

Work for a Workers World
By Joining Workers Party

LABOR ACTION

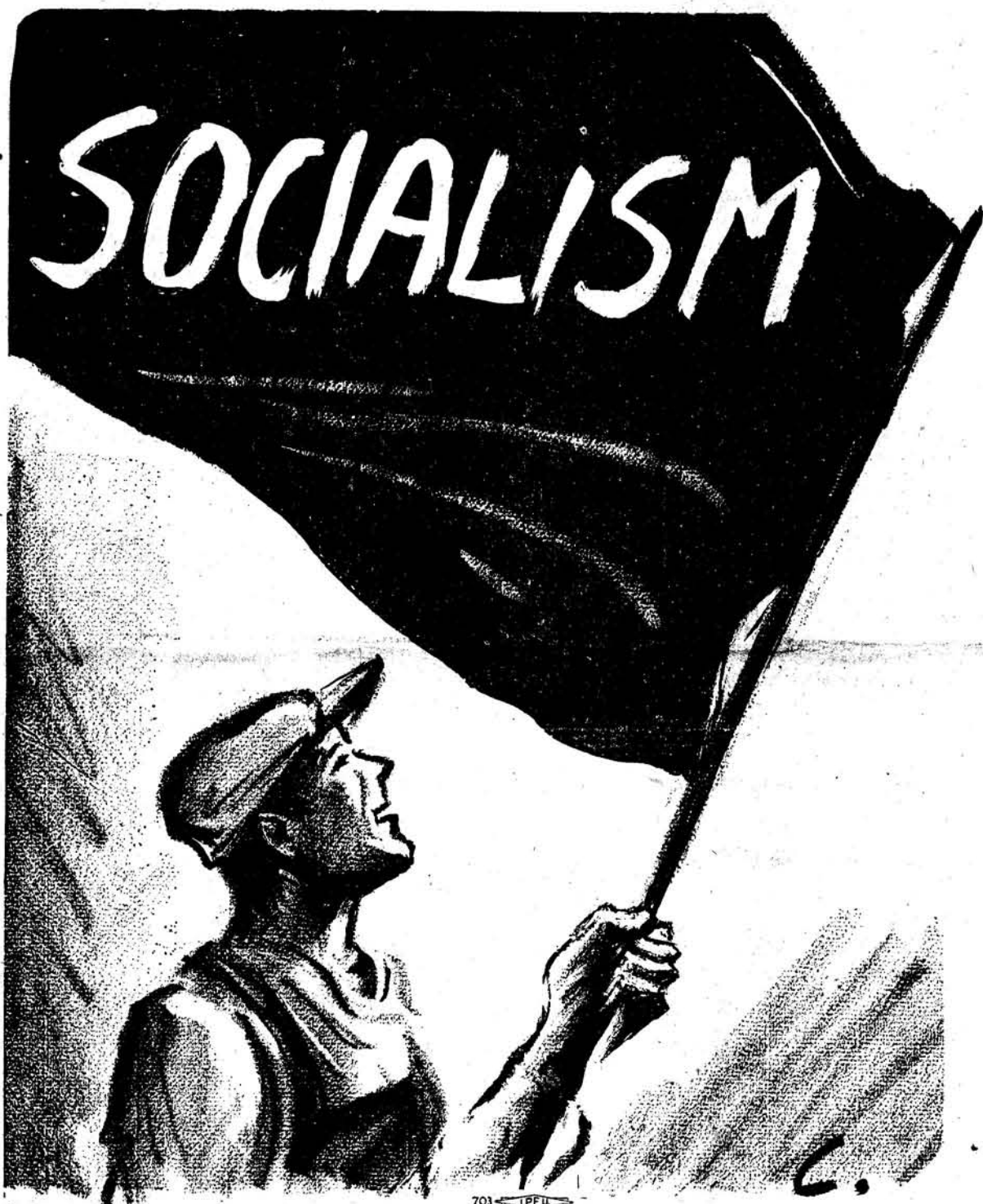
APRIL 28, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

A May Day Manifesto by Workers Party:

LABOR'S ORGANIZED MILLIONS CAN SMASH BOSS OFFENSIVE!



The second May Day since the war's end finds the bright and prosperous new world which was held out as the prize for the "victors" as far from reality as when it was promised. Editors, politicians, preachers and business men outdid each other in painting beautiful pictures of the future for the "boys" in uniform and the men in the war plants—anything to achieve the maximum "war effort." Today, the promises have long been forgotten by those who made them and are remembered with a bitter smile by those who believed them.

In every dream, whether that of a man in uniform or in overalls, was the picture of a home of his own, either a house in the suburbs or a cottage in the country or a city apartment adequate to his needs. But of all his post-war needs, the one most poorly provided is precisely a place to live. The worker hears much talk about housing, hears about many plans, hears about federal controls, but he sees more construction on dance halls, department stores, race tracks and beer parlors than on dwellings. And most of the housing construction he reads about, sells or rents way beyond his means.

The veteran returned to find that the stories about high wages earned in war plants was merely anti-labor propaganda and that when he went to work he could not make ends meet. The shock he felt when he first came up against the inflated prices was never given a chance to wear off entirely as prices continued to climb. The hard-fought increases gained by strike action were quickly outdistanced by the galloping prices. While his standard of living was being given the squeeze between rising prices and stationary wages, he read of peacetime corporation profits that surpassed the astronomic figures of war profits.

First Tremors of Instability

But at least he had a steady job. This is more than could be said by most workers in pre-war depression years. And a steady job makes up for a lot of things. But May, 1947, begins to see the first tremors of economic instability that threatens to kick the legs out from under this one bit of security that came out of the war—job security. Production is at an all-time high. Profits are at an all-time high. Capital assets are at an all-time high. But all the talk is about a coming depression and mass unemployment. Nor is this talk confined to lunch-box discussions in the shop. It is, if anything, more frequently heard in the front office, in the railroad club car, in the lobbies of exclusive hotels.

(Continued on page 2)

Steel Settlement Fixes 15 Cent Pay Rise Formula

Hard on the heels of the 15 cents an hour increase granted the steel workers in negotiations between union president Philip Murray and steel executive J. A. Stephens, the United Automobile Workers Union has announced that it will accept a similar increase from General Motors. Thus, a new wage pattern has been set, and it is to be expected that the 15 cent formula will become standard, as similar formulas have been in previous years.

And, as in previous years, the formula disregards the individual needs

of the workers in the various industries, is generally insufficient, and nowhere brings wages to the level justified by the terrific rise in prices and the fabulous profits that the corporations are embossing.

From the start of negotiations in steel, which by and large determine the stand of other CIO unions, it has been obvious that Murray and the CIO leadership as a whole would do anything to avoid strike action.

MURRAY AVOIDS FIGHT

That the CIO electrical workers union, under its Stalinist leadership, last week stole a march on the UAW leadership by accepting a 15 cent hike from General Motors did not, of course, facilitate a more adamant stand on the part of Murray, and above all the auto-union officials. Last year the same electrical workers' leadership put a crimp into the militant strike of the GM workers by agreeing to a wage increase smaller than that being demanded by UAW. Their haste, to put it mildly, settlement with GM this year undoubtedly placed the UAW and other CIO unions in a difficult bargaining position.

However, Murray's acceptance of the 15 cent increase in steel cannot be attributed to this or the earlier acceptance of an 11 1/2 cent increase by the rubber workers. Regardless of what the electrical workers or rubber workers may have done, the steel union was in a position to make an independent issue of its wage demands. That it did not want to do. We do

not doubt that Murray breathed a sigh of relief on signing the agreement with Stephens. There was no organized and articulate pressure of the ranks on Murray. In the absence of such pressure, Murray avoided a fight. In previous years, even during the brief strike of last year, Murray tried to settle the issue in the White House. This year he settled the issue as quickly as he could in over the table bargaining with the steel corporation.

Congress Party Jails Militants

At press time, LABOR ACTION receive the following cable from the Ceylonese Trotskyist Party:

"Trotskyists Colvin R. DeSilva, Antonipillai Muttiah and several trade unionists arrested the 16th of April and detained by Madras Congress Party. Cable protest to Nehru and Madras Congress Premier. Solicit support of radical organizations, etc., to protest cable. Organize picket Asaf Ali Embassy.

"KARALASINGAKM."

The Workers Party of the U. S. is taking all necessary steps to assist our comrades and fellow workers of Ceylon.

Gruner Execution Intensifies Palestine War

By IRVING HOWE

APRIL 23—By the time these lines appear in print, unrestricted martial law may have been declared in Palestine. With the hanging of Dov Gruner and his three associates, all of them extreme Jewish nationalists charged with participating in terror activities, the smoldering and chronic warfare between Britain and the Jewish national resistance has broken out into a bitter struggle for mutual extermination.

The Irgun Zvai Leumi, extreme nationalist group, has announced that it will retaliate for the hanging of Gruner by constant attacks on the British; today an announcement from Palestine declares that a British troop train has been attacked and

several British soldiers killed.

These are the bare facts. What do they mean?

The action of the British in hanging Gruner can only be viewed with horror; it is, however, not unexpected. British imperialism has a long and bloody record of the most brutal suppression of colonial peoples: in India, Africa, the Far East, the West Indies. It has never hesitated to use force and brutality and its policy in Palestine has maintained that tradition. But not mere force and brutality. The British have been expert at the policy of divide and rule, of playing off one section of a colonial nation against another to the mutual disadvantage of both and always to Britain's favor.

In the case of Palestine, the British have been helped immeasurably by the nationalist ideologies of the Arabs and Jews. So long as Arab could be played off against Jew, so long as their nationalist aspirations could be used to cancel each other out, the British were safe.

Gruner was unquestionably a man of great courage. He refused to testify in court on the grounds that he was a prisoner of war in the undeclared war between Britain and the Jewish nation. He refused to recognize the legality of the sentence or to appeal it. He bore himself with exemplary and proud heroism. No one can fail to admire him.

And yet, for all his heroism and for all the heroism of the others like

him, we believe that his course can lead only to disaster and despair, that it cannot drive the British out of Palestine and that it cannot establish an independent Palestine.

IRGUN'S POLICY

The policy of Irgun Zvai Leumi, to which Gruner adhered, is one of guerrilla warfare conducted by a small combat group. It is a terrorist organization in the sense that it organizes attacks on British groups and individuals. (We attach no invidious connotation to the word terrorist in this situation, for we are against the maintenance of British rule in Palestine.) The Irgun furthermore calls for a Jewish state in Palestine; it is bitterly anti-Arab

and it is equally against Jewish labor groups which in any way cooperate with the Arab masses.

This policy cannot destroy imperialism because it makes impossible a joint Arab-Jewish struggle. So long as Irgun calls for Jewish domination in Palestine it drives the Arab masses into the hands of the British; and so long as the British have Arab support, they can maintain their foothold in Palestine.

The chauvinist policy of Irgun is thereby the symmetrical equivalent of the chauvinist policy of the Arab League. Bitter enemies though they may be, there is more than a trace of similarity in their nationalist ideologies. Both preclude a joint

(Continued on page 2)

A March on Washington Can Be Labor's Answer!

May Day 1947 finds the American working class confronted with an attack of tremendous scope.

In Congress bills are in preparation to cut into the vitals of union rights.

Outside of Congress inflationary prices are exacting a heavy toll on the standard of living of the people.

And wages are being strapped into an inadequate 15-cent formula, where unions can win it!

Inside and outside of Congress schemes are afoot to aggravate the people's burden by boosting rents on behalf of the real estate profiteers.

The capitalist class is on the offensive. Despite the immense power of the labor movement, the monopolists and their lickspittles in government feel emboldened to move against labor politically and economically.

It is wise to pause and think of this on May Day. For the tradition of militant labor struggle which is embodied in the May Day celebration is the key to how we can meet the attack. And meet it politically and economically.

We cannot meet it if we are divided. We cannot meet it if we act submissively!

We can meet it, and move forward to new and greater achievements, if we join the strength of 16,000,000 organized workers, and the many, many millions of people who will follow them, into one grand plan of common action.

Lobbying, tugging at the coattails of "friendly" capitalist politicians will not serve our ends. At best it will produce a milder form of restriction, a compromise on the extreme measures advocated in Congress precisely in the hope of putting over something less.

But such an action as a MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON called by our unions can produce results!

The capitalist politicians who act so boldly today will quake and quiver before a monumental display of labor strength. Such a demonstration will make them think twice and three times before enacting anti-labor bills. For it will be a sign that labor does not propose to tolerate the slightest violation of its rights.

At the moment of our going to press, it is reported that the AFL has invited the CIO to attend a unity conference on Thursday, April 24. Splendid! Excellent! Unity of the union movement is an ABC necessity.

But, given the situation, it is fairly certain that even if the negotiators should agree to a

projected unity, this will be a long time in coming. There will be many problems to iron out. It will take time. And the need for action today is urgent and real.

Thus, the CIO is right in saying that practical measures for collaboration against the anti-labor offensive must be considered immediately. We do not know what the CIO leaders have to propose on immediate common action. We've seen no sign of a genuine plan of action. The approach is valid—but it must be given substance with concrete proposals.

Such a proposal is the MARCH ON WASHINGTON we put forward in the last issue of LABOR ACTION, and put forward again today.

Admittedly that by no means exhausts the scope of common action. On the contrary it merely introduces it. On this page we publish a May Day Manifesto of the Workers Party which draws the lesson of the day in terms of the general needs of the working class, independent political action through a Labor Party, a general protest strike of specified duration throughout the nation, and much else.

We confine ourselves here to the simple proposition of a MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON for it can be a beginning, and will, in itself, serve to advance our interests. And it is simple, the simplest form of action—which can be followed by such other measures as the establishment of a general strategy board of unions.

We believe that such an action will give heart to all the people of the United States; all, that is, with the exception of that rotten handful who live off the sweat of others. Poor farmers, teachers, little store owners, will take it as a sign that labor means to act in accord with its strength and its possibilities—as leader of the people.

There is, we think, no better occasion than May Day to raise this demand in the unions, wherever workers congregate. Great achievements—the eight-hour day for example—are associated with this day of struggle which originated in the United States and fired workers everywhere in the world with the enthusiasm of militancy. It is a day in which we speak the needs of our class and of the oppressed and persecuted in this and every country. And speak them militantly.

We are faced with a comprehensive anti-labor offensive. We can meet it head on and smash it by the call to action that can be sounded with a MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON!

Truman addresses the publishers and editors of the nation and boasts about the achievements of "free enterprise"—but only as a build-up to informing them that a "recession" or a depression is on the way unless something is done to stop it. His proposed remedy—lower prices by an appeal to the "good nature" of the capitalists—can only bring forth a groan of despair from the workers.

The leopard may change his spots but no capitalist has refused to cut wages when he felt he could get away with it, and no capitalist will lower prices as long as he is selling his products without diffi-

culty. Workers have sometimes been foolish enough to fall for the line of a big politician—for instance, when Roosevelt sold them the no-strike pledge—but capitalists are thoroughly aware of where their interests lie.

If Truman's speech means anything, it means that the prospects are bad, that the level of high employment is due for a dip. How far it will go cannot be said with certainty. Though it is unlikely that this will reach the depths of 1929 in the immediate future, an increasing army of unemployed

(Continued on page 8)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Is Submission "Labor Statesmanship"?

By SUSAN GREEN

Labor commentators of course want to influence events, and Victor Riesel, labor columnist for the New York Post, is no mean contentant in this field.

Apparently Riesel was right. The rubber companies were willing to give 1 1/2 cents; the electrical companies offered the same hourly increase; Big Steel met the union demands to the extent of 1 1/2 cents an hour; GI has wrapped up a 15-cent "package," 15 cents to include hourly increases and other adjustments.

It seems also that the labor leaders are exercising the kind of "labor statesmanship" that Riesel advised, though Reuther still holds off.

But the question is whether these settlements at this time are really labor statesmanship. Do they really strengthen labor's long-term position?

ADVOCATES SUBMISSION

Let us analyze Riesel's reasoning to get at the core of this question.

Pointing to the strikes of 1945-46, Riesel wrote: "If any of these paralyzing stoppages flare, Congress will hit labor with about as much warning as Frankie Sinatra gave the Mortimer fellow in the Hollywood bistro."

