

**Work for a Workers World;  
Join the Workers Party!**

MARCH 22, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

# LABOR ACTION

## Can We Stop War?

It is a question that is on the lips of everyone. It is a question to which more and more people are beginning to feel that there is no answer.

**It is, however, a question that CAN be answered, and answered AFFIRMATIVELY.**

Never before have the mass of people been so resigned to the certainty of war as they are today. Not before World War I. Not before World War II.

Today there is FEAR. And hopelessness.

The fear is right, because the danger of atomic war does threaten. The hopelessness is wrong, because we have it in our power to STOP WAR.

Everywhere there is talk of war, preparation for war. The heads of the military institutions meet in war-planning sessions. The newspapers speak of it. Events indicate it.

**The issue is not whether war will come in five months, or five years. Despite the hysterical talk in Washington, it will likely not come for a few years. But those few years are nothing in the lives of the people—a brief respite of peace between the bombings and battlefields.**

War will come when the imperialists are ready to fight it—a year, five years, ten years—when the manpower and materials are ready. That much is certain—

**UNLESS we act immediately to build those forces that can stand in the way of the war makers, that can offer a real alternative to the systems which breed war.**

Marshall-Truman's program means war. Stalin's program means war. Wallace's program—cut to the measure of the Stalinist strategy in the United States today and dressed up as a "peace" program—means to delay the war by "moderating" U. S.-Russian relations through an agreement to mutually enslave the peoples of the world, each governing in its own sphere.

**There is, however, an answer, a basic, permanent answer to all of this. That answer is SOCIALISM—socialism which destroys the exploitation of man by man, creates the brotherhood of man, and so eradicates the causes which bring war.**

Admittedly, socialism cannot be achieved overnight. We have to build for it, strive for it. Will not war overtake us before we can achieve a socialist society? That depends on us.

In the meantime, working toward socialism, there is much we can do *immediately*. There is today no organized force, speaking for the millions of toilers, which can say: we do not want war!

**To STOP WAR we need such a force—one that is independent of the bankrupt capitalist masters and the Stalinist totalitarians.**

An anti-war movement must be related concretely to the life and strength of the working class.

There are those who chide us with introducing the Labor Party into every discussion. We do not apologize.

**To organize a LABOR PARTY—a party based upon labor's organizations and speaking for the people as a whole—is to speak the class independence of the working class, is to rally the striking force of labor and those who will follow labor in political and social action.**

A LABOR PARTY moving toward the establishment of a workers' government, championing the people's interests along every step of the way, can balk the imperialist war makers by confronting them with a working class dictating its will!

To stop war we must oppose the imperialists of the United States and the slavemasters of Russia. **NEITHER WASHINGTON, NOR MOSCOW!**

To stop war we must oppose such preparations for war as the military training bill.

To stop war we must know what is happening.

**To stop war we must be conscious of our strength, and organized to use that strength.**

**WAR CAN BE STOPPED. AN ORGANIZED, INFORMED, INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS, LEADING THE PEOPLE IN SOCIAL STRUGGLE, CAN STOP IT!**



Not His Way

# TRUMAN'S SPEECH SPURS IMPERIALIST WAR TENSION!

## Says Raiding Will Undermine Anti-Stalinist Forces in UE

By M. BURT

NEW YORK—According to available information, a campaign of large-scale and indiscriminate raiding of the Stalinist-dominated United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE) is about to be launched by Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers, with the unequivocal support of Philip Murray and other top CIO leaders. Advance rumors of the projected raid have already produced widespread disorientation and division among the anti-Stalinist forces in the UE.

The "test runs" conducted by the UAW in the form of minor raiding attempts on UE shops and the sounding out of sentiment among individuals in the UE, have already revealed the many dangers to the labor movement in the proposed raiding policy.

These preliminary raids, and rumors of raids, have furnished the Stalinist administration with additional ammunition in its fight to maintain its control against growing opposition.

### RAIDS CAUSE CONFUSION

The Stalinists are now everywhere making use of a situation to pose as union builders, as opponents of inter-

Instead of a struggle to wrest control of the UE from the Stalinists through a progressive program that could rally the wholehearted support of the membership, they now propose that anti-Stalinist shops and locals abandon the fight for the UE by quitting to join the UAW.

It is doubtful whether the members of many locals will agree to secession. But even if some do, that will merely leave the remaining anti-Stalinist groups that much weaker. In particular, opposition groups in Stalinist-controlled locals will be deprived of the needed support of the non-Stalinist locals. Secession by some sections of the UE will facilitate consolidation of Stalinist control in the remainder.

In the main, those who favor general raiding of the UE by the UAW are unprincipled office-seekers, opportunist schemers and reactionaries such as many of the members of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Unable to evolve an effective program of their own to combat the Stalinists on the basis of the economic and political issues that came before the union, they counsel following the course of least resistance.

In the past two years, and particularly in the last few months, these same elements have been striving to impose views and practices that would render the MDA caucus in the UE both reactionary and helpless, and to a large extent they have succeeded. (Continued on page 2)

MARCH 17—President Truman's speech today to the joint session of Congress, demanding immediate re-enactment of the draft law, universal military training and swift passage of the Marshall program for aid to Europe, has heightened the tension of "cold war" between the United States and Russia.

The meaning of the Truman speech is clear. Preparations for eventual war with Stalinist Russia are to be speeded up along all fronts, including the threat of conscription and additional billions for military preparations, particularly naval and air.

Above all, a gigantic campaign is to be launched through the press and propaganda services available to the government conditioning the American people—politically and ideologically—to accept the inevitability of war. Truman's speech was the opening round of this campaign. Russia was named over and over again in his blunt and threatening speech. He made little pretense but that henceforth the U. S. would turn away from such institutions as the United Nations and, if he had his way, would concentrate almost exclusively on direct military preparations.

Simultaneously, Truman announced that the U. S. will give whatever aid is necessary "by appropriate means" to those nations of Western Europe which have just formed an outright Western European military and economic bloc against Stalinism.

### Does "appropriate means"

include the sending of millions of American troops into Western Europe? And the stockpiling of atom bombs in France and England? And the holding of naval demonstrations in the Mediterranean and off the coasts of Italy?

Mr. Truman was not specific, but he did clearly state that the military forces of occupation in the American zone must be increased and bolstered. Clearly, Western Germany is intended to become the first military bulwark against further possible advances of Stalinism and against any direct action by the Russian armies.

### EXPOSE OWN SWINDLE

Thus less than three years after the conclusion of one disastrous World War, the entire world is threatened by the stark and unconcealed possibility of yet another World War. This new World War would only continue where the other stopped; it would be a war of atomic and bacteriological scope that would make the last one look insignificant.

In less than three years the entire force of the United Nations, the Allies who "forged deathless unity" in struggle against Hitler, the war to end fascism and win universal "democracy"—all this gigantic swindle is ended.

Instead, without any concealment, we are told that the situation is crucial and dangerous. Even socialists who never had any illusions about the character of World War II and the "peace" that followed, did not expect the relations between Amer-

(Continued on page 2)

## Militants Rout Stalinists At Westinghouse Meeting

PITTSBURGH—A major crack in Stalinist control over the United Electrical & Radio Workers Union (UE) appeared when Westinghouse Local 601 members voted overwhelmingly to instruct their international officers to sign the necessary affidavits so that the union might be in a stronger position to fight the vicious Taft-Hartley law. After hours of debate, during which the Stalinists demonstrated that they were ready to accept part of the law while holding out only against the non-Communist affidavit provisions, the rank and file forced the issue to a vote, which resulted in a tremendous Communist Party defeat.

Led by the rank and file group in the union, which has consistently battled to save the local from the Stalinist bureaucratic stranglehold, the membership turned out in such numbers as to make this meeting one of the largest in a long time, and one where the issues were clearly defined and the lies of the CPers were demonstrated in action.

The rank and file group stated its opposition to the Taft-Hartley law as a whole, including the affidavits provision, which it branded as "anti-democratic and unconstitutional," and declared its will to fight the Taft-Hartley law by wiping it off the books in Congress.

In their motion to force the international officers of the union to sign, the rank and file spokesmen declared that they wanted the affidavits signed so as to place their union in a strong position to battle the law.

