

Asiatic People Rally to Side Of Indonesians

The Dutch assault on the Indonesian republic succeeded in the past week in completing the conquest of Java and subduing the main republican centers on Sumatra.

However, these conquests were rapidly becoming pyrrhic victories as the peoples of Asia, under the leadership of India, began to gird themselves for a long and united struggle in support of the republic against the imperialists. This was by far the outstanding event of the recent period, overshadowing the military successes of the Dutch. Asiatic unity against imperialism is one of the first major consequences, for which all imperialisms will pay, of the Dutch action.

In the international arena the UN again proved its futility in dealing with any serious matter, while U.S. policy vacillated between suspension of ERP credits to Indonesia and a moderate policy inside the UN, which successfully prepared the way to acceptance of the Dutch action as a fait accompli.

REPUBLICAN FORCES

While it is true that the Dutch had established their military dominance, they were masters only of the towns and fortresses. The countryside—the villages, the hills, the jungles and the interior recesses of the islands, anywhere where guerrillas could organize—was being transformed into assault points for military operations against the imperialists. For example, in West Java, not a strong republican territory before, the number of guerrilla incidents is greater than at any time during the past two years. In these regions Javanese who enter the employ of the Dutch are tried in secret courts and punished as puppet traitors.

Republican radio stations have been established and an underground government has been set up in Java to coordinate activities. Coordination with similar movements on Sumatra has also been established. It is probable that a complete governmental center in exile will soon be set up in India.

It is now clear that republican military forces have not been entirely annihilated. The central Javanese army apparently remains intact in the remote interior. Well planned "scorched-earth" attacks against imperialist holdings are increasing. There are reports that rubber plantations off the main roads are completely in the hands of the workers, who in many cases have killed the British and Dutch administrators. In-

donesia is rapidly becoming a new Viet-Nam. It is estimated that the Dutch are spending a million dollars a day in their attempt to hold on to the islands. This money is, in part, from American-supplied ERP funds. The Dutch embroilment will have serious economic repercussions on the Dutch economy at home.

DUTCH FIND PUPPETS

In their attempt to give a native cover for their brutal assault the imperialists have succeeded in obtaining a number of puppets, particularly on Sumatra and Borneo. Invariably the pattern of these alliances is the sanctification of landlordism and feudal Sultanates. In East Sumatra, Dr. Mansur and on Borneo Sultan Hamid are the aristocrats on whom the Dutch now lean. The fact that they have had to turn again to the most reactionary Mohammedan feudal elements as their sole support proves, if proof were still necessary, that Dutch imperialism nowhere has any popular support and that only among the most reactionary elements, the medieval, fanatically religious oppressors of the peasantry can they find any groups with which to re-establish their rule.

Contrary to early propaganda releases by the Dutch, not a single republican leader has gone over to their puppet set-ups. President Soekarno, Premier and Socialist Leader Sjahrir are still under arrest. Conciliatory tendencies, under the leadership of Premier Hatta, are no longer in the dominant republican circles. On the contrary, heartened by complete mass support, the quick regroupment of guerrilla forces, and above all, by the tremendous expressions of international solidarity by the Asiatic governments and peoples, the backbone of the Republic has straightened up and nowhere is compromise spoken of seriously.

The Hague has dispatched its foreign minister, a Labor Party leader, to Indonesia to take charge on the spot of political consolidation for the Dutch. However, it is unlikely that this social democrat will be able to achieve any more than the rabid militarist governor-generals of Holland have achieved in the recent past. In the UN Security Council, L. M. Palar, Indonesian delegate, stated: "No negotiations with the Dutch are possible so long as the leaders of the republican government are imprisoned and so long as Dutch troops have not been withdrawn to the original truce lines." Palar promised

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NMU Risks Damage to Union In Latest Expulsion Moves

By E. ROBERTS

NEW YORK—Three Stalinists were expelled and four others fined \$100 and placed on one year's probation this past week in the National Maritime Union (CIO). The trio expelled were Joseph Stack, one-time vice-president, Rose Shovell and Ann Conroy, also former officials. The other four were lesser Stalinist figures.

The charges leveled against the first three by the New York Port agent were: 1) disruption of a regular membership meeting; 2) participating in an illegal meeting after regular meeting was adjourned; 3) physical attacks against officials who tried to prevent their actions; 4) anti-union activity. The others were charged with participation in the same illegal meeting and distributing slanderous leaflets "or other forms of anti-union activity."

Unlike previous NMU meetings, it was observed by many who attended that the democratic practices which are normally a part of these meetings, went by the board at this meeting. The meeting referred to here is the December 27 regular Port of New York membership meeting which had to vote on the findings of the Trial Committee which heard the above mentioned cases.

BREACH DEMOCRACY

"Give them a dose of their own medicine," at this meeting took the form of: 1) voting to accept or reject the report as a whole rather than individual cases (one of the chief

democratic demands raised by the Rank and File against the CP leadership of the union last year was a seriatim vote on all reports); 2) denying the CPers the right to have their own counters accompany administration counters on the vote (a demand the Stalinists were forced to concede to the Rank and File during the fight and one which was given the Stalinists up until the present); 3) refusal to grant a recount upon demand (although this would have very little meaning without double counters).

While the above mentioned practices are not listed in the union constitution as a part of the normal procedure, they were established by precedent and earned the NMU the reputation of being a truly democratic outfit. If the procedure used at the December 27 meeting is to be regarded as a precedent to be followed, the NMU will begin to be classed, by its own and other maritime workers, with some other maritime unions which continually mouth "democracy," criticize other unions for their anti-democratic practices, but seldom allow democracy to prevail inside their own union.

The dangers that accompany this are, of course, innumerable. To mention only a few, the anti-union elements will use this to attack the NMU and will encourage cynicism toward unionism in general. The Stalinists will gain, not lose, support as a result of their battle against these

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UE Local 601 Ranks Rout CP Machine in Election

By STAN LAUREN

EAST PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 28—The Stalinist machine has been swept out of office in one of the most popular and tremendous elections ever held in Westinghouse Local 601, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

Announcement came today that every top office in the nine-day-long elections went to Rank and File candidates. With 13,900 members of the local out of a total of 16,500 members casting ballots, the majorities of the winning candidates were so large that the Stalinists didn't even come close.

This local has long been under the total domination of the Communist Party. Because the East Pittsburgh plant is the largest unit in the UE, its importance to the CP cannot be minimized. Through President Tom Fitzpatrick, who was decisively defeated in this election, it used the prestige of the local in every Stalinist "front" committee and cause. It has been the base of all CP strength in Western Pennsylvania.

VICTORY FOR RANKS

The ranks in the shop have, up until now, permitted the Stalinists to run the local by their own non-participation in union affairs. Very few support the CP, but the Stalinists kept office when membership meetings were poorly attended and elections outstanding for the small number of votes cast.

Responsible for this were the Stalinists themselves who discouraged participation of the ranks from the shops.

The victory of the anti-Stalinist forces was actually a voicing of a mass resentment with the bureaucratic methods and mismanagement of the leadership.

The vote for the Rank and File Group candidates was not a mere

anti-Stalinist vote. It began to gather strength months ago when they first put up a battle on several issues of grave importance to the membership.

Foremost was the stand taken on the Taft-Hartley affidavits. While the Rank and File Group opposed the T-H Law, it urged signing of the affidavits so that it could gain bargaining rights for Westinghouse workers

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DANGER SIGNAL: COURT OKs BAN ON CLOSED SHOP

Simultaneously with the organization of the new Congress, and with newspaper headlines focused on Truman's victory on the House Rules Committee, the Supreme Court delivered itself of two opinions which can undo much of what the labor leadership hopes to exact from the 81st Congress.

In a unanimous opinion (written by "liberal" Justice Hugo Black), the Court upheld the closed shop ban legislated by North Carolina and Nebraska. With a single dissenting vote (Justice Murphy's), the court, again in an opinion written by Justice Black, upheld Arizona's closed shop statute.

The opinions affirmed the right of all states to pass similar laws.

The Court's decisions assume added importance in light of the fact that among the things the labor leadership was counting on was certain repeal of that section of the Taft-Hartley act which prohibits the closed shop. By these decisions, even if Congress restored the Wagner Act in its entirety, the labor movement would have to battle in each of the forty-eight states to safeguard the closed shop.