This is another way of advocating submission to the squeeze tactics that big business and Congress are practicing upon labor. How wise is it for labor to retreat before this attack? If labor submits now, moderates its demands, dances to the tune of big

business, does not strike, there is still no guarantee that Congress will kill the labor-crushing legislation. But even if Congress decides to be lenient because labor leaders have been good boys, where does that get labor? Does not that set a mighty bad precedent? At any time when labor becomes restive and ready to struggle for a greater share of the wealth it produces, the threat of anti-labor legislation can be used by big business on labor leaders, and by labor leaders on the rank and file, to stop the workers in their tracks. Is this labor statesmanship?

Another argument garnered by Riesel ran like this. Any strike will be a long one; the telephone strike proves this. Big business was ready for a knock-down fight. If the GM battle of 1945-46 cost the union a fortune, what would a walkout cost this year—and some union treasurers are not what they used to be. And more along this line.

To be sure, there are times when labor cannot undertake a knock-down finish fight. Those times are when labor is weak. But today labor is not weak in organized numbers and in joint finances.

The weakness lies in provincialism, in separatism. It is no time for single finger tactics, but for clenched fist maneuvering. Any group of workers who get out in front to challenge big business and Congress must have the force and finances of all labor behind it. To retreat from a knock-down finish fight when labor is strong as it is today, is to vitiate that strength. Labor needs no counsel of retreat from the Rieselists, but rather lessons in united strategy—not from Riesel.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT

Further arguing for the "labor statesmanship" that buckles down to big business and Congress, Riesel asked whether it is worth while to bring the public down on labor by striking and thus producing shortages once more and scarcity prices. There is indeed such a thing as public opinion. That small part of public opinion that is anti-labor come what may, is none of our concern. But a great section of the public should be, by social interest, pro-labor. That section includes white collar and professional people, farmers, small business people, housewives, etc. These people are naturally pro-labor when shown the facts, and where their own interests lie. Certainly this kind of needed public education is not to be found in so-called pro-labor newspaper columns that imply that strikes cause shortages and higher prices.

It goes without saying that a struggle by labor for an adequate wage boost would have to be accompanied by the widest possible educational campaign to gain public support. But the facts of the case speak so loudly for themselves that other propaganda is hardly necessary. Let us get into

Guaranteed Wage A Prime Need For Dress Workers

By GERTRUDE RANDALL

NEW YORK—With the slack season once again hitting the dress industry, workers are congregating in front of the shops, discussing the difficulty of supporting their families as high prices and reduced employment cut into their standard of living.

During the past five years there was plenty of work. Many worked overtime and some managed to save a little money. But how much does this little saving mean to a worker? The slump season is already forcing the workers to dig deeply into their meager savings.

The dress industry is stalemated, with no prospect of immediate production. The department stores are unable to dispose of ladies' apparel because of the high prices; hence, buyers are not ordering. The result is idle or semi-idle shops, consequently layoffs or partial layoffs.

An article in the March 15 issue of Justice reports that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was able to obtain for the Gernes garment workers of Kansas City, Mo., a guaranteed annual wage. All workers employed by the firm at least six months will come under the terms of this agreement, according to the terms of the new contract which was signed February 28, and is to run for three years. The company will set aside a sum equal to 10 per cent of the 1946 payroll to guarantee 50 weeks of employment and vacation benefits on the basis of the average hourly and weekly earnings of its employees. A worker laid off during the year will be compensated for the no-work period from this fund.

In view of the seasonal work in the dress industry, with its ups and downs and frequent unemployment, the coming International Ladies Garment Workers Union convention, which will convene in early June, must take up this basic problem of a guaranteed weekly and annual wage if it is to be a serious convention. This is a prime necessity in an industry so heavily marked by seasonal unemployment.

every city home and farm house such facts as these:

In 1946 the loss of workdays from sickness and disability was 35 times the loss through work stoppages of all kinds.

During the war wages were frozen but profits rose above all expectations.

After the war it was estimated by labor that to catch up to the cost of living that had been moving up while wages stood still, a 30 per cent wage increase was needed. Labor got only an 18-cent-an-hour boost, thus leaving it still far behind.

Since the end of price control the purchasing power of wages has fallen so that the reduction about equals a 10 per cent wage cut, on top of the lag already existing.

All this time profits continue to mount so that in 1946 returns on investments were eight to ten times pre-war returns.

The share of labor in national income payments sank since pre-war years 1936-39 from 63.5 per cent of the total to 62.6 per cent in 1946.

Between January, 1945, and October, 1946, the actual monthly payrolls in manufacturing industries dropped 22 per cent, while in purchasing power the drop was 42 per cent.

SITTING ON VOLCANO

In 1946, 70 per cent of American families earned less than \$3,000 annually, and 47 per cent lived on less than \$2,000 for the year.

Of those fabulous wartime savings, 20 per cent of the families had none at all and also no war bonds; 30 per cent of the families had a mere 3 per cent of all the savings; and 50 per cent of the families had 97 per cent

of the savings including government bonds.

A CIO survey showed that 71 per cent of the families whose wages came from the basic manufacturing industries had less than \$300 in savings—and that was before the stupendous price rise since June, 1946.

What is the handwriting on the wall from all these authentic statistics taken together? Not only the workers involved, but professional people, farmers, small business people, indeed everyone but the rich, sit on a volcano. Unless the working masses get more of the wealth they produce, unless they can buy what they can consume for use, comfort, education, health, entertainment, there will be an eruption of business crisis and unemployment that will engulf everybody. Where does Riesel get the gall to imply that the interests of labor and of the public are not identical!

Who would counsel labor in correct labor statesmanship must know which side he's on, first of all.

It is true that big business and Congress were set for a show-down. By the CIO, AFL, railroad brotherhoods and independent organizations planning a united strategy for the use of joint forces and resources, by campaigning for the active support of the great public, labor could engage in its struggle for the share of the national wealth to which it is entitled—and win. The granting of 1 1/2 cents or 12 1/2 cents an hour by big business is itself more than a polite bow to labor's ability to fight. But that 1 1/2 cents or 12 1/2 cents additional hourly wage is not sufficient to set labor ahead in the game.

Speakers at Philly CIO Rally on Anti-Labor Drive Offer Nothing But Talk

By A. PARKS

PHILADELPHIA — On Wednesday, April 16, an emergency meeting of all CIO shop stewards, local union officers and committeemen was called by the Industrial Council of Philadelphia to discuss the union-smashing drive in Congress and the State Legislature.

Despite the short notice, the meeting hall was packed to its limits. The aisles were jammed with men, eager, listening, waiting.

But long before the speaker's list was exhausted, the men began to shift restlessly in their seats. One man got up to leave, then another, then five or ten. Before the meeting was adjourned, close to one-third had left.

Why? The reason is not hard to determine. The men and women of the Philadelphia labor movement knew what was happening in Congress and the State Legislatures. Throughout the shops and factories, wherever workers gathered, they spoke of a labor holiday, of a march on Washington, of a general strike.

What they wanted was leadership for meaningful action. This is why they jammed into the emergency meeting. What they got was words.

Michael Harris of the Steel Workers, president of the Council, led off with a roar and a pounding of the table. What is at stake is the destruction of the trade union movement, he said. He spoke of a bill already passed in Delaware, pending in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which, among other things, made any union member who spoke harshly to a non-union member whom he is attempting to sign up, liable to six months' imprisonment.

Then the roar became a sigh. Do we, he asked, deserve what they are doing to us? Look at our fine record in the war. How cooperative we were and how insistent the corporations were about their profits.

Next came Russell Nixon, lobbyist for the UERMW in Washington. Yes, he said, Philip Murray is not a man given to wild statements. And Murray said this is the first step to fas-

cism in America. Nixon had been in Germany and he was an educated man. Murray was right—this is the first step to fascism.

He gave documentary evidence showing that the bills pending in the Senate and the House had not been written by our well-paid representatives in Congress, but by the better paid agents of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce. He cited names and dates and places.

AND THE AUDIENCE LEAVES

Thus the build-up, while the workers' representatives in the audience waited, not eagerly now, but tensely. Bills written for the corporations, introduced by congressmen—the destruction of the trade union movement an imminent depression, fascism. This is what they were told faced them.

The climax appeared in the form of Herbert Moyer—he was going to tell them WHAT TO DO. Herbert Moyer is the chairman of the Legislative Committee for the Industrial Council.

While Moyer spoke of 1948 and as the petitions addressed to the honorable congressmen were being passed out, and the envelopes neatly printed showered on the workers, they began to leave.

Michael Harris spoke, to their backs as he ended the meeting on a triumphant note. Senator Aiken of Vermont, honored friend of labor, valiant fighter against fascism and depression, had promised to be available for a meeting at a future date.

Chicago CIO Militants Cheer Call to Action

CHICAGO—Meeting at the Ashland Auditorium her, Thursday, April 17, 3800 CIO stewards, committeemen and rank and file members greeted every call to action against anti-labor legislation with ringing cheers. Speakers from all the international unions attacked the Hartley bill and other vicious bills. Even Samuel Levine, Chicago Joint Board manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, reached a note of militancy. It was such a surprise to the Chicago unionists that they gave him long and sustained applause.

The high point of the meeting was the appearance of ten telephone workers, Richard W. Long, president of the Telephone Clerks of Illinois, spoke for them. His speech was well received, especially this sentence: "I hope that in the near future, that we in the NFWU, you in the CIO and our brothers in the AFL will all be in one united labor organization so that we can be better equipped to fight and defeat this employer type legislation." A collection was taken for the striking telephone workers.

Van A. Bittner, vice-president of the steel workers and director of "Operation Dixie," was the main speaker. Aside from some very funny stories of ignorant congressmen, Bittner's speech was an attack on the

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

JESSE JONES AND THE B. & O.

The most valuable hypothesis ever made concerning the nature of the state was that formulated by Marx and expanded by Lenin: That the state functions as the executive committee of the ruling class. The truth of this theory is supported by literally thousands of concrete examples taken from the past and contemporary performances of all governments. The theory helps to explain not only the liberal phase of Roosevelt's regime, but his later militant actions on behalf of American Big Business.

Another and lesser theory, one which is much more easily grasped by most people, is that expounded by Charles Beard in such works as "The Economic Interpretation of the American Constitution," wherein he traces the property interests of the men who drafted the American Constitution, to show that members of the ruling classes organize and use governments to further their own private interests, as against not only the masses but against rival property-owners.

People in all countries accept this concept, though it is not one taught in the history books. Just recently we have seen how Will Clayton has used his position in the U. S. State Department to further the interests of his cotten brokerage firm, largest in the world.

In the past few days another scandal has revealed how Jesse Jones, the Texas banker and Roosevelt's Secretary of Commerce, used his position as head of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to force a fraudulent bankruptcy upon the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in order to gain control of that billion-dollar empire. As usual, the scandal broke because of a falling out of insiders. The informant is Cassius Clay, a man who should know whereof he speaks, because he was a counsel for RFC before he became general solicitor for the B. & O. Clay told the Senate banking and currency committee in Washington recently that Jesse Jones had induced the B&O to accept an \$80 million loan from RFC, placed his own men in charge of the railroad, then threw it into bankruptcy.

Among the "Jones boys" placed in executive control of the B&O were former RFC chairman C. B. Henderson; John D. Goodloe, incoming chairman; Stewart McDonald, former Jones deputy and now chairman of the B&O; and Clay. With the RFC being owed \$80 millions by the B&O, not due until 1965, Jones met with his partners in control of the B&O, just before the presidential elections in 1944, and together they decided to throw the railroad into bankruptcy. According to the Senate committee counsel, "by means of this signed commitment the Jones group was able to lock up against loss the financial control of the great B&O railroad system. This objective was achieved, the record shows, by extending under the plan the RFC debt to 1965, and all other major B&O debts due prior to that time to a date beyond 1965. These extensions make it impossible for any rival financial or political group owning or controlling these debts to gain control of B&O by presenting them at any time from 1944 to 1965 when the company might be short of necessary funds."

There's the rub. Many other "rival financial or political groups" are drooling at Jones' success and would like, themselves, to get a cut of the B&O.

Clay testified he resigned as B&O solicitor because he opposed the fraudulent bankruptcy. "It was, dishonest from any angle you look at it," he said.

The reason Jones moved swiftly in 1944 to nail down the B&O, explained the Senate committee lawyer, was because the Jones group began to worry about the possibility of losing its control of the B&O as a result of the 1944 presidential election. He said the group feared that if Dewey were elected, he would put Republicans in

charge of RFC, or that if Roosevelt were re-elected he might remove Jones from office (as he subsequently did).

What the counsel didn't say was that Jones couldn't have put over his crooked deal without the connivance of the U. S. Supreme Court, which denied a bondholders' appeal for a review of the case, or of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which approved the phony bankruptcy.

During the Senate committee hearings it was brought out that the Jones gang deliberately diverted in 1943 and 1944 some \$31 millions of B&O net profits from repayment of the RFC loans, to the purchase of various B&O bonds; that the secretary of the B&O had doctored the minutes of the B&O executive committee meetings so as to eliminate therefrom certain references to the impending "bankruptcy" game; that Russell Snodgrass, former assistant general counsel of RFC who became vice-president of the B&O had furnished the ICC with an inaccurate estimate of the cash and government bonds owned by the B&O, making a small error of about \$50 million.

The Jones' insiders, in addition, made tens of millions of dollars by purchasing B&O stock. The silliness of throwing the B&O into bankruptcy may be understood when it is recalled that from 1939 to 1945 the railroad made more than \$110 millions in profits, after all taxes.

Jones took care of many members of his political machine in the course of his "job" on the B&O. For instance, one young lawyer, named Baukhages, testified he received only \$2,000 a year with the RFC, but that Jones put him in as general solicitor of the B&O legal department where he now receives \$18,500 a year.

The RFC has functioned for years as a pipeline from the U. S. Treasury to politically-favored businessmen of the nation. "We just tried to be helpful to the business of the country. We were helpful to the B&O," testified pious Charles Henderson, retiring RFC chairman.

Clay, the guy who finally squeezed, is a brother-in-law of Adolph Berle, one of Roosevelt's fair-haired braintrusts. It was brought out that Berle once put in a plug for his in-law with the chairman of the B&O executive committee, suggesting that Clay be made general counsel of the railroad. When Clay was turned down for that juicy post, he decided to blab.

Even with all this evidence of Big Business shenanigans, it appears that the Jones gang is going to try to bluster its way through. On April 14 the B&O executive committee met and president Roy White of the railroad wrote Senator Tolley that the railroad was going through with its plans. Senator Tolley had written to suggest that it would be "the course of wisdom and an indication of the usual respect for the Senate banking and currency committee" for the RFC to take steps to defer carrying out the arrangements provided for in the B&O plan until the committee had decided on validity of the RFC participation.

Fifty years ago such a financial scandal, touching some of the highest politicians and bankers in the country, would have rocked the United States. Even as recently as 1923, in the Teapot Dome investigation, the public displayed an interest in the ways Big Business was using the government to enrich itself. Today we are shockproof. Apparently we all take it for granted that the politicians and the wealthy whom they serve use the government to further their own private interests. After all, what's a billion-dollar railroad, compared with the waste and corruption of the recent war?

Jones? A fine God-fearing man. Friend and appointee of President Roosevelt's. Rich, upstanding citizen who served his country well in the recent war. A capitalist among capitalists. True patriot and epitome of our great democracy.

Intensify Palestinian War - -

(Continued from page 1)

struggle of the two oppressed peoples in Palestine and make possible the endless maneuvering at which the British are so expert.

But the Irgun policy is fatal in still another respect. The use of individual terrorism, though one may sympathize with the motives which lead to it, cannot take the place of mass struggle. One can readily understand the scorn with which the Irgun adherents view the conciliatory attitude of the official bourgeois Zionist leadership toward Britain. As a result the Irgun is trying to achieve the impossible: to substitute its fanatical will for the movement and struggle of the masses themselves.

The policy of individual terrorism

is always a symptom of despair, and either the result or portent of defeat. In those countries where it has flourished, especially Russia and Ireland, individual terrorism has usually come after a mass defeat. It is the work of heroic individuals attempting to bypass the difficult and patient task of building a mass movement. But generally speaking terrorism has not stirred the masses; it has more often emphasized the isolation of the terrorists from the masses.

Now these general historical characteristics of terrorism need not exist in exactly the same configuration in Palestine for our conclusion to apply to that country as well. Is it not clear that Irgun can only proceed from one adventure to another, isolating itself from, even while it may simultaneously have the sympathy of, the broad masses of Palestinian Jews?

ROAD TO LIBERATION

If, however, the masses of Jews in the resistance led by Haganah, the Jewish labor movement, were to cooperate with similarly constituted Arab masses—and were to do so not under the present Zionist leadership which is so bold in rhetoric and so cowardly in action, but under an aggressive revolutionary leadership—then the British could be swept into the sea.