### EFFECTS OF REFUSAL

In the Pittsburgh area recently, the refusal to sign the affidavits has lost the Westinghouse Megdville plant for the UE when it was ruled off the ballot by the NLRB. Last week two of the plants, the Beaver Westinghouse and the Mine Safety Appliance Company workers, were forced to go out on strike once again for recognition because of the refusal to sign the affidavits. The company had refused to grant recognition and the NLRB refused to place the union on the ballot in the forthcoming election. This was

done despite obvious and overwhelming support for the UE in the shops. The motion to sign was introduced by William Peeler, rank and file executive board member, who had challenged international officials Fitzgerald, Emspak and Matles several weeks ago on the same issue. Peeler argued that the UE could gain recognition, win a union shop in Beaver and Mine Safety, and thus place UE in a strong position to fight the law and thereby enable the striking workers to concentrate on their demands for better working conditions.

Tom Fitzpatrick, president of the local, known Stalinist stooge and one of Henry Wallace's new spokesmen in Pennsylvania, stated that there are provisions of the law that the union must abide by but that signing of the affidavits was optional.

Charles Copeland, business agent and leader of the rank and file group, demanded of him: "Can the law be used by management whether or not we sign the affidavits?" Fitzpatrick stood dumbstruck on the platform, then began to hem and haw but never answered the question.

Copeland also mentioned that it is possible to get recognition from the company if the union forfeits away the rights of the workers, but he refused to place the union in such a

position where any rights had to be bargained away when recognition could be won by signing. In the discussion, rank and file leaders such as Eugene Rath, Executive Board member, Al Pferman, treasurer of the local, Clyde Bowman and Stanley Glass, made clear the fact that the signing or not signing of the affidavits will not wipe the law off the books but that not signing does cripple the effectiveness of the union.

### EXPOSE STALINIST STAND

The Stalinists' phony opposition to the law came clearly to light when an amendment to the motion to "reject the law in its entirety" was made by Mike Fitzpatrick (not Tom Fitzpatrick, president, but his brother), who is opposed to the present CP leadership and who explained that this would mean that the dues authorization cards which were signed in accordance with the law could then be torn up and the union would collect its dues without company help through check-off. Taylor, who wanted to make the CPers take a stand, seconded this amendment, stating that non-compliance as a means of fighting the law means total non-compliance.

Here, Frank Pangino, Ed Lehman and (Continued on page 2)

## Pension Move Silences Mines Coal Diggers Act to Force Operators to Live Up to Contract

By GERALD McDERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA, Mar. 15—Soft coal miners have hung up their lamps and left the pits to force the coal operators to live up to their contract.

In mine after mine last week-end, man-trips unloaded the last shift of men to work and then stood empty as no one showed up to make the return trip. In response to John L. Lewis' announcement that the operators are not honoring the contract, the coal diggers decided that they are not "willing to work."

The UMW is apparently planning to ignore provisions of the Taft-Hartley law. No strike notice was filed nor has the union terminated the contract or presented new demands. The strike comes under the famous "willing and able to work" clause in the contract of last summer.

The contract provides for a retirement fund to be established by a royalty of ten cents on each ton of coal mined. The operator representative on the trustee board of the fund has balked at the union's demand for a pension of \$100 a month to miners over 60 with 20 years of service. Although the fund now amounts to \$30,000,000, the operators are keeping it tied up.

### WATCH GOVERNMENT

It should not be thought that the miners are escaping the T-H law through the strike, however. The present trustee set-up of the fund, which makes it possible for the op-

erators to tie up the money, was required by the Taft-Hartley Act. If it were not for that, aged miners would have been receiving their pensions for the past eight months and the present strike would be unnecessary. Local union officers are worried about the possible use of the T-H law to break the present strike. However, they feel that the government may hold off this year because of the elections.

The men are carefully watching the federal government to see what action it will take. The strike-breaking action of Truman in the past has made the miners very much aware of this not-so-secret weapon of the operators.

There is a strong feeling that the operators do not want to grant the pensions because it will be difficult to replace men who retire. Young men avoid the danger of mining and the bad conditions of company towns. If many older miners retire, operators will have to improve safety conditions, working conditions and living conditions to get young men to go into the mines. The operators don't want to spend one penny they don't have to.

The strike, something of a surprise to the nation at large, has been preceded by a "cold war" in the mining areas. Mines have been working six and even seven days a week in some fields to stockpile coal as the operators prepared to fight. The men have been using the overtime pay to settle up bills and lay aside some cash for the struggle.

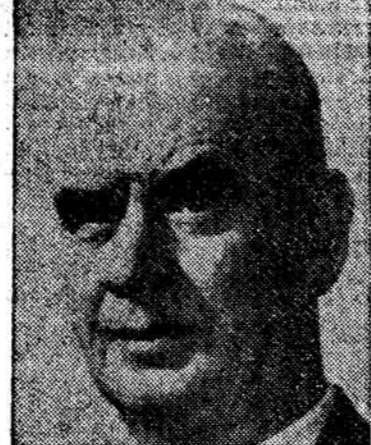
UMW district officials have been visiting local union meetings for the past few weeks to go over the issues with the rank and file. One of the chief needs for the fund is the increasing mechanization of the mines and speed-up as huge corporations like Pittsburgh Consolidation take over more and more mines. Older men cannot stand the pace.

Lewis has made clear that he intends to buck the T-H law throughout the strike. He is deliberately ignoring any federal conciliation service and has made it plain that he will ignore Federal Conciliation Chief Ching's statement that the government "will not tolerate a coal strike this spring." The miners themselves have not retreated from their stand of last year, when they cried: "Let the Senators dig coal!" However, the law is on the books and has already forced the strike. Until it is removed from the books, it will be just like rotten timbering over the heads of the strike and of the miners' union. The problem of political action against the bill has not yet been faced.

In the meantime, the clatter of the tippie is quieted among the grimy company houses throughout the coal fields. Unlike strikes in auto, rubber, steel, or maritime, there are no picket lines, no banners, no sound trucks. It is almost like a ghost strike, except that 400,000 grim and bitter men and their families stand behind this latest challenge of labor to the coal operators and the capitalist class.

### APPROVES RAIDS

The Stalinists are now everywhere making use of a situation to pose as union builders, as opponents of inter-



PHILIP MURRAY

inecine strife in the CIO and as proponents of a common front against the employers.

In New York City, for instance, where a UAW raid was unsuccessfully attempted against Schrader Valve Co., one of the component shops of Amalgamated Local 475, the Stalinist hacks have been putting on a drive to consolidate their hold on the 20,000 members of the local, by appealing to the healthy and sincere union loyalty of the membership. Throughout District 4, which comprises the New York metropolitan area and Northern New Jersey, the Stalinist hatchet men have been unloosed in an effort to identify all opponents with the raiding moves against Local 475 and to discredit the opposition as disrupters of the union in the face of current contract negotiations with the employers.

In the conferences, meetings and informal discussions among anti-Stalinist groups throughout the UE, and in particular in the caucus of UE Members for Democratic Action (MDA), those who favor an unbridled raiding policy by the UAW are already busily sowing confusion and disorganization.

## Strike Hits Big 4 Packing Companies

Union Seeks Cost of Living Wage Increase—Big Four Netted Over \$100 Million in Profits

NEW YORK, Mar. 16—Picket lines were set up by the CIO Packinghouse Workers in this city today at 12:01 a.m. Simultaneously, 100,000 members of the United Packinghouse Workers of America throughout the country began their nation-wide strike to win their demand for wage increases to meet the high cost of living.

The strike affects the Big Four packing companies—Armour & Co., Cudahy Packing Co., Swift & Co., Wilson & Co.—and independent companies throughout the nation.

Despite last-minute efforts by President Truman to avert the walkout, the UPWA strike strategy board de-

clined not to cancel its plans. The union had accepted an arbitration proposal made by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. The companies rejected it. The UPWA is willing to continue negotiations with the companies though union officials observed, on the basis of previous meetings, that it was clear that the companies "were unwilling to give any realistic consideration to the serious economic needs of the packinghouse workers."