Dangerous as is the Supreme Court's action, it can possibly serve labor through being a timely warning. During the fight on and against Taft-Hartley, the labor leadership put its heaviest reliance on winning its battle in the courts. And the labor movement has indeed won an occasional victory in the courts. But the Supreme Court has now reminded the labor movement that it, the Court, is an agency of the capitalist state, and can generally be expected to act in the service of its class.

The point is sharpened by the labor leaders' fervent embrace of Truman who is now expected to pay off on his re-election by pressing for repeal of Taft-Hartley and for other legislation desired by the labor movement.

Truman is, in fact, expected to propose to Congress in his January 5th message (which comes a trifle too late to be covered in this issue of LABOR ACTION) various measures on labor legislation, social security, civil rights which reflect the wishes of the unions.

The reorganization of the House Rules Committee is supposed to facilitate realization of this program by making it easier to get bills out of the committee which is a traditional burial ground for progressive legislation. Where the Rules Committee refuses to put a bill before the House, a chairman of a committee responsible for a bill now has the right, after twenty-one days, to request the speaker to put it before the House. (This is a big triumph for democracy, but not big enough to explain why a bill cannot be placed directly before

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Stalinists Gain Political Initiative In China as Desertions Hit Chiang

By JACK BRAD

The last few weeks have seen the political initiative in China fall to the Communists, on the heels of their military victories. Many groups which waited, before committing themselves, to hear Chiang Kai-shek's New Year's Day message now feel released from any loyalty to his disintegrating state and have gone over to defeatism or are making overtures to the Stalinists. The death-throes of the Kuomintang will find few sympathizers as all who possibly can do so with safety are joining the scramble to disassociate themselves from the regime and jump on the new bandwagon.

The most startling disaffection is that of the Shanghai City Council, which speaks for the largest industrial, financial and maritime center in KMT (Kuomintang) China. The direct appeal of the council to the

CP over the heads of Nanking and its appeal to other cities to join with it in what, under other circumstances, would be treated as a rebellion, is the final step in the cleavage between the bourgeoisie — merchants, bankers, small industrialists, compradors and foreign businessmen—and the state. The Nanking regime is socially and politically isolated by these events from what was, in the days of its rise to power, its primary support.

For several weeks now all manner of clandestine negotiations have been conducted between Shanghai's merchants, the CP and various KMT groups looking toward a guarantee of the city's safety and the free functioning of its port and economy regardless of military exigency. Shanghai's ruling class sought, in effect, the benefits of neutrality or of an open city from both sides. At the same time it supported defeatist "peace" groups in the KMT. It is significant that Sun

Fo spent several weeks in the city, after his appointment as premier, before forming his government.

With Chiang's New Year declaration, however, it became clear that the "peace" groups would strew in their own juice while Chiang and his clique of militarist supporters retained all real power of decision and continued the war at all costs. The ineffectual flexibility of Shanghai, seeking to save their fortunes and businesses, have now deserted Chiang's suicidal war policy. In every seacoast and merchant city such tendencies will now take hold. There is no reason to believe that the Stalinists will not come to terms if the proper approach is made.

CP FORMING COALITION

The Stalinists are forming alliances in several directions. While military actions were stilled by 20 inches of snow and by the need for regroupment for assault across the Yangtze, they began to consolidate their political coalition. Negotiations with General Fu Tso-yi were under way for the easy surrender of Peiping and Tientsin, two ripe plums whose fall is now only a matter of time. The Stalinists are anxious to obtain both cities intact. Peiping is the probable initial capital of the Stalinist national coalition if Nanking's fall is delayed.

Having rejected as "war criminals" the entire Nanking regime, including all its wings and groups, the CP received embassies from war lords and merchant groups which were not on the list of the condemned. Marshall Li, head of the "Revolutionary Committee-KMT," an anti-Nanking group, went north to join the maneuvers preceding formation of the new government.

The Yunnan war-lord, General Lung Yun, announced his adherence to Marshal Li's group and his readiness to hand over the rich Yunnan province to the CP armies. Yunnan borders Indo-China in the deep South. The entire "Southern bastion," which a few months ago was a possible refuge for the Chiang regime, was falling away and local war lords, who had retained a measure of independence, were seeking deals with the CP. Mme. Sun Yat-sen was also scheduled to join the new coalition forming around CP headquarters.

The probability is that after most of the present negotiations, which aim at neutralizing opposition and facilitating national conquest, the CP will call a new Political Consultative Con-

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Why Palestine War Goes On: Britain Desires the Negev

By AL FINDLEY

The recent fighting in the Negev confirms LABOR ACTION's prediction of December 6 that the cease-fire orders of November 4 and 16 would not bring peace but would be a short-lived "finger-on-the-trigger" truce. The current Israeli offensive fully bears this out. LABOR ACTION predicted this, as against numerous statements by Bunche, General Rorer and others that fighting in Palestine was at an end.

The Israeli offensive against the Egyptians in the last days of 1948 was designed primarily to force Egypt to negotiate a permanent armistice or peace. The Israeli army was in a position and had the strength to expel the Egyptians from Palestine at will. Instead they allowed the Egyptians to remain, but cut their lines and endeavored them, making their position "militarily untenable."

This was done for two reasons. The first of course is that forcing ANY Arab country to sit down at a peace table would be a political victory of great significance for Israel. The second reason was the attempt of Israel to use an Egyptian peace to reduce the bargaining strength of Abdullah, thus reducing the price that this monarch demands for peace.

While the Israeli army was committed in the Negev fight, the rest of the Arab armies remained quiet, Syria and Lebanon did not have the strength to start an offensive. Abdullah did not want to use his troops, preferring to use his military power as a club in the bargaining for a final settlement. The Iraqi could do nothing without the Transjordanians.

The net political effect of the fighting in the Negev has been that the pressure for "concessions" from Israel has shifted to Arabs. The question now is—how much of the original territory allotted to the Palestinian Arabs will be retained by them, or Transjordan and Egypt.

LABOR ACTION earlier forecast that as a result of the October victories of Israel, Britain would now REALLY come to the aid of the Arab states. This reporter never believed that England expected to destroy Israel, but was convinced the British knew the military facts which made that impossible. The British aim was to use the promise of peace to secure boundaries similar to those proposed by the first Bernadotte Plan. The victory of Israel in the Negev has de-

stroyed the military and political basis for this plan.

The Foreign Office is really frantic. This accounts for the fantastic series of actions by the British. Warships were sent to Aquaba on the Red Sea and charges were made in the Security Council that Israel had invaded Transjordan and Egypt. The Foreign Office allowed a "diplomatic leak" that the British would be forced to join the war against Israel and lift the embargo on arms to the Arab states in line with its treaties.

The extent of the jitters that the British have can be seen from the warmth with which Bevin is now embracing Egypt, the Arabian power it had been most afraid of. The return to power of the pro-British former Premier Abdul Hadi Pasha is only a minor reason since the rapprochement began before that.

It is highly improbable that Britain will actually openly enter the war against Israel. However, the chances are that Britain will send arms to the Arabs in order to save some of the Negev.

The British introduced and carried in the Security Council a cease-fire for the umpteenth time. In addition, the resolution calls for a withdrawal to lines held before the first Israeli offensive in October. This was one of the few times that any motion carried in the Security Council carried without U.S. votes. Russia, however, did vote for the cease-fire, but abstained on the withdrawal order. The prestige of UN cease-fire orders has fallen so low that few people care what answer will be given to the current UN order.

The strong pro-Israel position of the U. S. will probably be very short. Already there are reports of another shift in U. S. position and that the U. S. has warned Israel unofficially that recognition will be withdrawn if Arab territory is invaded.

However, no major anti-Jewish acts will be taken till the Israeli elections January 23. It is even possible that a series of pro-Israel steps will be taken in order to strengthen the pro-West forces among Israeli parties.

ABDULLAH'S DREAM

In the meantime, Abdullah is more concerned with his plans for uniting Arab Palestine with Transjordan as the first step in achieving his dream of a greater Syria—including Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq under his rule. A series of moves has taken place. First he was crowned king by

the Coptic Church in Jerusalem. A gathering of notables was then held in Jericho that petitioned Abdullah to unite Arab Palestine with Transjordan. The Transjordan Parliament approved the idea. A series of mass demonstrations arranged by the Arab Legion is now taking place in all major centers of Palestine demanding union.