It may be objected: the Arab masses are not organized; they are anti-Jewish. Of course. They have been fed full of prejudice for centuries by their effendi. But the tragedy is that Irgun by its blatant chauvinism and

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by its anti-Arab policy drives the Arab masses away from the Jews, and the Haganah, by its failure to attempt large scale organization of Arab and Jew into one union, does nothing to bring them closer.

And so Gruner and his comrades, heroes though they are, do not point to the road to national liberation for Palestine. That road is along one simple political program: unity of the Arab and Jewish masses; for the constitution of an independent Palestine under a democratically-convened Constituent Assembly with rights of all national groups respected. That is the way to drive out the hated British imperial power.

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Pay Rise -

(Continued from page 1)

Perhaps the worst feature of the steel settlement is that it provides for a two-year contract, allowing the wage issue to be raised again in a year. In return the steel workers and the people generally got a promise of noble intentions. Just that—the steel monopolists promise to do what they can not to pass the wage increase along in prices. But we have ample reason to be suspect of their promises.

PRICES GOING UP

Right now it is becoming the fashion among "sensible" men of business and politics to speak of lowering prices, or holding them in line. Department stores, for example, have been compelled to overcome consumer resistance by publicizing the need of reducing prices. Truman has publicly proclaimed the necessity of lower prices.

But in the meantime, price averages went up two per cent in the last month. Two per cent in one month! That's a lot of money, and it affects those least able to pay most severely. It doesn't matter in what items the prices go up; one influences the other, and is passed on down the line until it strikes its deadly blow at the pocket books of the people.

Fifteen cents an hour more will not come near meeting the wage cut of already risen prices. And it is not really 15 cents. The actual figure in steel is 12.5 cents. Other benefits are added which presumably bring it up to 15 cents. But labor, according to the statements of the union leaders and even of such servants of capitalism as Truman, needs more than that. The effect of this new wage formula will be to continue the paralysis of labor's living standard.

We have many times in the past commented that wage formulas become wage restrictions. The UAW has proved beyond any possible argument that the auto workers need 30 cents an hour more, and that industry can pay it while REDUCING prices. However, it now appears that 15 cents will be the top limit of wage increases. (The bosses, naturally, are committed to no "formula." If they can get away with less, they will.)

LESSON FOR FUTURE

The union leadership was unprepared and unwilling to take vigorous measures. Except perhaps in the auto workers union, and currently in the telephone workers union, there was no real pressure on the leadership for a more militant stand.

It is to the correction of this state of affairs that labor will now have to address itself. Again the situation proves that labor cannot handle these problems if it acts separately. Again it proves the need of a coordinated strategy of all unions.

The issue will rise again. That is inevitable. The 15 cents will not go far. We must therefore address ourselves to the manner in which the problem can be met in the future. And that, we think, points to the necessity of a Joint Board of Union Strategy, democratically elected, to coordinate the struggles and demands of the union movement.

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The Haymarket Martyrs and History of American May Day

By ARTHUR STEIN

MAY FIRST, labor's international holiday, has been a symbol of struggle against capitalist exploitation for over sixty years. And while it has been observed by workers all over the world, it is the American labor movement which originated the celebration of May Day.

The origins of this day are intimately tied with the principal economic demand of American labor in the latter half of the last century—the eight-hour day. All sections of organized labor in America placed this objective at the head of their programs; it became a rallying point for militant trade unionists, socialists and anarchists in every part of the country.

Karl Marx, in a passage in Capital which later became famous for its comment on the fundamental solidarity in interests between Negro and white workers, wrote of the struggle for the eight-hour day as follows:

"In the United States of America, any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new vigorous life sprang. The first fruit of the Civil War was an agitation for the eight-hour day—a movement which ran with express speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."

At the fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor, on October 7, 1884, a resolution was passed to the effect that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May First, 1886." The resolution was reaffirmed at the Federation's convention of 1885, and unions throughout the country made preparations for a general walkout on May 1, 1886.

MAY DAY IN CHICAGO

The May First demonstration of 1886 brought a vigorous strike wave to a head. It was carefully planned in advance by the various trade union organizations in all the industrial centers of the country. Since Chicago was the heart of the general strike wave, it was there that the observance of May First was most aggressively and militantly prepared by the local labor movement. Long before May 1, 1886, an Eight-Hour Association was formed jointly by the Socialist Labor Party and by local unions of the AFL and the Knights of Labor. It was supported, also, by the Central Labor Union, which organized a mobilization demonstration of over 25,000 workers on the Sunday before May Day.

May Day in Chicago that year became one of the most impressive demonstrations in the history of American labor. Thousands upon thousands of workers laid down their tools and went into the streets to demand an eight-hour day.

Two days later, a meeting of striking workers at the McCormick Reaper Works was brutally attacked by the Chicago police. Six workers were killed and many were wounded. It was big business' answer to the fighting solidarity of American workers.

A mass protest meeting was called for the next day at Haymarket Square to protest this outrage. The meeting proceeded peacefully and in perfect order. When it was about to be adjourned, however, the police launched an attack upon the demonstrators. From somewhere, a bomb was thrown into the crowd, killing a police sergeant. In the ensuing battle, seven policemen and four workers were killed.

To this day, there is no conclusive evidence as to who had thrown the bomb. It is generally admitted, however, that it is most probable that police or big business interests were behind this action in order to provoke a riot and to discredit the nationwide movement for an eight-hour day.

Eight leaders of the Chicago labor movement were arrested, tried and, on admittedly phony evidence, convicted of the crime. Four of them—Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel—were railroaded to the gallows. The other four received long prison terms but were later pardoned as a result of widespread protests from labor and liberal circles.

THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR
As a result of the Haymarket Affair—as this incident was later to be called—May Day became a firm tradition in the American and international labor and socialist movements. At the 1888 convention of the AFL in St. Louis, held just one year after

the hanging of the Chicago labor leaders, a resolution was adopted to observe May First, 1890, with a nationwide general strike for the eight-hour day. And although the following year the class-collaborationist AFL leadership under Samuel Gompers succeeded in limiting the strike movement, this action paved the way for the international observance of labor's holiday.

At the first congress of the Second International (Socialist) in Paris in 1889, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Congress decides to organize a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses shall demand of the state authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of the other decisions of the Paris Congress. Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon for May 1, 1890, by the American Federation of Labor at its convention in St. Louis, December, 1888, this day is accepted for the international demonstration. The workers of the various countries must organize this demonstration according to conditions prevailing in each country."

At succeeding congresses of the Socialist International, decisions for the observance of May Day were reaffirmed.

In 1890, May Day was celebrated internationally for the first time. In Paris and New York, in Berlin and Chicago, thousands upon thousands



Reading from left to right: A. Spies, Louis Lingg, had died the day before. A. Fischer, G. Engel, A. R. Parsons. The police said he committed suicide.

of workers laid down their tools, marched through the streets and gathered in mass outdoor demonstrations. From that time on, demonstrations of this type have been held annually in all the countries of the world.

Differences in the celebration of May Day have always reflected the differences existing in the labor and socialist movement. Though the origin of the day was one of militant class struggle, the reformist leadership of the Second International in its later stages has tried to pervert the day into a very peaceful holiday, marked by games and hikes rather than by mass demonstrations. For that reason they have often shifted observance to the Sunday closest to May First, since a Sunday is a day of rest anyway, and no strike demonstrations can be held.

WORLD EXPERIENCES
Revolutionary tendencies in the socialist movement, on the other hand, have, whenever conditions were at all favorable, always organized militant street demonstrations and work stoppages on May First.

During the First World War, when the "socialists" of the Second International discouraged May Day demonstrations as part of their policy of helping their respective imperialist camp, revolutionists in all countries seized upon May First as an opportunity for socialist anti-war agitation.

A huge demonstration on the famous Potsdamer Platz in the heart of Berlin was held on May 1, 1917. (Continued on page 4)

Magazine ACTION

April 28, 1947

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

Dedicate May Day 1947 To a Real Labor Struggle!

By E. R. MCKINNEY

MAY DAY has been celebrated in the United States for 60 years in various ways. Celebrations took place under the leadership of the unions themselves, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, smaller revolutionary organizations, or through some form of united front. The basic notion in these celebrations, however, was always that May Day be the occasion for an annual mass turn out of the working class. The roots of May Day were in the struggles of labor and it was well understood that this was a day on which labor massed its ranks and its banners for a demonstration before all the people.

The workers put down their tools, remained away from the factories, the mines and the mills and marched in the streets by the hundreds of thousands. This was a unique demonstration in that the participants were overwhelmingly wage earners who were engaged in the decisive sectors of capitalist production. They were the industrial workers, the proletarians; the vanguard of the toilers.

This was the general pattern. Despite the differing political content of the various celebrations, all participants agreed that May 1st was really labor's day and that it was not that "Labor Day" which comes the first Monday in September, and which had been set aside to "pay tribute to labor." On May Day the working class exhibited its potential might. Speakers came from the ranks of labor. There were no congressmen, cabinet officers and other "friends of labor." There were no May Day sermons preached in the churches and no editorials in the capitalist press extolling labor. All of this was reserved for Labor Day, which was looked upon as a sort of labor Fourth of July.



The kind of May Day described above is not the rule today. May Day has become respectable. Before the Second Imperialist War, the Socialist Party in the U. S. went to great pains to prove to the working class that May Day was not a foreign importation, that it developed out of the struggles of the working class in this country. This party called the workers into the streets to demonstrate under its banner. Tens of thousands responded to its calls. During the war, however, after Russia entered the Anglo-American imperialist bloc, the Stalinists were busy teaching labor that May Day really wasn't very important or significant. The workers were admonished to stay off the streets and to remain at their machines in the factories, to work the mines and the fields. Labor was told that that imperialist slaughter was a "sacred war." This coincided with the war opinions of Stalin and Molotov who had come to the conclusion that fascism was not really "a matter of taste."

THE "NEW" PERIOD

Now that the war is over and German fascism defeated the Stalinist bureaucracy is once again calling on the workers to celebrate May Day.

Stalinist imperialism is in conflict with U. S. imperialism. The "beloved leader" Browder has been kicked out of the party and it has asserted its spurious claim to have "returned to Marxism-

Leninism." "Our line's been changed again." Thus, they are calling on the workers to parade again. But not in the name of the Communist Party. The advertisements for the celebration are anonymous and the reasons for the demonstration are very vague indeed. Undoubtedly there will be much talk about "defending labor's rights," "defeating the reactionaries in Congress," "checking fascism in the U. S.," "returning to the foreign policies of Roosevelt." (The Roosevelt who, according to the Stalinists in 1940, was moving "for the overthrow of the republican form of government set up by Washington and Jefferson. . .") Yes, the same Roosevelt who rejected "the peace proposals of Germany . . ." in 1940.)

Aside from the Stalinists a "May Day" meeting is to be held by an assortment of social-democrats, liberals and conservative trade unionists. The war is over and they too will attempt to place themselves at the head of the masses for the celebration of the struggles of the working class. As is their custom the trade union leadership will do nothing. May Day to them is a little too "red" and radical. There would be too many workers milling around in the streets, marching and singing.

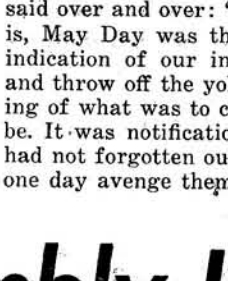
This then is a picture of May Day, 1947: the continuation of Stalinist treachery and social-democratic dribble and servility. Both groups led labor into support of the Second Imperialist World War. Now that the shooting is over, for a season; one group, the Stalinists, continues its support of Russian imperialism while the other, the social-democrats and liberals hold fast to U. S. imperialism.

MORE THAN SPEECHES ARE NEEDED

This May Day, however, it is necessary for labor to do something more than merely march, sing and listen to speeches. On past May Days the marching, speaking and singing had some real meaning and impact on the working class and the capitalist ruling class. At least the cops turned out "to stop the revolution" which had been planned in secret and was to break out in all its fury on May Day. Now the cops know better and they only take their posts to control and direct traffic.

It is necessary to revive the spirit of May Day. Neither the Stalinist parades nor the social-democratic indoor meetings will do this. The spirit of May Day means to remember the past struggles of labor and to prepare for future struggles. It means to reveal a fighting front to the capitalist ruling class through May Day working class solidarity.

May Day has been a day of inspiration to labor, a day to inspire labor to action. It was a one-day lull in the daily routine for the purpose of demonstrating working class solidarity. "Down Tools!" That was to exhibit gigantic potential power which resides in the working class. It was said over and over: "May Day Is Our Day." That is, May Day was the day on which we gave an indication of our intention to break our chains and throw off the yoke of slavery. It was a warning of what was to come, a symbol of what might be. It was notification to our oppressors that we had not forgotten our martyrs and that we would one day avenge them.



But now May Day has fallen on evil days. The reason, in the main, is that labor in the U. S. and in the world has not succeeded in rising to the level of its real tasks, has not yet demonstrated its ability to take on the real job, the job of leading the nation, leading the world, becoming the head of the nation and of the world.

Labor in the U. S. was lulled into near-impotence by the New Deal. It was disoriented by the Second Imperialist World War into the belief that the war was primarily a crusade against fascism and that the working class had no class interests distinct from those of the capitalists. Labor was betrayed by its own leaders. It has been lead and cajoled into a blind alley.

Just thirty years ago labor all over the world was lifted to great heights by the victory of Russian workers and the Bolshevik Party. The inheritors and defenders of the program and traditions of bolshevism is the movement founded and led by Leon Trotsky. This Fourth Internationalist movement is a small group and its voice does not yet reach far. But it is the continuing tradition of socialist internationalism and working class solidarity.

Today, Stalinism, the very opposite of Bolshevism, is triumphant in Russia and, with the assistance of England and the U. S., has conquered a large part of Europe. The Stalinists exploit the aims of labor for the purpose of strengthening the Russian bureaucracy and Russian imperialism. This is the chief role of the Stalinist Party in the U. S., which acts as the agent of the Russian bureaucracy and of Russian imperialism.

IDEOLOGY OF LABOR BUREAUCRATS

The native labor bureaucracy is anti-Stalinist today. These bureaucrats always follow the lead of the capitalist ruling class and its government. They have been and are always anti-socialist and anti-communist. But they can also be anti-socialist and anti-communist and at the same time, pro-Stalinist. They can do this because they are fundamentally practitioners of class collaboration. In a very servile way they follow along the lead of the ruling class. This was abundantly clear during the war.

The trade union leaders were just as anti-communist and anti-socialist as ever but they came to terms with Stalinism because that was the program of the ruling class for that period. It meant nothing to these labor leaders that the U. S. ruling class could have its bloc with Russia and Stalinism, precisely for the reason that Stalinism itself is anti-socialist and anti-communist.

Now that Stalinism is in conflict with U. S. imperialism and the government is preparing for war with Russia, these labor leaders become anti-Stalinist and begin the organization of a campaign against them in the labor movement. In all their cringing and crawling they attempt to drag the labor movement along.

On this May Day, the labor leadership in the U. S. reveals its bankruptcy. They have no program of their own for labor and they have no knowledge of what kind of program is needed. They are afraid of the capitalist class and just as afraid of the working class. They are afraid to cut loose from the ruling class, which gives this

(Continued on page 6)

Henry Ford: Apostle of the Assembly Line and Speed-Up

By JULIUS FALK

Part inventive genius and industrial innovator; part dictator, semi-literate Babbitt, underhanded maneuverer and exploiter, combined with a ruthless persistency—that was Henry Ford. All these characteristics rolled up into one man living at a time and in a social order where such talents could best blossom made Henry Ford. They made the Ford family and made the Ford empire. An empire with its heart in Detroit and arteries which encompassed the globe: Spain, France, Germany, Portugal, Mexico, the British Isles, the Far East, the jungles of South America. . . . An empire in auto cutting across many industries; within its domain are mines and ships, lumber mills and railroads. An empire that long ago passed the billion-dollar mark.

Any appraisal of Ford must abstract his industrial genius from his reactionary bigoted views in order better to gauge the more lasting importance he has had in shaping America's economic patterns. Ford's most significant contribution to industrial life was not so much his mechanical skill as his innovations in production techniques. Autos had been invented in Europe while he was still toying with the idea and an American auto had made its appearance as early as 1879—years before Ford's first model.

