

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

# LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 20, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## MASSES ACT IN BERLIN TUG-OF-WAR

By WILLIAM BARTON

The Number One news story of the day, Berlin, continues to develop with dramatic intensity. It moves on two distinct but related levels—the respective diplomatic offices of the major countries and the turbulent city itself.

Reports of the maneuverings of the statesmen in the world capitals can only be given up to the moment of this writing. By the time this appears in print new and unforeseen developments may have appreciably altered the entire situation. Right now publicized rumors claim that the Western envoys in Moscow are set to make one more attempt at reaching an agreement with Stalin and Molotov. If that fails, the apparent plan is to take the issue to the Council of Foreign Ministers, convening in Paris next week to discuss disposition of Italian colonies, and then, if necessary, to the meeting of the UN General Assembly thereafter.

The Moscow conferees agreed on fundamental procedures—that the details of the disputed currency issue and the blockade be handled by the military governors in Berlin, and that the currency of the Russian area be the sole legal money for the area.

While a series of committees of the military governments were struggling through all the fine points of detail, the German Stalinists, under the direct personal leadership of Russian political advisers, began their move to force the anti-Stalinist Berlin City Assembly out of the Russian Zone.

In a style reminiscent of the February coup in Czechoslovakia and the actions of the Nazi storm troopers throughout Germany following the Reichstag fire in 1933, a Stalinist-led mob of Berliners four times broke up Assembly meetings, while the police and Russian troops stood by comfortably directing traffic. The non-Stalinist members organized their rump "Assembly" in the old quarters. The tension-intensified as Russian-backed police began kidnapping policemen loyal to the old City Assembly.

### ANTI-STALINISTS DEMONSTRATE

On Thursday, February 9, the entire world was electrified by the news of the mass anti-Stalinist demonstration in front of the Brandenburg Gate, near the point where the four occupation zones of Berlin meet. Some 250,000 Berliners marched about a mile to shout their defiance of the Russian regime and its German stooges. A Russian jeep that attempted to leave its zone was stoned and the Stalinist flag was lowered from the gate and trampled to the ground. Russian troops fired into the crowd, killing one and wounding one.

Correspondents have emphasized the spontaneity of the demonstration. This may be an exaggeration. The various political organizations were probably involved in the preparations and the occupation authori-

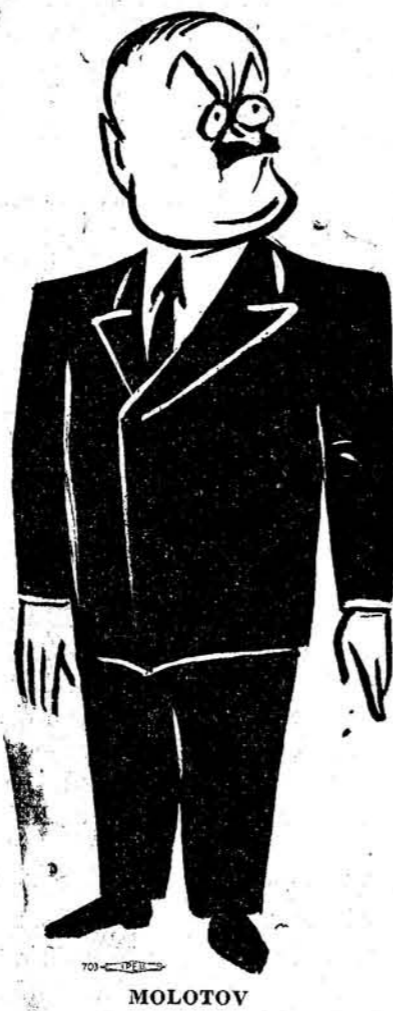
ties could not have been unaware. But that in no way detracts from its significance.

Political life is not too tightly organized in the "Western" sectors. Most of the participants in this historic protest, representing a larger group of people than the Nazis were ever able to bludgeon for a single gathering, came of their own free will to express militantly their defiance of a foreign oppressor.

It is interesting that the crowd shouted "foreigners out." Reporters announced that several people were particularly anxious that the rest of the world should know of their action. "We have been criticized for not fighting oppression before and we don't want that repeated"—that was their appeal to the millions all over the world who have been judging them for the last fifteen years.

(Continued on page 3)

Directs Cold War  
On Russian Side



MOLOTOV

## Brass Hats Fail in Effort To Crack Coast Dock Strike

### NMU and SIU Pledge Support To West Coast Maritime Strikers

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—The National Maritime Union, CIO, and the Seafarers International Union, AFL, pledged their solidarity and support to the striking West Coast seamen and dock unions. In a statement issued by Joseph Curran, president of the NMU, published in the latest Pilot, he points out that the joint policy committee of the striking unions had up to that time not consulted with the NMU concerning their actions. Curran, in the statement, invites them to contact the national office to discuss NMU policy.

The Seafarers Log, the SIU journal, published this week the statement to its membership by Paul Hall, secretary-treasurer of the union. Hall

made the SIU position clear with the following words:

"Out on the West Coast a situation has developed that leaves the shipowners and waterfront employers standing with all their labor-hating viciousness clearly exposed. The strike of the CIO longshoremen has become the signal for a general attack against all other maritime unions in that area. While the shipowners ranted patriotically about not wishing to do business with the longshoremen, they withdrew from negotiations with the MFOWW and the MEBA just as the contract discussions were nearing completion. In other words, they have pulled a lock-out on these unions. They did the same thing with the MCS (Marine Cooks and Stewards)..."

"The strike and the resultant lock-out pose a mighty serious question for all in maritime. While we are honoring our contracts and sailing our ships we must be on guard for any eventuality. We must, most of all, watch very closely to see what kind of a move the government will make. Already there are threats that

the armed forces may be moved in."

Hall's statement is especially significant in the light of the action taken by the SIU membership in a similar situation in June, 1946, when President Truman threatened to break the approaching NMU strike by means of Navy and Coast Guard personnel. At the time the SIU membership unequivocally informed Truman that any such attempt to utilize Army or Navy personnel to break the NMU strike would be regarded as a lockout of the entire maritime industry and that the SIU would consider its contracts abrogated and tie up all ships contracted to it. Faced with the complete tie-up of the American waterfront, Truman backwatered on his threat and ordered the shipowners to come to terms.

### UNITY ESSENTIAL

In the present situation the army has not yet attempted to use its own forces to load the ships. It has attempted, however, to recruit scab workers to do the job. The complete failure of this effort may lead the Army brass to bring in GIs to do the job. Hall's statement clearly intimates that the SIU rank and file is ready once again to go to battle to halt any such attempt.

The militant stand that the SIU has taken in this matter contrasts favorably with the confusion that prevails in the leadership of some of the other East Coast unions. Distrust of the Stalinist politics of Bridges and some of the other leaders of the ILWU and MCS has blinded them to the danger that all maritime unions would have to face if the West Coast hiring hall is weakened or smashed. Only a firm front of all unions against Truman's strikebreaking efforts can prevent a major disaster to all of maritime labor.

Just as the Stalinist leadership of

(Continued on page 4)

## Workers Party to Challenge N.Y. Ballot Ban in Court

### BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Sept. 15—As we go to press the Workers Party, through its lawyer, Joseph G. Glass, prominent member of the Socialist Party, is procuring a show cause order against the Board of Election which has just ruled the party and its candidate for congress, Emanuel Geltman, off the ballot in the 19th Congressional District.

NEW YORK, Sept. 15—With flagrant disregard for the rights of minority parties in New York elections, the Board of Election at a hearing today, ruled the Workers Party and its candidate, Emanuel Geltman, off the ballot in the 19th Congressional District.

On Wednesday, September 8, three members of the Committee on Vacancies received notice that the Workers Party was ruled off the ballot by the Board of Election. There were no specifications given. On that same day, the first member of the Committee received a form letter announcing the fact that objections had been filed against the Workers Party.

Before obtaining a lawyer, a representative was sent to visit the Board of Elections to obtain specifications of the objection and find out the reason for the Board's decision. The Board then released a letter of objection from the "liberal" Democratic incumbent, Arthur G. Klein. The letter contained no specific charges against us, but announced

intention to supply such specifications before the deadline, midnight, September 13.

### NO SPECIFICATIONS

Klein's objection, however, did not account for our removal from the ballot without any hearing. Questioned about that, the Board official announced that there were no written objections supplied by the Board, that is to say, the Board of Elections has the right to rule a party off the ballot without supplying its objections or motivations. It was at this time that legal aid was obtained.

Through the Workers Defense League, an organization dedicated to the protection of civil rights, the Workers Party was able to obtain the legal offices of Joseph G. Glass, a prominent member of the Socialist Party, and a veteran in the struggle for civil liberties.

Mr. Glass obtained a hearing for the WP on Wednesday, September 15. Up to the time of the hearing there were no specifications filed on the objection raised by the incumbent Klein. More than that, there were no



EMANUEL GELTMAN

specifications filed by the Board which would explain its action in ruling the party off the ballot.

Minutes before the hearing, Mr. Glass learned that the reason for the Board's ruling concerned itself with the fact that there was a similarity between the name of the Workers Party and the United Laborite Party, a faction created by the Democratic Party in New York City after Tammany made its decision not to have coalitions with the American Labor Party. The ruling was taken to a vote and was passed 3 to 1. De Sapio dissenting.