The official step has not been taken yet, partly due to the opposition of the rest of the Arab League and partly to the "go slow" signal by Britain. Bevin is a little disappointed in the fact that Abdullah is more interested in his "personal" fortunes than in British bases in the Negev. Bevin is now trying to mend his fences with Egypt.

The Transjordan radio at Ramleh has been urging a negotiated peace with Israel. One report in the Jewish Forward says that Abdullah has officially accepted an offer to actually begin negotiations for a permanent armistice or peace in Palestine.

The only real bar to peace in Palestine—NOW—is Britain's desire for the Negev.

Kutcher Plans Loyalty Board Appeal

Legless Vet Challenges Attorney General on Subversive Listing

NEWARK—James Kutcher, legless veteran, announced on January 4 that the Veterans Administration in Washington has informed him of its approval of his dismissal from a clerk's job in the VA because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Kutcher has been given 20 days in which to file an appeal with the Loyalty Review Board of the U. S. Civil Service Commission.

Kutcher, who lost both legs in the battle of San Pietro, Italy, in 1943, was dismissed from his VA job last October after Attorney General Clark had designated the Socialist Workers Party as an organization seeking "to alter the form of the government by unconstitutional means."

The veteran does not deny his membership in the party, but challenges the Attorney General's contention that it is subversive. He is appealing through the channels of the Loyalty Board for a reversal of the decision in his case, and for a "complete exoneration" of his party.

"I did not get a fair deal from the VA," he declared. "The real issue in my case is not my membership in the Socialist Workers Party, which I have always freely admitted, but the question of whether or not my party is subversive. The letter I have just received from the VA admits that in making its decision it was 'bound' by the Attorney General's designation and therefore could not even consider the real issue.

"What I am seeking is a decision on that crucial issue. Attorney General Clark put my party on his blacklist without submitting any specification of charges or evidence. When we asked for a public hearing at which we could defend ourselves against his charges, he arbitrarily denied it. This bureaucratic witch-hunt method is the same kind used by Hitler and Stalin against their political opponents, and will lead to a police state if not stopped."

Kutcher declared that he would file an appeal with the Loyalty Re-

view Board in Washington within the specified time limit. "If I don't get justice there, if the Loyalty Board also dodges the real issue, then I will be compelled to go to the civil courts and, if necessary, all the way up to the Supreme Court," he said.

The veteran is being aided in his legal fight by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a national non-partisan citizens committee with branches in many cities, which was formed to restore him to his job and clear his name of the stigma placed on it by his dismissal. It has received the support of CIO and AFL unions, the American Veterans Committee, the New Jersey Council of Americans for Democratic Action, the Commission on Social Justice, etc.

The committee also reported that Kutcher's dismissal has been scored by the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion as "an almost perfect example of bureaucratic bungling in how not to handle a doubtful loyalty case."

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Beck and West Coast Labor

By DAVE MORGAN

SEATTLE—Luce publications, Time and Fortune magazines, recently have given amazing publicity to Dave Beck, No. 2 boy of the Teamsters Union.

Why this sudden interest in Dave Beck? If it were the intention of the Luce publications to acknowledge labor's newly-won confidence in its political power by giving considerable space to the one labor leader whose policies are best suited to destroy the labor movement as a democratic force in society, they could not possibly have chosen a better subject.

All that was said in these articles about Beck's rise to power in the Seattle labor movement is perfectly true. Equally true is the fact that Beck is today a pillar of Seattle society, the darling of the Chamber of Commerce, and member of the Board of Regents of the University of Washington.

What was not so clear in the articles was how a man who ten or twelve years ago was called a gangster and a public enemy by "respectable" Seattle citizens is today regarded by these citizens as a labor statesman and a man of honor without peer.

BUSINESS CHOOSES BECK

Time sketched a possible answer to this enigma. The purpose here is to fill in the sketch and to demonstrate that there is no enigma involved.

In the great days of labor organization during the thirties, Beck set out to win control of the trucking and warehousing industry of the Northwest. By virtue of his audacity and his ability to use notorious organizational methods, he succeeded in spreading his control over a vast labor empire. It was during this period of Beck's ascendancy to power that Northwest business regarded Beck as a menace and public enemy.

When it was a question of no unions or Beck unions, the business men, of course, preferred no unions. But as the mighty wave of the CIO began crashing upon the waterfront of the West Coast and threatened to inundate the open shop warehouses and industries inland, the frightened business men had a change of heart. Obviously their desire to perpetuate the good old days of the open shop and small craft unions no longer was a realistic perspective. The question was then posed by Beck himself, and bluntly. Labor organization was here for good. There are two alternatives for business. The CIO and industrial ("revolutionary") unionism, or Beck and safe porkchop unionism. Beck guaranteed there would be perfect discipline in any plant organized into his unions. Not only that, Beck guaranteed to keep the CIO from moving inland. Beck's power was assured.

Today, as time so patly put it, "Beck's Teamsters make beer, can fruit, dehydrate vegetables, sell and service automobiles, pump gasoline, work in warehouses, and clean suits." They are "store clerks, undertakers, cowpunchers and aircraft mechanics."

Beck and Beckism have been the main bulwark against progressive unionism in Seattle. His control of the Seattle Central Labor Council has made it virtually a forum for his views alone. It has seldom, if ever, played the role originally intended for such a body, that of a clearing house for the discussion of policies, which would advance the cause of

labor in the community. The Central Labor Council advances only the cause of Dave Beck in the community. Every Seattle union which prepares for a militant fight, for whatever the cause, must always reckon with the probability of Teamster strike-breaking. Every employer with a Beck contract knows that he can be assured of his goods being moved by Teamsters, no matter how vicious his attitude is toward the other workers in his employ.

Last year the Automotive Machinists, Lodge 79, International Association of Machinists, struck for higher wages in the major auto dealer industry. They placed picket lines around the shops and closed them up. The salesmen and the parts men and other departments under Beck jurisdiction did not go through. Beck goon squads did battle with the IAM pickets in a couple of places, resulting in an injunction against mass picket lines. Thus the Beck workers were ordered back through, and the strike was prolonged for six months.

Recently the Department Store Clerks in Tacoma struck to raise the level of their notoriously low wages. Beck Teamsters moved the tied-up goods to other distribution centers, thus effectively breaking the strike. Though it is possible to give literally hundreds of examples of Beckism in practice, only one other will be mentioned. Beck's active breaking of the strike of 14,000 Boeing Airplane Company workers will go down in labor history as one of the most infamous examples of out and out scab-herding on record. This strike

was called in April of this year by the Aero-Mechanics Union, Lodge 751, IAM. Immediately after an injunction had been issued against mass picketing, open recruiting of scabs began. First through the line were Teamster organizers, who entered the plant and began organization of the scabs. Not only that, Teamster scab recruiting offices were set up with the result that the strike was broken after five heartbreaking months.

OPPOSITION RISES
It should therefore be obvious that Beck's popularity among the business men of Seattle and the Northwest has a sound basis. It should also be obvious that to the rest of the Seattle labor movement, defeat of Beckism is the prerequisite for the progress of unionism as a progressive social force in the community.

In breaking the Boeing strike, Beck has broken every principle of unionism; he has deliberately fouled every worker in the Northwest. As a result, a movement will grow and is already in evidence to defeat Beckism. Already the Washington State Federation of Labor convention has declared its opposition to his strike-breaking tactics. The Puget Sound District Council of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers passed a strongly-worded resolution at its recent convention.

Implicit in these resolutions is the growing sentiment of the entire rank of labor against all that Beck stands for. As it is with all dictators, when they seem most powerful and ruthless, there grows the force making inevitable their downfall.

ingness to co-operate in solving the six-year-old Tresca case. Gitlow, in his recent book, The Whole of Their Lives, declared the editor's murder grew out of a feud between Tresca and Enea Sormentali, now said to be the Communist's political chief in Trieste.