The President has set up a board of inquiry, under Section 206 of the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Law, to report by April 1 on the dispute

between the packing industry and the union. This, however, does not force the union to call off its strike. After Truman has received the report of the board he can ask the Attorney General for an injunction to break the strike. The injunction would mean that the workers would be required to return to work for at least eighty days. During that time the board would restate the "facts." Then an offer of settlement would be put to the workers by the National Labor Board. If this offer proves unsatisfactory, Mr. Truman could get rid of the problem by turning it over to Congress for further "study."

The union is asking for a 29 cents an hour increase, based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics family budget. The budget allows \$1.39 per hour for a family of three. The union recently concluded a survey of the working and living conditions of its members in the packinghouse centers. They found: "Nearly every packinghouse worker's family is being deprived of basic necessities. A decent and healthful life is impossible for these families."

In 1947, the Big Four packers garnered more than \$100 million in net profit, before taxes.



## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Raiding of UE Will Injure Opposition - -

(Continued from page 1)

Their latest attempts at red-baiting and support of the Truman administration and the Marshall Plan have been easily demolished in debates before the membership by the pseudo-radical onslaughts of the Stalinists.

This failure to evolve a policy that will meet the needs of the UE workers can be traced to a similar failure, at another level, on the part of Philip Murray and other CIO heads, to whom many of the opposition members look for leadership.

Philip Murray's apparent approval of the projected UAW raids is a sign of his utter incapacity to develop a constructive program for American labor to meet the demagoguery of the Stalinists. Smarting under their victory in the New York congressional by-election and their flouting of his leadership, and unable to meet their attacks on Truman with an effective, positive policy of his own, he resorts to purely organizational methods to combat them, such as the policy of raiding.

It should now be clear to the entire MDA caucus that mere reiteration of support for the "CIO program" will evoke no response among UE members.

**STALINISTS TO BLAME**

While the reactionary pro-Truman views of those who favor binding the UE to American imperialist policy must be fought uncompromisingly, the chief enemy of progressive development of the UE is the totalitarian Stalinist officialdom.

By monopolizing union posts, stifling independent thought and discussion, controlling the UE press, intimidating opponents and driving out dissenters, the Stalinist machine has, over a period of years, converted the UE into a smoothly functioning adjunct of Russian foreign policy. For the past eight years the UE leadership has obsessively followed every twist and change of Russian policy and dragged the union with it.

Only by totally breaking the Sta-

linist grip on the union can it be restored to the membership. The end of Stalinist control will permit a free and normal interplay of ideas and will cause fresh currents of thought to arise and assert themselves.

Therefore, although the policy of unrestrained raiding by the UAW should be openly condemned before the UE membership, blame must be placed primarily on those who created the situation that induced the raids: the Stalinist leadership of the UE.

By hounding opponents, by pursuing false policies on both collective bargaining and political problems and by tying the union to Russian imperialist needs, the Stalinists have inspired many thousands of harassed union militants with a desire to escape from the UE. The Stalinists are in effect abetting the raiding policy of the UAW by driving many groups out of the UE, in order to maintain their control over the remainder.

**AID BY THE UAW**

A clear distinction must be made between the policy of unrestrained raiding now planned by the UAW and a policy of assisting UE locals who are threatened with extinction by conditions in the UE.

In the future, there will, of course, be many cases where the very existence of UE locals will be threatened by a combination of the internal regimentation practiced by the Stalinist district and national officialdom, and the Stalinist policy of not signing the Taft-Hartley affidavits. The UE Stalinist policy of not signing the affidavits and thereby depriving locals of the possibility of using what few legal rights and loopholes still remain under the Taft-Hartley law, has already rendered the position of many locals extremely precarious.

There will also be other cases where the whole weight of the Stalinist machine will be brought to bear upon the opposition and locals will be driven out through sanctions against the local as a whole, persecution of

individuals, discharge through connivance with the employers, and other well known totalitarian methods of the Stalinists.

In all such cases, where the fight to maintain the existence of a local as part of the UE has been made totally impossible, the UAW has the duty to save the local if called upon to do so by the local's membership.

However, in every case the guiding program of progressive anti-Stalinist

groups must be that of fighting to stay within the UE in spite of all efforts to drive them out.

Such a fight must be coupled with an aggressive program for re-establishing democracy in the UE, a far-reaching set of economic demands to maintain labor's living standards, a policy of independent political action by labor through a genuine Labor Party, and opposition to American and Russian imperialism alike.

# Win FEPC in Philadelphia

## Big Job Still Remains Ahead for Enactment of State Law

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 11—A long and bitter struggle came to an end today with the passage by the City Council of a bill making it illegal and subject to criminal penalties to discriminate in hiring because of race, color or religion. The Workers Party had been active in this fight from its beginning. The FEPC proposal became law by a vote of 19 to 0. Philadelphia thus joins three other cities on the FEPC list.

As passed by the City Council, the law is very similar to the New York State Law. A commission is established to enforce its provisions. The only amendment to the bill extended its provisions to all employers as against the original clause limiting its jurisdiction to employers of 15 workers or more.

As it stands, the law has several weaknesses. First, it must receive finances for operation from a City Council which has been notoriously uninterested in minority problems. When the Negro and Jewish votes will no longer be so urgent, it is expected that the Council will not be exactly open-handed with appropriations and could easily nullify the law by strangling it financially.

One clause in the bill is especially weak and could undermine the entire purpose of the law. This clause exempts from the law's jurisdiction those jobs described as "confidential." Since "confidential" can be applied to any job from private secretary and maid to any sales clerk in a department store, engineer, time study man, etc., there is no precise legal limit to the jobs excluded from the law. Interpretation will depend on administration and the courts.

# Truman--

(Continued from page 1)

ican and Russian imperialism to deteriorate so rapidly and confront us with the possibility of war so shortly!

This does not mean that the prospect of war is imminent. The fact that, politically and militarily, preparations for World War III are in a fairly advanced stage does not mean that it will burst upon us tomorrow. Yet LABOR ACTION would be remiss in its duty to the American working class if it did not speak openly and loudly about the danger of war.

If the imperialists in both camps—Truman and the big industrialists in America who seek conquest of the entire world and its markets; Stalin and his criminal imperialists of the Kremlin who likewise seek world conquest and the spread of Stalinist totalitarianism over the globe—if these men and their ruling systems remain in power there is no avoiding war.

This must be clearly understood if the socialist and labor movement is to be able to act. To say this is to face the truth and the reality of where we are heading now. It is not to spread panic or hysteria.

**TRUCE STILL POSSIBLE**

At the same time, we by no means exclude the possibility of a new agreement and understanding being reached between American and Russian imperialism. Truman's present course is half bluff, half active war preparation. By threat and talk, he hopes to frighten Stalin and his fellow rulers into slowing up their pace and retreating somewhat. It would be foolish to dismiss the possibility of a meeting between Truman and Stalin, with the working out of concessions on both sides. In his speech, Truman—by word and by repetition—held the door open to Stalin for just such action. We do not know what will come of this.

But we do know that even if a temporary agreement is reached, it will be just this—TEMPORARY. The antagonism between Russian and American imperialism is fundamental, deep going and vital to both. Neither Truman nor Stalin can solve this. Both represent social orders (capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism) that clash at every point. To us, this truth is more important than any temporary arrangements that may be cooked up.

This is why we again repeat the basic conception that underlies our denunciation of both war camps. Only the revolutionary labor movement in America, Europe and Russia can halt this inevitable war.

## Stall Jimcrow Housing Conspiracy Case

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—The Mortgage Conference of Greater New York and its 37 member banks and insurance companies will not be tried until early summer and possibly even thereafter, Merwin C. Pollack, U. S. anti-trust division attorney, told the Workers Defense League.

Last July the regional chief of the anti-trust division had told the League that the case would be tried in the fall. The case originally filed in June, 1946, involves charges which include maintaining racial maps of the city, refraining from making mortgage loans in Negro blocks and inducing real estate owners to bar Negroes from white sections.

## Discussion Corner On Palestine Issue

### Partition One Thing; Aid to Jews Another

Dear Editor:

The basic fact in the Palestinian situation is that approximately seven hundred thousand Jews constituting a nation are threatened with expulsion from their homeland and even with possible extermination. Like any other people, the Jews of Palestine have a right to defend themselves against any attempt by any group to deprive them of their homeland. All the crimes of the Zionist leadership—past, present and future—cannot take that right away from them.