Up until the early 1900's the auto industry was for craftsmen only. The cost of production was high, the number of cars produced was few, the selling price exorbitant. The auto industry could not compete with the bicycle or horse and buggy, not to mention the products of the European automotive industry. Only the rich could afford a car.

In the early 1900's, Ford struck out for himself. He broke away from his former partners, who were contented to keep the power-driven vehicle an exclusive, luxury commodity. Ford wanted to bring the auto into the average American home. There was real profit in that.

His plan was to produce cheaply and in quantity. A small profit per item perhaps but a greater market and a greater total profit.

Developing auto manufacture into a mass production industry was Ford's goal, and its attainment was his significant industrial contribution. The cheap car influenced every aspect of American life, and more important, the method Ford employed in producing the cheap car set a telling example for all of industry to follow.

Ford's mass production methods were not so novel as they were extreme. The belt system and interchangeable parts preceded Ford. But it was he who gave an unprecedented impetus to specialization of labor and breaking down the productive process to an infinite number of routine movements on a mass scale. Time was saved, the role of skills diminished, with the individual worker becoming a more productive automaton. Standardization reached a new level; a standard item could be replaced, saving time and money. Also in the Ford plants the assembly line was more extensively and more efficiently used than in any other industry.

Ford proved to the more complacent capitalist that a product with as many as 5,000 parts could be produced in large quantity and inexpensively.

Ford liked to think of himself as a humanitarian. He hired stooges and biographers to build up a Ford myth. They pointed to the high wage rates

in Ford factories, to his "pacifist" views, and his kind disposition toward his workers and humanity in general.

Wages at Ford, higher than other industries at first, were dictated by necessity, not charity. The physical demands of Ford's speed-up, mass production methods were back-breaking, and the tedium almost unbearable. To insure an adequate and more permanent working force, Ford had to attract workers with a scale above that of most other industries. Ford was paying his help a five-dollar-per-day minimum in 1914 and seven dollars and sixty cents a day by 1930. But that was poor compensation for the mental and physical exhaustion, almost without a contemporary parallel, suffered by the Ford workers, turning the same bolt or tightening the same screw, day after day, and week after week. Nor was the relatively high rate of \$7.60 a day compensation for the employees' idleness half the year. The Ford worker averaged \$989 in 1930—barely \$4.00 a day when computed on an annual basis.

Not all could stand the pace at Ford. The labor turnover was tremendous. It was necessary for Ford to have an abundant labor market, a reservoir of unemployed men within reach from where he could draw reserves to fill the gaps in the assembly line left by overworked men, broken on Ford's assembly racks. To insure a labor market he would send out calls for workers from distant points. Jobs with good pay were promised. Thousands would respond. Many of them with their families. They converged on Detroit from all sections of the country. But where thousands answered the call, only hundreds were hired. The rest were to be Ford's reserve of hungry, unemployed men. When they protested

this inhuman trick on a bitter cold January day in 1914, Ford's kindly response was a high-pressured cold-water hose.

In March, 1932, the Auto Workers Union and the Detroit unemployed councils called a hunger march on the Ford plant. A demonstration of men and women who had recently come from outlying sections of the country to answer one of Ford's false alarms were joined by hundreds of militant workers from Ford. The demonstrators were met by the Ford-controlled police department. Tear gas was used in an attempt to break the demonstration. When that failed, machine guns and pistols succeeded. Two boys in their teens and two others in their twenties were murdered. Scores of others suffered from gun wounds, clubbed heads and gassing. This was not the first such incident nor the last.

When the workers in the Ford plants tried to organize into unions they met with savage opposition from Ford. The spy system was made more elaborate. Men who talked union were reported and promptly laid off, others were beaten by Ford thugs. A union organizer took his life in his hands when he distributed leaflets at the Ford gates. But not even the fascist Black Legion or the terror of gangsters and ex-convicts being "rehabilitated" in Ford's service department could stymie the union. By 1941 the United Automobile Workers cracked the Ford plants. The workers won their closed shop and many of their economic demands. And this union victory was one of the tragedies of Ford's life!

Ford was a peace-loving man—so he and all his hirelings shouted to the heavens. He didn't like wars. That didn't inhibit him, however, from pocketing \$0 million dollars profit

made selling war material to the Army in World War I and a like sum in World War II. Ford was a good business pacifist. In 1915, Ford, together with a number of similar light-minded luminaries, made a quixotic journey to Europe on his yacht to convince the warring powers that fighting was just a lot of tomfoolery. "History is bunk," Ford once proclaimed—and he was out to prove it.

Instead of peace, Ford returned to the States with the hoary, forged, anti-Semitic inspired "Protocols of Zion." He initiated an anti-Jewish crusade in the United States of unheard of proportions. He bought the Dearborn Independent in 1920, wherein his literary dregs vilified the Jewish people issue after issue for years.

In one of the first copies of his paper we read: "The main source of the sickness of the German national body is charged to be the influence of the Jews, and although this was apparent to acute minds years ago, it is now said to have gone so far as to be apparent to the least observing." Further on: "There are no stronger contrasts in the world than the pure Germanic and the pure Semitic races."

Small wonder that Adolf Hitler hung a picture of Ford on his walls. Not only did he find a kindred, bigoted spirit in the American industrialist but an excellent man to do business with, and an industrialist whose slave-driving efficiency German capitalists could profitably ape. To show his gratitude to Ford for the kind of man he was and for all the armored equipment the German Ford Werke was producing for the Wehrmacht, Hitler, in 1938, honored Ford with the Grand Cross of the German eagle—the highest award Germany could give a foreigner.

Ford liked to pose as a man who



loved children, worshipped the sanctity of the home, donated profusely to charities; a man who never lost the earthly and spiritual qualities of his early boyhood on the farm.

The facts tell a different story. Ford did nothing on a big scale which did not in one way or another enhance his fortune. He preached the sanctity of the home at the same time that the Black Legion invaded private homes at night to beat up union workers. Even domestic family quarrels were in his province for they affected profits. As Samuel Marquis of the Ford Sociological Department once put it: "Through our investigators, we frequently take a look into the homes of our employees. If conditions are not right in the home, we set ourselves the task of making them right. . . . Family quarrels have an almost immediate effect on the output of lathes and drills."

Ford's stooges often pointed to his personally controlled trade schools as examples of his good character. Not widely publicized, however, was the fact that he used the students in his factories under the pretext of giving them work experience. They did a man-sized job for only a token payment, and were often used to "supplant older and better paid men. He hoped that these students would form the solid opposition to unionization.

Ford was a vicious man. Most of his energies were directed toward the accumulation of a vast fortune. Whoever stood in his path was ruthlessly brushed aside. He was anti-labor, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, an apostle of the most reactionary sections of American capitalism, and a devoted friend of men like Coughlin.

The labor movement will not mourn the death of Henry Ford.

Next Week in Labor Action

THE POLISH SITUATION

By A. Rudzienski

WHERE IS WALLACE GOING?

By Irving Howe

A STALINIST JUDAS

By Irving Howe

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Editorials

A New Note in Russian Economy

"The most sweeping and thoroughgoing change (in Stalin's Russia)—one that affects two-thirds of the Soviet population—is being made in the structure of agricultural wages. . . . From now on the uniform payment per working day is abolished, and all agricultural wages are to be calculated on the basis of efficiency—that is, in relation to harvests."

This is the report of a correspondent for the London Economist in a recent survey of economic developments in Russia.

The report as a whole is interesting because it reveals some things that are happening in the economic life of Stalin's modern slave state. The post-war five-year plan for reconstruction, based on low standards, is not proceeding in accord with the goals set by the bureaucracy. The heavy stress of the plan itself is on basic industries, specifically war industries, at the expense of consumer industry. Thus, no promise is held out for an improvement of living conditions of the mass of people.

The end of the war has produced no changes in the treatment of the millions of workers and peasants by the bureaucratic ruling class. To the privations of the pre-war and war years have now been added the privations of the post-war construction period in which the bureaucracy seeks an economic revival on the basis of a continued intensive exploitation of the workers and peasants. Even so, the plan of the top dogs in the Stalin administration is not working out—this means a further depression of the conditions of the masses.

The report of the London Economist is one of the first public statements on economic affairs in post-war Russia. From Russian sources one gets little or nothing. Yet supporters of Russia are high in their praise of economic developments there since the war. There are even opponents

of Stalin and his system who praise the great economic advances there because of some mystical power claimed for the "planned" and collective economy under the vicious and retrograde bureaucracy. The praise from these sources, however, is based on mere assertion without proof.

What stands out in the aforementioned report is that the Stalin system is based on cruel exploitation. Incentive and piecework systems, over which stands the cruel, oppressive force of the secret police, is the normal relationship in the economy between the rulers of the state and the broad masses of workers and peasants. Here, therefore, the incentive and piecework systems were largely confined to industry. Now we learn that the same systems are to be applied to agriculture.

Before this new decision of the bureaucracy, "the working day and its pay was equal for all; and all collective farmers were obliged to do an equal number of 'working days' during the year." Now, all is changed. Whether this will result in a rise in agricultural production, it is difficult to say. But that it will result in a greater exploitation and deprivation of the peasantry is obvious. How such a system will work out in the vast Russian agricultural system is something only the bureaucratic mind of a Russian boss can visualize.

To the revolutionary socialist who sees in Russia a new type of exploiting society having nothing in common with a workers' state or socialist forms and methods, the change is not surprising. Those who profess to see in Russia a workers' state, degenerated or otherwise, and those who profess to see in Stalinland the way to the future socialist society of freedom, peace and security, will be hard pressed to square their conceptions and analyses with the reality of the Russian economy, its theory and practice.

Growth of a Roosevelt Myth

Already, a mere two years after his death, the real Roosevelt tends to draw more into the shadows as the mythical and legendary figure assumes ever greater importance and dimensions. This process, of course, is familiar and expected. In the course of time, the legend of the man will replace the reality—in fact, will become the reality in the sense that disputes and arguments and political actions will center about the myth.

This historic distortion is already well advanced, in the case of Roosevelt. The American Stalinists proclaim themselves the only true wearers of the FDR cloak; Henry A. Wallace protests he is only seeking to carry out FDR principles; the Republican Party, generally, maintains a discreet and respectful silence; President Truman, of course, never misses an opportunity to reaffirm his loyalty to "The Chief."

And so the struggle over the image of Roosevelt goes on. We are reminded of the brilliant chapter in Kautsky's book, "Origins of Christianity," describing the historic struggle of the ancient world and its contending factions over who was the rightful possessor of the "true image of Christ." Each political faction today seeks to claim FDR for its own; each seeks to present its current program as a continuation of the FDR program. All have ONE essential element in common, in fact, this lies at the heart of the myth. That FDR was the spokesman and champion of "the people," the "little man," the "forgotten man," and therefore was loved and worshipped by the broad mass.

Since we never accepted the original myth, LABOR ACTION cannot engage in the present struggle for possession of the

image. Our estimate of Roosevelt has not changed—a brilliant, ruthless, skilled, successful and demagogic representative of American imperialism and capitalism. Insofar as the various elements of the myth are accepted, this acceptance reflects the general political backwardness of America.

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COLONIAL DEPUTIES IN FRENCH PARLIAMENT

An "Intercolonial Front" has just been set up by Negroes in Paris with the participation of the nine Negro Deputies in the French Assembly. Two hundred people, almost all Negroes, attended the first rally of the organization. The nine deputies spoke, as well as Marcel Beaufre, invited to represent the French Trotskyists. The deputies, all Socialists and Communists, evidenced extreme confusion in their speeches, but also a healthy democratic attitude. One deputy, Rosen Girard, a Communist from the French West Indies, stated: "Viet Nam started its movement too soon. They should have waited another twenty years, by which time there will be in France a true Socialist-Communist-Trotskyist democracy!" In this little quotation is contained both the good and the bad in the political outlook of these Negro Stalinists from the French colonies.

THE MASSACRE OF THE BOLIVIAN MINERS

On January 28 the rumor was circulated among the miners of Potosi that the Trotskyist leaders had been arrested by the Stalinist Police Chief, Villacos. A delegation of thirty miners went to the police station to ascertain the facts. The Stalinist police chief refused to receive them.

Thousands of miners, armed with dynamite, then marched in disciplined fashion on Potosi to liberate the prisoners. A bloody slaughter awaited them. Ambushed in the municipal

buildings, the fascists of the MNR (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement) and some Stalinists of the PIR (Party of the Revolutionary Left) opened fire on the miners, killing 150 of them.

Later it was learned that the shameful massacre of the Potosi workers had been arranged by the fascists with the complicity of the Stalinist police chief.

Counting on the unanimous attachment of the Bolivian miners to their revolutionary leadership, they had circulated the false rumor of the arrest of the Trotskyist leaders, hoping thus to implicate the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) in an armed plot, to draw down on it repression by the bourgeois government. The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party has denounced this maneuver.

REPORT TO 4TH INTERNATIONAL FROM KOREA

A delegate of the Fourth International has just returned from Korea. In this country occupied by Russian and American imperialism, three non-Stalinist Communist parties have been formed, and the Stalinist Party itself pursues a "leftist" line.

In the report that he transmitted to the executive committees of the International, our comrade told how he was invited by the International Communist Party of Korea to speak to a meeting of 10,000 workers.

They asked him to explain the Trotskyist position on Russia. They asked hundreds of questions on events in France, Germany, Britain, on the role

of the Trotskyist parties in Ceylon and China. . . . They had been awaiting contact with the Fourth International. . . . The audience was armed and the neighborhood watched by armed patrols. The hall was decorated with red flags and a big picture of Lenin.

ALBERT BINANT 1923-1947

One of the best loved Trotskyists in the Paris region, Comrade Binant, died February 20 in an industrial accident. Twelve hundred workers marched in the funeral procession at Sceaux, the industrial suburb in which he lived. Behind the casket, crowned with red flowers not only from our party but from the Socialist Party and other organizations, marched Edouard Depreux, Socialist Minister of the Interior, Hulot, Communist Municipal Councillor of Sceaux, and Roger Paul, secretary of the Printing Trades Federation. The procession was headed by a Viet Namee comrade carrying the red flag of the PCI.

At 24 our comrade was a militant of long standing. He joined the Socialist Youth at 13, then at 15 the PSOP, and finally at 16 became a Trotskyist. In 1942, nineteen years old, he led the underground party cell in Sceaux, organizing activity in the factories and smuggling illegal literature into the German barracks. The varied political composition of the procession was only a small testimonial to the esteem which he had earned among all the workers of the area.

Books You Should Know...

THE COMING CRISIS, by Fritz Sternberg, Publ. John Day, 266 p. \$3.50.

Reviewed by W. AMADEUS

Shortly before the end of the war, government economists and statisticians became alarmed at the prospects which faced the country and the world in the post-war period. Noting the tremendous expansion of the American industry in the war years and the destruction of the markets and wealth of the world, they feared the onrush of a severe world and national economic crisis that might, or could, shatter the whole fabric of capitalism. Such were the thoughts of at least the most pessimistic of these analysts.

It is true that some of them forecast a crisis and mass unemployment immediately after the war, but the more sober of them gave no date. They merely cited the tremendous potentialities inherent in the expanded economy, the growth of the working population, the rise in production of the individual worker and said that, unless the living standards of the masses rise to new heights and some form of a planned economy or regulated economy is established, we shall see "free enterprise" plunge toward an economic abyss.

The abuse heaped on these economists and statisticians, whose analyses approached that of the Marxists, was indeed widespread. It came from company-paid economists (for example, Ralph Robey, official economist for the NAM), big business leaders, newspaper economists and newspaper owners. A barrage of "private enterprise" propaganda was unleashed calculated to forestall any governmental measures at regulating the economy.

There was more to it than just preventing regulation; big business was readying itself to loot the country in the postwar period. The present dangerous inflationary situation is a product of the big business victory and all the elements of the coming crisis is today more and more visible to the naked eye.

"The coming crisis" is the theme and title of the Sternberg book. If one hopes to find in the book the date when this crisis will burst out in its terrifying magnitude, he will be disappointed. Sternberg has presented a historical study of the development and decline of modern capitalism, showing the long-term factors of decline and the inevitability of the crisis on the basis of the nature of capitalism itself.

In the citation of these factors, he introduces material which has long been familiar to the Marxists of this and other countries. Parts of his book are an interesting parallel to the material and ideas contained, for example, in the resolution on the United States adopted by the national convention of the Workers Party in June, 1946. Among these are the fact that the United States has risen to top place among the powers of the world but, unfortunately for its ruling class, in a period of capitalist decline. Her tremendous economic power is threatened with desperate struggle for existence and a more severe crisis precisely because of its expansion and strength in a limited world market. He, too, cites what has now become accepted by all leading writers and theories: the emergence out of the war of only two great powers, the United States and Russia. These now are the source of a new rivalry and a new international struggle for power.