Mr. Thomas told the District Attorney that Mr. Gitlow's statements about the Tresca killing and the apparently related Juliet Poyntz disappearance case, appeared to have "much more solidity" than those of Louis F. Budenz, ex-editor of the Communist Daily Worker, in his autobiography last year. Recalling that the Grand Jury questioned Budenz at length, Mr. Thomas averred that there was good reason to hope that Mr. Gitlow could be more helpful in this situation than was Mr. Budenz.

Well-known speakers who were Tresca's friends will pay tribute to him in the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, on the sixth anniversary of his murder, Tuesday, January 11, at 8 p.m. Stirring Italian music will be played by Alfred Granata, violinist and cousin of Tresca, and an accompanist. Their offerings will include melodies loved by the people of Sulmona, the historic mountain town in the Abruzzi region of Italy, in which Carlo and Mr. Granata were born and grew up.

Deep Thinkers
"No robot can replace the brain of man. Men produce these machines, but they're no good until man puts them to use."—Thomas J. Watson, at a testimonial dinner given to him at the Faculty House, Columbia University.

Atom Bombs, for Example?
"Every business realizes today that we must depend upon scientists to give us better ways of doing everything. You people have been blazing trails for all of us to follow."—Thomas J. Watson, at a testimonial dinner given to him at the Faculty House, Columbia University.

ACEWR Reports Bazaar Income
NEW YORK — The American Committee for European Workers Relief has announced the results of its recent affairs. The bazaar held by the New York Chapter netted \$1,300; Los Angeles \$850; Chicago, \$350; San Francisco, \$169; Flint-Michigan (the first time this chapter has held such an affair), \$160.

This highly successful bazaar season will enable ACEWR to renew the stream of relief packages to needy European workers. Lack of finances in November had forced the committee to cut its shipments drastically.

The final bazaar of the season will be held this month in Minnesota's Twin Cities, and is also expected to be highly successful.

The American Committee for European Workers Relief points out especially that the need for relief packages in Europe remains as vital as ever, despite all talk of economic recovery. All who believe in international solidarity are urged to support the work of the committee. Donations of money, used clothing, or food should be sent to: American Committee for European Works Relief, 130 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Local 601 Vote —
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in Beaver, Pa., and Meadville, Pa. The Stalinists, while opposed to signing the affidavits, were willing to comply with other sections of the infamous act. Result was that Beaver and Meadville were both lost to the UE.

Then the Stalinist leadership failed to act on behalf of the day workers (non-incentive pay rate workers) who have long been in need of a raise.

HEATED CAMPAIGN
As the Rank and File Group began to battle on these points, the union meetings grew larger and larger. Men and women in the shop began to feel that their voices could be heard after all. When the meetings grew larger, the Rank and File won victories for the membership. Interest in union affairs once more started to grow in the shops.

A decisive point was reached when, after a union meeting voted not to support Wallace for President, Tom Fitzpatrick and the CP union leaders became chief spokesmen for Wallace in Pennsylvania. This action was resented by the membership, who felt that the Stalinists had completely ignored their mandate.

The campaign was both bitter and heated. For several weeks now the plant workers have been barraged daily with leaflets from both sides. They read everything. Issues became clear.

WIDE EFFECTS
The actual count of votes is the best illustration of how overwhelmed

Expulsions in NMU..

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practices. Many will overlook their past role. A loss of confidence in the union and its leadership will become widespread. Rank and filers will become afraid to criticize anything. It will become difficult for the union to organize and win to it the support of other workers on the basis of such a reputation.

STALINISTS MAY GAIN

What perhaps is the most shocking thing about this whole business is that the use of such "Stalinist" methods is entirely unnecessary. In the past few months the policy of the CP in the NMU has been one of extreme recklessness and irresponsibility. They disrupted meetings, slandered and maligned the union and its leaders and their obvious goal, since they knew well they couldn't wreck the union, was to provoke the leadership into precisely such an act. It would be comparatively easy for the leadership to expose these people before the membership and deal firmly but democratically with them when they are guilty of illegal acts. A fair trial, full and free discussion of its findings at a membership meeting, a punishment that fits the crime—and there would be no question but that the ranks would give any accused member his just rewards. But this wave of anti-"red" hysteria that is sweeping through the NMU, which destroys all reason and fairness, will eventually, if not stopped, result in disaster.

One other very important thing should be mentioned. The Stalinists today more than ever before appear as the defenders of the workers in the NMU. They are active on the ships, since there are no jobs left for them in the union, and push the fight for the many grievances the seamen have. They are, of course, not the only ones who do this, although they would have you think so. For many of these beefs their own past administration is responsible, but they tell the sailors that Curran and the present regime are the root cause of their beefs.

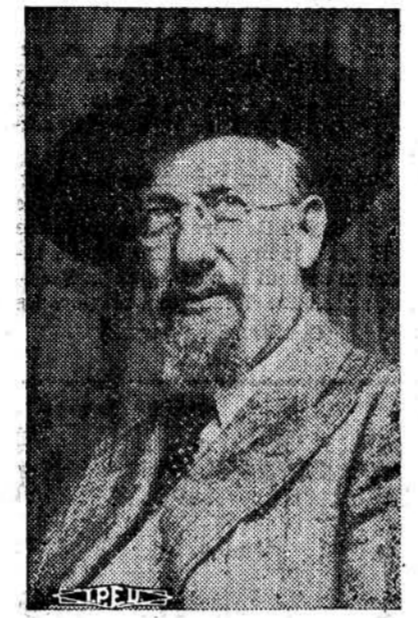
The Stalinists, however, correctly say that the union must get tough with the companies and straighten these things out (precisely what they didn't do when they were in office and one of the main reasons they were booted out by the ranks). But the present leadership, blinded by its hatred of the CP, seems generally to determine its policy by taking the stand most directly opposite to the Stalinists! A negative program like this, while it may serve to win support from some raving "anti-commie," will never win things for the membership and, once again, will strengthen the CP.

Only a positive, militant program for economic and political objectives and the fostering and extension of democratic practices will lead the National Maritime Union out of the swamp the Stalinist party has led it into. This road may be a little cumbersome and slow to travel at times but it is a sure one and does not lead into another swamp.

AWAIT DA REPLY TO HEAR NEW TRESCA EVIDENCE

NEW YORK CITY—In advance of a memorial meeting on January 11 to honor Carlo Tresca, murdered anti-totalitarian editor, the Tresca Memorial Committee expected a reply this week from District Attorney Frank Hogan on the question of asking Benjamin Gitlow, former high Communist Party official, to tell the Grand Jury what he knows about the Tresca slaying.

Over the week-end Norman Thomas, the committee's head, urged Mr. Hogan anew to take this action, in view of Mr. Gitlow's expressed will-



ingness to co-operate in solving the six-year-old Tresca case. Gitlow, in his recent book, The Whole of Their Lives, declared the editor's murder grew out of a feud between Tresca and Enea Sormentali, now said to be the Communist's political chief in Trieste.

Mr. Thomas told the District Attorney that Mr. Gitlow's statements about the Tresca killing and the apparently related Juliet Poyntz disappearance case, appeared to have "much more solidity" than those of Louis F. Budenz, ex-editor of the Communist Daily Worker, in his autobiography last year.

Recalling that the Grand Jury questioned Budenz at length, Mr. Thomas averred that there was good reason to hope that Mr. Gitlow could be more helpful in this situation than was Mr. Budenz.

Well-known speakers who were Tresca's friends will pay tribute to him in the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, on the sixth anniversary of his murder, Tuesday, January 11, at 8 p.m. Stirring Italian music will be played by Alfred Granata, violinist and cousin of Tresca, and an accompanist. Their offerings will include melodies loved by the people of Sulmona, the historic mountain town in the Abruzzi region of Italy, in which Carlo and Mr. Granata were born and grew up.

Deep Thinkers
"No robot can replace the brain of man. Men produce these machines, but they're no good until man puts them to use."—Thomas J. Watson, at a testimonial dinner given to him at the Faculty House, Columbia University.

Atom Bombs, for Example?
"Every business realizes today that we must depend upon scientists to give us better ways of doing everything. You people have been blazing trails for all of us to follow."—Thomas J. Watson, at a testimonial dinner given to him at the Faculty House, Columbia University.

ACEWR Reports Bazaar Income
NEW YORK — The American Committee for European Workers Relief has announced the results of its recent affairs. The bazaar held by the New York Chapter netted \$1,300; Los Angeles \$850; Chicago, \$350; San Francisco, \$169; Flint-Michigan (the first time this chapter has held such an affair), \$160.