An attack upon the Jews in Palestine could be justified only if one could prove that they are imperialist exploiters or agents of imperialist exploiters, oppressing a backward people. No one in his right senses would make such an assertion, let alone try to prove it.

**TRUE CHARACTER OF STRUGGLE**

A group of Arabs organized and led by the most reactionary elements of the Arab states surrounding Palestine have launched an attack against the Jews. There are of course Palestinian Arabs who are fighting the Jews, but the dominant group under the leadership of which the struggle is being waged is composed of feudalistic reactionaries from the various Arab states.

The probable consequences of a victory of this group will be the expulsion from Palestine of hundreds of thousands of Jews, if not their actual extermination. The probable consequences of the victory of the Jews will not be the expulsion or extermination of the Arabs but the assurance, for a short period at least, of a tiny homeland for the Jews.

To defend the right of a nation to whatever homeland it has is the duty of every socialist. This means that we must give material aid to the Jews fighting for their right to live in Palestine. We must of course do our utmost to show that we have nothing in common with the Zionist leadership; we must continue the sharpest criticism of that leadership—its policies and its despicable methods of waging indiscriminate war against all Arabs.

One cannot solve the problem confronting us in Palestine by finding a formula in Lenin's writings, "where the conditions of a progressive nationalist struggle are enumerated. One needs only to recognize the fact that a group of Arabs, organized by reactionary feudalists, have launched an attack on the Jews with the minimum objective of compelling the Jews to submit to the will of the Arab leaders. And from this fact one must conclude that a socialist must furnish material aid to the Jews.

It may be that tomorrow the imperialists or some other extremist nationalist group among the Jews will try to drive the Arabs from sections of Palestine occupied by them. In that event we shall have to defend the Arabs against the Jews. Right now this is not the case.

**"CEASE FIRE"**

To ask both sides to "cease fire" is very nice. No one can seriously object. But if the attacking Arabs do not choose to listen to us and continue their fire, shall we stand on the sidelines and persist in imploring them to "cease fire" and do nothing else? Shall we refuse to lift a finger to help prevent the expulsion or extermination of the Jews?

Such a position befits pacifist souls who wring their hands in anguish at the wickedness of the world. It does not befit socialists who fight any attempt by anybody to destroy the homeland of a people.

To call the war in Palestine fratricidal does not help us a bit. "Alas, all wars, just and unjust, are fratricidal." Nor does it help any by pointing out that the Jews are not in the position of a minority fighting against oppression by any imperialist power. Is it not sufficient that the Jews at the present moment are fighting for their very existence in Palestine? To call upon them to "cease fire" when attacked is a little thoughtless.

**AGAINST PARTITION**

Must we be for partition because we defend the right of the Jews to live in Palestine, against armed aggression by a group of Arabs organized and led by reactionary feudalists? Not in the least. We should be against partition now just as we were against partition before. We should continue our agitation for a united, democratic Palestine with the right of Jews to immigrate and the right—the democratic right—of a minority to a separate existence if that minority wants such an existence.

We should make clear that we are only for the right to a separate existence and not for the exercise of that right. We are absolutely against secession or partition. But if a national minority, contrary to our advice, sets up its own state and the majority by force attempts to prevent it, then we defend the minority against the majority.

If we are against partition, does this not mean that we should join

the Arabs in the struggle against partition? In Comrade Judd's article dealing with the question of the struggle in Palestine there seems to be such an intimation. Such a conclusion can be the result only of the most formalistic thinking. As if we and the Arab reactionary leaders are fighting against some abstract principle of partition.

Our motives in opposing partition are altogether different from the motives of the Arab leaders. We are against partition because we deem it to be against the interests of the Jewish and the Arab masses. The feudal leaders of the Arab states are against partition because they do not want to see the Jews have a homeland in Palestine. They are not fighting against the Jews for fear the Arab masses will suffer as a result of partition but because they would be deprived of an opportunity to rule all of Palestine.

Our position against partition is one thing; our fight to save the Jews from expulsion or extermination is another thing.

It is clearly the duty of Jewish and Arab socialists in Palestine to agitate against partition and for a democratic Palestine; it is also their duty to defend the Jews against any armed attack organized by any group.

**IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES**

For reasons of their own, the imperialist nations, working through the United Nations, may send troops to enforce partition. Later on the struggle in Palestine may become part of an imperialist war. When and if that should happen we may have to change our position. But so long as the dominant character of the struggle in Palestine remains the attempt of the Arab leaders to exterminate or expel the Jews, so long must we give material aid to the Jews. Neither the crimes of the Zionist leaders nor the crimes of the imperialists justify any other course.

Albert GOLDMAN, Feb. 26.

### Against Creating Artificial Differences

In your discussion on Palestine in the February 9 issue, Henry Judd says that the SWP is against partition but "dare not take the next step of supporting the Arabs, who are engaged in fighting partition." I don't see how that follows as "the next step" at all. For you too "oppose, unconditionally, a UN partition." If that is the next step for them, why not for you?

I have looked up the SWP position in The Militant. They are against partition because (1) "the imperialists will have the real power in the carved-up country"; (2) partition aggravates British-provoked tensions between the Arabs and Jews; (3) partition is "anti-democratic to the core," denying the people of Palestine the right to determine their own fate. Their editorial (October 20) concludes: "The solution to the Palestine problem depends on the collaboration of the Jewish and Arab masses, and on their freedom to jointly work out their own problems. Independence for Palestine is the first step. And that means: Get the imperialists out of Palestine, ALL the imperialists, and keep them out!"

Now there may be some nuances between you and the SWP on this question, although what they are is not clear to me. But it does not seem to me that you should use the SWP, when on the whole you agree with them, as a whipping boy for your attacks on those who favor partition. Artificially whipped up differences cannot serve the cause of revolutionary socialist unity.

A Newark Friend.

We will on another occasion examine The Militant's line on Palestine. We are, as a matter of fact, not certain where The Militant stands now. (The position cited above is from an editorial that appeared before the partition scheme was "approved" in the UN.) The differences between us and the SWP on the Jewish (and Palestine) issue are more than nuances. We start with advocacy of the right of Jews to emigrate to Palestine. We demand an Open Door policy in the U. S., but we recognize the desire of Jews to escape Europe and rebuild their lives in Palestine. And we support their struggle to get there.

The Militant and the SWP, so far as we know, oppose Jewish immigration into Palestine. Artificial differences are, of course, pointless, but that hardly seems like an artificial difference.—Ed.

### Come Listen Discuss

At the Open Forum  
"WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT—WHY THE STATE DEPARTMENT EXPOSED THE NAZI-SOVIET DEALS NOW"

To Be Held  
THURS., MARCH 25 8:15 P. M.  
Fellowship House, 21 W. Preston St.  
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Ausp. Baltimore Br. Workers Party

# Rout Stalinists - -

(Continued from page 1)

Charles Newell, international district representative, spoke the CP line against the amendment and proved that their opposition to the Taft-Hartley law was a fake.

The membership took its stand. The Stalinists tried to drag out the meeting, hoping that people would go home and give them a majority. The membership stayed four and a half hours and voted! It realized that the law had to be defeated, but knew that the Stalinist flip-flop method keeps recognition from Beaver, Mine Safety and other plants in the future. They did this after defeating the amendment which showed up the Stalinist and went on to vote to instruct their officers to sign.

Earlier in the week the rank and file group passed out leaflets in the shop which stated why the Taft-Hartley law is a blow against labor and said: "Every sentence, every word, every comma is against labor." In its explanation it went on to say: "Let's defeat the Taft-Hartley Act. Fight the whole Act instead of part of it as our Communist Party misleaders are doing. Let's sign the non-Communist affidavits under protest and strengthen our union and defeat the company bill by uniting to elect labor candidates to Congress in the next election. We must organize and fight against the Taft-Hartley Act where it counts. It must be wiped off the books in Congress."