With this information, Mr. Glass went before the Board and asked it to reverse its ruling on the grounds that there was absolutely no similarity in name between Workers Party and United Laborite Party since there was no identity of wording. He added the fact that the Workers Party has set a precedent for itself by running candidates for eight years, always on the same ballot as

(Continued on page 4)

Don't let the Board of Elections get away with it! The ruling by which it has just put the Workers Party off the ballot is not only a brazen steal. It is the rawest piece of electoral chicanery that the Board has tried to slip over in long years—and there have been some pretty disgraceful tricks in the past. Here there is scarcely even the pretext of a shadow of a justification.

The Board is saying in effect: You're ruled off because we say so—and what are you going to do about it?

We know what to do about it. It has to be fought all the way! It can't be permitted to go by merely with a protest and a condemnation accompanied by indignation. If it is not to set the most vicious precedent in the recent history of such cases—if it is not permitted to stand to the detriment of every other minority party—it has to be fought through every channel and every court to the end!

We know what these municipal tinhorn Hitlers are counting on, when they dare to perpetrate this infamy. They are counting on the unwillingness of the Workers Party to battle because such a battle takes—

**MONEY!**  
We haven't got that money. We think we can count on it, however. We think we can count on the readers of **LABOR ACTION**, on the friends of the Workers Party—more than that, ON EVERY DEFENDER OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN THE CITY—to see this fight through.

Are we right? Or is the Board right in its cynical calculation that it can make any ruling it wishes with impunity, as long as it is directed against groups without rich angels and well-heeled treasuries?

**SEND IN YOUR CONTRIBUTION IMMEDIATELY! Send in whatever you can afford—ones, fives, ten or hundreds—but send it in NOW. Quick action is imperative. Address: Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York City 11.**

**DON'T LET THEM GET AWAY WITH IT!**

## Buckmaster and Bass Caucuses Set To Contest for URW Leadership

By GEORGE WHITNEY

The coming thirteenth national convention of the United Rubber Workers (Omaha, Neb., beginning September 20) will largely revolve around the struggle between a progressive and a conservative wing over leadership and domination of the international union. The struggle was officially launched, so far as the public is concerned, with the announcement by George Bass, president of Goodrich Local 5, that he intends to oppose L. S. Buckmaster, present international president, in his fight for re-election. George Bass represents what may be generally classified as the progressive wing while L. S. Buckmaster represents, again generally speaking, the conservative right wing.

The warring camps in this struggle cannot be so clearly delineated as, for example, those that participated in a like struggle within the Automobile Workers Union. So soon as an attempt is made to apply an accurate and descriptive label to either caucus, complications, traceable directly to the position of the Stalinist party in the situation, are encountered.

A way to avoid these plaguing matters is that employed by Joseph Andrews in The Militant (which reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party), but we have little use for it. This consists of a purely trade union report that ignores any conceivable criticism of one's own forces. This ready willingness to overlook all faults where it might be embarrassing to recognize them is a familiar characteristic of the Socialist Workers Party. We reject this method because we believe that any member of the URW who buys our paper is entitled to at least an attempt at something more of a political analysis than what he finds in his own local's publication. **LABOR ACTION** has, in the past, carried articles describing the history and composition of these two groups. A brief recapitulation is in order.

The right wing Buckmaster caucus is a force which derives its strength primarily from two sources: (1) from those conservative forces that inevitably grow up around an already established international leadership in the form of those whose own fu-

ture and security is bound up with the continuation and perpetuation of that leadership in office, and (2) Firestone Local 7, whose president, Ike Watson, allowed his inarticulate opposition to Stalinism to drive him solidly into the camp of the right wing.

The Bass caucus derives its strength from two sources also. First and most important is the body of Bass' support in Goodrich Local 5 itself and the supporters which that local has attracted over a period of several years under Bass' leadership. Second, the support of a group headed by N. H. Eagle, organizational director of the URW, H. R. Loyd, international vice-president, and Charles Lanning, international secretary-treasurer. This latter group has been characterized many times and by many people as a Stalinist force.

**LABOR ACTION** has explained previously that we do not declare any given individual to be a Stalinist. We have heard that all those who were known to be Stalinists have since dissociated themselves from the CP and so, presumably, we may all now

(Continued on page 2)

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 15—The United States Army attempt to break the 12-day-old strike of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union by setting up crimp hiring offices has thus far been a dismal failure. Only four applicants appeared all yesterday, the first day of the Army longshore operation. As 14 to 18 men are required for a single gang, and as over 50 gangs are needed to man the six freighters available for Army cargo in San Francisco harbor, the brass-hat scabbering attempt has been a total flop up to now.

Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshore Workers Union, in addressing a group of union members assembled before the Army hiring offices, denounced the attempt in the following words: "The Army is offering you jobs under civil service but the minute the strike is over you'll be thrown out. . . . Let's make sure this thing flops. They're offering a complete open shop. This is strikebreaking 1948 style. The Army and the shipowners."

The union fought back at the shipowner-government coalition by calling upon foreign stevedores to refuse to handle "hot" army cargo. The union reiterated its offer to supply qualified longshoremen from the central union hiring hall at pre-strike wages and conditions to handle necessary Army cargo. This was the same offer made last week by the ILWU, which the shipowners, with the connivance of the brass-hats, contemptuously refused, under the pretense that the officials of the unions had not signed the non-communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley labor law.

The spuriousness of this charge is demonstrated by the fact that the shipowners have also refused to negotiate with the Independent Marine Firemen, one of the other unions involved in the struggle.

## NMU Puts Seven on Trial; Charges Union Disruption

NEW YORK, Sept. 15—In an effort to stem the continued attempts of the Communist Party to disrupt the functioning of the National Maritime Union, charges were presented against seven Stalinist leaders at the NMU membership meeting of September 13. The charges of violation of the union constitution result from an allegedly unconstitutional meeting called by the seven in the union hall.

According to David Drummond, New York Port agent of the NMU, the seven presented him last Sept. 2

with a petition calling for the summoning of a special meeting to reverse the decision of the regular membership meeting of the union which resulted in the expulsion of Ferdinand Smith, Howard McKenzie and Paul Palazzi, former Stalinist officials of the NMU, who were tried for malfeasance in office and violations of the union constitution. According to Drummond, he refused to call such a meeting as only a regular membership meeting can reverse the decision of another such meeting. The seven, according to Drummond, then led 250 supporters in an attempt to intimidate him and held the meeting, completely disrupting shipping over a period of time.

Five of the seven, Joseph Stack, Oliver Boutte, Leo Silverman, Nils Jakobson and Benito Hernandez, will be tried by the committee elected at the September 13 meeting. The other two, William Penman and Edward Cruze, who are officials of the union, can only be tried, according to the constitution, by a committee of officials and such a committee will be chosen this week.

Much concern has been registered by militants of the union lest these trials be a prelude to a general purge of CP elements in the union. Any attempt to conduct a witch hunt against the Stalinists solely because of their political beliefs would cast discredit on the union and endanger militant elements of all types who might some time in the future have disagreements with the leadership of the union. Every member of the union should, therefore, be on guard to assure a fair trial to the charged, and to make sure that if they are found guilty, their guilt is that of actual violation of the union constitution and not an attempt at political persecution.

On the other hand, if such a violation of the union constitution and disruption of union work are proved by the evidence, the membership should not hesitate to inflict the most severe penalties on those Stalinist disrupters who are undermining the union and weakening the working conditions of its rank and file.

### REPORT STALINIST TERROR AGAINST GERMAN WORKERS

A report of Stalinist terror against Socialists in Eastern Germany has been submitted by Willi Brandt, Berlin representative of the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party. The report describes countless arrests, deportations to Russia, cross-examination and brutal handling by Russian police of opposition elements. Detailed accounts include cases of a teacher arrested for having a copy of a pamphlet by Social-Democratic Leader Kurt Schumacher in his possession and a woman arrested because she collected the signatures of the parents of 200 abducted youths.

Brandt concludes: "We ask the rulers of the Soviet Zone why they have not thus far allowed impartial commissions to examine the camps in their zone. If the peace aims of the United Nations are to have any sense, then this shame must not be tolerated any longer by the civilized world."

### RICHMOND, Cal., Sept. 14—The attempts of members of seven AFL craft unions and of the Independent Association of Machinists to crack the picket line of 2,000 CIO refinery workers at the Standard Oil Company plant here, resulted in dozens of injured. Allegedly under instruction of Dave Beck, reactionary leader of the West Coast Teamsters Union, a small number of the AFL line-smashers eventually got into the plant.

Police, hurling tear gas bombs, aided in the attempt to smash the picket line. The workers picked up the unexploded bombs and hurled them back at the police, so that two policemen were among the nine people requiring hospitalization after the battle.

In smashing through the picket line, the AFL workers seriously damaged the prospects of an early settlement of the strike. The employers, taking heart at the sight of one union fighting another, have further stalled negotiations for a settlement of the dispute.

Other leading AFL unions in the state have condemned the action of Beck's hirelings and have appealed for unity in the dispute.

Chapters From a New Pamphlet by Jack Ranger

# A Labor Party—A "Must" for American Workers

(Chapter Nine, continued from last week)

Perhaps Murray or Green would argue that there are some or a few friends of labor in Washington. If there be such, they surely haven't fought for labor in the way that true friends fight—the way that the true friends of the Southern employers fight proposals to abolish Jim Crow, for instance.