A BIT OF CONFUSION

From here on, however, Sternberg's writing lapses into a terrible confusion based on his own ambiguous understanding and analysis of the Russian state and its economy. He attributes to the Russian nationalized economy, under control of a new bureaucratic exploiting class, a strength it does not possess; he does not detail how this nationalization develops concretely under the condition of bureaucratic mismanagement and control.

The book itself is poorly organized. It is written in thesis style, but the ideas are not marshalled in progressive, logical order. Thus it gives the impression of jumping from one series of facts to another, from one area of the world to another, a synthesis being supplied by the constant intervention of the author, who inserts his views rather mechanically.

Being a left social democrat, but a social democrat nevertheless, Sternberg castigates Lenin and Bolsheviks whose conception of the proletarian revolution led, he asserts, to the defeat of the "democratic" state in Germany after the First World War and the consequent rise and victory of fascism. This is the repetition of an old social-democratic canard to absolve the Noskes and Scheidemanns for responsibility in destroying the German Revolution.

Despite its schematic, mechanical structure, the reader will find the book an interesting reservoir of information, though the Sternberg way out of the crisis through a new, extended New Deal in all countries will appear even more dubious on the basis of the objective analysis he has made of the capitalist economy.

May Day in U. S. History --

(Continued from page 3)
the proletarian sector of Berlin was organized by Karl Leibknecht and the revolutionists who followed him on May Day, 1916. Throughout the war, Russian Bolsheviks staged demonstrations against Czarist imperialism on May Day. In the United States, anti-war elements in the Socialist Party continued the observance of May Day in the tradition of militant action. A typical demonstration in 1919 in Cleveland, where over 20,000 workers paraded to the public square, was brutally attacked by the police. Two workers lost their lives in the skirmish.

During the Second World War, the ranks of anti-war socialists were confined to the tiny groups of the Fourth International in the various countries. While the Socialist and Stalinist parties gave open aid to the imperialism of the big powers, and thus also turned their May Day observances into travesties, the Fourth Internationalist movement continued to celebrate May 1 in the spirit upon

which it was founded—the spirit of proud defiance to capitalism and capitalist wars.

Since the traditions connected with May Day have served as a powerful stimulus to working class combativity, the capitalist ruling class has tried to blur the significance of May Day in many ways.

In the United States, the principal method of trying to eradicate May Day has been the introduction of Labor Day in September. Whereas May Day symbolizes the struggle for socialism and a better world, Labor Day has become a day when labor's docility to capitalist misery is being celebrated by the officials of the capitalist state.

In other countries, May First itself has been perverted by the ruling class to make the workers forget their grievances and their socialist militancy.

From the very start of the Hitler régime in Germany, the Nazi Party, in order to counteract the agitation of socialist and communist workers, declared May Day as an official "holiday of labor." Workers were herded into the streets and, under the careful eyes of heavily-armed storm

troopers, were forced to parade and demonstrate their docility to the Nazi régime.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in Russia today. Exploiting the attachment of the workers to the revolutionary traditions of May Day celebrations under the Bolshevik leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the new bureaucratic exploiting class has seen fit to use May 1 as a day for self-glorification. A day which traditionally has stood for international working class solidarity and the struggle for peace through socialism, is now being used by Russia's rulers as a demonstration of the strength of their own imperialist war machine. The country which has over 20 million slave laborers is annually being told by its totalitarian government that it is celebrating its socialist freedom!

Despite these misuses, however, we of the Workers Party, as part of the international revolutionary socialist movement, continue to celebrate May First as a symbol of our determination to bring an end to capitalism's misery and to build a new and better world of freedom and plenty—a world of socialism.

OFF LIMITS
By
James M. Fenwick

Seven years ago, on May 1, 1940, the first issue of LABOR ACTION appeared. Seven years is a long time in a person's life, especially if he is young. To many, the names which were in the news then (Narvik! Trondheim!) are already dead, as lost in history as the Somme or The Wilderness.

But these were seven years which were more than seven years, for never before in time has so much experience been compressed into so short a span. Empires destined to endure for a thousand years were pounded to pieces in a few months. With them whole ideologies vanished like smoke. Even revolutionary doctrine did not escape unscathed. Analyses, particularly those made by the Socialist Workers Party in this country, and by the Fourth International in Europe, were disputed by history.

This is a good place along the way to stop and look back over the road since May, 1940, when the lull of what some sagely labeled "the phony war" was succeeded by the steel storm of the blitzkrieg which was to leave Germany the master of Europe.

What did the succeeding seven years teach us? More particularly, for the political lessons have been drawn elsewhere, what did the military struggles teach us?

BENEFITS AND LESSONS

In a personal sense it introduced us to the military life, a total experience which this country had endured only once before—during the Civil War. Modern war, which more and more becomes the normal mode of existence of capitalism, emerged from the world of manifestoes and theses into actuality. The tempering of our cadres, morally and in understanding, was achieved. Internationalism became a living thing. We went "with our generation" in the deepest sense of Trotsky's phrase. Some did not come back. Some came back wounded. All who returned came back more firmly dedicated to the struggles ahead, whose amplitude will be the greatest in history.

The second benefit derived during this seven-year period was a more just appreciation of the role of military struggle in the social complex. A needed corrective was applied to the primary role assigned to politics, which had sometimes been interpreted in a too unilateral sense. A corollary to this was a general underestimation of the necessity for a trained revolutionary party for the stimulation of social movements. The absence of such parties, particularly in Europe, permitted military actions to exercise more "pure" effects. For proof of this it is necessary only to think back over the course of history in World War I.

WHERE WE ERRED

Among the beliefs which were explicitly held by the organization, or were more informally expressed within it, were the following, belief in all of which were possible because of an underestimation of the military factor:

(1) That the war in Europe would be a long one of mutual destruction on both sides, as in World War I, which would be brought to a close only by social revolution. This conclusion resulted in good part from an overestimation of Nazi military skill, her material resources and the strength of her continental enemies, and an underestimation of the military-economic potential of the Allies.

(2) That the fall of Russia under the Nazi attack was practically a foregone conclusion. This was based on a simplistic belief in the internal instability of Russia (Hitler made the same error) and underestimated the military and logistic problems faced by the Germans, the effect of weather and terrain, and the effect of Lend-Lease weapons and food. The surprise engendered by the announcement of the Hitler-Stalin pact, it might be said parenthetically, was in part induced by a glossing over of the military problems presented to both Germany and Russia.

(3) That the Japanese war would continue much longer than it did. This, again, was based upon an underestimation of the effects of strategic bombing upon Japanese economy and of the United States war potential. And, paradoxically enough, it was the underestimation of the total effect of a military regime upon the army and the civil population which negated Trotsky's earlier speculation that Japan, whose contradictions most closely resembled Czarist Russia, might be the first to collapse under the war strain. Similar errors were made in regard to Germany.

THE COMPLEXITY OF ANALYSIS

Social analysis is a subtle art. Even Engels, who made such stunning prognoses on World War I, went overboard on the military side in analyzing the American Civil War, and prompted Marx to restore his perspective. Trotsky himself at one time envisaged World War II as lasting only six months.

In truth, had other decisions been made—military decisions—the war might well have evolved in variant form. If England had been invaded after Dunkirk (she did not then have matériel to arm a division) and if Russia had then been attacked (some German generals wanted this) the invasion of Europe, where even an Axis was almost a failure, would have been fantastically costly. Then, indeed, there might have been a stalemate broken only by revolution.

Our past errors were not serious ones. The mistakes which were made were shared by others in possession of more concrete data than was available to us. But we saw more clearly than any others. In a period of the militarization of the world, however, we must give the art and science of war our closest study in order to eliminate at least the grossest errors.

The art of politics is like the childhood game of jackstraws, wherein to extricate the tangled elements requires patient study, steady vision, and the greatest subtlety of touch.

The April Issue of

The New International

Contains a Study by MAX SHACHTMAN

THE NATURE OF THE RUSSIAN STATE

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A Heroic Struggle for Freedom

In Commemoration of Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

By ERNEST ERBER

The armed resistance of the Jewish workers in the Warsaw Ghetto, beginning on April 18, 1943, received little publicity in the world press and even less has been done since then to lift the veil of obscurity that shrouds this grim but epic struggle.

The slight information about the Ghetto battle that reached the outside world, slight as compared with what was known of the struggles of the resistance movements in other countries, was due in part to the fact that the Ghetto fighters were trebly sealed-off from contact with the non-German countries. All resistance movements operated behind the German lines. An additional barrier was imposed, however, upon the movements of Eastern Europe, such as that in Poland, since the vast area of German territory that lay between them and Allied or neutral territory made impossible the kind of courier service that linked the French underground with London.

But in addition to the double barrier faced by the Polish underground, the Jewish resistance was isolated behind the walls of stone and steel which surrounded the Ghetto. Even the radio, used by all other resistance movements, was not available to the Ghetto fighters. The Ghetto did not provide the space necessary for continued use of a secret radio station which avoids detection by constantly changing its location.

Nor were there to be dozens of memoirs and eye-witness accounts published after the war by participants as is the case in other resistance movements. The total number of Polish Jews who survived is but a fragment of their pre-war number. But the number of survivors of the Ghetto battle are hardly even a handful. The great fortune that a politically experienced observer should be among them is one of the lucky accidents of history that makes possible what is known of the battle.

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE HIDES GHETTO STRUGGLE

But over and above all these objective factors which have contrived to keep the story of the Ghetto battle from wide knowledge, is an important political factor. None of the powers that control world information channels desire to identify themselves with the traditions of the Ghetto fighters. Anglo-American news services, both during their period of war propaganda and since, have found it exceedingly awkward to utilize the Ghetto battle for their own purposes.

They much preferred the figure of the French militarist de Gaulle to the Socialist intellectuals and workers like Abraham Blum, Jurek Blones, Mejlach Perelman, Dawid Hochberg, Tobcia Dawidowicz or Marek Edelman, leaders of the Ghetto resistance. But even more, they preferred to publicize the Cross of Lorraine carried by the French resistance to the red flag of inter-

MAY DAY IN THE GHETTO

On May Day the Command decided to carry out a "holiday" action. Several battle groups were sent out to "hunt down" the greatest number of Germans possible. In the evening, a May Day roll-call was held. The partisans were briefly addressed by a few people and the "Internationale" was sung. The entire world, we knew, was celebrating May Day on that day and everywhere, colorful, meaningful words were being spoken. But never yet had the "Internationale" been sung in conditions so different, so tragic, in a place where an entire nation had been and was still perishing. The words and the song echoed from the charred ruins and were, at that particular time, an indication that Socialist youth was still fighting in the Ghetto, and that even in the face of death they were not abandoning their ideals.

On May 8th detachments of Germans and Ukrainians surrounded the Headquarters of the Z.O.B. Command. The fighting lasted two hours, and when the Germans convinced themselves that they would be unable to take the bunker by storm, they tossed in a gas-bomb. Whoever survived the German bullets, whoever was not gassed, committed suicide, for it was quite clear that from here there was no way out, and nobody even considered being taken alive by the Germans. Jurek Wilner called upon all partisans to commit suicide together. Lutek Rotblat shot his mother, his sister, then himself. Ruth fired at herself seven times.

Thus 80 per cent of the remaining partisans perished, among them the Z.O.B. Commander, Mordchaj Anilewicz.

All night we walked through the sewers, crawling through numerous entanglements built by the Germans for just such an emergency. The entrance traps were buried under heaps of rubble, the thoroughways booby-trapped with hand grenades exploding at a touch. Every once in a while the Germans would let gas into the mains. In similar conditions, in a sewer 28 inches high, where it was impossible to stand up straight and where the water reached our lips, we waited 48 hours for the time to get out. Every minute someone else lost consciousness. Thirst was the worst handicap. Some even drank the thick, slimy sewer water. Every second seemed like months.

On May 10th, at 10 a. m., two trucks halted at the trap door on the Prosta Street-Twarda Street intersection. In broad daylight, with almost no cover whatsoever (the promised Home Army cover failed and only three of our liaison men and Comrade Kracsek—a People's Army representative specially detailed for this assignment—patrolled the street), the trap door opened and one after another, with the stunned crowd looking on, armed Jews appeared from the depths of the dark hole (at this time the sight of any Jew was already a sensational occurrence). Not all were able to get out. Violently, heavily the trap door snapped shut, the trucks took off at full speed.

Two battle groups remained in the Ghetto. We were in contact with them until the middle of June. From then on every trace of them disappeared.

Those who had gone over to the "Aryan side" continued the partisan fight in the woods. The majority perished eventually. The small group that was still alive at the time took an active part in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising as the "Z.O.B. Group." At present the following of our comrades are still among the living: Chajka Belchatowska, B. Szpigel, Chana Krysztal, Masza Gletman, and Marek Edelman.

nationalism borne by the Ghetto fighters. To confront the Swastika with the symbol of international labor solidarity was not the kind of anti-Nazi resistance which the Office of War Information was interested in playing up.

Nor could the Stalinist propaganda machine find grist for its mill in the Ghetto epic. The record was too plain to deny the fact that the Ghetto resistance was led by the Jewish Socialist Bund, the leaders of which, Ehrlich and Alter, had received a GPU bullet through the head in a Russian prison just as the Ghetto fighters who fell into German hands received a Gestapo bullet.

Neither Anglo-American "democracy" nor Stalinist "socialism" wants to be identified with the traditions of the Ghetto uprising. The

memory of these valiant warriors is entrusted to the international revolutionary movement. Only it will keep it alive. Only it will find in it a source of inspiration.

A WELL-ORGANIZED MILITARY CAMPAIGN

The Ghetto battle was far from a blind fight of hunted unorganized individuals who were interested solely in saving their lives. This notion which has received wide currency is a most pernicious slander of the memory of the Ghetto martyrs, even though it is born out of ignorance of the facts rather than malice. The uprising was the work of a well organized political and military resistance led by the "Bund" and the Hashomer Hatzair, left wing Socialist Zionist movement. The political

idealists who organized the movement were perhaps the only people in the Ghetto with the connections and means by which they could have fled to save their lives. But it was precisely they who remained to the bitter end and shed their last drop of blood on the blazing rubble heaps of what had once been their homes.

The armed resistance would not have been possible had it not been carried out as part of the general Polish working class resistance to the Nazis. The Ghetto military resistance organization (ZOB) was armed, from the receipt of its first "arsenal" of ten pistols to more effective weapons later, by the Polish underground led by the Polish Socialist Party.

"Arms were smuggled into the Ghetto in precisely the same manner as other contraband. Bribed Polish policemen closed their eyes to heavy parcels thrown over the Ghetto walls at designated spots. ZOB liaison men immediately disposed of the packages. The Jewish policemen guarding the Ghetto walls had no voice in the matter. Our most active liaison man with the 'Aryan side' were Zygmunt Frydrych (who arranged the first transport of weapons), Michal Klepfisz, Celemenski, Fajgela Pellet (Wladka), and many others. Michal Klepfisz, in cooperation with the PS (Polish Socialists) and WRN (Polish national resistance army) groups, made the necessary arrangements for a large-scale purchase of explosives and incendiaries (e.g., 2,000 liters of gasoline) and later, after transporting the shipment to the Ghetto, set up a factory for the production of Molotov cocktails and hand grenades. The production process was primitive and simple, but the large output of the shop greatly increased the firepower of our detachments. By now every partisan was equipped, on the average with one pistol and 10-15 rounds for it), 4-5 hand grenades, 4-5 Molotov cocktails, 2-3 rifles were assigned to each 'area.' There was just one machine pistol in the entire Ghetto."

ACTION CARRIED THROUGH BY PROLETARIAN CORE

It is not only legitimate to speak of the Ghetto fighters as Jewish workers because the active political leadership came from the labor and socialist organizations, but the remaining population of the Ghetto at the time of the uprising was almost entirely proletarian. The deportations to the death camps had systematically reduced the population of the Ghetto from 300,000 to some 30,000 at the time of the uprising.

Since the Nazis proceeded with cold-blooded calculations to squeeze the last sources of labor from the doomed Jews, they carried out a system of planned extermination of the least productive first. The result was that the 30,000 surviving inhabitants in the spring of 1943 were mostly skilled workers employed in making uniforms, brushes, finished wood products, etc., for use by the German army. It was this solid proletarian core of the population that conducted the last great action.

