary to expectations, carried out its full nationalization program and has introduced some very prominent reforms and modifications in the previous pattern of British capitalist society. Jutted forward by the masses, who are fed up with the mismanagement and crippled "enterprise" of Tory rule, the Labor government has completed the nationalization of coal, gas, electricity and transport. But these changes can by no stretch of the imagination be classified as revolutionary.

The measures have resulted concretely in the displacement of various decayed and superfluous capitalist groupings, but they are essentially designed to reinforce and bolster the compellingly competitive struggle that British capitalism is forced to wage in order to survive in the world market. The tremendous amount of capital required for the modernization of all these primary industries and their re-equipment to serve those industries directly engaged in the do-or-die export drive can only be supplied by the state. The first annual report of the nationalized coal industry, for example, stated that the board is calculated to have lost just over 20 million pounds. This loss is, at the present moment made good by a subsidy from the state. But the board is expected to pay its way over a period of years.

NEW BUREAUCRACY ARISES

The nationalization measures have also introduced a new element in British society. By creating new controllers of these key segments of the economy, which—when steel and iron and its accessory industries are nationalized—will total over 20 per cent of the national economy, there has come into being a new and significant social stratum operating both within capitalism and butting against it. This stratum expresses the social interests of the labor bureaucracy on the one hand (temporarily in control of the state machine) and of the new managerial bureaucracy (including the trade-union bureaucracy) on the boards of the nationalized industries. These nationalization measures awaken new potentialities of power in their initiators and managers, which cannot be overlooked or disregarded.

In Britain the new socio-economic formations occurring under the Labor government are not the products of a social-revolutionary development, but rather of the decay and bank-

ruptcy of capitalism and the resultant pressure for the direct intervention of the state as the chief regulator and representative of the over-riding "national interests" of the capitalist economy as a whole. It has been reported that the management of nationalized industries may form a new federation of their own. This federation of nationalized industries would be a very powerful body and would represent the nationalized industries in any government talks to industry, and would also be represented on various other production and advisory councils.

The new bureaucratic strata fulfill a double function. They serve the over-all interests of the still ruling capitalist class and, naturally, in the process of so doing, feather their own nests.

In spite of all this, however, it must be said that the reform measures introduced by the Labor government are tangible and already felt. Wages for workers in many industries, particularly in the coal mines, have risen appreciably, although they do not keep pace with the rising cost of living. Rationing has secured for the workers a greater share of essential commodities than they have had before. Old-age pensions have been increased. Improved benefits and conditions have been instituted in relation to industrial injury and industrial disease. And a really comprehensive national health service, open to all ages regardless of any insurance qualifications and without payment, was recently put into effect.

TORIES PREPARE TO FIGHT

The nationalizations already completed were so necessary that even the capitalist class had to stomach them. But nowadays their bite turns at any further measures. The nationalization of the steel industry, one of the chief citadels of capitalist power, is becoming the chief political issue of the forthcoming general election. The capitalist class is now reorganizing all its forces in Parliament and in the House of Lords to resist any further encroachments on its private and monopolistic ownership. The future of the British Labor Party and the future of its experiments in its extensive nationalization program depend upon the outcome of the next electoral battle against the Tories, in 1950.

B. SHERMAN

(Continued next week)

Tito - Kremlin Fight

(Continued from page 1)

form break. These letters, containing correspondence between the Central Committees of Yugoslavian and Russian Communist parties, are supposed to show that the underlying causes of the break were: Tito's desire to have the USSR embark upon war in order to secure Trieste for Yugoslavia and, on the other hand, his apparent expression of neutrality in the event of war between the United States and the USSR.

The Russian circulated letters also include "evidence" that the Titofites were referring to the "degeneration" of the USSR into an imperialistic country trying to "subjugate Yugoslavia economically." The Russians make much of the fact that Trotsky started his opposition with similar attacks against the Fatherland. The Yugoslavs, who have picked up so many weapons from the same arsenal, retort by describing the "similarity" between the murdered pro-Russian Yovanovitch and the purged Russian Marshall Tukachevsky.