The real truth of the matter is that once labor showed it was on to the crooked dice of boss politics and refused to play that game any longer, once it turned its back on the old parties and struck out on the path to independent politics, it would receive a thousand times more consideration from the boss politicians than it does today.

Because then the old parties would be put on the defensive, they would be put on their best behavior, they would try by many means to convince labor that they were still its friends, they would know that every further exhibition of labor-hatred on their part would only hasten the success of the labor-party movement.

(4) *The fight to build a labor party is too difficult.*

ANSWER: We do not for a moment minimize the tough work involved in building a labor party—the thousand and one legal restrictions which the old parties have drawn up to protect their political monopoly, etc. But that is no reason to duck the fight. The fight is, after all, not impossible. In many states there would be no fight at all. The Wallace-Stalinist movement, much as we disagree with its politics, has shown that much.

Every argument advanced to show the difficulty of organizing a labor party was also advanced, generations ago, against those brave characters who undertook to build the trade-union movement. Yet the union movement was built, at what cost only its intrepid pioneers know.

(5) *Look at what happened in 1924 to La Follette.*

ANSWER: Well, really look at the 1924 elections—and what has happened since. In 1924 the official union movement came out for old Robert La Follette for president, on a third-party ticket. He was a progressive boss politician of his day, nothing more. He didn't run on a labor-party ticket. He didn't have a labor party behind him. His platform wasn't particularly attractive to labor. Leading Democratic and Republican union offi-

holders knifed his campaign. The whole union movement in those years numbered only about four million. Yet La Follette won about five million votes, more than 12 per cent of the total.

But look at the union movement today! Four times as large. About 16 million trade-union members. Why, if a campaign were organized with a whole heart, if the proper educational work were done, if a platform were adopted which answered the needs of the exploited, if they were drawn into the work, made to feel truly that it was their party, the labor party in its very first try could soar far beyond La Follette's record, and could capture scores of state offices and congressional posts. By the second election the labor party would be ready to aim at the White House and the establishment of a labor government.

After all, labor has learned a thing or two since the La Follette campaign. It has been through the long depression and the second long war. It has had to endure post-war inflation. It has had to endure the continuing indifference of both old parties to its needs. It is ready for change, to a much greater extent than it was in 1924.

Those are the stock arguments against the labor party, and their answers. But there is one new argument, advanced only recently by the editor of *Labor*, a weekly newspaper published by the railroad unions. The argument deserves inclusion if only for comic relief.

(6) *Labor should be smart like big business. You don't see the bankers and industrialists try to build a new party of their own. No sir, they work through the old parties.*

You bet big business works through the Democratic and Republican Parties! Those parties belong to them. All the machinery of those parties, and of the government which those parties administer, has been adapted and modified so that those parties and the governmental machinery serve big business. So why should the rich organize a new party when they are so loyally served by the two existing parties, eager and trained to do the bidding of the rich?

The editor of *Labor* must have had a tiny hole in his head when he let that howler get into print.

## Chapter 11

### How Labor Can Win the Support of the Majority of the People

THE largest social class in the United States is the working class. The organized workers alone total more than 16 million, and with their families constitute almost a third of the population. The unorganized urban and rural workers bring the total to well over half the population.

In addition to the working class there are 8 million farm families and an even larger number of middle-class families whose breadwinners work as salesmen, lawyers, small proprietors, dentists, accountants, clerks, artists, etc. The remaining 5 per cent of the population is made up of the very wealthy and the upper middle class. Exceptional members of this group can also be won to the working-class cause.

Our chief problem is to consolidate our own class and to aim to win over substantial numbers of the lower middle classes in the city and country and to neutralize the remainder?

How does the working class win allies? The bureaucrats at the head of the union movement—the Greens, Tobins, Murrays, Dubinskys, Hutchesons, Lewises—don't know. Indeed, they never even ask the question, because they reject the very idea that the workers should organize politically as a class. To their mind, the workers should tag along after big business and its two-headed party system.

But supposing a labor party is organized, as it certainly will be: How will we win support of the masses?

There will be thousands of clever liberals eager to tell us: "Look as much like the Republican and Democratic Parties as possible. Wave the flag. Sing a-mem. Then the masses will follow you."

No, then the masses will not follow the labor party. Why? Because the two old banker-controlled parties can always wave the flag more furiously and convincingly than we can, can shout twice as pay-triotionally over twice as many radio stations and in twice as many news-

papers. Because it is just exactly this old blarney that the masses are sick to death of.

The people sense that only a radical solution of the social problem offers them hope. For years they have seen the labor leaders support the old-party candidates, hail each election as a "great progressive victory," and then, a few months later, curse the government as "the most reactionary ever."

When labor comes out always at the same tree, it has lost its way. The people sense this. They saw what Roosevelt's liberal phrasemongering has added up to. They are listening carefully for what they want to hear. Once they are convinced that the union movement has a political program for all the exploited and is determined to advance that program, the people will flock to the labor party.

The great General Motors strike of 1946 showed this. When Reuther advanced the slogan of wage increases without price increases—a union's way of telling the public it will protect the public interest against the corporations—opinion polls showed that the people were overwhelmingly for the United Auto Workers and against General Motors.

Why? Because here, for the first time, a union was thinking in broad social terms, was not only protecting its members but protecting the public interest. Of course the people want this, and of course they will respond.

You cannot win broad support by the old, narrow-minded, selfish trade-union politics of tailing the old parties, seeking wage increases and forgetting about price increases, engaging in jurisdictional strikes against the interests of the workers involved and of the public.

A labor party that breaks cleanly with the hateful double-crossing capitalist parties, that boldly proclaims a new program of progressive demands for the masses and a new concept of government, that expresses its determination to take over control of the nation's destinies in the name of and in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, will win the support of the overwhelming majority.

It will take a little time and a great deal of education, but it will win.

"Friend of Labor" or CP Stooze?

## Reviewing Wallace's Labor Record

By JACK BRAD

As a politician who has held important offices in the federal government, Wallace has a record. He was a member of the cabinet, vice-president, and president of the Senate, from 1933 to 1945. These were crucial years for the labor movement—years embracing the building of the CIO, the sitdown strikes, the great organization drives, the wartime fight of the militants against the wage freeze and the no-strike policy, the courageous post-war wave of strikes in 1945 and '46. These were years of great events in the life of the labor movement.

What is Wallace's record for these turbulent years? The record shows, first, that Wallace has very little of any kind of a labor record. The fact is that he was not considered and did not act pro-labor. There is no record of Wallace's support of the great CIO organization drives of the Thirties or of his outspoken support for the Wagner Act. On these matters, for at least seven years of his official life, Wallace can show only a record of silence.

He did have a chance to show his attitude in his own Department of Agriculture when, in 1935, H. L. Mitchell, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, brought a delegation to see Wallace. The delegation wanted to protest Wallace's payment plan by which Southern landlords were receiving huge subsidies for "plowing under" while the sharecroppers and tenant farmers were being evicted from the land. These evictions were the result of the Wallace AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Act) program.

Mitchell reports that the union delegation cooled its heels a long time while Wallace was "busy." Wallace stalled and tried to sneak out of his office by a back door. One of the unionists saw him and he was forced to hear the delegation in the hallway. As a result of this meeting Wallace sent an investigation South which turned in a report substantiating the union's charges. Wallace suppressed this report by his own investigator because it was "too hot to handle." Friend of labor, indeed!

### WHEN IT COUNTED

The United Mine Workers Journal (August 15) reports another, more recent, visit to Wallace, in 1944, when he was president of the Senate:

"On several occasions, following his election as vice-president, committees representing the policy committees of various unions, meeting in Washington, called upon Wallace to openly use his influence with senators and congressmen and issue public statements denouncing and

ing anti-labor legislation. The writer on one occasion sat for two hours awaiting the report of a committee which was selected to call upon the speaker of the House, Wallace and other leaders of the House and Senate when the Smith-Connally Act was pending. . . . [The Smith-Connally bill was pending in the Senate while Wallace was its president. He never spoke out against it. This act was the precursor of the Taft-Hartley Law and part of the anti-labor offensive of the big corporations—J. B.]

"The report on the Wallace visit was to the effect that Wallace didn't seem to know what the bill provided or what the committee was talking about, and the committee in turn could not understand what Wallace thought or said." Friend of labor, indeed!

No wonder the editor of the Mine Workers Journal came to this conclusion: "We have searched the records and we fail to find anything that Wallace has performed in behalf of the common man that he blab-blahs about so much in his talk and writings." While Wallace was in office and had the power to do things, he did absolutely nothing.

Now he makes promises, as every politician does. He is against the Taft-Hartley Law. So is Truman and a hundred other would-be labor-vote catchers. While in office he did nothing to fight the enemies of labor. That was when it counted. But what is his labor program now?

### RIGHT TO STRIKE

On December 30, 1946, when the anti-labor congressional wreckers were on a rampage, this is what Wallace wrote in the New Republic of that date: "If there is to be legislation, I would suggest first, a carefully worked-out program for fact-finding. [This was the anti-labor procedure under which Truman broke the railroad strike—J. B.]; second, a mechanism for voluntary arbitration; and third, a labor court under supervision of the President's Economic Advisory Council and dealing only with those disputes in key industries which it is felt were of supreme interest to the general welfare.