It is an error to believe that every desperate man chooses to die fighting. The hundreds of thousands of Jews transported to the gas chambers were killed off without serious resistance. Once the chance of personal survival is gone, the average person caves in morally and physically and awaits the end, either in a stupor or in hysteria. Only those with a sense of history, with an understanding of the political meaning of resistance to the end, that is to say, the political idealists, choose to fight, not in blind desperation, but to die with a purpose. The heroes of the Ghetto fell with arms in hand because all their Socialist convictions had prepared them for that course of action. Their struggle was not a mere last act of vengeance against the hated enemy. It was a blow for freedom—the Socialist freedom to which they had dedicated their lives.

ELECTRIFYING EFFECT ON POLISH RESISTANCE

Their struggle had an immediate electrifying effect upon the Polish resistance movement as a whole. The rubble heaps of the Ghetto were a silent testimony to the Poles of how fighters for freedom die. But they were more than that. They were a daily reminder that the German war machine was not invincible. For until it met the Ghetto resistance, the great strength of the Gestapo and the SS troops lay in the legend of their invincibility, a legend that paralyzed their victims even before the battle began.

The Ghetto fighters exploded this legend. The despised Jewish proletarian, armed with a pistol and a crude hand grenade, proved more than a match for the highly vaunted SS troops. The latter could prevail only with the use of bombing planes, tanks, flame throwers and a concentration of artillery that exceeded that used in the siege of Warsaw in 1939. Even this array of armament did not suffice and the Germans were forced to burn the entire Ghetto to end the resistance. The battle of the Ghetto was a catastrophic moral defeat for the Nazis, a defeat from which they never recovered in Poland.

The Polish underground drew inspiration and absorbed valuable practical lessons from the Ghetto action. It correctly withheld military action during the Ghetto battle for its own preparations were only in the initial stage. The Ghetto battle inspired thousands to activity in the Polish resistance and blazed the path for the Warsaw insurrection of 1944, so cynically betrayed by Stalin.

The memory of the Ghetto fighters is enrolled in the great book of revolutionary heroes, along with the martyrs of the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolutions, the Austrian Schutzbund, the Spanish *militianos*. They are part of the great tradition of the fight for Socialist freedom.

All quotations on the Warsaw Ghetto used on this page are taken from the pamphlet *The Ghetto*

Fights by Marek Edelman. The latter was a leader of the underground Jewish Socialist Bund in the Ghetto and a leader of one of the battle groups. He succeeded in escaping from the Ghetto with a remaining handful of partisans via the sewers of the city and, in cooperation with the Polish underground, reached the forest hide-outs of the guerrillas.

The pamphlet was published in Warsaw in 1945 by the Central Committee of the "Bund" and was translated and issued in this country by the American Representation of the General Jewish Workers' Union of Poland (Bund). It is available through the latter organization. Address: Forward Building, East Broadway, New York City.

THE GHETTO FIGHTS BACK

Finally, the Germans decided to liquidate the Warsaw Ghetto completely, regardless of cost. On April 19, 1943, at 2 a. m., the first messages concerning the Germans' approach arrived from our outermost observation posts. These reports made it clear that German gendarmes, aided by Polish "navy blue" policemen, were encircling the outer Ghetto walls at 30-yard intervals. An emergency alarm to all our battle groups was immediately ordered, and at 2:15, i.e., 15 minutes later, all the groups were already at their battle stations. We also informed the entire population of the imminent danger, and most of the Ghetto inhabitants moved instantly to previously prepared shelters and hide-outs in the cellars and attics of buildings. A deathly silence enveloped the Ghetto. The Z.O.B. was on the alert.

But no, they did not scare us and we were not taken by surprise. We were only awaiting an opportune moment. Such a moment presently arrived. The Germans chose the intersection at Mila and Zamenhofa Streets for their bivouac area, and battle groups barricaded at the four corners of the street opened concentric fire on them. Strange projectiles began exploding everywhere (the hand grenades of our own make), the lone machine pistol sent shots through the air now and then (ammunition had to be conserved carefully), rifles started firing a bit further away. Such was the beginning.

The Germans attempted a retreat, but their path was cut. German dead soon littered the street. The remainder tried to find cover in the neighboring stores and house entrances, but this shelter proved insufficient. The "glorious" SS, therefore, called tanks into action under the cover of which the remaining men of two companies were to commence a "victorious" retreat. But even the tanks seemed to be affected by the Germans' bad luck. The first was burned out by one of our incendiary bottles, the rest did not approach our positions. The fate of the Germans caught in the Mila Street-Zamenhofa Street trap was settled. Not a single German left this area alive. The following battle groups took part in the fighting here: Grudziak's ("Bund"); Merdek's ("Hashomer"); Hochberg's ("Bund"); Berek's ("Dror"); Pawel's ("P.P.R.").

Simultaneously, fights were going on at the intersection of Nalewki and Gesia Streets. Two battle groups kept the Germans from entering the Ghetto area at this point. The fighting lasted more than seven hours. The Germans found some mattresses and used them as cover, but the partisans' well-aimed fire forced them to several successive withdrawals. German blood flooded the street. German ambulances continuously transported their wounded to the small square near the Community buildings. Here the wounded lay in rows on the sidewalk awaiting their turn to be admitted to the hospital. At the corner of Gesia Street a German air liaison observation post signalled the partisans' positions and the required bombing targets to the planes. But from the air as well as on the ground the partisans appeared to be invincible. The Gesia Street-Nalewki Street battle ended in the complete withdrawal of the Germans.

At the same time heavy fighting raged at Muranowski-Square. Here the Germans attacked from all directions. The cornered partisans defended themselves bitterly and succeeded, by truly superhuman efforts, in repulsing the attacks. Two German machine guns as well as a quantity of other weapons were captured. A German tank was burned, the second tank of the day.

At 2 p. m., not a single live German remained in the Ghetto area. It was the Z.O.B.'s first complete victory over the Germans. The remaining hours of the day passed in "complete quiet," i.e., with the exception of artillery fire (the guns were in positions at Krasinski Square) and several bombings from the air.

Program of the Workers Party

- I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers**
Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.
- II. For a Living Wage**
1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5,000 annual minimum per family.
- III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!**
1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.
2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.
- IV. Tax the Profiteers**
For a 100 per cent tax on all profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.
- V. Nationalize Big Business**
For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.
- VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People**
For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.
- VII. Open the Doors to the Jews**
1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.
- VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans**
1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.
- IX. For Peace and Freedom**
1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.
- X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government**
For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

New Bill Offers No Real Hope to Displaced Persons

By AL FINDLEY

Last week a bill was introduced into Congress authorizing admission of 400,000 displaced persons of Europe into the United States during the next four years. The Republican and Democratic Parties now have their opportunity to do something about the displaced persons for whom they have shed tears. Vague generalizations will no longer suffice.

Until recently the DPs have been given a measure of relief by the UNRRA and have been housed in camps. The moneys of the UNRRA came from various governments, primarily from the U. S., which supplied 70 per cent of the funds.

The U. S. government, for political reasons of its own, decided against continuing the UNRRA. However, it was impossible to cut out all international relief, and a new organization of the UN, the International Relief Organization, was formed. For three months Congress hesitated to ratify the agreement. Then, finally, the Senate ratified adherence to the IRO, as have 14 other nations. But as yet Congress has not appropriated any funds toward the 70 million dollar budget. The result is that 750,000 people in displaced persons' camps face complete starvation or forced deportation to countries they cannot or do not want to return to.

RELIEF IS NOT EVERYTHING

The question of relief, however, does not exhaust the DP problem. Assuming that the IRO will get funds and support the refugees for another year, that still does not solve the problem of "placing" the displaced persons. Where are they to go and what will be their fate? Relief is only a temporary easing of the problem. The real solution lies in finding havens of immigration for these people.

When the war ended, millions of people of various nationalities were

left in Nazi concentration and labor camps all over Europe. The great majority of these immediately began a trek for home. However, over two million remained and could not or would not return home. These are the people now called DPs or refugees. In the last year and a half this figure has been reduced to one million and thirty-seven thousand.

Many are under the impression that most DPs are Jews. The facts are that only 250,000 are Jewish; the rest are various East European nationalities—Poles, Balts, Yugoslavs, etc. Some of these non-Jews are political opponents of the régimes in their native countries.

The Jews in the camps are the remnants of a people slaughtered by the Nazi extermination program. Over 6,000,000 of them died in crematories, concentration camps, etc. The survivors feel lost and isolated. In addition, the post-war rise of anti-Semitism is driving them from their former residences. Their goal is Palestine, France or the American continent; primarily Palestine, where they hope to build, not a new "refuge," but their own national existence.

There are also thousands of people who shift for themselves and who are not being cared for by relief organizations. These too should be counted as DPs. Their number is estimated at approximately 250,000.

The individuals in charge of UNRRA and IRO have been attempting to work out plans to find places for the DPs to emigrate. There is more than enough room in the world for 1 1/4 million people. Were there any will on the part of the governments of the world, it would be a simple matter to empty the camps in a few weeks. All that is needed is for all countries to allow some immigration.

The bill is sponsored by various liberals headed by Mrs. Roosevelt, Dorothy Thompson, etc., who want

the U. S. to do something concrete in solving the problem. They therefore propose the admission of 400,000 in the next four years on the ground that during the war no immigration took place and that the quota of approximately 100,000 per year remained unfulfilled.

It is important to note that they propose no relaxation of the restrictive laws of immigration. No. All they propose is that the full quota be used up and that it be used for all displaced persons, regardless of nationality. One of their main arguments is that should the U. S. refuse to admit any refugees it would expose President Truman's request for admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine as the hypocritical vote-getting maneuver that it was.

Despite all these so-called concessions, this elementary and insufficient bill will not pass Congress, unless there is concentrated pressure of the trade unions and racial minorities to force Congress to act. That Congress will resist is proved by the amendment adopted by the Senate to the IRO bill specifically stating that adherence to the IRO should in no way be interpreted as a step toward easing of immigration restrictions.

The Workers Party has always advocated as an elementary democratic right the freedom of immigration and the right of peoples to move wherever they want. For socialists, freedom of immigration has been a basic civil right, in the same class as freedom of speech, etc.

In the U. S. the Workers Party has always called for opening the doors to all refugees who want to come.

Read and Subscribe to The New International

An Analysis of the CP Oppositionists

The Fantastic Nature of the Fight in American Stalinist Ranks

By CARL DAVIS

The letter from a former member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., printed on this page, reflects one of the healthier manifestations of opposition to the Stalinist degeneration of a formerly revolutionary party. Unfortunately this reaction is somewhat exceptional, for the wave of opposition which emerged in the CP during the Browder fiasco was largely confined to narrow national criticism from a left Stalinist point of view: Narrow national criticism, because the members of the CP who were led to voice their dissatisfaction with their party by Duclos' public and surprise attack on the "beloved leader" believe that the situation in the American CP is unique in the world Stalinist movement. A left Stalinist point of view, because we are dealing with groups of people who represent a stew compounded of "third period" radicalism, some revolutionary traditions of the old Comintern, and the theories of nationalist Stalinist revisionism. We have previously written several articles on the struggle in the CP and its periphery which dealt with the San Francisco opposition and the New York National Committee for Publications, which issues NCP reports. The inability of these groups to understand the cause for their separation from the Communist Party led them into the contradictory position of advocating a new communist party, a Marxist Party, based on the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and their apostate, Stalin. The statements of Bruce Minton and Ruth McKenney, and the longer declaration by William F. Dunne, one of the most degenerated and unprincipled leaders of the CP, all began with the same premise. Now a new group, located in the Bronx, has begun its public activities with the issuance of a "Marxist Monthly," which ironically enough they call the "Spark" after Lenin's famous Iskra. Ironically, because the little magazine has nothing in common with the old revolutionary paper of that great group of internationalists who founded the Russian Marxist movement.

A GOOD SIGN, BUT— Let their be no misunderstanding here: the manifestation of struggle inside the CP and the splits that have occurred are a good sign—they show cracks in the monolithic structure of American Stalinism. Every revolutionary socialist should welcome this fact and do everything possible to widen these cracks. But to act as a catalytic agent in hastening the decomposition of Stalinism requires, in the first place, clarity. Without that these groupings will become barriers in the struggle against the most reactionary force in the labor movement. We hope to be able to exert a healthy revolutionary influence upon those whose purpose in their struggle is a genuine desire to reconstruct an internationalist movement based on the ideas of Marxism. Thus far, however, they are far off the track.

We have indicated above that the views of these groups are similar in their narrow, national limitedness, and their espousal of a new party based on the teachings of Stalin. The references to Stalin and his theoretical contributions are ritualistic; they are like incantations evoked to terrify the leaders of the official CP, and to gain for their exponents a certain "legal" standing. Thus, Stalin is referred to repeatedly as authority, no matter what the difference is that they have with the CP, no matter what idea they propose shall form a cornerstone of the new party.

The criticisms of the opportunism of the CP is vigorous and at times quite incisive. But they write of the CP as though its course were something unique in the world Stalinist movement. They cite Browder's support to Roosevelt, the "imperialist" theories of the CP, its advocacy of the no-strike pledge, incentive pay, and denigration of the struggle for socialism. And this is treated purely as a national phenomenon. These opportunists appear to be unaware that the line of the CP was and is today identical with that of Polit and the British CP, Thorez and the French CP, Togliatti and the Italian CP. If Browder's policies in the United States were opportunistic, what must be said of Togliatti's line in Italy which was recently crowned by the support the CP gave to re-establishing Catholicism as the state religion of the country to be supported by state funds?

If these new groups were to think the problem through, they could not escape the obvious conclusion that there was and is a continuity of policy in all the Communist parties of the world, a deadly uniformity in their practice. All the Communist parties of the world supported their capitalist-imperialist governments. All the Communist parties advocated

a strengthening of their respective ruling classes. All of them were and are smeared from the same brush of opportunism.

Why and how did this happen? What role did the Comintern in Moscow play in this situation? How was this related to the demands and direction of the Stalin regime? It is apparent from the writings of these oppositionists, that they fear to extend their thinking logically and to answer these questions. They prefer to confine their thinking and analysis to America and to regard what has happened to them as an exceptional phenomenon. To extend their thinking and criticism beyond the borders of the United States would shatter the illusions they have about the "revolutionary" character of their sister organizations. Yet without this extension, it is hopeless to think that these people will ever discover what is wrong.

HOW COMBAT IGNORANCE

Appalled by the terrible theoretical and political ignorance of the American Stalinist movement, they call for a return to a study of the principles of Marxism. We hope that this study is made by these people and we hope that it is serious and extended. For then, and only then,

will they find the roots of the present degeneration of the Stalinist-Communist movement in its theory of "building socialism in a single country." They will learn that the theory, contrary to everything taught by Marxism, was the cause for the degeneration of the whole movement. If they pursue their studies of Lenin they will begin to understand too what is wrong with Russian society today, how little it conforms to the Marxist concept of a workers' state and of socialism. Once these ex-CPers discover the source of the great degeneration of Stalinism in its theoretical revision of Marxism, they will make progress in their present blind attempt to return to the road of revolutionary thinking and practice.

The new groups have not yet asked themselves why it is that an American Communist Party which once gave such great promise and hope has become an utterly sterile organization whose strength rests only upon the power infused into it by the Russian Stalinists and their international agents.

They have not yet asked themselves what happened to the whole revolutionary generation in Russia which made the revolution and which led the workers' state through the days of

its most perilous existence. They have not yet thought out why the present police regime wiped out this great generation of Marxist theorists, politicians and organizers. They still believe on the basis of their miseducation in Stalinist theory, that men like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenov, Bukharin, Piatakov, were counter-revolutionaries who planned to destroy the revolution even in the days in which they were making it!

BREAK THE RUSSIAN MYTH

Can such confusion help to reconstruct a movement? Hardly! A pitiful understanding of theory, politics and history leads "Spark" to approve of current Russian imperialist conduct. It rejects what it calls "Trotskyist, American imperialist and social democratic" opposition to the United Nations Organization! How is it possible for intelligent people to make such an amalgam? Almost every man in the street knows today that the UN is an arena in which the diplomatic struggle of the imperialists are fought out. Almost every man in the street knows that American imperialism supports the UN and for the same reasons that Russia supports it: it is the arena in which they make public their positions and endeavor to organize their respective alliances. And at least every conscious worker knows that the social democracy supports American imperialism in the UN and is for the UN for that reason, just as he knows that the Trotskyists are opposed to the UN for revolutionary internationalist reasons in the same way that Lenin and the Bolsheviks opposed the League of Nations.