This highly successful bazaar season will enable ACEWR to renew the stream of relief packages to needy European workers. Lack of finances in November had forced the committee to cut its shipments drastically.

The final bazaar of the season will be held this month in Minnesota's Twin Cities, and is also expected to be highly successful.

The American Committee for European Workers Relief points out especially that the need for relief packages in Europe remains as vital as ever, despite all talk of economic recovery. All who believe in international solidarity are urged to support the work of the committee. Donations of money, used clothing, or food should be sent to: American Committee for European Works Relief, 130 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Items in the CIO Legislative Program

Collage of labor demands including: OLD AGE & SURVIVORS INSURANCE, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, WAGES CREDITS INCREASED, INCREASED BENEFITS TO AT LEAST TWICE PRESENT LEVELS, AVERAGE INDIVIDUAL BENEFIT \$25 a month, MINIMUM BENEFIT \$10 a month, HIGHEST BENEFIT \$45 a month, LIVING COSTS UP 75% SINCE 1939, WAS YOUR JOB COVERED BY INSURANCE, WHAT STATE DO YOU LIVE IN?, STOP THE EXPERIENCE RATING, EMPLOYMENT SERVICE STAY UP IN STATE OFFICES, NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, BENEFITS EQUAL TO AT LEAST 65% OF REGULAR EARNINGS up to 85% including dependents, DISQUALIFICATION LIMITED TO 6 WEEKS No cancellation for work credits for striking, EFFECTIVE PUBLISHED SERVICE TO JOBS, ADEQUATE DURATION OF BENEFITS, DEPENDABLE WORK LESS PAID AT PROBABLY UNFAIR RATES, MINIMUM BENEFIT \$40 a month for individual instead of \$10.

Local 601 Vote —

Table listing officers and members of Local 601 with names and counts.

With the Workers Party

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Offers Poor Substitute for a Program

Reuther Finds Some New Principles

By BEN HALL

In his President's report to the UAW membership, Walter Reuther announces that the UAW delegation at the recent CIO convention proposed the expulsion of Communists from the CIO. We turn to this question not because we want to defend the Stalinists in their efforts to retain influence in the labor movement but because we seek the most effective methods of eliminating their ideas and practices so harmful to every progressive movement.

The proposal of the UAW leaders is not only wrong in itself but harmful to the union movement in its argumentation. Furthermore, it reveals a state of mind among the leaders of the most advanced labor organization in the country, the United Automobile Workers Union, which, if continued, can lead not to a decrease in the influence of Stalinism but to an increase.

It is quite true, as Reuther has said, that the Communist Party acts as the colonial agent for the Soviet Union. But any sensible person must ask himself: "How is it possible for colonial agents of an anti-working class bureaucracy to gain supporters among the American workers?"

For it is not true at all that the majority of the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party are colonial agents. The basic cause for pro-Stalinist sentiment lies in the fact that millions of workers and poor people, in this country as in all others, are dissatisfied with the conditions of insecurity, threat of war and unemployment that are part of the present capitalist system. Where there is no alternative method of carrying on a fight against these conditions proposed by honest people, the Communist Party is able to turn this justified discontent into support for Russian policy. That is the basic cause but, of course, there are also additional factors; for example, in the course of the last war, the present labor leadership which is so concerned with its fight against the Stalinists, was helping them to fit on the mask of "liberalism."

To deal a lasting blow at the Communist Party and not simply one which inconveniences them today only to push them forward tomorrow, two things are necessary: 1) an active program by the labor movement that is able to advance the interests of all the common people, not only in words and promises but in actuality; and 2) the fullest possible

democratic discussion in the ranks of the labor movement of all policies and programs so that the membership is able to judge on the basis of facts not fiction.

An example of the proper way to defeat Stalinism in the labor movement was the fight inside the UAW against the Thomas-Addes-CP administration and group in the period of 1945-7. But, since the fight of the anti-Stalinists was based upon a limited, not fully adequate, and often self-contradictory program, the defeat of the CP while severe was not final and crushing. The problem of Stalinism in the labor movement, including the UAW, remains; and in striving to eliminate it, we cannot rely upon memories of past victories.

INTRODUCING BUREAUCRATIC CONVENTION

The proposal of the UAW leaders at the CIO convention marks a turn in the methods of the struggle against the CP. Instead of the fullest possible democratic debate, it proposes bureaucratic expulsions. Instead of a new fighting program for the union movement, it proposes a reliance upon the newly elected Truman administration. This criticism may appear somewhat extreme when we read in Reuther's report: "We welcome democratic debate within the councils of CIO. We grant anyone in those councils the right to express his point of view and the right to influence decisions in the determination of policy. But once those decisions have been democratically arrived at, the will of the majority must prevail and those in a position of leadership must adhere to the policy established. Officers of CIO affiliated International Unions who take advantage of all the privileges and protections of CIO affiliation must also assume the responsibilities that go with CIO affiliation. Those who have failed to assume these responsibilities in the past should make up their minds once and for all either to get all the way in the CIO or all the way out of the CIO."

So that every International Union must carry out the line or get out of the CIO! We leave aside the question of how free and democratic are the sessions of the national CIO conventions whose delegates are not chosen directly by the membership but appointed by the Executive Boards of the respective unions and whose methods of representation give an over proportionate representation to small unions and affiliated bodies which are easily controlled by the Murray machine. We simply ask Reuther to tell us the terribly democratic manner in which the CIO convention repudiated all talk of a "new party" in opposition to a now almost forgotten resolution of the UAW International Board.

Although Reuther defends his proposed expulsions on the basis of "trade union principles" he is actually not defending any long standing "principle," but introducing a bureaucratic innovation into the CIO. The trade union "principle" of the American labor movement has been the traditional autonomy of the International Unions. This was long established in the American Federation of Labor and when the CIO split away it maintained the same principle. Reuther proposes to abandon the old principle and substitute a new one. There is nothing wrong with changing a principle provided, 1) it is done honestly, and 2) it is an improvement. Reuther's proposal meets neither of these tests.

The autonomy of the International unions is at least a partial guarantee today that a certain minimum of democratic procedures will continue. In order for the top leadership of the CIO to put over a program and policy, it is compelled to rely upon convincing the International Unions of its validity. The abandonment of autonomy would facilitate the procedure of dictatorial command as a substitute for democratic discussion.

POOR SUBSTITUTE FOR A PROGRAM

And by the way, when did Reuther discover this new principle? At this very second, the National CIO is on record against the payment of a cash veterans bonus. (It is liable to cause inflation!) God knows, we want to keep away from that.) Under more militant leadership, the UAW has endorsed a proposal for a cash bonus. At the last AVC convention a representative of the UAW spoke publicly for the bonus and Bernstein a personal representative of Murray spoke against it. But that is not all. Murray's representative told the delegates to the AVC convention that this disagreement between himself and the member of the UAW was an example of the prevailing democracy in the CIO. True. And Reuther's new proposal is an example of a trend away from democracy.

In the GM strike of 1945-46, the UAW under Reuther's inspiration raised the slogans of "Wage Increases without Price Increases" and "Open the Company's Books". Phillip Murray frowned on these radical ideas and that was one reason why he supported the Addes-Thomas group against Reuther at the 1946 convention. Murray did not succeed in having his own stooges retain control of the UAW. One thing that hindered him was the fact that he was not armed with Reuther's new principle of centralized control. In the steel workers strike of 1946, Murray did not adopt the principles of the GM strike. That is the one reason why he was able to get a settlement so quickly from the steel capitalists who knew that the steel union would not expose their attempts to get price increases. In the same year, Reuther criticized Murray's leadership of the Steel Workers union because he did not "pick up the torch lit by the GM strikers." Who violated union principles then?