"If a strike takes place in one of the little handful of industries which are essential to the continued life of this nation, the industry should be taken over and operated by the government until a settlement can be reached. . . . During the period of operation there should be no profit to the owners. . . .

"If experience proves, by repeated strikes in such an industry, that the welfare of the whole country is damaged to an unendurable degree by continued private ownership and op-

eration, I feel we must consider public ownership and operation. In such a case the workers in that industry would, like other federal employees, give up the right to the ultimate resort, to the weapon of force, in the form of a strike."

The first part of this formula has actually been used for many years by employers and governments, including Truman's, to break strikes. Every militant is familiar with the use of "fact-finding" committees, "voluntary arbitration" and the threat of "labor courts," which are always anti-labor courts. This is a capitalist government. The Democratic and Republican Parties are Wall Street parties, as Wallace himself says. To propose "labor courts" in these circumstances is to be either a fool or a scoundrel.

The second part of the program calls for government operation of industries in which the workers are forced to strike, with no profits to the owners during the period. The corporation forfeits its profits for a few days or weeks in order to have the government break the strike. It is a small price indeed for the corporations while labor's basic weapon is attacked and rendered useless by the full power of the state. Is this "liberalism," not to speak of a pro-labor policy? No wonder the miners are opposed to Wallace! They have been subject to such governmental seizures. What happens to the profits is completely unimportant to a union whose strike is broken by Wallace's labor policy.

### WHERE DRAW A LINE?

The third point is crucial. It tells us more about Wallace than all the editorials in the Daily Worker praising him do. In case the government nationalizes industry, the workers must give up the right to strike "like other federal employees."

Since when are "friends of labor" opposed to strikes by federal employees? And if Wallace is opposed to strikes by federal employees, where does he draw the line? Why only federal? Why not state, county and city employees? What would Wallace say if the teachers struck, as in Buffalo last year, because they could no longer live on their wages? If the coal mines and the railroads were nationalized, would Wallace propose that these workers give up the right to strike? This would effectively smash the railroad and mine unions. Such nationalization would be despotic and anti-labor.

Does Wallace propose following the Russian totalitarian practice where strikes of all kinds are out and where, since almost all industry is government-owned, the workers in them are government employees? How is this different from what Gen-

eral MacArthur has instituted in Japan where all government workers including those on the railroads, the tobacco monopoly and the teachers cannot strike?

That was in December, 1946. Here is what Wallace proposed in February, 1948, in his book "Toward World Peace" (page 81): "It is only through industry boards of the type here suggested (same as in first paragraph of the New Republic proposal above—J. B.) that it will be practically possible to discover what is really wise in the way of wage and production policies, what the minimum wage should be, whether an annual wage is practical." This is more of the same kind of "objective, fact-finding" bunkum.

The CIO and the AFL have a program for a minimum wage, which may not be adequate, but would be a start. The Workers Party advocates a \$1.00 per hour minimum. A guaranteed annual wage is supported by the steel workers and auto workers. It is an indispensable economic security measure. It is not a political football to be "investigated" to death. This brings Wallace's labor stand up to date.

### AIDS STALINISTS

But it is not the whole story. The fact is that as political prisoner of the Stalinist machine, his attitude toward labor is subordinated to the practical needs of that totalitarian movement. The labor policy of the Communist Party is whatever the Kremlin needs at the moment. It has nothing to do with, nor can it be controlled by, American workers. Whenever Stalinism wins, the workers lose; the unions lose their economic strength; they can no longer defend their workers against the anti-labor dictatorship of Stalinism. Stalinism institutes forced and slave labor, the six and seven-day work week and piecework. In American unions, the CP follows a rule-of-ruin policy, of which the United Electrical Workers Union is a prize example. In return for agreements with employers and in order to get around signing the Taft-Hartley affidavits, they will accept almost any contract on wages and conditions.

In all the unions where the Stalinist machine is in flight or under attack by the militants, as in the National Maritime Union and in the United Automobile Workers Union, the Wallace party serves one function only: a cover for the Stalinist union fractions. The Progressive Party in the unions now acts as the political battering ram against the union militants and all anti-CP forces. That is Wallace's real labor policy in the context of the present labor situation.

## URW Caucuses — NARROWLY SAVED FROM LYNCH LAW

(Continued from page 1)

proceed with light heart. This may or may not be so, but this we do know, and we have said it before: the force represented by Lanning, Loyd and Eagle in the past followed the political line of the Stalinists, with N. H. Eagle as its most notorious representative.

### POSITIONS ON BARGAINING

The Bass force, as distinctive from that of Eagle, has built a fairly solid reputation in the past years on the basis of consistently militant and competent negotiations with management. The one criticism that no one can seriously make of Bass is that he has ever been able to see the company's point of view too well. Local 5, with Bass at its head, has consistently won the best contracts and carried the most power in industry-wide relations.

Representing his caucus, Bass introduced a motion in the International Policy meeting some months ago, called presumably to decide on over-all strategy, declaring the Policy Committee would negotiate on an industry-wide basis with the rubber barons and thereby make it mandatory for Buckmaster to do everything possible toward that end. When the motion was introduced by Bass it was seconded by Ike Watson of Local 7, despite the fact that he is, and has been, against the concept of industry-wide bargaining and has recently declared it to be impossible, according to the Akron Beacon Journal.

Buckmaster carried out this mandate of the Policy Committee by sending each of the rubber companies a letter requesting industry-wide negotiations. When they refused he thereupon instructed the individual policy committees of each company to negotiate for themselves. He then proceeded through Ike Watson to hurriedly sign a contract with Firestone in an attempt to set a pattern. This contract provided for an 11-cent wage increase and tied the Firestone workers to a two-year contract. The other two large companies tried to hold strictly to the pattern and as a result of this action on Buckmaster's part, which Bass publicly called a "sellout," Goodyear Local 2 was able to only slightly better their contract with an 11-cent provision, an additional week's vacation for 15-year men and a 20-month contract freeze.

Goodrich secured the best contract, though there can scarcely be any doubt that it would have been better but for the Buckmaster-Watson doublecross. The Goodrich contract provides for 11 cents on wages, three weeks' vacation for employees who have reached their fifteenth year of service and is of only one year's duration.

Bass has declared himself for industry-wide bargaining while Buck-

master is for isolated negotiations. Aside from this question there is considerable ambiguity in the Bass group. They have taken no position, as a caucus, on the national elections, the Marshall Plan, no publicly proclaimed position on the question of a Labor Party and of necessity have made no public declaration on the American Communist Party.

It should be fairly obvious that Buckmaster will take three important positions at the URW convention. He will come out for Truman for president, he will support the Marshall Plan and he will declare himself in red-baiting fashion against the Stalinists. On all three of these points he will have the active backing of Philip Murray.

That places Bass in a rather awkward position. He will be faced with either supporting Truman and the Marshall Plan or keeping quiet. Neither course will enhance his prestige. If he had developed his position on the question of a Labor Party over the period of the last year, he would now be in a position to present a strong attack before an already somewhat informed membership. As things are now he has no weapon at all on these points and he could conceivably be forced into a position of saying, "mee too" when Buckmaster lists his conservative beliefs on national politics. Even this weak position in favor of CIO policy would endanger his alliance with the Stalinists who are, naturally, opposed to the Marshall Plan and Truman.

On the question of the Stalinists themselves, Bass will be hard put to do anything more than accuse Buckmaster of red-baiting. This is the question that Murray is most interested in and when you accuse one of his conservative supporters of red-baiting you thereby accuse him. This is not conducive to a hands-off policy where Murray is concerned. Thus the role of Murray in this fight could very well have a decisive effect. If it proves sufficient to win the day for Buckmaster, then Bass and his supporters will have the CP (who recently embarrassed the caucus by taking it upon themselves to be the first to announce "officially" in the Daily Worker that Bass would run for the office of international president) to thank along with the apologists for the CP.

As already pointed out, the Bass caucus is not without faults. It incorporates within its bounds not only the Stalinists but a number of first-rate reactionaries and Jim Crow elements, some of whom have begun to make headway in Local 5. But despite these faults (there could hardly be a caucus without faults) the Bass forces, by and large, represent the progressive tendency in the URW and should be supported by all militants in the URW.

## NARROWLY SAVED FROM LYNCH LAW

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, Sept. 1—In a dramatic last-minute action, Ira Newton Coston, Negro farmer from Hendersonville, N. C., was saved from the time being at least—from a frame-up in the usual Southern manner.

Last year Coston had spoken to a white girl near his farm; soon afterward a movement was started to charge him with assault and attempt to rape. He fled to relatives near Cleveland rather than stay and risk a lynching, either of the mob type or of the North Carolina courtroom-justice brand.

Henderson County police recently located Coston here and secured a federal warrant charging him with fleeing justice. The FBI made the arrest, and the farmer was held in Cuyahoga County jail. At a hearing before a United States commissioner, Coston's lawyer, Paul Walter, succeeded in having this warrant voided, since actually no indictment had ever been drawn against Coston in Hendersonville.

Coston then should have been freed, but the chief deputy sheriff returned him to jail and handed him over to a North Carolina deputy before the lawyer found out about it. This was done on the excuse that there was a state fugitive charge also filed against Coston, but no hearing was held, as required by law.