But like the Stalinists, the present CP oppositionists begin from the same premise: Russia is the land of socialism; every worker must therefore support every policy of Russia. Because they are still Stalinists, the CP oppositionists find themselves fundamentally in the CP camp. As a result their criticism must in many ways be purely carping. Often it is picayune.

The hope for the development of these groupings in a distinctly revolutionary socialist direction lies in their liberation from the anti-socialist doctrines of Stalinism. It means that they must discard the anti-Marxist theory that it is possible to build a "socialist society in one country"; it means that they must discard the most deadly of illusions that Russia represents socialism and is the example that must be followed in all countries. It means that they must get a good dosing of revolutionary internationalist theory in order to understand the origin, development and continuity of Russian and world Stalinism and its relation to the fall of the once mighty Communist International.

If they do not achieve this liberation, then they will continue their hopeless, sectarian criticism of the present CP and will never understand why, despite the trenchancy of this criticism of its opportunism, it remains the party of Stalinism in America, supported to the hilt by its Russian masters.

One of the big stumbling blocks in this development of the opposition is that such a liberation will destroy their comfortable illusions, and the terrible traditions which weigh heavily upon them. Thus, they think a return to the political orgies of the third period is a return to Bolshevism!

Despite their antipathy to Trotskyism, which grows out of their ignorance of its theories and practice, despite their apparent ignorance of

the truly great ideas and traditions of Marxism and Bolshevism, we shall try from the outside to exert some influence upon them in the hope of aiding their development toward genuine revolutionary socialist internationalism. If they cannot break through their tainted past, its thinking and its practice, we will merely have

seen a slight tempest in a teapot of people who sought a revolutionary way out of the crisis in the political movement of the working class but who had their feet too deep in the mire to escape it and tread a new road toward the future. In other articles we shall detail the reasons for their inadequacies.

May Day Celebrated All Over the World

By HENRY JUDD

May Day is, before everything else, an international holiday of the world working class. Over a period of many years, this holiday has come to mean more in the life of the world labor movement than any other event. In this sense, the scope of each particular May Day, the spirit and militancy with which it is celebrated, is an important index of the status of the labor movement internationally. The ruling groups of every country, be it capitalist or totalitarian in character, has long been aware of the significance of May Day for the exploited workers of all lands. This is why, for many years now, every possible effort has been made to divert, or pervert, the historic meaning of this holiday of labor.

STALINIST DEMONSTRATIONS DESTROY DEEP MEANING

Hitler took over the German workers' May Day and tried to convert it into a holiday for Nazi imperialism. Now, for the first time since 1932, the German workers are attempting to return this day to its true meaning, despite many obstacles. Stalin corralled his mass of down-trodden Russian workers and forces them to parade through the great Square at Moscow, under chauvinistic banners and in the name of the Russian totalitarian regime. In the Russian occupied countries, the same reactionary and shameful perversion of May Day takes place.

In the capitalist democracies, every possible effort is made to belittle, conceal and hinder demonstrations of workers in behalf of their freedom. Where demonstrations do take place, they will generally be under Stalinist leadership, with sadly deceived workers participating in gatherings whose purpose is solely and exclusively to assist in the mobilization of support for Russian imperialism and its policies. Such May Day meetings likewise destroy the true meaning of May Day since they are on behalf of a totalitarian power, Russia, which denies its workers every elementary right that labor needs or desires.

On May Day of 1947 it is difficult to foretell, unfortunately, the character of many of the demonstrations that will take place. Wherever the labor movement has managed to substantially retain its independence and its freedom of control from reactionary influences — both from the Stalinist and "democratic" camps — in such places, we will witness militant, independent and free demonstrations of masses of workers. Such places, unfortunately, are not very numerous. But they exist, and the whole future of the labor movement lies in their capacity to grow and expand. Elsewhere, regimented workers in countries like Poland, Yugoslavia, Russia, etc., will

march bound by the Stalinist machine. In still other countries, like France, England, Germany, etc., many workers will march in Stalinist-sponsored and organized demonstrations, but with still every possibility of breaking away from the influence of that force.

MIGHTIEST DEMONSTRATIONS IN COLONIAL COUNTRIES

It is safe to predict that the mightiest demonstrations will take place in those countries that have, over the past year, been in the forefront of struggles for freedom and liberty. These are the colonies of the world — countries like India, Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, etc. Here demonstrations will take place not only in the name of the labor and workers' movement, but also in the name of definite political ideas — ousting of foreign imperialism, national independence and freedom. In such colonial lands, the workers are the vanguard of the people in these struggles. Similar demonstrations, directed primarily against American imperialism, will take place throughout the countries of Latin America.

In other countries, whose labor movement has revived since the days of Hitlerism and since the end of the war — or where the working class is in process of reassembling themselves — there will also be significant May Day demonstrations. The French working class will show its power, above all in the industrial centers of Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Clairmont-Ferand, etc. In Germany, it is not yet known whether the Allied occupants of this country will permit May Day gatherings, but if they do we shall witness huge demonstrations, above all in the cities of the Ruhr Valley, attesting to the increasing revival of the German working class. In England, the British Labor Party conservatives will attempt to divert labor's holiday to a demonstration in support of the Labor Government and its policies.

Everywhere, wherever they are and wherever there are labor demonstrations, the Trotskyists will be found participating. In India, in Germany, in Indo-China, in England, in America, the Fourth Internationalist organizations honor this day by taking part in its actions and ceremonies. In this difficult period, where the greatest traditions of labor are turned to the most anti-labor and reactionary purposes — above all others, by the Stalinists — it is the Fourth International movement alone that attempts, by its slogans and ideas, to restore to May Day its original meaning. For May Day is the day of the working class; independent; unhampered in its freedom of organization, ideas and program; ready and eager to express itself against both capitalist and totalitarian tyranny; and able to reaffirm its fight for freedom.

A Letter from an Ex-CPer

Labor Action 114 W. 14th St. New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have been reading your paper for more than a year and I must admit that you are doing a great task in the interest of humanity. I find that your paper exposes many of the things that I learned after I became a member of the Communist Party.

At the time that I dropped out of the CP I knew that I must either quit or eventually be expelled. I became inactive two years ago, dropped out soon after. The differences between me and the CP were becoming greater as time passed.

Why I quit the CP will be understood when you read the following:

For many years I was a sympathizer of the CP. I was a dues paying member for several years. After becoming a member I learned many of the policies which one does not learn when he is on the outside. Are these the ideas that I had read in some of Marx's and Lenin's books, I asked myself. I had joined an organization purporting to be for a new social order, an order that protected and defended freedom of speech, press, and all democratic principles. At least I thought so.

As time passed, to my amazement, I learned that the party to which I belonged, did everything but practice that which it preached. At that time I was not well enough versed in Marx and Lenin to put up much of an argument; but I had my own ideas. It did not take long before my interest in the party began to drift away. In 1944 the party had the gall to ask the working class to support the capitalist political parties; the bosses parties. This was a shock to me. They support-

ed the no strike pledge, the incentive pay and speed-up system, above all things! What a let-down!

In 1944 two members of the Socialist Party were to speak in Seattle. The CP interrupted the meeting and heckled the speakers. I asked myself, "Don't we believe in free speech"? Why did they do everything in their power to prevent the speakers from giving their message to the public? I was a member of that organization; I was not proud of that deed.

My suspicions of the CP continued to grow. The role the CP played in Greece in December 1944 put more light on the way the Stalinists do things. Only a blind man would not see through that dirty deal. The Stalinist leadership sold out its own members! Why was Stalin afraid of a workers' state in Greece? Would Lenin have stood back and waited till the British war-mongers had taken the country over for the Greek capitalists?

In 1945 the CP had the brass to ask that the members support a coalition government of the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists. I, for one, could never support such an idea. We were asked to support a man who had killed more people than all the Japanese during the Second World War. It was just another sell-out.

Then came the climax. The February issue of "Political Affairs" in 1946, carried an article "Oust the Trotskyites from the Labor and Progressive Movement." The criminal acts the Trotskyites are accused of, no one is more guilty of than the Stalinists themselves. In one of their leaflets which came out about this time, they warned us not to associate with, talk to, or give aid to a "Trotskyite, Lovestonite, or any other enemy of the working class." It was that

straw which broke the camel's back. I ask the question, "Why do the Stalinist leaders ask the workers and their members not to associate with, talk to, and give aid to Trotskyites and Lovestonites? What are they hiding from us? Is there something that must be kept secret? What are they afraid of? Are the Trotskyites apt to spill the beans? Asking one not to talk to or associate with any other which is not approved of by me or you, or Stalin is enough to arouse anyone's suspicion.

The part the Stalinists played in the Nuremberg Trials removed all doubt in my mind that Stalinism is the greatest danger to humanity today. In refusing to bring forth or allow Albert Goldman to question the court about the collaboration between the Nazis and Trotsky. Why? Anyone who read very much of the left wing press knew that the request was made to bring the part that Trotsky was accused of in the infamous Moscow Trials, to the light of the world. That was an embarrassing situation, indeed. I searched the CP press for six months to find some comment on the request made of the court, but not even a hint was ever given. Another question comes up, "Why must this be kept quiet?" The action of the Stalinists at the Nuremberg trials is proof to me that the Moscow Trials were the worst frame-ups in all history.

As I watch the day by day role played by the CP, I am thoroughly convinced that Stalinism must be wiped off the face of the earth. I am not sorry that I did spend several years in the CP. It was a great lesson. I know what it is now when I come into contact with it. In closing, I must say that I certainly do agree with you that, "Stalinism is mankind's greatest menace."

J. D. PERKINS Seattle

Labor's Struggle on May Day 1947 --

(Continued from page 3)

bureaucracy a small measure of protection and yet they need the protection of the working class as well. At important turns of the struggle they must turn to the masses upon whom they rest. To do this, however, it is necessary that they have a program for labor and that they consent to lead labor militantly in class struggle. At times they do this but always with a fear of allowing their own rank and file to decide in a democratic manner any really important question of policy and tactics.

The top men in the labor bureaucracy, Green, Murray, Lewis, Reuther, were either too stupid and/or too enmeshed in the operations of capitalist society, to understand what they were doing when they harnessed labor to the Roosevelt administration and the imperialist war machine. The Stalinists did the same thing but they knew what they were doing. They were not and are not American patriots (even Murray understands this today). They were and are Russian patriots. During the war they became supporters of U. S. imperialism because this was their best means of giving support to the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia.

"WHAT CAN WE DO?"

Green, Murray, Reuther, Lewis and others are U. S. patriots. But by support of the war they trapped themselves and the entire labor movement. Before and after the U. S. entered the war, under the leadership of Roosevelt, the capitalist class took steps toward the pacification of the labor movement. It laid plans to disarm the labor movement under the slogan of "national unity." The labor leadership took up this slogan. Reuther was chirping all over the country: "we've got to win this war." The fools and the innocents talked more fervently about winning the war than did

the capitalist bosses. What they did not understand, however, is that the capitalist bosses and their government would never consent to labor getting out of "control" after the war was over. R. J. Thomas bellowed forth in a UAW convention: "I called more strikes before the war than any other international president. When the war is over, if they play with us I'll call them again." This was the attitude of all except the most conservative of trade union leaders and the Stalinist Harry Bridges.

These labor men do not know much. They believed that they could deliver labor to the ruling class only for the duration of the war. But the ruling class does not separate war completely from other periods. The attitude of the capitalist ruling class toward labor is determined by the demands of their class interests at all time. The capitalists believed that their interests demanded a no-strike pledge during the war. They got it. Now they believe that their class interests demand a "union control" bill. They will get it. A labor leadership, spineless enough and stupid enough to have given that no-strike pledge, is too spineless to organize a real struggle against the present anti-labor bills in Congress.

Today, under the leadership of Murray, Lewis, Green and Reuther, labor only marks time. Under this leadership we march up the hill and march right down again. Labor has gone from the NIRA to "union control" bills in a small span of fourteen years. All the sound and fury of Murray and Reuther, the raucous belligerence of Lewis and the pious incoherent beatings of Green, who endorsed Rep. Hartley of New Jersey, will not wipe out the fact that the trade union bureaucracy has been pushed to the wall and that it refuses to employ the weapons it has to fight back. It fears to call on labor. It would rather beg crumbs of the capitalist bosses than to take any step which

would unleash the power of the working class.

This is the real situation on this May Day. No advance over last May Day or the one before. Yet labor must prepare to advance. We will continue to celebrate the victories of the past but this is not enough. What of the present and the future? We do not honor the labor movement of the past or the heroes of the past if we merely praise their name and do nothing to add to their deeds and their accomplishments.

The present labor leadership not only hangs on to the coattails of the capitalist bosses but to the coattails of the political representatives of the capitalist bosses. Like the capitalist bosses these labor leaders split themselves between the Republican and Democratic parties. They call on the ranks of labor to follow. They even try at times to capture one of the capitalist parties.

The CIO and Tobin go with the Democrats; Lewis and Hutchinson go with the Republicans. They organize their three-ring circuses for the capitalist parties and call on labor to come in and see the show. After all of these antics of the labor chiefs over the years, they are rewarded with denunciations like: "labor dictators," who must be "curbed" along with the unions which they lead.

And now they don't know what to do. It would not occur to them of course to break out of this morass into which they have been beguiled by the capitalist bosses. They are like the middle class during the depression sitting in a mortgaged home and hoping that the depression will soon be over. Unless some group rises in the ranks of labor and strikes out for independent working class political action before 1948 the present labor bureaucrats will be in there pitching blindly for Truman and Dewey or for whomever the capitalist bosses have selected to put through their "union control" bills.

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

LIONEL ABEL Critic and Poet "Contemporary Writing in France" April 27 8:00 P. M.

JACK BRAD Philadelphia Organizer, Workers Party "Parties and Politics in Post-War Japan" May 4 8:00 P. M.

GORDON SYLANDER Poet, Contributor to P. R. Anthology

AVEL VICTOR Contributor to The New International "Literature and the Marxist" May 11 8:00 P. M.

Admission: 50 Cents — Series of Four: \$1.50 ALL LECTURES AT 114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

With the Workers Party

AKRON
Write to Box 221 for information.

BALTIMORE
Headquarters: 21 West Preston St.
Meetings of Socialist Youth League held every Friday at 8 p.m.
Public forums are held second Friday of each month.
For details of Workers Party branch, contact above address.

BUFFALO
HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St.
Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

CHICAGO
LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.
Telephone—CHEsapeake 5795
Office hours: 8-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLEVELAND
The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m.
The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8:00 p.m.
A class in basic Marxism meets every Monday at 8:00 p.m.
Definite headquarters are not yet established for these meetings.

DETROIT
Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10, Telephone: PLaza 5559.
Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

LOS ANGELES
New headquarters address: LABOR ACTION, 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7.
TEL: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067).
Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday.

LOUISVILLE
For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party—Write Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

NEWARK
HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St.
OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m.
Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

APRIL 25
"Nature of the Russian State"—The question which caused the split in the United States Trotskyist movement in 1940, and around which the Workers Party has developed a new position. Speaker will be Robert Shaw.

We are planning a bang-up May Day meeting to follow the last mentioned meeting, to be followed by discussion forums on these topics:
May 3—May Day memorial meeting, epic movie.

New Revised Edition:
The Role of the Trade Unions
Their Economic Role Under Capitalism
Written by ERNEST ERBER
Study Outline for Individual and class study
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May 9—"Nature of the Russian State" by Robert Shaw.
"The Role of Stalinist Parties" by Harry Sachs
"The National Question in Eastern Europe" by Saul Berg
"Revolutionary Perspectives in Western Europe"
"China in the World War and Today"
"Nature and Structure of the Revolutionary Party"
"Labor and Negro Problems in America Today"

NEW YORK CITY
CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 6 p.m.
Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.
You are welcome to attend all open Branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

BRONX BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.
HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.), room 106.

CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

CHELSEA BRANCH: Meets every Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON BRANCH: Meets every Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

BROOKLYN BOROUGHS HALL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, EAST NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Meets every Friday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

READING
For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1871.

PHILADELPHIA
HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Girard Avenue (3rd floor).
Workers Party Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
Coming events at Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Avenue:
Friday, May 2, 8:15 p.m.—May Day Rally. Speeches, songs, greetings, movies, etc.
Sunday, May 4, 8:15 p.m.—Sixth and Final lecture in Social Forces in U.S.—American Finance Capitalist Imperialism Versus Russian Bureaucratic Collectivist Imperialism.
Saturday, May 17, 8:30 p.m.—Lecture on History of Jazz, Concert and Dance.