At the spot where Yugoslavia most closely touches the outside world, Trieste, the split has received its most official recognition. Although the Russian representatives to the UN have been compelled to unite with Yugoslavia in attacking Great Britain and the U. S. for plotting to turn over the entire city to Italy, Moscow has engineered the creation of a new Trieste Communist Party in that portion of the disputed territory which is under UN control. This new organization, taking its orders from Russia through the Italian Communist Party, is outspokenly divorced from the party in the section under Slovenian control, which is still loyal to Marshall Tito.

FURTHER TROUBLES

From other sectors of Stalinland comes further news of difficulties for the satellite regimes and more attempted "lightening" as their only answer. Professor Philip E. Mosely of Columbia University has asserted that Stalin, at the Potsdam Conference, expressed his regret that he had previously agreed to free elections in Eastern Europe. He feared "a freely elected government in any of these countries would be anti-soviet." Apparently his later fear was much greater than his previous promise.

Czechoslovakia, the brightest and most recently polished jewel of the Stalinist empire, is as turbulent today as every day since the February

coup. A large number of refugees continues to work its way across the border. The latest noteworthy is Dr. Peter Zenkal, vice-premier just a short time ago. The official Czech Communist Party organ admits the seriousness of the domestic economic situation. Their own official figures claim that prices are increasing as much as wages. From the usual habits of totalitarian statisticians, it is fairly safe to assume that workers' living standards are deteriorating.

One of the possible motives behind the Berlin crisis is disclosed by another admission by a Stalinist-controlled newspaper, the official paper of the Stalinist "Socialist Party" of Eastern Germany. This newspaper refers, in passing, to a "below average 1948 harvest," with a promise that Russia "would close the gap for a certain period."

The most fascinating tidbit from behind the Iron Curtain this week comes from Moscow's "Pravda" itself. The all-knowing Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has formally decreed that the "Western and bourgeois" theories of heredity are to be excluded from Russian schools and laboratories. They are to be replaced by the theories of one Professor Lysenko, who has won his "political battle" against most other Russian biologists.

Professor Lysenko may be right, though few scientists in the world, including those in his own country, seem as yet to agree with him. But it is only in the fantastic totalitarian hothouse of Stalinland that biological theory becomes a subject for acrimonious debate, to be ultimately decided by the highest political body and its gunmen.

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THE H.C. OF L. GETTING DOWN TO THE MEAT OF IT.

By GORDON HASKELL

"Say," says my friend Jack to me the other day, "what do you think of this here women's strike against the high price of meat?"

"I think it's about time," I says, "that the women of this country got themselves organized and did something. Men too," I says.

"But what good can this boycott do?" says Jack. "After all, folks got to eat meat, especially if they work hard. The way I see it, as long as wages and profits and everything else is sky-high, a one-week or even two-week boycott of meat ain't going to do much except maybe to run a few butchers out of business who are operating on a shoestring anyway."

"Well," I says, "it's true that as long as the big meat packers and big ranchers and the railroads are allowed to make a fortune in profit out of the needs of the people, the boycott ALONE isn't likely to bring the price down much and KEEP it down. That's true."

"Well," says Jack, "what can they do that will actually bring the price of meat and everything else the people need, down to where ordinary folks can call their kids to the table without feeling ashamed of themselves?"

"Lots of things," I says. "For instance, once they are organized to boycott meat, housewives can begin to really find out just what causes high prices. Their committees go to the butcher shop or the meat packers and demand lower prices. Everyone tells them: 'It's not my fault. Go to the next guy up the line.' The housewives can say to each one: 'Maybe you're right. Let's have a look at your books so we can see for ourselves whether you are a lousy profiteer or just a victim of circumstances beyond your control.'"

"You know how far they'd get with that kind of talk," says Jack. "They would just be told to go chase themselves. No packing house is going to open its books to any housewives' committee."

"All right," says I. "But every refusal just drives one more spike into the lie that they all peddle when they say: 'It's not my fault, it's the next guy.' Then the housewives' committees can go to the politicians of all parties and say: 'The meat people have been giving us the runaround. They won't open their books, which proves they've got something to hide. The government can force them to lower prices. We demand you do something at once.'"

"But that won't get them anywhere either," says Jack. "You know damned well the politicians won't do anything to hurt their buddies who own the big packing houses."

"Then there is only one place the housewives can go where they can get some real support, my friend, and that's to the labor movement. We of the Workers Party tell them to go there from the start, while they are doing all these other things to expose the profiteers and their stooges in the government."