Faced with an apparently successful spiriting away of this Negro farmer, Walter checked the route taken by the Southern deputy and his client, and found that the train passed through Cincinnati. He telephoned and enlisted the aid of a legal firm there in securing a writ of habeas corpus. The couple were caught at the Union Station there, changing trains, and Coston was taken from the hands of the North Carolina deputy. A legal battle will now take place over the question of Coston's return to Hendersonville.

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# Rebellious Spirit Penetrates Polish CP Ranks

### Purge Looms as Demotion of Gomulka, Would-Be "Polish Tito," Reflects Impact of Popular Discontent

By A. RUDZIENSKI

As we informed the readers of LABOR ACTION last week, the division in the politburo of the Polish Stalinist party has become public knowledge. (Last week's LABOR ACTION carried a detailed story by Comrade Rudzienski and a front page news item on the latest developments, including Gomulka's recantation.—Ed.) The London Daily Telegraph printed a story of Gomulka's confinement which was denied by the Observer, whose correspondent readily accepted the official version that Gomulka was suffering from "neurasthenia" and a "throat ailment." Of late, there are a great many sick people in the Stalinist camp: Zhdanov, Benes and Gomulka, not to speak of the lesser fry.

However, the official communique of the PPR (Stalinist party) has lifted the veil of rumors, and without circumlocution of any kind or medical diagnosis reveals that the executive general of the PPR and vice-premier of the government represents a nationalist-right wing deviation which has been expressed in the following points: 1. Refusal to condemn Tito and to support any drastic measures against Yugoslavia and the puppet government of Poland; 2. resistance to the collectivization of the Polish countryside and the "socialist offensive" put forward by the "left" faction of Berman, Mine and Zambrowski; 3. revelation of the "secret" that Gomulka voted against the majority in the sessions of the politburo.

As a consequence, Wladislaw Gomulka, the unfortunate candidate for the role of the "Polish Tito," has been demoted and replaced as secretary

general of the PPR and vice-premier of the puppet government. The Warsaw politburo has instructed "President" Bierut to "assume an active role in party work and reintegrate the ranks of the buro."

#### HISTORIC BACKGROUND

In our previous article, we explained the economic basis for the "schism." Now we must review the historic antecedents. In the old Polish Communist Party there were two factions, the "majority" and the "minority." The first supported the thesis of "two stages of the revolution," and the second favored the complete "Stalinization" of the party and the "revolutionary offensive." The GPU first destroyed the majority in 1928-29 because, in spite of its false theory of two stages, it represented the independent tradition of the Polish workers' movement and wished to maintain the independence of the party against the GPU. The second tendency was destroyed in 1936 under the accusation of being a "Trotskyist opposition" after having allowed itself to be used to liquidate the independence of the CPP.

Yet when the Russian army invaded Poland, the old theory of the "historic right wing" of the CPP on "two stages" was taken out of the archives, dusted off and proclaimed "popular democracy." Stalin has no scruples about appropriating the heritage of his victims and profaning their corpses. In this climate of "Stalinist magnanimity," the role of the mediocre Gomulka grew to the skies as the leader of "popular democracy."

In his youth Gomulka had belonged to the majority faction of the

CPP, and after its condemnation had obediently passed over to the position of "consolidation" of both factions ordered by Moscow. As an epigone of the "majority," Gomulka knew better than others how to interpret and execute the phase of "Stalinist magnanimity" toward the Poles, in order all the more easily to destroy and decompose the Polish underground resistance which was led in the main by the Populists and Socialists of the real PPS. As in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Gomulka wished to form a "national democratic front" but did not succeed in realizing his "great idea." A mediocre little man, a failure in college, a man pushed toward the proletariat through lack of intellectual capacity, afterward a union bureaucrat and CPP functionary, he reached the dizzy height of having a compilation of his writings published under the title "Struggle for Popular Democracy in Poland," a book which will surely be used as evidence against him. His is the typical ephemeral career of the Stalinist puppet.

Threatened by Tito's resistance, Stalin now demands the complete incorporation of Poland into Russia, thereby overthrowing Gomulka and elevating his adversaries, Berman, Mine and Zambrowski. To justify this turn, Moscow has drawn from the archives the "minority" theory of the "socialist offensive" and, going even further, the revolutionary traditions of the SDKPL (Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania) and the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg.

#### MOSCOW OFFENSIVE

Now Polish nationalism and poor, mediocre Gomulka are the target of

a furious Moscovite offensive. The ideological execution of the new turn is entrusted to Berman and Zambrowski, both "minorityites." Zambrowski and his obedient follower, Cyrankiewicz, secretary of the pseudo-PPS, proclaim "internationalism" against "limited Polish nationalism." They proclaim the "national independence of the new type" consistent with "national sovereignty supported by the USSR."

The readers of LABOR ACTION will agree that this is truly a strange sort of sovereignty. Stalin's noisy bullies and hirelings invoke the glorious tradition of the SDKPL and the CPP, as well as the teachings of Rosa Luxemburg against "Polish nationalism." They seem to forget that the leaders of the CPP and the disciples of Rosa Luxemburg were assassinated because, in the name of internationalism and the revolutionary traditions of the Polish workers' movement, they tried to conserve the independence of the Polish working class against the Stalinist counter-revolution in Moscow.

The Stalinist dogs lie when they argue that the SDKPL, the party of Rosa Luxemburg, favored the incorporation of Poland into Russia. Rosa Luxemburg never proposed the subjection of Poland to Russia but called for the unity of the Polish and Russian Revolution. The very name of the party, "Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania," sharply underscores the political, economical and cultural unity of the territories historically Polish since 1772, that is, the territories bounded by the Dnieper. And this was the point of view as well of Marx and Engels.

The traditions of the SDKPL, the

teachings of Rosa Luxemburg and the program of Marx and Engels were all opposed not only to the Russian penetration of Poland but to partition of Poland, which ultimately took the form of the famous Curzon line invented by the British imperialists and demanded the complete independence of Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine and White Russia, and their complete separation from Russia.

To carry out its reactionary offensive against the Polish working class, Polish socialism and an entire oppressed and exploited people, the GPU uses the "minorityites" Berman and Zambrowski, invokes the "glorious traditions" of the CPP which Stalin himself buried, and even resurrects the ghostly shades of the assassinated CPP leaders. It tries to unleash an offensive against "nationalism," against the "reformism and social-patriotism of the PPS" when the latter strives to struggle precisely against the Great-Russian nationalism and imperialism headed by the Stalinist reaction.

#### ENTER THE POLICE AGENT

The Warsaw puppet politburo has instructed "President" Bierut to take Gomulka's place. Bierut (Bienkowski-Rutkowski) is Stalin's ex-police agent, chief of the Polish section of the GPU in Moscow, betrayer and hangman of the leaders of the CPP, Varski, Horvitz-Walecki, Koszutska, Zarski, Zdzarski, Wojewodzki, Donnal, Lenski, Prochniak, Huberman (brother of the musician) and so many, many others. The hangman, Bierut, has been instructed to skillfully "liquidate" the "Polish nationalist deviation," "Polskaya miatziez" (Polish rebellion) so hated by the Czars and the Stalinists. We are, therefore, confronted by a police offensive, a Stalinist "purge" in Poland.

Proletarian and petty-bourgeois resistance in Poland penetrates the ranks of the Stalinist party, proving the social and political weakness of the invader's regime. Although this resistance, this popular rebellion, cannot attain the Yugoslavian level, threatened as it is with physical destruction, its presence constitutes the proof that the crisis of the regime has penetrated to the "ruling heights." Until now the Stalinist regime has no more succeeded in destroying the underground resistance than did the Nazi regime. It seems that no matter how perfect a police regime may be, it cannot destroy the will of a people to struggle.

Benes, Gomulka, Zhdanov and Tito are names and phenomena that mark the rifts and perhaps the decomposition of the Stalinist regime. In any case, they prove the existence of its crisis and its transitory character.

There would appear to be a contradiction between Zhdanov's death and the Stalinist offensive in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. Zhdanov's death would seem to indicate a Russian withdrawal in Western Europe, particularly in Germany, and concessions to capitalism. Stalin enjoys offering heads on a platter to his "War-time Comrades," to his adversaries whom he wishes to deceive. War in the immediate future not having been decided upon, Stalin offers Zhdanov's head in order to deceive the Anglo-Americans. He may perhaps make concessions in Berlin and Western Europe. And he may try to "arrange matters" with Tito in the Balkans.

But meanwhile he consolidates his positions in conquered Europe. The complete incorporation of Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria constitutes the condition sine qua non of a new offensive against his imperialist rivals, perhaps a world war which can be precipitated by the process of decomposition in the Stalinist empire.

## Support Strike —

(Continued from page 1)

The NMU was repudiated and expelled by the NMU rank and file, so Bridges sooner or later will have to face the wrath of the membership of the ILWU. But those who are ready to purchase Bridges' downfall at the price of the serious weakening of the West Coast unions do a serious disservice to all waterfront workers. A defeat on the West Coast is the entering wedge that the government-spawned coalition counts on to destroy all the gains, wages, conditions and hiring halls, of all the maritime unions.

In the present situation, maximum unity in action of all the maritime unions is required. It rests with the responsible leaders of these unions to take whatever steps are necessary to obtain this unity in action and defend the interests of all maritime labor.