ST. LOUIS
Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbitt Avenue, University City 14.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 206, Oakland 7, Calif.

SEATTLE
Write to P. O. Box 29, University Post Office, for information.

For information of Workers Party addresses and activities in cities not listed above, write to Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Reactionaries Oppose UAW Leader's Attack on Michigan Governor

ACTU Undermines Reuther Fight on Red-Baiting

BY STANLEY GREY
DETROIT, April 12—What is the significance of Governor Sigler's testimony before the Un-American Committee blasting Thomas, Addes and Leonard as "captives" of the Communist Party? What attitude should the labor movement take toward Sigler's action? These questions added more fuel to the factional fires now raging inside the UAW and unleashed a deluge of accusation and counter-accusation in the factional line-ups.

The position taken by the top leadership of the union was unambiguous and, by and large, correct. Addes denounced the move as "consciously designed as a blow against the workers whom we are all privileged to represent, the UAW-CIO, and against all organized labor." Reuther labeled Sigler's testimony as "an attack upon the entire UAW-CIO and the American labor movement." Speaking before the union's national Ford conference, he characterized it as "part of the current all-out drive which organized reaction has launched against labor and liberal forces in this country." He said further that reactionaries "have launched a red hunt whose ultimate victims are intended to be, not Communists, but all effective labor leaders and labor unions."

Where You Can Buy Labor Action and New International

AKRON
Kallas Cigar Store, 1 W. Market St. News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. National News Co., 333 S. Main St. La Salle Confectionery, 620 S. Main St.

BALTIMORE
Fayette and Calvert Streets
CLEVELAND
Wheatman's Store, 719 Prospect Ave.

DETROIT
Carl's Bookstore, 9109 Woodward, near Clairmont.
Cass Warren Drugstore, opposite Wayne University.
Family Newsstand, downtown, in front of Family Theater.
Highland Park Newsstand, 13501 Woodward, near Davison.

LOUISVILLE
Eilers Bookshop, betw. Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.

NEWARK
91 Barkley Street, 156 Belmont Ave. Northeast corner, Market and Mulberry.

READING
Southwest corner, Fifth and Penn Sts. LABOR ACTION only.

PHILADELPHIA
LABOR ACTION:
N.E. cor. 11th and Walnut.
N.W. cor. 13th and Market.
N.E. cor. Broad and Arch.
N.E. cor. 15th and Market.
S.E. cor. 19th and Market.
N. N.E. cor. Broad St and Girard Ave.

NEW INTERNATIONAL:
N.E. cor. 11th and Walnut.
N.W. cor. 13th and Market.
N.E. cor. Broad and Arch.
N.E. cor. 15th and Market.
N. E. cor. Broad and Columbia.
Northeast corner of Broad and Erie.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
San Francisco:
2059 Fillmore St.
Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd Street.
McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St.
Paul Elder's Bookstore, 239 Post St. (N1 only).
Berkeley:
Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

SEATTLE
102 Washington Street.

From the point of view of labor, the crucial question is not whether you are against the Stalinists, but why you are against them and how you propose to defeat them. In confining his struggle against Stalinist control of the unions to a programmatic fight inside the labor movement, in denouncing the attempts of non-labor and anti-labor elements to meddle in internal union affairs, Reuther has proved that his own fight is being waged in a progressive way.

ROLE OF THE ACTU
While Reuther has made his own position clear, it cannot be said that the caucus which he leads is following that position. It remains for Reuther to settle unambiguously the line of his caucus on this important question. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), which exerts no little influence in his caucus on the local and regional levels does not take this stand. On the fundamental question which separates the reactionaries from the progressives in the anti-Stalinist struggle, the question of HOW to fight them, the ACTU lines itself up with the reactionary forces. Governor Sigler may have thought he was exposing something in his testimony; the real exposure came in the reaction of the various groups in the UAW to his testimony. ACTU's approval of Sigler's act stands as clear condemnation of its own reactionary methods and motives in the "anti-Red drive."

To establish clearly ACTU's position, let us examine an editorial entitled "Too Much Hysteria and Too Few Facts" which appeared in the April 4 edition of their organ, The Wage Earner. After stating that everybody is getting hysterical over Sigler's exposure of Communist activity, the editorial poses the question "Is Kim Sigler Right?... The answer to this question is neither an unqualified 'yes' nor an unqualified 'no.'" The editorial makes it clear that everybody is getting quite hysterical, everybody apparently except The Wage Earner. For, in calm contrast, preserving an ice-cold objectivity, The Wage Earner manages to keep its head.

Sigler is wrong, according to the editorial, when he makes mistakes like his erroneous denunciation of the NAACP as Communist. "It is difficult to excuse a public official who through ignorance of the facts, damages his own case and the reputation of innocent people." (It can safely be said that The Wage Earner will manage to overcome this "difficulty" as soon as Sigler produces some honest-to-goodness "Commies" for the execution block.)

Sigler is right, according to The Wage Earner, when his exposures are accurate and correspond to the facts. "It seems to us that he is performing a service to the people of Michigan in exposing a lot of Communist monkey-business in this state."

HOW TO FIGHT STALINISM
This penetrating analysis of the situation by The Wage Earner consists of a merit-demerit system. When Sigler makes a slip—like causing innocent people to suffer—he gets a blast from the editor. When he delivers the goods, he gets an award for "service."

This position is fatally shallow and objectively reactionary because it overlooks the main point. What is at stake is not the correctness or incorrectness of Sigler's facts but the principle of the right of the bosses' government to intervene in the internal affairs of the labor movement. What did Sigler really reveal in his

tremendous testimony? Not a thing! Absolutely nothing that could not be obtained from reading a dozen reliable public sources. What is important about his "exposure" was not its content but the fact that it was HE, a leader of the bosses' government, who was giving it; that it was HE, the governor of the state, who offered anybody in the union HIS help in fighting against the "Reds." Only people blinded by their hatred of the Communists will see in this a pure and simple anti-Red move. But workers who fight the Stalinists not merely to rid them from the scene but in order to build the labor movement, will reject any "help" from the bosses in their struggle. The issue is clearly posed: is the bosses' government to have the right to intervene in the internal struggle of the labor movement? Progressive unionists, the leadership of the Reuther caucus says NO! ACTU says YES! That is a fundamental difference and the cleavage between the two will grow wider in the course of the struggle.

It is not surprising that The Wage Earner finds Reuther's statement "incomprehensible." The editorial says:

PROTEST FRANCO PLAN TO EXECUTE TWO ANTI-FASCISTS

NEW YORK CITY, April 18—Protest against the impending execution of two young anti-fascist working men in Spain for the alleged reason that they "resisted" arrest, was made today to the Spanish Ambassador, Senor Don Juan Francisco de Cardenas, by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Post-War World Council. Mr. Thomas' letter, delivered to the Spanish Embassy in Washington this morning, said:

"We are informed that on April 30 your government plans to execute two young men, Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez, members of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth, for no crime except resisting arrest at the hands of the Spanish police. It is further alleged that these two young men were tortured to make them talk about the underground resistance movement in Spain.

"Charged with resisting arrest," the Council's informants declare, "they were taken to nearby police headquarters, where they were 'questioned' about the underground resistance movement in Spain. To encourage them to talk, they were beaten, hung upside down and subjected to other indescribable tortures. That they refused to divulge any information was admitted by a drunken police officer who boasted publicly in an Irun cafe about the methods used in attempts to make them talk."

Philly WP Offers Lecture Series on American History

PHILADELPHIA—The lecture series on Social Forces in American History which is being currently offered by the Philadelphia Branch of the Workers Party is attracting a group of serious students of American history. Many of the thirty students who attend the lectures regularly each Sunday evening at Labor Action Hall are becoming acquainted for the first time with the Marxian concept of history.

The series, which opened with a lecture on the First American Revolution, followed by an analysis of the Struggle for the Constitution, by Arthur Parks, continued with a presentation by Jack Brad on The Civil War and Reconstruction. The speaker laid the background by surveying the conquest of the West, the transfiguration of the South and the rise of industrial capitalism in the North in the period from 1830 to the outbreak of the war. The most important factor which caused the Civil War was the struggle between mercantile capitalism and industrial capitalism. The Social Forces lecture series continues with the topics of Industrialism Triumphant, New Deal, and U. S. vs. Russian Imperialism. Lecture audiences are invited to attend open forums, socials and other activities of the Workers Party as announced in LABOR ACTION.

By V. I. Lenin:

- Letters from Afar 20c
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LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, N. Y.

"For Reuther to accuse Sigler of an attack upon the entire American labor movement is ridiculous. We venture to say that if Sigler wants to attack the labor movement he needs only to give the word in Lansing. He wouldn't have to use the Red move to convince a Republican Legislature." Naive editorialist! Don't you know that there is more than one way of skinning the labor movement? It is not a question of "convincing" capitalist legislators. They are born convinced and they can be depended on to gut the labor movement whenever possible and opportune.

What Sigler is after is to get his finger into the labor movement so that later he can follow with his whole arm and make a clean sweep of the militants from inside. That would be the most effective way of doing the job. Communists aren't his only game; he also wants to sink his teeth into "agitators and radicals" as he explained recently to newspaper reporters. And those who help him get his anti-Red finger in are there by helping him follow through with his arm. It is necessary to be able to see beyond an "anti-Commie" nose to see that. Unfortunately, it appears that The Wage Earner's "anti-Commie" nose is too long to allow for such vision.

A WAY TO WIN

Another argument of The Wage Earner against Reuther's statement that this is an auto workers' problem is offered by the profound editorial writer. "The UAW is still part of the USA, and it is the business of a lot of citizens if so great a social

organization is in danger of abuse by a conspiracy of foreign inspiration." The trouble with this argument is simply that the facts, the facts of life, stubbornly refuse to correspond to it. The STATE is not just "a lot of citizens"; no, the state acts in the interests of the capitalist class, that class whose main interest is to weaken and smash the labor movement. Sigler is not just "a lot of citizens"; Sigler acts as the foremost representative of big business in the state in which he is governor. If, indeed, "it is the business of a lot of citizens if so great a social organization is in danger of abuse by a conspiracy of foreign inspiration," then it is equally the business of a lot of workers that so great a social organization is in danger of abuse by a conspiracy of big business and state organizations. The task of defeating the Stalinists in the labor movement is the task of the labor movement. To invite, to allow, to approve, to condone in any way any agencies of the bosses' government to "help" labor in its struggle is to fight one enemy of the labor movement by allowing its other enemy, the capitalist class, to undermine its strength.

On this fundamental point, Reuther and the official line of his caucus are 100 per cent correct. On this fundamental point, ACTU is 100 per cent wrong. That is, it is wrong from labor's point of view. This position is consistent with its general anti-Red line and is one revelation of the reason for ACTU's opposition to the Stalinists. What the meaning of ACTU's anti-communism is and its relation to the anti-Stalinism of the Reuther caucus will be the subject of another article.



APRIL NEW INTERNATIONAL NOW OUT:

The April issue of *The New International*, featuring articles on the question of Stalinism, is now out and available on newsstands. We expect large sales of this issue, so prospective readers had better get their copies at once. Patronize one of the many newsstands in New York's Bronx, Manhattan or Brooklyn boroughs now carrying copies of *The New International*.

BARGAIN OFFERS BY WORKERS PARTY PUBLICATIONS:

Workers Party Publications is now featuring various bargain combination offers, for the purpose of stimulating sales. Here is an opportunity to get some good socialist literature that you've been looking for. Workers Party Publications is also offering a 50 per cent discount (in place of the previous 33 per cent discount), to all those agents, branches of the Workers Party or individuals who purchase three or more copies of any publication. This is a chance for branches to make some profits by selling literature and clear up whatever back debts they may have accumulated, as well as to feature bargain sales of their own at meetings, etc.

BILLS, BILLS AND BILLS:

This week all branches and agents will receive their monthly bills for April. They will include debts to LABOR ACTION for the month, the April issue of *The New International*, and their Workers Party Publications account. We urge all concerned to go over these bills carefully, check on them, and then send us in substantial payments to clear them off the deck. The Press Department is anxious to clear up back indebtedness with all its agents. Any questions on the bills should be directed to us.

Here's the list of new subscriptions and renewals turned in during the past week. Local New York has been continuing the recently concluded subscription drive on its own, with excellent results, under the active guidance of Phyllis Hoffman, literature agent for the New York branches of the Workers Party. Here are the subs obtained:

NEW YORK CITY	21
Chicago	7
Newark	5
Philadelphia	4
Akron	4
Boston	3
San Francisco	3
Detroit	1
West Virginia	1
Cleveland	1
Minnesota	1
TOTAL	51

We had a letter from Frank Harper, ace literature agent of Philadelphia, thanking us for the well-deserved prize he got as best sub-getter in the recent LABOR ACTION drive.

From Detroit, agent Bill Miller writes, "The Cadillac Square demonstration is to take place here, and we want 500 extra copies of LABOR ACTION for distribution there. At the next branch meeting, I'll go to work on regularizing LABOR ACTION sales. I'm going to take your suggestion and propose a sales squad."

From Chicago, where a reorganization of literature activity is taking place, we received the following news: "With Comrade Sara Brooks now taking over circulation and sale of LABOR ACTION, and a new plan outlined for selling subscriptions and our weekly bundle order, we hope that we can again pull ourselves back into good shape." To start the ball rolling, organizer Bob Ferguson placed an order for 500 copies of the current LABOR ACTION issue.

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4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to LABOR ACTION as follows:

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City Zone State

Aid European Hungry Workers

Will you undertake to help us send food and clothing regularly to a European working class family?

Will you support the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF in its campaign to bring help in the form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-Nazi and labor fighters?

If you can give us this support, please send all contributions (in the form of food, clothing and money donations) to us at the address given below. We will take care of seeing to it that these contributions of yours reach those who need them most of all.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF

197 Second Avenue
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Remember! \$10 will enable us to send a 21-pound CARE Food Package to a European Working Class Family.

ACEWR

197 Second Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months. I am sending the following contribution: \$

..... food packages clothing packages

Name

Address

City Zone State

"Actually We Live on Potatoes," German Worker to ACEWR

"Actually, we live on potatoes, of which we have received 100 lbs. a person since last October," writes a worker from Westfalen, Germany, in a letter to the American Committee for European Workers Relief. "We have about four slices of bread a day, and other foods are distributed in grams. I don't even want to talk of them. For 22 weeks, we have not received even those few grams of food. In addition, there is the cold. Here we sit on top of the coal mines and receive, that is those who do not work in the mines, 100 lbs. of coal-mud per family regardless of how many people, for a period of four months. This is so-called coal, which is a certain water-by-product of coal. And with this, for six weeks without interruption, the temperature has been 10 to 15 degrees below freezing. In this cold and snow my 12-year-old son walks to school for three-quarters of an hour in open wooden sandals. Out of wool blankets, which we actually need badly, my wife was forced to sew a suit for him. I have no suit which is whole. The icy wind blows through the marrow of my bones..."

"For days there is no bread in the cities of the Ruhr Valley. Then you have to take the train or trolley to other cities or parts of the city to get bread and my wife goes on these travels to get bread with shoes that have holes in them. We walk on cardboard soles which break after 10 to 12 days, your feet get wet and cold. Friends and relatives have to take care of their own troubles. Generally

the great misery has killed any consideration in people. People are attacked in the street, recently even killed, and their clothes are taken away. My wife has frost-bitten feet and it won't take long until we all have them. She only weighs 82 lbs. and she is five feet six inches tall. Now just imagine pneumonia! You simply cannot think of it. Nobody must get sick.

"Thus, just at present it would be a relief for us to have an old pair of shoes on our feet. I enclose foot outlines. The next thing would be a pair of pants for myself. . . . In case you could get a suit for my son, that would be very good. . . .

"Dear friends, the only real light in this terrible situation is a little bit of spiritual food, such as your letter, and thus the perspective of help from you. With brotherly regards, yours M. B."

The American Committee for European Workers Relief can send this worker and his family shoes and clothing, for generous friends keep us well supplied. However, often parcels of food, clothing and medicine are held up because there is not enough money to pay the postage. One dollar and fifty-four cents pays the postage of an 11-lb. package; \$10 pays for a 21-lb. food package delivered to the worker's home in Europe. Help these anti-fascists by contributing today.