"But what can the labor movement do for them?" asks Jack. "After all, the unions have a hard enough time just trying to fight off the Taft-Hartley Law and get a few bucks increase in the paychecks."

NEED TIE-UP WITH LABOR

"The labor movement can do plenty," says I. "They are up against the same proposition as all the consumers when they go up for their wage demands. The employers always say: 'We can't do anything for you . . . circumstances beyond our control . . . we have to pay high prices . . . if we give you your demands we will have to raise our prices . . . And when the unions say: 'Open your books and prove it,' as the General Motors workers did a couple of years back, they are told that they are a bunch of reds who should mind their own business."

"The unions are finding out, just like the housewives' committees, that as long as they have no political power they can't get to first base with the employers, even though they first raise now and then. More and more they are finding out, like the consumers' committees, that as long as they don't have political power, their power to bargain collectively or to boycott the profiteers is like the power of an eight-cylinder engine with four cylinders conked out."

"Well," says Jack, "then it seems that if these consumer committees could get together with the unions they would have to form a political party before they could get anywhere."

"That's right," says I, "and that's just what the Workers Party tells them. A political party based on the organized strength of the labor movement and backed by organized consumers' groups and small farmers and professional people would be an unbeatable combination. With such a party in office there would be something these consumers and the workers could do besides just striking or boycotting. They would have the political power to enforce their will on the meat gougers and their sidekicks who are raising the prices of clothing and housing and everything else."

"Well," says Jack, "I can see that you have a job figured out for these housewives' meat committees that most of the women in them never even dreamed about. What makes you think they will ever go for the kind of thing you are talking about, even though it may sound reasonable enough to me?"

LEARNING THROUGH FIGHTING

"I think they will go for it," I says, "because they will see for themselves that their boycott isn't enough to do the job. These women have proved that they can get hit up enough about a major social problem like high prices to get out of their kitchens and offices and jobs and organize themselves for action. That kind of spirit may die down, but as long as the problems exist these gals are going to keep on trying to solve them."

"If what I say about the real cause for the high prices is true, they'll keep on trying things till they hit the right combination. I think that combination is what I have been talking about: a labor party and local committees to run things under a labor government. If I am right, they will see it in time, and they will be doing all kinds of things they never dreamed about when they first started their meat boycott."

"Is that why the Workers Party supports this action even though you know it can't really keep down the price of meat?" asks Jack.

"Yes," I says, "that's why. When the common people are putting up a fight on anything, we want to be there to help them. We are confident that in the course of their fight they will learn more than we can teach them by just talking and writing. But we are there not only to help in whatever the immediate issue is, but also to preach the idea of a workers' government and workers' control as the real answer to their problems."

For the 8th Anniversary of the Old Man's Death Leon Trotsky — As Others Saw Him

At School Under Czarism

Mrs. Spencer [Trotsky's aunt] put on her bonnet and coat and appeared early in that office the next morning to know why her boy should be expelled from school.

"Bronstein!" said the old German [principal]. "You want us to take that boy back? Let me tell you that's a bad boy. He has all the boys in the school under his power. That boy is going to be a dangerous member of society. We don't want him here."

"How can you say that about a child eleven years old!" said Mrs. Spencer.

"Madam, I have an experienced eye. I tell you that when that boy grows up he will be dangerous."

"But you have no right to deprive such a brilliant child of an education."

"Oh, he is brilliant all right. That's just the trouble."

(Max Eastman: Leon Trotsky, the Portrait of a Youth)



On August 21, 1940, the greatest revolutionary working-class leader of our day was murdered by Stalin's GPU.

Leon Trotsky died as he had lived—an uncorrupted fighter for the socialist revolution, for civilized man's future, against decaying capitalism and against Stalinism.

Eight years after his death his loss to us and to socialism is still felt. But—and we say this without any cultist hero-worship, for we had important differences with his views—the legacy of Marxist theory and political insight which he left behind is still our most precious possession. And the essence of that legacy is the unshakable conviction:

Capitalism and Stalinism—the twin enemies of the working class and of man—are doomed. They are doomed because men will never stop fighting for freedom and for the new life of peace and plenty which lies ahead. The class struggle for socialism goes on today in every corner of the globe. And its victory will be the greatest memorial erected to the name of Leon Trotsky.