This point, however, should be borne in mind by all opponents of the Taft-Hartley law. Labor can elect its own candidates only if it forms an independent Labor Party which can fight in Congress for the interests of organized labor. Then Taft-Hartley laws can't be used as a club over the heads of labor by the company.

It is interesting to note that when proposals to support financially the two strikes were made, the Stalinists acted in double-talk fashion. The members voted to uphold the Executive Board and Stewards Council proposal to donate \$2,000 to the Beaver strike fund. When the question of donations to the Mine Safety and Health strike came up, where non-CP people control the local, the CPers fought for a \$100 a week donation, while the rank and file caucus fought for a like \$2,000 donation to them.

Tom Fitzpatrick told the members that other locals were contributing to the Mine Safety strike. The members then upheld the \$100 a week donation with this in mind. Fitzpatrick failed to state that other locals are contributing to Beaver, but both locals apparently need about the same additional help from Local 601. Both strikes need support but the CPers displayed "rule or ruin" partiality.

This defeat of the Stalinists must be followed up by the membership at the next meeting. There are many important proposals coming up.

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# Editorials

## Murray's Position Is Bad Business

Philip Murray and the executive board of the CIO are in a totally indefensible position in the attitude they are taking on the support of Wallace and opposition to the Marshall Plan by the Stalinist trade union bureaucracy. The position of the executive board is that all appointive officers of the CIO and all CIO Industrial Union Councils must refrain from supporting Wallace or from opposing the Marshall Plan. This position is based on the resolution passed by the executive board in January, reading that it is "politically unwise to inject a third party into the political scene in 1948." The executive board also endorsed the Marshall Plan.

To be for the Marshall Plan, whether right or wrong, is at least to be for something, that is the Board had a position on the question. But on the question of the presidential elections the Board has no positive position; it is merely against Wallace and against a third party. The PAC is busy collecting dollars from the CIO membership. But for what, Murray, Kroll and Co. have not yet announced. They are going to "defeat reactionaries" and "elect progressives" to office. Which one of the "progressive" candidates for president they will support has not been revealed to date. Right now they are only against Wallace. And they are also for the Marshall Plan. Why. We will deal with further down.

Harry Bridges, an old enemy of Murray's (they dearly loved each other during the war), has been fired by Murray from his appointive post as CIO regional director for Northern California. Bridges was fired because he not only refuses to abide by the decisions of the CIO executive board, of which he is a member, but, adding insult to injury, he opposes the Marshall Plan and supports Wallace. Thus, Murray is taking the position that all CIO Industrial Union Councils must support the decisions of the Executive Board on Wallace and the Marshall Plan.

We do not question the formal and legal right of the EB to enforce its decisions. We are not for constituent or subordinate bodies of organizations romping all over the lot whenever they take a notion to, in violation of any or all decisions of a higher body. There are times of course when it is correct for a higher body to demand obedience to decisions democratically arrived at. There are times when it is the responsibility of a higher body to enforce discipline even to the point of expulsion. Therefore this is not what we are talking about when we say that Murray and the EB are in an indefensible position.

What is indefensible is that Murray is using his disciplinary ax in an impermissible and bureaucratic manner and for reactionary ends. Let it be clear that we do not call this reactionary because it is action taken against the Stalinists. Murray's acts are reactionary because his opposition to Wallace and the third party is not motivated primarily by Stalinist-sponsorship of this third party, or its essential nature, but because it is to some degree a break with the two capitalist parties. If Wallace had called on labor to form a party, announced his willingness to head the ticket and to accept whatever program labor had for the party, Murray would have been just as much opposed as he is to the present Stalinist-Wallace hodge-podge. There is reason to believe that Murray would be more violently opposed to a real independent labor party than to the present "third party." Murray has been able to get along far better with the Stalinists than with genuine militant progressives in the labor movement. During the whole course of the war he was constantly cheek by jowl with the Stalinist disrupters, hatchet men and butchers.

Murray's position is also reactionary and bureaucratic, because the CIO leadership is saying to its officers and members that they must not only differentiate between, and show a preference for one capitalist candidate over the others, but that the CIO must abide by Murray's decision as to which capitalist candidate shall have the support of officers and members of the CIO. And not only does Murray insist on the right to decide this question, but that he decide it in his own way and in his own good time. Right now the CIO membership is told merely to stand by and wait for Murray to tell them which capitalist party candidates to vote for. While they are standing by waiting for wisdom to fall from the lips of Murray and his church advisers, they can put in their time being against Wallace and for the Marshall Plan. And in the meantime, the CIO membership is commanded to pay its dollars into the PAC. They are to be told later by Murray and his PAC deputy, Kroll, which capitalist candidates those dollars will be used to elect. Right now Murray is not certain; it hasn't been revealed to him yet.

Murray's position on the Marshall Plan is reactionary and bureaucratic. We are not discussing here the merits or demerits of the European Recovery Program; we are not talking about Murray's position and his reactionary attitude in connection with CIO officers who may oppose the Marshall Plan. Here again Murray is opposing the Stalinists as antagonists of the Marshall Plan, and doing so from the platform of U. S. imperialism. That is, Murray is not opposing the Stalinists as Stalinists, but as a group which is against the Marshall Plan. We want to make this clear: Murray is not supporting the Marshall Plan so much because he is for European recovery, as because he is a complete stooge of the capitalist Government at Washington, in all matters pertaining to foreign policy. He is the State Department's whip and floor leader in the CIO.

In playing this role Murray is willing and ready to fire and reorganize. He is ready to give his behind the scenes blessing to raids on the Stalinist unions by the UAW or any other CIO affiliate. Murray has at last an opportunity to demonstrate his "principles" into action. We mean his piety and his anti-communist scruples and morality. We say "anti-communist" because that

is what it is with Murray. He is anti-Stalinist because he is anti-communist and anti-socialist. Murray makes no distinction between Stalinism and socialism. When we say "socialism" we mean revolutionary Marxian socialism. Murray, in all probability would be more against real socialism than against Stalinism which is the very opposite of socialism. He found it easy during the war to embrace the Stalinists. He could not embrace the revolutionary Marxists, the Workers Party, for example, because they opposed the imperialist war which Murray and the Stalinists were supporting.

The whole jungle growth of bureaucratism, bombast, ineptitude, capitulation to capitalism, bootlicking of the imperialists and betrayal of labor which is centered in the headquarters of the big labor bureaucracies, will grow and grow until the whole labor movement has been shackled from within unless something happens in the ranks of the men and women who foot the bill.

It's about time for those who pay the piper to begin calling the tune. Here we have the totally depressing situation of millions of free American workers, male and female, grinding away in mine mill and factory, waiting for Philip Murray to tell them which party of the capitalist oppressors they should vote for in November. They might well say:

"We ask you Brother Murray, which party of capitalist brigands, exploiters and imperialist oppressors shall we who let give our money and our votes to in November? Speak out Brother Murray. There are only two parties. Which one are you going to vote for? Your only advice right now is 'don't vote for Wallace.' That's easy: we can vote for Taft, Dewey, Truman, Vandenberg, Stassen, MacArthur, Eisenhower or whoever Big Business decides on. But, Brother Murray, suppose that labor should take a notion to throw your advice into the garbage can and strike out our own? What would you say? Suppose the working men and women of this country organized their own political party, with a labor program and decided to have their own labor government? What would you say to that, Brother Murray? We know that you would be against it, but there wouldn't be much you could do; since we pay you and foot all the bills of the CIO."

That is the only attitude which will take the trade union bureaucracy out of the driver's seat and put it in harness, responding to the will of the membership and functioning in the political and class interest of the working people of this country.

## NATALIA TROTSKY RAPS FRAUD IN TIMES STORY

In the February 14 issue of the New York Times there appeared a dispatch from France under the by-line of Cyrus L. Sulzberger which tended to give the impression that the well-known author, Andre Malraux, former Stalinist and now a de Gaulle, was sympathetic to Trotsky's political ideas. As evidence, Sulzberger referred to a letter which was presumably sent to Malraux by Victor Serge, and identified Serge as a Trotskyist. LABOR ACTION has at hand an article by Jack Weber which exposes the Sulzberger-Malraux fraud, as well as several documentary statements by Leon Trotsky on Malraux. If space permits in future issues, we will publish this material. In the meantime we reprint below a letter by Natalia Sedova Trotsky (published in the Times letter column, March 10) which effectively answers the canard:

To the Editor of the New York Times:

My attention has been drawn to a dispatch from your foreign correspondent, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, in the Times of Feb. 14. The implications in the statements attributed to Andre Malraux are so palpably false that, unavoidably late as is this rejoinder, I urgently request that you publish it.