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## Socialist Democracy

### ARE WORKERS "SMART ENOUGH" TO GOVERN UNDER SOCIALISM?

By GORDON HASKELL

"A few months ago," says my friend Jack to me the other day, "you were telling me about how the workers and farmers and other people that do something useful will run things once they wake up and take over from the monopolists and politicians and the rest of the riff-raff that has the world by the tail these days."

"I seem to recall such a conversation," says I.

"I've been thinking about it," says Jack, "but the more I think about it the more it seems to me there's a hole in it you could drive a two-ton truck through."

"Well," I says, "let's take another look at it and see if we can't plug that hole up. But first let's get one thing straight. The Workers Party doesn't claim to have a crystal ball in which the socialist world of the future can be seen like a city map with every detail right in place. All we claim is that from our study of times in the past when workers rose up and took power some things they did worked fine and can be used as a guide to the future, and other things led to defeat and helped to foul things up."

"We take the lessons of these experiences, and add a little common sense, and try to teach as many as we can that some things can be made to work, and others can't. That's science and not crystal-gazing or blue-printing castles in the air and telling the workers: 'You do it our way or the hell with you!'"

#### WHO'LL RUN THINGS

"Okay," says Jack, "have it your way, and I won't ask for a blueprint. But I've got a little common sense too, or what we used to call horse-sense back on the farm. You said that when the working people take over from this riff-raff, committees of workers and farmers and professional people and housewives will run everything from the mines and farms and factories and railroads up through the federal government."

"That's right," I says.

"Well," says Jack, "that's just where the big hole is. These folks may have a lot of sense when it comes to their own job, whatever it may be. But where are they going to get the brains and the training to run the whole works? After all, when you get up in the higher brackets of management and government things get pretty complicated. It's one thing to run a lathe, and something very different to run a whole department, or a whole plant or the federal government."

"You can say that again," says I. "I am saying it again," says Jack. "About half the guys I know won't even read LABOR ACTION because they say it's too deep for them. The sports pages and the funny books are about their speed. How do you figure guys like that are going to sit on a committee to run a factory or the national railroad system?"

"Well," I says, "maybe they won't." "That sounds," says Jack, "like you're giving up too easy. If these guys can't run things, what happens to your whole picture of workers' control under socialism?"

#### PLENTY OF KNOW-HOW

"Use your bean, Jack," I says. "Are these funny-book addicts the guys your local elects on the bargaining committee or as committeemen or shop stewards?"

"Well," says Jack, "not usually. Once in a while one of them gets popular and slips in and then there's hell to pay."

"Sure," I says. "That's a little of the overhead of democracy. But by and large you got to admit that even the comic brigade is smart enough to elect men to represent them who know the time of day. What makes you think they'll get dumber when they know the men they elect will have to be responsible for running the whole plant, and not just for bargaining with the boss or adjusting grievances or running union business as at present?"

"Then you admit yourself," says Jack, "that the average guy won't know enough to run things himself, but will have to elect smarter men to run them. What's going to prevent these smart boys from gradually taking over and running things to suit themselves and putting the rank and file right back where they are now, behind the eight-ball?"

"There are just two things you overlook," says I. "First, not everyone who feeds his mind on the funny books today is a dope. From the time most of these guys were kids they found out that the whole system was rigged against them. They were told in school that in this man's country everyone has an equal chance. When they started looking for a job they found that was a lie. When they went into the army or into a factory they were told a thousand times: 'you aren't supposed to think; your job is to carry out orders.' They found that the newspapers lied to them, and the most respected government officials lied to them. They found that the whole system is based on a million lies for the suckers, I don't blame them much for going to the funny books, which at least don't pretend to tell them the truth."

"That's true," says Jack. "So what?"

"So these same guys are likely to take a much greater interest in things when they find that they can believe what they read in the papers and are told by public officials. Today they are lied to because this rotten system needs to fool people to keep them from revolting. Tomorrow, under socialism, the truth will be the chief weapon in the hands of the working-class as only when they know the facts will they be able to make correct decisions."

"Yeah?" says Jack. "That could be. So how will that change things?"

"The more people take an interest in running their affairs, the less chance the 'smart boys' you mention will have to take over in any capacity except as servants of the people assigned to do a specific job. The old adage will still hold true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Only then it will be the vigilance of the great mass of people who will have the real power to decide how things will be run. Their vote today is a mockery of power as the real decisions are made in the secret meetings of boards of directors of banks and corporations and carried out by the so-called representatives of the people in government."

"Maybe so," says Jack. "What was the second point you say I overlooked?"

#### WORKERS' CONTROL

"It's just as simple as the first one," I says. "No one claims that as soon as the workers' and farmers' government is established every mother's son is going to be on a factory management committee or a city planning committee or some other committee which is in charge of a part of the nation's life which today is dictated by the corporations and their government. What I do say is that all public matters (including industry) will be run by committees elected by those most concerned, and not by a clique which rules by the divine right of owning enough stocks and bonds. There will be smarter guys, and guys who work harder and men who have won the confidence and respect of their fellow workers and fellow citizens. In our present set-up the man who gets to the top is usually the man blessed by rich parents, good connections, or a willingness to grind his fellow humans under his heel."

"With real workers' control and a truly democratic set-up in all aspects of life, that kind of tough bird will be most likely to end up at the bottom of the pile. Leadership is one thing the common people can always use. Under socialism the leaders will be selected on the basis of performance in a contest in which everyone really has an equal chance to use his natural abilities, and will be recalled the moment he shows that he is learning to abuse them."

"Well," says Jack, "that was quite a speech. Maybe what you say is true. Anyway, I'll think about it." "I guess I got sort of wound up," I says. "By the way," I says, "are you through with that paper? I've been wondering how Trick Dacy got out of that last jam he was in."

"He didn't," says Jack. "It seems that Chief of Police Bannon was taking a cut from the dope ring and when Dacy called him in on the pinch his cops plugged Dacy full of holes."

"It just goes to show you," says Jack, "they can't even keep government clean in the funnies any more."

# Bumper Food Crop Gives Business the Jitters; Prospect of Plenty Threatens Profit Security

By WYATT LEE

The United States faces a bumper crop this harvest. The farmlands of the Corn Belt are yielding a record crop of over 3½ billion bushels. Farther west the prairies and mountain plateaus are growing 1,285,000,000 bushels of wheat, a harvest just slightly under last year's all-time record.

Cotton is estimated at more than 15 million bales, the largest annual yield in more than a decade, while peanuts, which we are told has now become one of the six basic crops, will total some 2,300,000,000 pounds.

Mother Nature turned internationalist this year and bestowed bountiful crops on ravaged Europe. England, where declining imperialist power and worldwide disruption of agriculture has forced intensive farming of foodstuffs, is also harvesting record crops despite wet weather that caused heavy damage. On the continent the best harvest since before the war is reported. And in Russia, of course, we can expect the same precedent-shattering wheat crop that Tass has reported annually since Stalin took power.

#### YET, THERE IS FEAR

But in the United States, at least, there is little rejoicing at the news. Instead, the financial

pages of the newspapers reflect the gloomy fears of grain marketers and economics savants write of the effect of full corn bins on the delicate barometers of trade. There is fear and trembling in high places: What do it matter if there be bread to eat, if Man loseth his Profit?

This fear is being transmitted to more popular journals. Life magazine, in a full page editorial titled "Fear of Plenty," states boldly that "something is wrong with us when we fail to cheer the news of our most bountiful harvest." Not that Life really believes anything is wrong with us or our system; the editorial goes on to explain that we are suffering "from a psychological trauma left over from the '30s." The rest of the space is devoted to assuring Life readers that we can't possibly have a depression.

It will take more than a few soft words from the Luce picture magazine to shake off the forebodings caused by the threat of a sudden drop in farm prices. The precarious economy of American capitalism is endangered by the slightest dislocation at its base. The whole inflated structure of high prices based on world-wide scarcity can come tumbling down overnight and every serious observer knows it.

Early last spring, when the first news of prospects for a good crop on a world basis came

in, prices dived on the grain market. There was a hullabaloo in the press and in Washington about food speculators, but the government got down to the serious business of strengthening price supports for farm products.

This device enables a farmer to store his crop and take a "loan" from the Federal government if the market price drops below a "parity" price established by Congress. Thus the farmer in the United States, at least as long as the U. S. treasury holds out, is protected against the "normal" workings of the classic capitalist theory of the law of supply and demand.

#### PRICE FLOORS A STOPGAP

"Parity" price floors are supported by both the Republican and Democratic parties. We can assume that Henry Wallace also favors them, as the whole idea originated during his "forced scarcity" regime as Secretary of Agriculture. In election years especially, it is considered political suicide to tamper with anything that might affect the farmer vote.

Dewey wanted to make political capital out of the fact that the American taxpayer is shelling out to keep food prices up. He chose ex-rival Harold Stassen to make the point in a post-Labor Day speech. Democrats are reported to be mailing thousands of copies of Stassen's speech to farmers and the whole affair is considered a major political blunder on the part of the Republicans.

Price floors controlled by the Federal government are not a solution to the problem, but at best a stopgap. If the general price fall is not "cushioned" by the artificial support, the government will find itself in the possession of tremendous stocks of grain that must be disposed of eventually.