By Lincoln Steffens

Trotsky's mind is the international mind. . . . Trotsky is against all the present governments of Europe, and the "bourgeois system" everywhere in the world. He isn't pro-Allied; he isn't even pro-Russian. He isn't a patriot at all. He is for a class, the proletariat, the working people of all countries, and he is for his class only to get rid of classes and get down or up to—humanity. . . .

I find upon inquiry here in New York that while he was living and working as a journalist on the East Side, he refused to write for any paper to the editorial policy of which he could not conform. He would not compromise. He was "stiff-necked," "obstinate," "unreasonable." In other, kinder words, Trotsky is a strong man, with a definite mind and a purpose of his own, which he has the will and the nerve to pursue.

(Preface to "The Bolsheviks and World Peace")

By Joseph Stalin (1918)

All the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the president of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and first of all to Comrade Trotsky.

("The Role of the Most Eminent Party Leaders," Pravda, No. 241, 1918.)

By Karl Radek

Thus, in Trotsky's manner of posing the question, there is the whole secret of his greatness as organizer of the Red Army. . . .

It needed a man, an incarnation of the summons to the struggle, who, submitting himself to the necessity of the struggle, became the bell

which calls to arms, the will which exacts, from all, absolute submission to the great, bloody necessity. Only a man who works as much as Trotsky, only a man who knows how to speak to the soldier as Trotsky spoke, could become the standard bearer of the armed workers. He was all these in one person. . . .

If our party goes down in history as the first party of the proletariat which knew how to build a great army, this baring page of history of the Russian Revolution will always be allied with the name of Lev Davidovich Trotsky. . . .

(Article in Pravda, March 14, 1923)

By Lunacharsky

I always considered Trotsky a big man. . . . The chief external endowments of Trotsky are his oratorical gift and his talent as a writer. I consider Trotsky probably the greatest orator of our times. I have heard in my day all the great parliamentary and popular orators of socialism, and very many of the famous orators of the bourgeois world, and I should have difficulty in naming any of them, except Jaurès, whom I might place beside Trotsky.

Effective presence, beautiful broad gesture, mighty rhythm of speech, loud, absolutely tireless voice, wonderful compactness, literariness of phrase, wealth of imagery, scorching irony, flowing pathos, and an absolutely extraordinary logic, really steel-like in its clarity—these are the qualities of Trotsky's speech. He can speak epigrammatically, shoot a few remarkably well-aimed arrows, and he can pronounce such majestic political discourses as I have heard elsewhere only from Jaurès. I have seen Trotsky talk for two and a half to three hours to an absolutely silent audience standing on their feet, and listening as though bewitched to an enormous political treatise. . . .

It is often said of Trotsky that he is personally ambitious. That is of course pure nonsense. I remember one very significant phrase spoken by Trotsky as the time when Chernov accepted a

place in the government: "What contemptible ambitiousness—to abandon his historic position for a portfolio!" In that you have the whole of Trotsky. There is not a drop of vanity in him. . . .

(Revolutionary Silhouettes, 1923)

By Victor Serge

Only the Old Man remains. He is all the greater since not a drop of the blood that has been shed lies at his door. And he alone remains.

Exiled to Alma Ata; banished to Prinkipo; interned in Norway; the butt of all conceivable insults and the systematic revision of history; his name expunged from the dictionaries and removed from the museums; all his political associates in prison—perhaps massacred tomorrow in one way or another—the Old Man remains as he was in 1903 with Lenin, in 1905 as president of the first Soviet in the first revolution. . . .

The Old Man is only fifty-seven—not so old at that. Everyone thinks of him, since it is forbidden to think of him; and he has everything that the Leader has not: a revolutionary soul, a brilliant pen, and men willing to go through fire with him. . . .

All his life the Old Man has served the revolution with unflinching firmness and devotion. His very mistakes were made with so much honesty and passion that they do not diminish his stature. As early as 1920 he counseled the NEP; in 1922 he was for industrialization; and ever since 1923 for the renovation of the party through inner-party democracy and the struggle against the bureaucracy. In 1927 he foresaw the defeats of the Chinese revolution. In 1931 he stood for the united front of proletarian parties, which might have saved Germany from Nazism; he condemned the "economic adventure" of forced collectivization and the execution of the five-year plan in four years; in 1930 he foresaw that Stalin would decimate Lenin's party.