This brings us to our last point. The Walter Reuther of those years was the man with a radical program which inspired the ranks of the UAW. He did not wait until his policies became "official" to bring them to the public because he wanted to win a strike and he wanted to become president of the UAW. With this program he rallied support, he exposed the Communist Party and shattered the Addes-Thomas-CP bloc. BUT TODAY THAT PROGRAM IS A MEMORY. Reuther has no program that can arouse the ranks today. He thinks only of remaining as a supporter of the Truman Democrats, trusting in their promises. But he knows as well as the next man how ill-founded are hopes in the administration of Truman. For this or that diplomatic reason he prefers to remain silent as do the more progressive elements in the UAW. And with no program of their own, with no confidence in the program which they endorse publicly, they fear the rise of Stalinist influence. Their way out of the dilemma is to propose the bureaucratic expulsion of the CP. That is not the way.

The new Reuther proposal therefore is not designed to assist in the struggle against Stalinism but to make easier a continuance of the old, worn out policies of supporting the Democratic Party. Not the expulsion of the CP but the formation of a Labor Party; that is the answer.

WORLD POLITICS

The New Germany:

Western Germany, a political football held tightly in the hands of the Allied occupation authorities, has received lately a series of vigorous boots and kicks at the hands of these same authorities. Under the guise that the Berlin crisis and the threat of Russian absorption of Western Germany has, for the time being, been averted and under the heavy threat of blackmail presented through the pressure of French imperialism (the blackmail consisting in the threat that General de Gaulle would come to power unless . . .), a series of actions has been taken to throttle the developing independence, initiative and freedom from occupation that have become quite noticeable throughout Western Germany. The familiar propaganda barrage that "the Hun is stirring again" and "German insolence and arrogance are back" has accompanied these actions. Obviously, a cover must be provided, as the Allied powers reset their grip around Western Germany's throat and curse the Russians as the cause of its having momentarily slipped.

Simultaneously with these actions, which we shall describe below, the revival of economic life shows full signs of slowing to a merely perceptible monthly increase in productivity. So far as living conditions for the masses of people are concerned, the spectacular improvement of the summer months has ended. We exclude Berlin from this, since the same situation of a bare-level existence has gone on there for six months and will continue indefinitely without any change. Dollar scarcities have strictly limited all but essential imports to Western Germany, and there is even talk of now resorting to barter trade on the international level in order to procure necessities.

Economically speaking, Western Germany is now beset by basically the same problems (except to a worse degree) as those of France and other European nations: inflation (the black market mark is now 15 to a dollar, as against the "official" rate of 3-1/3 to a dollar) and chronic deficits in all forms of business, governmental expenditures, etc., rising prices, shortages of commodities, revival of all types of black marketeering, dollar shortage for trading, etc. After the sensational upturn of last summer, the economic picture is becoming darker each day with the masses of people unable to purchase what they need. It is simply the form of their difficulties that has changed, while its content—miserably low living standards—has remained the same. Put otherwise, the revival of capitalist economy in Western Germany has brought back with it all the characteristics of post-war European capitalism. It is against this background that the Allied imperialists have decided to launch their new blows at the German people, thus indicating the real nature of their occupation and administration of their half of the country.

BONN ASSEMBLY A FARCE

What are these fresh blows? First of all, the alleged "Constituent Assembly" which has now been meeting for months at Bonn has practically come to a halt in its work of drafting a constitution for a Western German government. The Allies, primarily because of France, of course, have been unable to present to this "Assembly" any draft of their so-called "Occupation Statute" which is supposed to determine relations between the as-yet-to-be German independent (?) government and the Allies. They cannot agree among themselves as to precisely how this quiescent government of the future shall best be held under their thumb—in-escrow, so to speak. The French, as usual, demand the utmost in decentralization and do not even wish to permit a German (not even one!) to sit on the proposed court which shall decide future interpretations of this "Occupation Statute." Thus the phony "Constituent Assembly" now meeting at Bonn cannot proceed with its labors since it knows not which "powers" will be allotted to it in the not-yet-written "statute!"

The Bonn farce of "constitution writing" has largely been ignored by the German people who instinctively recognize that whatever emerges from that Assembly will merely be a legal structure for the continued occupation of Western Germany, until the nebulous future. It is clear already that no form or shape of sovereign power shall be permitted under the Bonn constitution; and that, in effect it will be a constitution largely designed to the requirements of French imperialism—that is, decentralized, autocratic, without sovereign rights, weak and quiescent. The Bonn Assembly has degenerated to a farce.

A series of economic measures indicates a desire to check the tendency of Western Germany to develop its own economic life, particularly with respect to the world market. First, the report of the Hoffman committee on halting plant dismantling has been delayed

and postponed, although it has been ready for weeks. Whereas it seemed a few weeks ago that most dismantling would halt, this is no longer so certain, and scheduled dismantling continues. The merger of the three zones economically into a "Trizonia" is far from completed, thanks to the French, who are still holding out for the exclusive right to milk their zone privately. A dispute over taxation powers is blocking this merger and the French have yet to permit trade unions in their zone to merge with similar unions in Bizonia. At the same time, the growth in German productivity, particularly in the commodity field (machinery and parts, chemicals, photographic and precision apparatus, wines, etc.), far from being welcome by her Western European neighbors, has, on the contrary, aroused nothing but fears and threats of trade blocking by Belgium, France, Holland, etc.

THE AGREEMENT ON THE RUHR

Finally, and surely most significant, has been the new agreement on the Ruhr—arrived at by the London conference of six governments of Western Europe, England and the United States—which partly nullifies "Law No. 75" issued one month ago and strikes a heavy blow at the right of the German nation and its people to decide the ultimate issue of who shall own and control the Ruhr and its industries. The new agreement, marking major concessions to the French, may largely evade this question of eventual ownership by not taking it into consideration, but it does not evade the issue of who shall, for the next period, exploit the Ruhr territory and benefit from its production.

In this respect, the French have won important demands, from their standpoint—that is, the standpoint that the Ruhr shall remain indefinitely under Allied imperialist control, management and that France shall largely benefit from its coal and steel products. The former proposal of a German "trusteeship" system, to be in effect until an independent government shall decide its ownership, is cast overboard and in its place an "International Authority" with sweeping powers to supervise the Ruhr's industries for an indefinite period is created. While this does not detach the Ruhr from Germany, as the French demand, it postpones even that issue to the benefit of French imperialism in that it prevents even the beginnings of the creation of a purely German administration and apparatus.

It is true that the agreement is loosely worded and much of it will be subject to interpretation, but this applies only to the Allied powers who will fight it out among themselves. The "role" of the Germans in this agreement is far from loosely worded and is worth quoting at length to indicate the real state of affairs. On the "International Council" set up (which has full powers), there is a total of 15 votes. Three of these 15 votes are "German," but let us consider the Allied definition of "German representatives."

Under Article 9, Clause (c) we read, "The votes allocated to Germany shall be cast as a unit by the joint representative of the occupation authorities concerned appointed as provided in Article 4, until the occupying powers concerned determine that the German government, by accession or by other means, has assumed the responsibilities placed upon Germany by the present agreement. Thereafter such votes shall be cast by the German representative."

Translated, this means that the Allies will do the voting now for the Germans, but the Germans will be allowed to vote when they've finally got a government that fully meets the "Approved by Military Government" stamp.

The three German votes, it is reported, are to be cast exclusively by America, according to a secret clause in the agreement. In fact, it seems that the agreement has other secret sections which will be revealed at a later date.

This Ruhr agreement has been universally condemned by all parties and sections of the German population and has undoubtedly wiped away much of the "good will" created by the Berlin airlift. It has raised once more all political questions, particularly those concerning relations between German political parties—above all, the Social Democratic Party—and the occupation authorities. It has given the German Stalinist movement in the West and in the Ruhr a new lease on life which it has quickly grabbed hold of. But these political effects of the new Allied offensive against the people of Western Germany—particularly as it affects the German Social Democratic Party—must be considered in a separate article in our next issue.

Henry JUDD

Stalinists Gain in China

(Continued from page 1)

ference (PCC) of leaders of all its supporting groups and out of this conference it will form its long projected all-national coalition. Since these leaders have no power of their own, no armies, programs or parties, they will be captives in every sense, albeit willing ones. Only then, with its regime securely in the saddle and its armies in control will the CP call for elections to a constituent assembly since an election under such conditions would only be a plebiscite.