It is with profound indignation that one finds Malraux, after all the years of consort with Stalinism, casting himself in the role of sympathizer with Leon Trotsky at a time when Malraux allies himself with the center of French reaction. Malraux was at no time a Trotskyist sympathizer. On the contrary, he was always an enemy, one who lent himself to diverting public attention from the real issues in the Moscow trials by speaking of them as merely a personal quarrel between Trotsky and Stalin. The act of Malraux as de Gaulle's Minister of Information in a coalition with the Stalinists, in suppressing the French Trotskyist press, is itself the fitting commentary on Malraux's statement. Once more one sees the miserable attempt to form an amalgam between Trotskyism and fascism.

The name of Victor Serge is used to lend credence to the supposed Trotskyist support of de Gaulle's movement. The break between Serge and Trotsky was complete and can be attested by numerous quotations from published literature.

Try as Malraux and others will, they cannot succeed in besmirching Trotsky and the movement he founded.

Natalia Sedova TROTSKY.  
Coyoacan, Mexico, Feb. 26, 1948.

# WORLD POLITICS

## Italy's Coming Elections

On April 18, within a month, the most crucial election in Italy's history and a decisive one in post-war European elections, will take place. It is expected that almost 25 million people out of the nation's total population of 45 million will vote. LABOR ACTION will be increasingly concerned with the significance of this election. Meanwhile, we wish to describe primarily the facts and issues already existing.

The basic issue, of course, is largely determined by the world struggle between American and Russian imperialism. In an even sharper sense than last year's municipal elections in France, which resulted in the startling de Gaulle victory, people will be voting for "the Russian party" (Stalinists), or "the American party" (Christian Democrats). All other parties are expected to be swamped by the two great political blocs now dividing Italy.

In the last general election (1946), the rightist bloc had a total of 1 million more votes than the Stalinist bloc—10 million as against 9 million combined Stalinist and Socialist Party votes. The Stalinists alone received 4,200,000 votes—a little more than 20 percent of the total.

Much has changed since then. The Stalinists are no longer in the Resistance-born government. The "Communist" has been created; a series of general strikes and wild adventures has shaken Italy; the Marshall Plan is nearing practical existence; Stalinism is driving full speed ahead for power over Italy, and American imperialism is determined that it shall not lose its strategic hold over the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Near East through a conquest of state power by the Stalinists.

### SOCIALIST PARTY SEVERELY SPLIT

Internally, the coalition government has long ceased to exist and an entirely rightist Christian Democratic government (with the exception of Saragat, extreme right-wing Socialist) heads the country. It is entirely dependent upon America and its future is committed to the working out of the Marshall Plan. Ideologically, the Vatican is its base and the Pope its chief election propagandist. It is waging a battle for the survival of the Italian bourgeoisie, landowning class, the Church and every social institution connected with status quo. Its social and political program is entirely reactionary, and its main appeal will be to the traditionally Catholic and conservative women of the country.

Meanwhile, one year ago, a sharp split took place in the Socialist Party between the two wings of Nenni (leading pro-Stalinist of the SP) and Saragat (leading Social Democrat of Italy). The essential cause of this split was the extreme pro-Stalinism of Nenni, who had made out of the party nothing but a subsidiary of the Stalinist machine. The split last year, effectively prevented the Socialist Party from developing into a center "third force" similar to the Socialist Party in France, and is perhaps the major difference between the general situation in Italy and France. That section of the SP which followed Nenni is now an electoral bloc with the Stalinists (known, of course, as the "Popular Front for Peace, Bread, and Work"). It is completely Stalinized and Nenni, its leader, aspires to the same role of serving Stalinism in power as has been exercised by his fellow Socialists in Poland, Hungary and now Czechoslovakia.

The split-off Socialist Party of Saragat, in the meantime, has had a rapid evolution and has finally undergone a new split in February of this year. Created out of diverse elements who joined together (for widely different reasons) against the Stalinist Nenni, it has failed to develop any cohesion or political unity. Saragat, supported by Matteotti, has become a full-fledged Social Democrat, a member of the Gasperi government and a leading advocate of the Marshall Plan. At its recent convention this party (Socialist Party of Italian Workers—PSLI) split into its Saragat wing and its left wing, of the Socialist Youth and others. A formal split took place, and the left wing walked out, to form the "Socialist Movement of Proletarian Unity," with *Socialist Unity* as its newspaper. The Saragat Socialist Party, with 50 members of Parliament at present, will run independent candidates in the elections.

### YOUTH GROUP SUCCUMBS TO BLOC

What of the new (third) Socialist Party, created by the Socialist Youth? There is little available information about it, but what we do know (largely based upon accounts published in *The Militant*) is far from promising or hopeful. It originally split with the pro-Stalinist Nenni on the grounds that the Stalinists

were nothing but reformists (at the time they participated in the coalition cabinet), who were holding back the Italian working class. The complete reversal of Stalinist tactics, their pseudo-militancy, etc., has confused the Socialist Youth who do not understand the real nature of Stalinism. A large measure of responsibility for this failure to understand Stalinism falls upon the shoulders of certain of the Fourth Internationalists in Europe who, yielding more and more to Stalinism, can explain nothing.

Thus we have the absolute tragic news that this newly-founded socialist organization has decided to adhere to the Stalinist electoral "Popular Front for Peace, Bread and Work"! It is reported that they will not run their own candidates, but evidently will vote for the bloc—that is, the Stalinists! Politically, then, they meet with their former enemy Nenni once more! A political cretin named Marcel Rogier writes in the current issue of *The Militant* that the new party should differentiate itself politically from the Stalinist Front by "an energetic and patient campaign for expulsion from the Front of all individual capitalist elements, whose presence serves as an eternal alibi to the Stalinist leadership for restraining the fighting spirit of the masses."

The familiar (and sickening) old tale! The Stalinist bloc is ok, except a couple of capitalists (we wonder who?) in it. The Stalinists must be prevented from taking power—no, capitulating to these capitalists! They must be "made" to take power! In country after country we see this shameful surrender to Stalinism by political bankrupts who desecrate each idea and conception of Trotsky.

From a revolutionary point of view, the Italian situation offers only dismal prospects. No independent force—independent, that is, of both Russia and America—exists. The parties of the left are under Stalinist domination—all other parties, including the Saragat Socialist Party, gravitate toward De Gasperi's Christian Democrats—that is, the Pope and American imperialism. Next week we shall discuss the various possible outcomes of the election.

## Masaryk's Death

Jan Masaryk, who did more than his share in helping the new Stalinist dictatorship mount to power in Czechoslovakia, allegedly tossed himself out of a window last week. His suicide is more than the personal tragedy of this individual. Although the Stalinists were quite capable of murdering him (or anyone else, for that matter) it seems unlikely in this instance. The adverse publicity throughout the world has been felt by the Gottwald gang, still somewhat shaky from their rapid ascension to power, and, besides, they still had some use for Masaryk as their Foreign Minister.

Masaryk, a family symbol of the Czech democratic republic, took his life because he knew that all he represented, personally, ideologically, politically and socially, had come to a definitive end. The Czech capitalist bourgeoisie, former masters and rulers of the nation, are finished as a class. The social base—private property and ownership of industry—is gone. Dead as a social class, only individual capitalists and capitalist politicians of Masaryk's type can survive. To survive, they must become part of the new administration—managers of nationalized industries, functionaries of the totalitarian state, hatchet men in the Czech Stalinist party, etc. The old order is gone, replaced by the brutal totalitarian dictatorship of Stalinism; in turn absorbed into the expanding empire of Stalin. Masaryk knew this. Western imperialism was impotent to rescue him. Having no stomach for a new exile, a new opposition, a new struggle, he opened the window and leaped. The new struggle that will arise in Czechoslovakia against the totalitarian state will not come from the old, compromised liberal politicians (Masaryk, Benes, etc.), but from the ranks of those Czech Trotskyists who, unlike their fellow "Trotskyists" in America of the Socialist Workers Party, refuse to give Stalinism their critical blessings (as has the SWP for several past weeks), the radical students who marched against the Stalinists, the workers who recognize what this new total state means, the intellectuals who understand that socialism is much more than "nationalized industry," etc.