(From Lenin to Stalin)

Israelis Maneuver —

(Continued from page 1)

iated trade-union movements. These groups seek to give the new state a theocratic, religious character. Politically, they have generally found themselves in de facto alliances with the reactionary, anti-labor Revisionists and the Irgun.

The newest and most spectacular political formation is the "Freedom Movement" formed by M. Beigin, commander of the Irgun. Beigin chose to transform the Irgun into a party rather than work through the existing Revisionist organization for three reasons: (1) the official Revisionist party is too discredited and politically vulnerable; (2) to achieve the most direct and maximum exploitation of the prestige and popularity gained by the Irgun during the fight against the British; (3) to obviate the necessity of sharing political leadership with the old Revisionist leaders. The Irgun's transformation into a political party was quickly imitated by the Stern group.

This gives the Revisionist fathers a real headache. They face the alternatives of liquidating their organization and joining these Irgun and Stern parties or going to the polls as a separate party with an indistinguishable program in the certain knowledge that most of their followers will vote for the Freedom Movement or the Sternist Party. The first is the more probable variant.

VICIOUS CAMPAIGN

As these lines are written all of the ultra-nationalist Revisionist groupings are engaged in a wild agitational campaign of fascist-like slander and hate against the reformist provisional government. Special targets are the reformist-socialist Mapai and its leader Ben-Gurion.

How successful is this campaign? At this writing this cannot be ascertained. It is known that Beigin has been attracting tremendous crowds on his barnstorming tour. There is no way, however, to distinguish between sympathizers and the curious, who come to see the fabled guerrilla leader. One thing is clear. It is naive to underestimate the totalitarian threat to the democratic character of the Israeli state that emanates from this direction.

In the opposite corner of the Israeli political ring is the Mapam (United Workers Party), formed several months ago out of several left-socialist groups: Hashomer Hatzair, Achduth Avodah (a split-off from the Mapai) and the left Poale Zion.

Since its formation this party has become increasingly Stalinized politically. It denounces the pro-West orientation of the Mapai and calls for an exclusive orientation toward an alliance with Russia and the "new democracies." Its support of the Stalinist position in international politics is almost as complete as that of any Communist Party. Its organ sided with the Cominform against Tito.

In domestic politics, the Mapam has many correct criticisms of the reformist leadership of the trade union movement for its conciliatory attitude toward the aggressive bourgeois parties and for failing to face realistically the totalitarian challenge of the Irgun and its allies. Unfortunately, the Mapam is adopting, spontaneously and without outside compulsion, more and more of the Stalinist position.

STALINISTS "HELP ALONG"

The Stalinists understand what is going on in the Mapam and are making every effort to hasten the process. In his dispatch to the Morning Freiheit on June 30, A. B. Magill reports that the CP distributed a letter at the conference of the Mapam (United Workers Party) which said that "there are no great differences existing between the United Workers Party and the Communist Party and that there was no reason why they could not unite on a platform dealing with concrete and immediate problems."

Apparently there seems to be a real likelihood that this proposal will be accepted. In the Palestinian dispatches to the Jewish Morning Journal, August 23, there is a brief, unelaborated report that the Mapam and the CP may form a common electoral bloc.

This voluntary, self-Stalinization is a serious blow to the hope that out of the left socialist-Zionist camp would emerge cadres for a real revolutionary socialist party in Palestine.

While this correspondent will not, at this time, venture to predict the election results, he is inclined seriously to doubt that the Mapam will supersede the Mapai as the strongest party. In this connection a glance at the statistics of the last major election in illuminating. Almost two years ago, 194,000 Jewish voters participated in an election to the World Zionist Congress. The Mapai obtained 70,000 votes (almost 36 per cent) and the groups which now compose the Mapam received 48,000 votes (approximately 25 per cent). The CP is not likely to be a vote-getting asset for the Mapam. In its best show-

ing several years ago its ticket garnered only 3000 votes.

STRENGTH OF STALINISTS

The past unpopularity of the Palestinian Stalinists and their numerical weakness should not, however, lead to an underestimation of the influence of Stalinism in the Israeli labor movement. Those who are entranced by figures alone should remind themselves that, on the eve of the Spanish Civil War, the Spanish CP had no more than 500 members. Yet by exploiting the material aid that Russia gave the Spanish Republic they became a dominant voice in government councils. This, without ever attaining a majority of popular support.