Engaging in fiercest political warfare the CP deepened the isolation of Chiang's government with the issuance of its "war criminals list." This list did not differentiate among the different Nanking cliques; it did not give a clean bill of health to the "peace" groups or to the so-called liberals. It became clear, even before the rejection of Chiang's New Year message that the CP, flushed with victory, would make no peace with Nanking. It is determined to establish a new legality in China based on its own power. No KMT continuity will be accepted. With this made doubly clear by the rejection of Chiang's and Sun Fo's appeals since the first of January, the present government is doomed because it can now in no way develop a peace program. That is why the desertion of the state is now assuming the appearance of people escaping an infected leper colony.

STYMIES U. S.

Chiang's New Year "peace program," contained such conditions as were bound to assure its rejection. For example, the CP is committed to overthrow of the KMT-manufactured constitution, but Chiang demands as a condition that "the constitution is not violated." Sun Fo's proposal for

"peace with honor" is more conciliatory but less significant since Sun has no power to effectuate any program. These moves have put the U. S. in an embarrassing position since its policy, in continuation of General Marshall's statement of January 1947, is still for a coalition on the basis of the present constitution. The maneuvers of the last week by both sides have liquidated this policy completely.

The CP "war criminals list," by including all Nanking groups also destroyed the U. S. hope that some of the elements in KMT who are pro-American and are now among the "peace groups" would be able to join the new CP-led coalition and there serve as levers of U. S. policy. For example, the CP list includes Vice-President Li Tsung-jen, a hope of Ambassador Stuart. U. S. is anxious for an organized group of its supporters to initiate peace moves but the CP's decisive rejection to date of Nanking feelers may force these groups to bypass Chiang if they are to save their hides. The CP inclusion of men like Li and others on their list evoked the first angry blast against the Chinese Stalinists by the State Department since January 1947.

The abandonment of Tsingtao by U. S. Marines is part of the peace policy being pursued by the State Department. Pressure on Chiang was increased in Washington as President Truman let it be known that no new allocations to Nanking would be considered before April. But when the CP turned thumbs down on Vice-President Li and Chang Chi-chun, who are in Ambassador Stuart's confidence, the U. S. lost this line of approach. It will now be forced to make even bigger concessions to the CP. Meanwhile Chiang has called in his

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Editorials

Danger Signal—

(Continued from page 1)

the House, and there put on the agenda or not by vote of the body.)

Some parts of the Truman program are fairly certain of being passed. Others will be proposed, with small chance of passage. Thus, Business Week the high-toned magazine for business men, doubts if an FEPC bill will get far.

Truman has to come across somewhat, and he may press for sections of "his" program. But ultimately it will be as dangerous to rely on the President (a STRIKEBREAKER, an INJUNCTIONIST and, in the final analysis, the servant of the EMPLOYERS), as to rely on the Supreme Court. Stated in another way, it is downright stupid, where it is not actually criminal, to rely on anything but labor's strength, and the strength of those "little" people who can genuinely be brought to labor's side, to promote labor's cause.

There has, for example, been a great deal of pre-Truman-message uncertainty as to whether he will propose a "one package" or "two package" deal on Taft-Hartley and the Wagner Act. The labor leaders want a "two package" deal; namely, repeal of T-H and its immediate substitution by the Wagner Act with amendments to follow; the administration is apparently inclined to a "one-package" deal—amendment of the Wagner Act coupled with repeal of T-H.

Now, we can see the difference between the two deals; and there is an advantage in the "two-package" approach. But that advantage is in many ways a superficial one, so long as it concedes the necessity of amending the Wagner Act except in the direction of affirming labor's rights.

In this connection, it is necessary to speak of the criminality on the part of the labor leadership which (even in advance!) volunteers inexcusable concessions. We speak of such a one as David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and rated as one of the more enlightened labor leaders. Acting the "statesman," Dubinsky proposed that the new labor legislation include a ban on jurisdictional strikes, restrictions on strikes affecting the national welfare, etc. George Meany, AFL secretary, presumably made similar proposals to Secretary of Labor Tobin.

We don't doubt that it is statesmanlike behavior, but statesmen of that kind ought properly to be employed by the state, and not by a union.

It seems probable that the Congress will indeed modify T-H in such a way as to continue the ban on jurisdictional strikes, secondary boycotts, provide for "cooling off" periods, give the president wide powers in strikes affecting the "national welfare" (and what strike cannot so be interpreted?). Every bit of this ought to be fought tooth and nail by the unions.

This is not to say that restrictions on jurisdictional strikes, or any other of the modifications or amendments proposed, will paralyze the unions. It is not so easy to paralyze 16 million organized men and women. Unions will not be smashed unless they permit themselves to be smashed by their own inadequacies. The most powerful employers know very well what they cannot, not yet, seek to destroy the unions. T-H, that most vicious law passed against labor, did not enslave labor for the simple reason that labor refused to be enslaved. And organized labor will not die if jurisdictional strikes are banned.

Jurisdictional strikes are, in fact, against labor's interest, and ought to be outlawed, but BY THE LABOR MOVEMENT ITSELF. Had Dubinsky made his proposals before an AFL convention (and it is the AFL craft unions which are most involved), and fought for them, he would have displayed labor statesmanship. Many evils exist in the unions, and jurisdictional strikes are one such evil. But any illusion that this job can be tackled for labor by instruments of the capitalist class without doing labor damage can have disastrous consequences.

Go along with the Congress in regulating labor unions in this way, and it becomes harder to prevent other regulations. Establish the principle that Congress can invade labor's province in one

respect, and it becomes so much harder to stand off other invasions—like a ban on the closed shop!

Truman was elected in a phenomenal upset because of the promises he made to labor and to the farmers, because of promises he made on civil rights, housing, etc., because of the active help he got from the labor leadership. No union leader had the right to call on labor to vote for an injunctionist. But vote for him, labor did. And it is no more than just that the labor movement exert its full pressure to see that every one of his promises is carried out to the full.

Relying on Truman to do the job for labor is another thing. And fitting in and out of White House conferences is part of the same. To call on Truman to lay before him labor's demands is one thing. To beg, and to make "statesmanlike" concessions, is quite another thing. We should have liked to see a Congress of Labor, representative of all the unions, meeting simultaneously with the new Congress to demonstrate labor's seriousness, to map labor's program, to plan labor's strategy.

Half-way measures are not enough. Half-repeal of T-H is no good. Labor requires and is in a position to get full repeal. So too, half measures in civil rights, or on other issues are not enough. A law outlawing lynching is good, is real progress. But there is no reason why we cannot get a law outlawing any kind of discrimination, a strong and effective FEPC. And so on down the line.

Truman, the Congress and the Supreme Court, do not exist in different worlds. The Supreme Court is part of the machinery of government. The government is used against the working class in different ways, at different times—sometimes with gentleness, sometimes with dagger drawn. It is not so far from the injunctions invoked by Truman, and the court actions against the miners invoked by Truman (GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION, which the administration will seek to continue in some form in its moderate modified labor law, and GOVERNMENT BY JUDICIARY) to the Supreme Court's latest opinions.

Obviously, here is a clear illustration that, however much labor must exploit the law and judicial channels in its own behalf—and the legislature and the administration—ultimately the issue becomes clearly one of establishing its rights by its own aggressiveness. That's how unions were built in the first place.

Is the closed shop in North Carolina, Nebraska and Arizona to be written off today because the Supreme Court so decided—and in 45 other states tomorrow? A lot more will be gained from Congress if the labor movement—AFL, CIO and independent, proceeds to brush aside the Supreme Court opinions in the three states mentioned. That way Congress will see that labor means business.

The idiocy that you get more by being un-aggressive, by not antagonizing anyone was well enough answered in the T-H defeat. Where were the labor mobilizations, the mass demonstrations, the ultimatums which would have had the congressmen thinking several times before going through with their designs? They weren't—and in their place was reliance on friends, on a Truman veto, on not "antagonizing" enemies. Result: Taft-Hartley.

Weakness will be treated as . . . weakness. The very unsentimental gentleness of Congress will modify T-H exactly to the degree that labor shows its determination to get repeal. Outright labor requires outright militancy. That militancy can immediately be displayed by a frontal assault by the massed labor unions of the country to compel, in practice if not in law, the invalidation of the closed shop ban in North Carolina, Nebraska and Arizona—the Supreme Court's wisdom notwithstanding.