N. B. For those who wish to see the depths of political capitulation of the SWP (Cannonites) to Stalinism, we direct attention to the note on page 3 written by Paul G. Stevens in the current (March 15) issue of *The Militant*. This note is allegedly in reply to our criticism of *The Militant* on this issue. No comment is necessary—just read it!

Henry JUDD.

# Books You Should Know

The Progressive Book Club informs us that Dwight Macdonald's book, HENRY WALLACE - THE MAN AND THE MYTH, reviewed in last week's LABOR ACTION, is a March selection. As we said in our review, every worker should acquaint himself with Macdonald's book.

THE OTHER KINGDOM, by David Rousset, is also on the Progressive Book Club list and available through membership in the PBC.

Henry Judd, in LABOR ACTION of March 24, reviewing the original French edition, wrote: "Out of the experience of Hitler's Germany, lived through by hundreds of thousands of slave laborers, has come a remarkable book, L'Univers Concentrico-

naire, written by a French Socialist." And Irving Howe, in The New Internationalist, Sept. 1947, reviewing the American edition, wrote:

"THE OTHER KINGDOM is a brief, fragmentary record of Rousset's experiences and also a beginning toward a sociological comprehension of the concentration camp. It is an utterly terrifying and horrible book, even though it does not recount nearly as many horrors as other reminiscences of former concentration camp inmates. It is rather uniquely terrifying and horrible because it explains, because it does not merely see the camps as irrational outbursts of evil nature. When the Nazi atrocities are seen as part of a calculated policy of German imperialism, they become ultimate in terror. For then we see them as part of THIS world, as a logical and necessary development of the disintegration of capitalist society."

"Without hesitation I want to say that Rousset's book is by all odds the very best that has been written on the subject; it not merely shocks, it informs. . . . (It is absolutely indispensable) to anyone who is in any way concerned with the problems of our time."

OUR THREATENED VALUES, by Victor Gollancz, Regnery, \$2.50, 218 pp.

A selection of the Progressive Book Club, this book is a political jeremiad

of an English ex-Stalinist who has now developed a point of view not unlike that of Dwight Macdonald in this country, though without the latter's philosophizing.

As a tract OF our times, Gollancz's book has quite impressive spots: a first-rate dissection of Allied policy in Germany, a useful exposé of the shifting attitude of the British Stalinists in accordance with Russian needs, and other anti-Stalinist materials. Readers who have occasion to search for materials on these matters should find his book valuable.

As a tract FOR the times, the book suffers from all the difficulties of Macdonald's call to absolute morality. That is, it in no way indicates how absolute morality can be related to social practice, either to living in this world or trying to change it; and so it leaves one with the conviction that such a morality is more of a stance than an opinion.

CORRECTION: In last week's article on the Wallace-Stalinist party, a word ("pro-capitalist") appeared in the twentieth line from the bottom that was not in the original copy. The sentence should read: "Every worker must be made to understand this, above all the worker who may yield to the lure of the Wallace-Stalinist party as a sign of his well-founded opposition to the two big capitalist parties."

## MASARYK:

HIS SUICIDE MARKS THE END OF A ROAD

By IRVING HOWE

mittedly a sad event, but the causes of that sadness are rather more complex than most newspaper comments have been willing to notice.

Was it, however, suicide or murder? We have no way of knowing. We can only say what is obvious on the basis of the entire history of Stalinism: there is no reason to believe that it couldn't have been a murder. After all, such specialists in human enslavement and destruction as the Stalinists would hardly hesitate to rub out this weak, ineffectual liberal if there were any sign that he was trying to slip out of their grasp. They have murdered many in the past and before we are through with them, they will no doubt murder many in the future.

Yet we would guess—and that is all it is: a guess—that in this case Masaryk took his own life. If that is so, then the political implications of his action are extremely interesting. For one thing, he who only yesterday was being scorned by the American press as a coward and a traitor who had sold out to Stalinism is now depicted as a martyr to his country.

### WAS HE A MARTYR?

But what does his martyrdom consist of? Did he die trying to rally the people of Czechoslovakia against tyranny? Did he die fighting in an underground movement to free the Czechs? No; he died because he must have sensed the futility of his course; he must have sensed that he had worked himself into a hopeless position in which he was now completely the prisoner of the Stalinists. In fact, the last public statement Masaryk made was one in weakness, the political bankruptcy of Masaryk and his like that made possible the seemingly constitutional rise to power of the Stalinists. Masaryk played the same role with regards to the Stalinists as did Von Papen with regards to Hitler. There is no heroism in either, and without heroism there is no genuine martyrdom.

### Not all who die are martyrs.

Perhaps, as seems only too likely, we shall soon hear distressing news from Prague about the Stalinist regime's persecution of Czech Trotskyists. If a Czech Trotskyist or a Czech socialist were to be murdered there would be an instance of genuine martyrdom. These people would be dying for something.

You may wonder why this emphasis on martyrdom. What's the difference if Masaryk was a martyr or not? Insofar as Masaryk personally is concerned, it matters very little. But politically it matters a great deal.

For Masaryk's suicide was not merely a personal act; it was a political event, both directly and symbolically. Masaryk's act was the end of the road of bourgeois liberal politics.

Masaryk committed suicide when his political role seemed hopeless. He had been utilized by the Stalinists; he had no mass following in Czechoslovakia among either pro- or anti-Stalinists; he was at a dead end.

### WEAK AND PLIANT FOOLS

Suppose Masaryk had felt it was possible for him to rally masses of Czechs against Stalinist tyranny? Would he then have committed suicide? We cannot say, of course, but it seems unlikely. It seems, rather, that he would have found sustenance in this mass support, a basis on which to manage somehow to oppose the Stalinists.

But that is the whole point: bourgeois liberalism simply cannot compete against Stalinism in Europe. It can offer only words about democracy. Now the democratic rights that such people as Masaryk talk about are very precious to us. But precisely because they are precious we must recognize Masaryk's helplessness in defending them from Stalinist attack. The Stalinists speak in the name of something new, something that seems to the masses anti-capitalism (and whatever else, their experience in Europe convinces them that capitalism, the old order, is helpless and hopeless) as well as in the name of something that seems to smack of socialism.

Bourgeois liberalism, whether represented by someone as weak as Masaryk or someone stronger in personal traits, is helpless before Stalinism. And for those bourgeois liberals who try to cooperate with the Stalinists, the political end is the one which became Masaryk's personal end: suicide, extinction.

Bourgeois liberalism has had a remarkable history. Once proud and defiant, it stood at the head of the great revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, sweeping aside the crowns of kings, but already beginning to feel a bit uneasy about its brawny proletarian partner that jostled it in the battle while demanding a fairer share of the victory. Today liberalism is a weak and pliant fool, no matter how conscience stricken, of one or another of the ruling imperialist powers of the world. Its rhetoric is stale, its hopes illusory, its program antiquated.

Precisely because liberalism in general is best characterized by the act of Masaryk, it is all the more necessary for socialism to make its own, its precious unambiguous possession, those strands of belief of once vital liberalism that remain important for our day: its emphasis on democratic rights, on human individuality and human diversity. What they talked about we must make real.

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Congressmen Pass Buck on Demands for Housing Legislation

Veterans Get Runaround at Housing Conference

WASHINGTON, D. C.—At the first National Veterans Housing Conference held here on February 29-March 1, approximately 1600 delegates and observers representing all the major veterans organizations in the country heard a score of Congressional speakers pass the buck for Congress' lack of action on the nation's major domestic problem—housing.