This historical fact is adduced here not to create the impression that the Stalinists are on the verge of becoming the dominant force in Israeli life. They are far away from that. It does, however, point up the threat that Stalinism presents when it finds willing political allies in the mass, working-class parties of a country. This they have found in the leadership of the Mapam, despite the undoubted presence in that party of hundreds of fine militants devoted to the working class and the cause of socialism.

Soapbox Statistics

We see that, according to the Magazine Advertising Bureau, the nation's top advertiser is Procter & Gamble, the soap kings.

Their total expenditure was just under \$28 million in 1947. Hastily taking out our slide rule, we find that said sum is 2,800,000,000 cents. Wheeling up the comptometer, we figure that IF every man, woman and child in the U. S. used P&G soap exclusively (a sales manager's dream), and IF every m. w. and c. used one cake of soap a month (some people do), THEN: about two cents of the price on each cake of soap goes for advertising. There are some rough spots in that calculation, but it will serve to give an idea of the social waste (and cost to the consumer) of what the free enterprisers laughingly call "consumer education."

We'll bet we know what the P&G workers would hear if they asked for a two-cent raise: No s--!

Chapters From a New Pamphlet by Jack Ranger

A Labor Party—A "Must" for American Workers

Chapter 5

Union Leadership and Politics

FOR generations, the union leaders of the United States have accepted the monopoly of political life by big business. They have accepted the perpetuation of the Republican-Democratic system, and have rejected the theory that labor must organize independently on the political field as it has on the economic field. Trade-union politics has been summarized in Gompers' old political slogan, "Reward your friends and punish your enemies."

In effect, the carrying out of this policy has meant that union leaders have sought to encourage the workers to vote for those candidates of either of the old parties designated by the leadership as "progressive," and have sought to discourage the workers from forming a labor party which would run labor's own candidates.

American trade-union officials, alone among the trade-union leaders of the world, have taught for generations that the economic struggles of the workers can be divorced from their political struggles.

Since the days of Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, right down to 1948, the big majority of union leaders have united on the following proposition:

That it is 100 per cent right for workers to organize into labor unions on the economic field, and 100 per cent wrong for workers to organize into a labor party on the political field.

Political Company-Unionism on Way Out

All the leaders agree on this today, no matter what other questions divide them—Green and the AFL Council, Murray and the CIO Executive Board, John L. Lewis, A. F. Whitney, the Stalinists, all of them.

In no other nation in the world is such a backward and ignorant and treacherous union political policy permitted. For generations the workers of England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Australia, New Zealand have had their own labor parties, which from time to time have taken over political leadership of their respective nations.

Whether these labor parties of our fellow workers in foreign lands have pursued policies that were wise or unwise, bold or timid, consistent or inconsistent, is not our subject now. That such labor parties have been successfully organized and have intervened forcefully in politics in the name of the unions is undeniable.

We would be the last to deny and the first to pro-

claim that there are special reasons for this unusual delay (what the professors call this "cultural lag") on the part of the American trade-union movement to arm itself with a labor party. Among the unique forces in U. S. history which have tended to postpone such a development are the following:

The granting of male suffrage on a broad basis in the United States at a comparatively early stage in the nation's history; unparalleled tides of immigration which brought workers of many diverse nationalities to these shores and which, while they enriched the nation and eventually the union movement, at first made it more difficult for labor to achieve unity in action; the existence of a frontier of cheap or free land right up to the turn of this century, to which the dissatisfied city worker could move, relieving class discontent; the anti-political prejudices of important figures in the American labor movement, such as Gompers (founder of the AFL), Bill Haywood and other IWW leaders; the Jim Crow policies of many trade unions, which prevented unity between the white workers and the remaining one seventh of our nation; the greater mobility of the American worker, his willingness when impoverished in one community to try his luck in another; the size of the nation, which has made the building of a nation-wide labor party a formidable task; the narrow craft jealousies of American workers, encouraged by the old union leadership; above all, the ability of the two old capitalist parties to find tools within the union movement willing to serve the Republican-Democratic machine and to perpetuate political company-unionism.

The probability is great that the end of the road for such a politically backward labor policy is fast approaching. The attempt, in our time, to separate the economic struggle from the political is less feasible than ever before.