Birds of a Feather

"Hjalmar Schacht is widely known in American business and banking circles. Unscrupulous as were the financial policies which he devised for Nazi Germany, they are recognized as having been clever and effective. They were of the greatest value to his country when it was in a very difficult situation. The feeling is that the court was right in holding that he was guilty of no international crime. Business also is gratified that the court held to our philosophy of being fair even to our enemies."—Editorial in the magazine Nation's Business, October, 1948.

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A German Officer Tells New Story

Did Gestapo Help Stalin Frame-up Generals?

A new contribution toward unravelling the inside story of the Moscow Trial frame-ups has turned up recently in the German press. While in the nature of the subject the story cannot be expected to supply definitive proof, the main facts jibe with known information.

New Leader, social-democratic paper published in New York, under the by-line of Melvin Lasky, Lasky is at present editor of Der Monat, a magazine also published by the Americans in Berlin.

Canaris (Falkenhagen says) refused to take a hand in the business, but later learned that Heydrich had managed to obtain what he wanted from the Reichswehr.

through the Soviet embassy in Prague between important personages in Russia and the German government.

OTHER EVIDENCE

No necessary conclusion need be drawn, of course, that the forgeries deceived Stalin or at least that the latter was unsuspecting of them.

It goes without saying—and Lasky indicates this also—that it is quite impossible either to accept or reject out of hand the authenticity of Falkenhagen's account.

Aid Indonesia

(Continued from page 1) that guerrilla warfare would continue "until the complete exhaustion of Dutch military, economic and financial resources, both in Indonesia and Holland."

The Indonesian independence movement has always had close relations with the Indian National Congress. This week, under the leadership of Nehru and at the request of the Indonesian republican leaders, a Congress of Colonial Peoples was called.

Already certain steps have been taken. Dutch airlines have had their landing rights rescinded in India and Burma. The Burmese government called a cabinet session to consider a program of action against the Dutch.

The Indian National Congress, which has just held its first national convention since achieving independence, adopted a number of programs looking toward southeast Asiatic unity against imperialism.

Aided by Hitler In Moscow Purges?



Discussing a New Development

Anti-Imperialist Colonial Front?

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, announced last week that a conference of Asiatic powers would be called shortly to consider possible steps to aid the Indonesian people in their resistance against Dutch attack.

It is clear that for the immediate future the "cold war" between the U. S. and Russia is likely to be conducted vigorously in the Far East. Lines in Europe are rather hard and fast right now; there is slight likelihood of any immediate changes there, except perhaps for a possible westward shift on the part of Yugoslavia.

POSSIBILITIES OF A COLONIAL BLOC

The most important thing about the Far Eastern situation, at least from a socialist point of view, is that a genuine possibility exists for the formation of an independent or quasi-independent bloc of colonial or semi-colonial or only recently colonial countries.

The Dutch attack on Indonesia—so crude in its outright imperialist motivation—has unquestionably aroused the nationalist movements in the Far Eastern countries. The India-Burma area rightly feels itself menaced on two sides: on the one hand, the Chinese Stalinist armies, and with them Russian influence, moving south, and on the other hand, old-style bourgeois imperialism trying to re-establish outright domination—domination not by the dollar but by the bayonet.

If such a coalition of Far Eastern countries is formed, it can become the beginning of a colonial reaction against any sort of imperialist rule, of whatever kind. And there seems reason to believe that Nehru sees opportunities for Indian leadership in such a coalition and hence takes the initiative.

ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT DESPITE LIMITATIONS

The great danger, of course, is that the Stalinists might be able to influence this coalition by posing as defenders of colonial peoples and as opponents of the Dutch aggression.

No doubt, such a coalition of Far Eastern powers will have its limitations, the nature of which is indicated by the fact that they are all governments resting on the nascent bourgeoisies arising in those countries.

But at the same time the fact that such a coalition would, in the nature of things, have to set itself up on an independent basis, in at least partial opposition to the major power blocs, is encouraging.

In the meantime, the mere existence of such a coalition—based on the simple desire of colonial peoples to have the major powers get off their backs—will be welcomed by socialists.

A Note on the Latest Diatribe Against Bolshevism

Lenin: A Cartoon by David Shub

LENIN, A BIOGRAPHY, by David Shub, published by Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y., \$5.00.

The title of David Shub's book, Lenin, A Biography, is a misnomer. Rather than writing a life of Lenin, Shub's primary concern is to discredit bolshevism.

That Stalinism flows from bolshevism and that, in its turn, bolshevism flows from Lenin is, if we are to believe Shub, due to three circumstances. They are Lenin's personality, the decisive experience of his youth, and the Russian revolutionary tradition.

Shub finds that, in addition to being completely unamenable to the discipline of democracy, Lenin's personality is dominated by two traits. One is seen in the meticulous care with which he prepared his high school compositions, a trait in keeping with the cunning thoroughness of Stalinism.

FREUD, AND MORE FREUD

In order to soften up the reader, to make Lenin's vicious potential, the potential fully realized by Stalinism, appear plausible, Shub mentions Lenin's devotion to his mother, his love of children, and his fondness for animals. And to leave no doubt that Lenin, aside from possessing some humane qualities, is actually human, Shub spends several pages on the extra-marital affair, protesting that previous biographers have slighted the English woman, Mme. Elizabeth K.

The execution of Lenin's brother, to whom he was extremely devoted, for engaging in a plot to assassinate the Czar, is the decisive experience of Lenin's youth. Thus, Shub, like other contemporary intellectual vultures of the great, finds that the genius being examined is, instead of unusual ability, the product of a Freudian trauma.

The importance of the youthful experience, the thing making it decisive for Shub, is that it brought Lenin into a revolutionary tradition uniquely Russian, "whose spirit contained incredible contradictions of nobility and baseness, saintlike virtue and underworld criminality, boundless love and unbridled hate."

But, if Shub's contention be true, then Lenin is entirely without blame for succumbing to the despicable qualities. At least, it seems obvious that Lenin cannot be held responsible for the personality that he was born with. Moreover, it may well be that the execution of his brother is the reason, though scarcely a Freudian one, demonstrating to Lenin the need for revolutionary socialist action, but that Lenin had an undemocratic personality is false.

DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Shub believes the essence of Leninism and, hence, of bolshevism to be taken from Tkachev. It is the idea of "the professional revolutionist," whose role remains with Lenin as it was with Tkachev, not that of instructing, but only that of leading, of being above rather than a part of the working class.

If not a polemical exaggeration, then Trotsky's remark is false. (Trotsky explained his differences in the volume, Permanent Revolution.) And this is to say that Lenin's conception of politics or, what comes to the same thing, bolshevism, does not in any way correspond to Shub's belief. For, whatever democratic inadequacy may have accompanied bolshevism, the inadequacy is neither inherent in bolshevism nor does it reflect Lenin's lust for personal power or his distrust of the working class.

After the overthrow of the Czar, Shub stresses three events to demonstrate that Lenin gave only lip service to the ideal of socialism, that bolshevism is totalitarian by nature, that Lenin regarded the working class as a mere instrument for gaining personal power. They are the successful effort of foregoing the Constituent Assembly, the Kronstadt affair, and the silencing of even work-

ing class opposition to the program laid down by the Bolsheviks.

A PITIFUL ARGUMENT

The common element in these events, the element that Shub believes demonstrates his contention, is the substitution of force for democratic procedure. It may well be that these events involved tremendous errors, that to defend the Bolshevik policy in any of the three situations turns the virtue of necessity into a vice. But they do not indicate, as Shub believes, that bolshevism in general or Lenin in particular played fast and loose with the principle of democracy and the ideal of socialism.

For this reason as well as for the previously mentioned reasons, Shub's indictment of bolshevism as an evil product of Lenin's vicious personality falls flat. And, if the indictment falls flat, then Shub's contention that Stalinism flows from bolshevism is groundless. Or, is Shub, in urging that Stalinism flows from bolshevism, simply protesting that Stalin, like Lenin, is an honorable man?

Tom CONLEY

BOOKS RECEIVED:

- THE SNAKE PIT, by Mary Jane Ward, a Penguin Signet, 192 pp., 25 cents.
LOOK HOMEWARD, ANGEL!—THE ADVENTURES OF YOUNG GANT, by Thomas Wolfe, a Penguin Signet, 192 pp., 25 cents.
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