Unfortunately, the conference confined its three sessions to speeches, resolutions and visits to Congressmen. A proposal from the New York AVC delegation to hold a military parade around the Capitol Building was dropped after VFW members protested that they wouldn't participate in any such "un-American actions."

delegations into state groups and congressional districts prior to visiting the legislators. The aim of these visits was to get the representatives to sign a petition that had been resting on the Finance Committee's desk for the past three years and which needed 218 signatures to put the TEW bill in the House for a vote.

used by Congress to prevent passage of ANY housing legislation, whatsoever. To the dismay of most of the delegates who had been called primarily for the purpose of getting Congress to pass the TEW bill, Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin informed the gathering that there was no possibility of Congress passing the TEW bill in its present form and that the conference had better approve its own "compromise" bill.

politics—that Congress does not act in favor of the masses of people unless it is COMPELLED to.

Buffalo Vet Calls On His Congressman, And...

BUFFALO—Our Buffalo delegation had just adjourned from the second session of the National Veterans Housing Conference and we were on our way to pay our Congressman a visit to determine whether or not he favored the TEW (Taft - Ellender - Wagner) Housing Bill.

prise. Where the first Congressman was at least civil, Representative Butler appeared extremely annoyed that we had caught him in the office. We found him sitting on a desk, feet dangling, engaged in lively banter with two attractive secretaries.

Part I of a Series on the Problems and Alignments in the URW

The Situation in the Rubber Workers Union

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON—As with many of the other major international unions (for example, the United Automobile Workers and the National Maritime Union) the United Rubber Workers (CIU) today finds itself faced with a growing struggle within the international over who shall dominate it—the progressives or the conservative right-wingers.

rallied magnificently to his defense at the next convention of the URW. They were against strikes that might interfere with the "all-out effort" and thereby interfere with the aid that might be given Stalin.

of the CP from all positions of influence in the CIU. Secondly, and by far the most important, there was the pressure of the State Department engaged in running down Stalinists as a part of the "cold war" with Stalin.

ple to gain from this grouping were Buckmaster and the reactionaries. In this latter respect, there is a striking parallel between the Watson and the Bass caucuses.

forced to vote with them whether they liked it or not, and in addition there can be little doubt that much of the anti-Stalinist sentiment that was subsequently forced into the Watson-Buckmaster camp would have found its way to the Bass caucus.

Unlike the situation in the UAW, where the progressive wing of the international was in opposition to and defeated the Stalinist influence, the situation in the URW is not at all so clear and well defined. There are in the URW today two coalitions, actually composed of four groups. On the one hand there is the Buckmaster leadership bolstered by the Watson caucus, while on the other is the Bass caucus allied in one fashion or another with the Stalinists.

The Stalinists are, and always have been, capable of literally anything so long as it is in the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The welfare of the international working class means absolutely nothing to them except as a pawn in Stalin's game.

Discuss until a few months before the 1947 convention of the URW, a semblance of unity had been maintained between the Bass and Watson groups. The convention itself provided the final basis for the demonstrative break. The Watson group, along with the rest of the united Bass-Watson forces, had always been anti-Stalinist and anti-Buckmaster.

It is necessary to understand, however, that this was due to two factors. First and foremost, Eagle and Loyd, by virtue of their positions, could control international representatives' whose jobs depended on remaining in the good graces of these two men.

(Next Week: Role of the Socialist Workers Party)

This coincides substantially with the version given by several members of the Bass caucus immediately following the 1946 convention. Whatever the details were, the fact remains that Watson and Bass were in disagreement when the vote was taken and the majority of the Goodrich delegation, recording secretary, opposed Bass and aligned themselves with Watson and the Firestone delegation to successfully defeat the issue.

On the one hand, the Stalinists sold out the membership of the URW for the welfare of the most brutal anti-working class government in history, Stalinist Russia, and on the other hand, Buckmaster and his associates sold them out because they are by nature class collaborationists who seldom flinch when asked to sell out the working class to the boss class, unless of course it actually means the destruction or substantial weakening of the union movement.

Watson failed to distinguish himself from Buckmaster and the reactionaries on any major issue. He has always maintained that he has no sympathy for Buckmaster or his union politics. Based, however, on an anti-Stalinist attitude, with no real understanding of what the Stalinists represent and no understanding of what Buckmaster represents and with no program to maintain stability, he and his group ended by playing a role side by side with Buckmaster, Joe Saylor and a generous representation of the extreme right wing reactionaries.

The problem then for Bass and his supporters was always one of how to break the coalition between the sizable group of reactionaries of the capitalist brand, represented by Buckmaster, from the group of reactionaries of the Stalinist brand, represented by Loyd, Eagle, etc., and to break the mechanical hold (not based on program) which the Stalinists managed to keep over various sections of the international through controlled representatives.

"Buckmaster falls into this category along with almost the entire labor bureaucracy because he keeps the labor movement within the bounds of what he and the capitalists feel is "decent unionism." During the war he subordinated the interests of the workers to that of the war to maintain and expand the capitalist state.

Prior to that time the Bass-Watson group had been a powerful, if somewhat amorphous, force in the international. It had been anti-Buckmaster and, for the most part, anti-Stalinist or Communist Party. During that same period the conservative right-wing Buckmaster had not found it at all discomforting to cohabitate with the Stalinists in the international leadership.

The wedge in this happy relationship was with the enactment of the Taft-Hartley bill. The question of the bill, coupled with the red-baiting hysteria whipped up by the House Un-American Activities Committee, made it necessary in the interests of self-preservation for Moscow to decide that the American Communist Party would oppose compliance.

But as fate would have it they were not required to force any wedge between the two reactionary groups. Events did that, as we have already outlined. Here then was the opportunity for the progressives to step in and constitute the decisive force.

The Stalinists, in turn, had never found it too objectionable to live with Buckmaster's reactionary politics and policies. During the war their line in the union movement corresponded with that of all the reactionaries and class collaborationists. Where Buckmaster and his predecessor, Dalrymple, were for speed-up and all-out effort, the Stalinists were also for speed-up and an all-out effort because that would allow for maximum lend-lease to Russia and for the earliest possible military assistance from the United States.

Buckmaster, the class collaborationist, was facilitated in the choice of a position by two factors. First, there was the attitude of Philip Murray which, though publicly ambiguous was, nonetheless, for expulsion

which one fights for inside the bloc. It might be remarked parenthetically that, in any event, no bloc was necessary to win any of the points that the Watson-Buckmaster group won at the last convention. Had Watson and the other people in his caucus understood the CP and Buckmaster and if they had had a program to stand on, they could have opposed the CP on a progressive basis where it was necessary without identifying themselves with Buckmaster.

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Drought, Monopolies Produce Calif. Electric Power Crisis

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Mar. 13—A serious shortage of rainfall and the stranglehold of capitalist monopolies have combined to produce an electric power crisis in the state of California. Electric clocks have begun to run down. Daylight saving time has been ordered to save a possible one hour of electric light.

DISGUSTED VET.

This series of interviews was fairly typical of the reactions of most of the delegations. We came home from Washington with the feeling that maybe the Congressmen had never been in the army at all, but they sure knew the old army game!

Much of this is obviously a result of the unexpected drought. The supply of water in the hydroelectric plants of the Pacific Gas & Electric Company is less than four-fifths of normal. But the failure to plan and expand facilities adequately is recognized as the most important reason.

HOLD PG&E RESPONSIBLE

The hearings have presented the fantastic spectacle of the California Manufacturers Association and labor and consumer representatives agreeing that over-all direction of electric power must be in the hands of a public agency.

Its attitude was perfectly expressed by President James B. Black at a Congressional hearing two years ago. Speaking about the possibilities of electric power shortages, he declared "there is none now, there has been none, and there will be none in the future."

The clearest statement was made by AFL Representative Barney Mayes, who brought the organization's official declaration that "we object to leaving the responsibility for seeing us through this crisis in the hands of the very private utility that is responsible more than any other agency for our troubles."

FEARS PUBLIC POWER

The mammoth public utility outfit openly fears public power above all things. Controlling most of the transmission lines in the northern and central parts of the states, it is even preventing the use of power generated by publicly-owned dams from reaching municipalities, particularly those that operate their own electricity-distribution systems.

Despite two days of rain, there seems to be no immediate prospect of abatement. Grandiose plans for hydroelectric projects are strictly for the future. Meanwhile PG&E continue its stranglehold and wrecks economic life, to the extent that even large sections of the capitalist class want something done about it.