This is indicated by the fact that administrative decrees or legislative acts are brought into play to cut workers' wages, to raise prices, to open union finances and membership lists to the inspection of the employers, to send the police or the military against labor, to place the weapon of injunction in the hands of the employers, to shift burdensome tax loads from business to labor. So do the progressively deeper depressions, the increasingly destructive wars. Not only will the pressure from labor's ranks for more aggressive action on the political field mount, but the very trade-union leadership which plays bill with the old parties will find its own position increasingly threatened—from these old parties.

The political company-unionism of Green, Murray,

Whitney & Co. is failing utterly to defend the interests of the workers. It isn't paying off in adequate wage levels—nor in security—nor in freedom from war—nor in freedom from oppressive taxation—nor in enhanced civil liberties—nor in freedom from the necessity to strike—nor in a fair break for the Negroes. It hasn't even protected the union movement against a smashing blow like the Taft-Hartley Law—passed, let it always be recalled, by a majority of both Democratic and Republican congressmen.

Three Assumptions of Pressure Politics

Labor's position has greatly worsened since the war's end. Everyone acknowledges this. Something must be radically wrong with the theory of "pressure politics," the theory that labor should continue to "reward its friends and punish its enemies" in the old parties. Let's give this theory the once-over.

Pressure politics as practiced from Gompers' time to today is based upon three major assumptions:

(1) That labor itself is too weak, poorly organized, and outnumbered to launch its own political party.

(2) That the old parties are not the political tools of the capitalists, but are non-class vehicles which are impartially receptive to anyone who wishes to ride them.

(3) That capitalism not only can continue to give the working class what it has given in the past, but can even increase the ante. Or, if it cannot give a decent living to all the workers, at least it can "take care" of the aristocrats of labor.

The first assumption may have had some point prior to 1900. Today it is ludicrous. Today labor is far and away the largest class in the population. The American workers are better organized economically than any other working class in the history of the world.

At its 1947 convention the AFL claimed 7,600,000 members, represented by approximately 100 international unions, 48 state federations of labor, more than 800 city central labor bodies. The CIO convention in 1947 represented 41 international unions, 36 state and 231 city industrial union councils. President Murray reported the total CIO membership to be in excess of six million. There are in addition more than a half million workers organized in the independent railroad unions and a couple of millions organized in other independent unions such as the machinists, brewery workers, telephone workers, etc.

With an apparatus like this, given the will to build a labor party, almost overnight the working class could confront its enemies on the political field with a formid-

able party that would force respect.

We have shown that the second of the assumptions mentioned above is false. The Republican and Democratic Parties belong to big business, which owns them and directs their policies. Labor leaders are permitted to solicit votes for these parties. But they are not permitted to determine party policy.

If it is to the interests of big business to throw this nation into war, both old parties embrace pro-war policies. If the fundamental interests of American capitalism are best served by granting a measure of relief to the unemployed or the aged, such relief is given. If it serves the current needs of American capitalism to cripple the trade unions, a Taft-Hartley Law is passed. Labor has no voice in such decisions.

Capitalism Running Dry

The last assumption, that American capitalism can continue to give the working class what it has given in the past, is equally false. Throughout the world, the capitalist world is on the skids. What the First World War and the 1929-39 depression started, the Second World War pretty well finished. Capitalism with its depressions and wars has brought all of Europe to ruin, and has sapped the system in the United States, as will become shockingly clear at the very start of the next depression.

In Europe and Asia the old economic and political machines of the capitalists can go through the motions of functioning still, fed as they are by billions of dollars which the Republican-Democratic machine syphons out to them. The system is through, all over the world. Only in the United States is capitalism still able to look alive and prosperous, and then only because of the ruination of the rest of the world.

From now on out, American capitalism will be able to give less and less to the American people—less security, fewer of the good things of life, less freedom for the unions, fewer civil liberties. In store for us are higher taxes, increasing militarization, increasing repression, and ultimately—unless the labor party is formed to launch a workers' government in Washington—fascism, the final scourge which capitalism visits upon its victims.

This is the course of politics under capitalism, in all countries: from liberal capitalism, to monopoly capitalism, to fascism. The poorer the country, the more rapidly the cycle is completed.

The cycle can be broken only by labor's active, aggressive, radical intervention in the political life of the nation.