Already there is talk of an "artificial" shortage of wheat as farmers are holding the crop off the market. Agriculture colleges are telling farmers how to make emergency corn storage space. Federal county agents are urging farm storage, and a steel fabricating company reports that it is working at full capacity making portable corn cribs.

#### HUNGER AND BURSTING GRANARIES

Once more capitalist economy is faced with its chronic and inescapable dilemma. Full production foreshadows chaos and insecurity. In the United States, where only a few weeks ago Congress met in special session to consider high prices, the government works feverishly to prevent a fall in the price of basic commodities.

Around the world, where the problem is not merely high prices but an acute shortage of foodstuffs, the various populations can look in vain at the bursting granaries of the New World. The surplus will not be shoveled into the cargo holds of ships but will be crammed into the elevators that dot the prairie landscape. Instead of filling the hungry bellies of children in every land, our corn will be stored in patented, portable steel cribs.

## Too Rich to Pay Higher Wage

By S. CARTER

AKRON, Sept. 2—The odious labor policy of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. paid off for the first half of 1948 to the tune of \$2,590,272. Earnings for the half year were \$14,191,688, up about 22 percent as compared to last year's \$11,601,416 for the same period. In terms of shares of common stock the profit was equivalent to \$6.16 per share. In 1947 it was \$4.90 per share.

In addition to the earnings figure, the company set aside a reserve of \$3,000,000 for possible losses in connection with foreign investments in comparison with last year's reserve figure of \$2,000,000. Yet this is one of the major rubber companies who continue to howl that they can't afford to raise the workers' wages unless they can raise prices on rubber goods to meet the rising cost of materials and machinery.

in lurid detail what is actually the class organization of the capitalists and industrialists, he recoiled in horror from the suggestion that the working class mobilize its strength as a class.

The man goes so far as to boast that "the most important point about America is that we have been free from the blight of what is often termed 'the class struggle'." American labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, has always rejected the concept of the class struggle. We have never been out to destroy the employers. On the contrary, we have always recognized and defended the legitimate rights of employers. No stauncher defenders....

#### "SMART STRATEGY"

Meany pleads with those whom he calls the executioners of the American labor movement: don't you see that we are your best friends? Why do you insist on chopping off our heads when we are perfectly willing to play dead and not bother you at all? How can you be so cruel as to spread this "deadly disease" of class struggle?

Then a bright thought apparently struck Meany. Aha, he exclaims, two can play this game as well as one. If big business is going to push the class struggle, well then, by gosh and by gee, we'll fight too. And he issues this dire warning:

"If there is going to be a class struggle in America, it can have only one result, only one outcome—not the crushing of labor, as they desire, but the utter defeat of the initiators of the struggle, the powerful reactionary wing of big business."

This makes it very puzzling indeed. Let's see if we can see daylight through it.

One: Meany insists, against all those who will not face unpleasant facts, that big business seeks the destruction and annihilation of the labor movement, no less.

Two: Meany, as Secretary Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, is against such destruction and annihilation.

Three: the class struggle would result in the utter defeat of big business and its evil designs on labor.

#### Therefore?

FOUR: THE AFL STANDS FIRM AGAINST CLASS STRUGGLE!  
Somebody ought to go back to kindergarten!

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# UAW Nets Gains in Harvester Strike

By MIKE HOLMAN

CHICAGO, Sept. 6—The 16-day strike of the UAW-CIO against the International Harvester Company ended on September 2 when the company retreated from its plan to discharge two strike leaders at the Melrose Park, Ill., plant.

The strike over contract began on August 17 when the company offered to pay for the two holidays that fall on Saturday as a bait to cancel all negotiable issues for one year. Because there were many unresolved issues, the UAW struck under the slogan, "No Contract—No Work."

The history of the UAW in the Harvester plants had been a peaceful one up to the last two years. The only plants organized were the truck plants, and they had hammered out some good conditions. Their piecework averages were over most Harvester plants. Non-production workers, while having the highest rates in Harvester, are below the UAW na-

tional rates of GM, Ford and Chrysler.

### NEW LOCALS

Three new locals have come into the Harvester Council since the end of the war: Local 6, formerly the Buick Local in Melrose Park, Ill.; Local 1106 at Evansville, Ind., which was the "Red Cross" to the packing and furniture strike in that city; and Local 988, Memphis, Tenn., made up of CIO veterans from Firestone Rubber. The new locals have transformed the character of the UAW in Harvester. The number of workers covered by UAW makes Harvester the fourth largest in UAW negotiations. The new locals have had to battle every inch of the way for a good contract. The drive for a master national agreement came from these locals.

The Harvester Company attitude was that they would accept a master agreement if it would benefit them. If it could be used to drive the average wages of its pieceworkers down and eliminate the union's concept of

four grievance steps before appeal to the umpire (in favor of the Farm Equipment two-step procedure). Tied up with the grievance procedure was an attempt to hogtie the grievance committee by restricting the activities that the company would pay for.

The general wage increase (third round) had been signed on June 23. The negotiations for a new contract began on July 21. It was apparent that the goal of a master agreement would run into rough sailing. Even after agreements were reached in principle, days were wasted reducing articles to writing.

The negotiations destroyed the myth that FE peddled to the effect that UAW was treated better in order to break FE. If the company had wanted to deliver a blow to FE it could have easily performed that task. Instead it dealt fiercely with UAW, and before that reached an agreement with FE in Canton, Ill., the day before an NLRB election, assuring the FE victory.

### MEET COMPANY STRATEGY

The company realized early in August that it could not get its way this year on piecework cutting ideas, grievance procedure reforms, etc. So it adopted the strategy of playing one local against the other in order not to complete a full national agreement. This was successful. The UAW did retreat; however, the greatest sections of the new contracts are uniform.

The strike was the first UAW National Harvester strike. The company took its case to the workers by the use of an elaborate mail system with a letter being sent to each worker's home every day. The letters were skillfully written. However, the rank and file held firm and picket line loyalty was over average for a strike that had no wage disputes outside of a few major non-production inequalities.

The company provoked incidents in Melrose Park by ordering its fore-

men to crash picket lines in the early hours of the morning. Upon these incidents they obtained a circuit court injunction and notified the union that two Local 6 strike leaders, Fritz Knoll and Seymour Kahan, were fired and five others suspended.

The union took a strong position on the discharges. No one was to return to work, even though settlement was near, until all discharges were wiped out and workers returned with a clear record.

On September 1 the company reduced the discharges to suspensions and local agreements were then made.

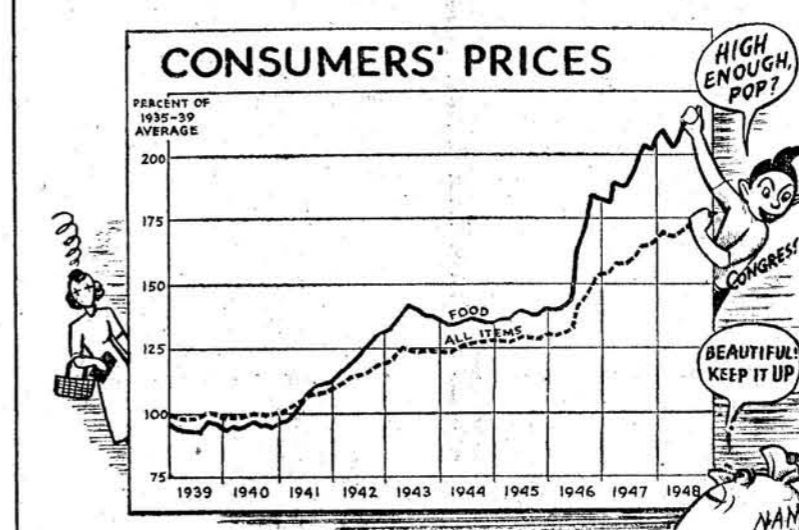
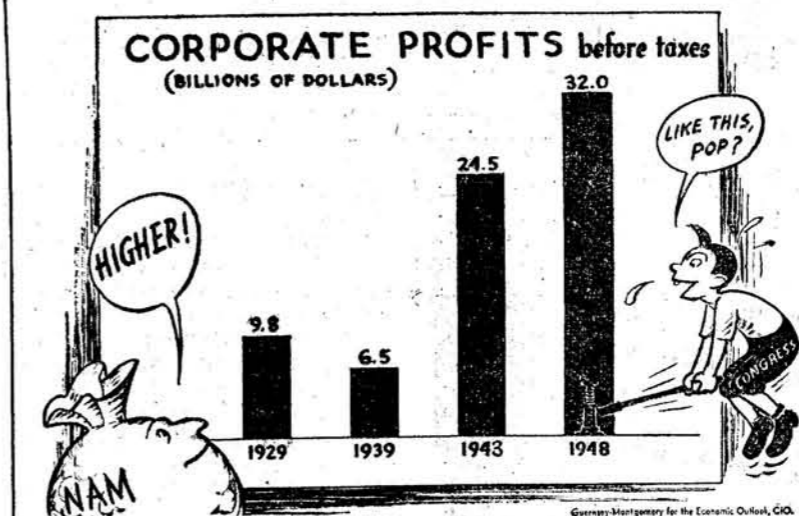
### STEP FORWARD

The new contract contained 16 uniform articles. Because of the youth of the council, this was a long step forward. The non-production "day work" Harvester structure problem still remains unresolved, and it will take a much better CIO unified strategy to wipe out the inequalities in the skilled trades, and other classifications which are below the UAW rates.

The FE had negotiated this year on the theory that the only fight was a defensive one. It had simply signed its old contract for another year. It even gave up the two holidays that fell on Saturday.

The UAW, which has 24,000 members, compared to FE's 31,000 in Harvester, fought and won the two holidays and better clauses in: Strikes and lockouts, suspension and discharge, hours of work, jury service, leaves of absence, seniority, bulletin board procedure. The union did not win its fight for an apprenticeship plan or the elimination of the major inequalities. FE did not pick up one inequality adjustment; the various UAW locals won four or five in each plant.

The UAW learned some important lessons from this struggle. One is the need for better pre-negotiation strategy.



## Ohio Labor Notes AFL Swallows Gov. Herbert Truman and

CLEVELAND, Sept. 12—As a special meeting this past week, the Cleveland Federation of Labor voted support to Harry Truman for president and Thomas J. Herbert for governor of Ohio. To the observant workman, whose best interests the CFL is supposed to serve, it might seem a bit peculiar that he is asked to re-elect the leaders of the national and state governments, the one a Democrat and the other a Republican.

After all, he has been told often enough of the injunction-issuing, troop-calling, strike-breaking activities of these governments. He has seen no action taken to relieve the problems of prices, housing, taxes, etc. He has seen both major parties condemned for their actions to weaken the union movement, yet his leaders say that he should vote for the president and governor now in office!

### HERBERT'S VIEWS

Both the AFL and CIO have announced that the stand taken on the Taft-Hartley Law by various candidates for office will determine whether they will be supported by these organizations. Now President Truman says he is against the T-H Law, and his hypocritical stand has been exposed often enough in the columns of LABOR ACTION. But how about Governor Herbert? How does he stand on legislation designed to curb the rights of labor?

The entire Ohio AFL prefers Herbert to his Democratic opponent Lausche, saying that as governor he vetoed the Van Aiken bill, a state version of T-H. This veto may be to Herbert's credit, but his real position on such restrictive laws was exposed in the September 10 issue of the Union Leader, a labor paper supported by right-wing elements in the CIO of Cleveland, there appears a list of six questions addressed to Herbert, with his answers. Here is a direct quotation of the first two questions and answers:

Q.—Do you favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act? A.—No.

Q.—Would you oppose any Ohio law covering the same grounds as the Taft-Hartley Act? A.—I would have to see a specific proposed law before stating my opposition or support. I vetoed the Van Aiken bill for the basic reason that I considered it unsound.

This is the position taken by the candidate endorsed by the AFL. At least the CIO-PAC decided it could not endorse either Herbert or Lausche. When will the trade unionists realize they must have their own party and their own candidates to fight for themselves?

An NLRB election was finally held at the new Fisher Body plant in Euclid. The only union on the ballot was Local 45, UAW-CIO, which also covers the Fisher Body Coit Road plant. The vote was overwhelming, 392 for the union and nine for no union. The General Motors management at this new plant has been particularly vicious. Firings, speed-up, rate-cutting are the order of the day. The workers realize they need the protection of the union against the greedy management. Though the excellent vote should show the mood of the workers, it is by no means sure that a local agreement will be achieved peacefully. Strike action may still be necessary to secure a satisfactory contract.

## Judges Causes of Poor Strike Settlement at Ryan Aircraft

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—The United Automobile Workers strike at Ryan Aircraft Corporation here was endangered by more than the usual police patrol and normally vicious tactics of the company. An issue was introduced which, while not altogether unforeseen, will set a pattern on the West Coast that is likely to make even more difficult the task of this UAW-CIO local to establish a semblance of decent living wages in the aircraft industries. The union committee and the Ryan negotiating committee are both agreed that the dispute was not only an economic one but, because of the close unity of the Southern California aircraft industries, was a "break-the-union" grudge fight.

feared of red-baiting was one of the reasons given by leadership for not staging a mass parade in the center of town for the purpose of organizing public support. Here Stalinist influences come into consideration, but Stalinism and the role of the Stalinists in the Ryan strike will be dealt with a little later.

Along with the failure to organize for public support was the refusal to put the local politicians on the spot publicly because of the following reasons: the political perspective of the international leadership; the political ties of the local leadership, as with McKinnon, the Democratic candidate for Congressman; the Wallace-for-President tie; the numerous distributions of Stalinist newspapers.

The union carried this strike to the company, advancing sound economic reasons for its economic demands. The company, linked with the remainder of the aircraft industries, converted it into a grudge fight for the sole purpose of removing the UAW from the San Diego area. Proof of this is the sellout at both Rohr and at Solar aircraft plants, which were, purely and simply, jurisdictional sellouts, "break-the-strike" sellouts!

The strikers at Ryan held out for more than seven weeks. Only intrigue and machination forced them to yield. Although the leadership of this UAW plant (Local 506) claimed that the company had submitted generally to union terms, only the most ignorant could fail to see through this statement. Begun with the full cooperation of the workers, the strike dwindled to a daily picket rut and to a \$5.00-a-day welfare farce—then to defeat.

### POOR ORGANIZATION

Locally, there was poor planning in preparation for the strike, as well as an inadequate amount of welfare money and general strike fund in the treasury on June 16, the day the strike began. Time and again, when so-called plans were being made for the strike, questions concerning strikers' welfare and strikers' general fund were shoved into the background, or covered up with false promises, or pushed aside completely. The question was raised many times by the more militant rank and file: What is the International's obligation concerning its part in bolstering the strike fund?

While it is true that the International did send Roy Reuther to San Diego to help the floundering local, not even his direction, his radio speech, his attempts to organize things, made up for the inadequate amount of money on hand here or supplemented by the International headquarters in Detroit. Before and after the arrival of Reuther, the local failed to collect back dues, and failed to organize a Ways and Means Committee for the purpose of approaching local money and local business men. And many of the more observant strikers saw that these failings could have an important bearing on the results of the strike.

On the other side, the hiring of strikebreakers by the company and its recruiting of pre-strike workers who scabbed and were allowed to walk in unharmed amidst taunts and jeers also helped break the back of the strike. Facts and figures show that there were 250 strikebreakers hired, plus the 250 pre-strike workers who went back during the seven-week period. No matter how the union tried to employ compensatory devices, there is no doubt that the actions of the company and the scab workers affected the turn of events.

### IAM SETTLEMENTS

Another failure and one that was completely ignored by the strike strategy committee was the failure to organize and carry out a special demonstration for the purpose of mobilizing labor support in this area. A

few of red-baiting was one of the reasons given by leadership for not staging a mass parade in the center of town for the purpose of organizing public support. Here Stalinist influences come into consideration, but Stalinism and the role of the Stalinists in the Ryan strike will be dealt with a little later.

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But the final back-breaking action was the knife in the back by two locals of the IAM right here in San Diego—in the Solar and Rohr Aircrafts plants. Their acceptance of the five per cent wage increase based on a two-year contract immediately set a pattern in the area's aircraft industries, thus further maintaining the wooden nickel formula.

Yet the local UAW leadership painted this obnoxious formula as "favorable" and even posted the existing rates of the two IAM plants and compared them with the Ryan rates. In doing so, they completely covered up the main issues—the fact that the IAM pattern was the aircraft industries' triumph! Not until the end of the strike did the UAW leadership here come out with a denunciation of the Rohr and the Solar contract acceptances.

Well, the strike is over—lost—and the workers returned to Ryan's, to the company that was so poor. Yet that very company managed to afford to contact its employees and ask them to return to work... by sending special delivery letters to every single man out on strike!

And then came the government contracts! These contracts, amounting to close to five million dollars, were definitely known to the bosses during the strike and were being acted upon by Washington contacts of the company while the strike was on. Of course, this was kept secret, very secret—as a matter of fact, at the time that this five million dollar deal was being drawn up, T. Claude Ryan himself came out with this statement: "With no future contracts in view, we feel it unwise to jeopardize our stockholders' position." It is perfectly obvious that these contracts will constitute a gravy train with the cost-plus clause which is part of every government contract.

# Workers Party Fights Ballot Ban —

(Continued from page 1)

the American Labor Party. Never once was there a question raised as to the similarity of names between these two parties. There is certainly no more reason why Workers Party should be considered similar to the name United Laborite Party. Aside from that, the petitions, Mr. Glass continued, were valid and not even questioned by the Board.

### GLASS REJECTS DEAL

So difficult was the legal position of the Board that at this time, the representative for Klein took the floor to offer a "suggestion" to Mr. Glass which the latter properly labeled "a deal." Klein's mousetrap suggested that Mr. Glass allow the Democratic-ALP candidate extra time to offer specifications on his objection, specifications which were not offered in time because it was felt unnecessary since the Board had already ruled the Workers Party off the ballot.

Turning to the Board, Mr. Glass informed them that this "suggestion" was in the nature of a bar bell being offered to someone stuck in a swamp to make sure that the person would sink. Understanding the maneuvering involved, being past masters themselves, each member of the Board guffawed loudly.

Suspecting that Mr. Glass would bring to light the Board's real motivation, and fearing adverse publicity and an attack against him, Commissioner Costuma brazenly and openly stated that he had "facetiously" made the motion to declare

with any other party than the United Laborite Party. The lawyer went on to point out that the legal matter of similarity does not even apply to political groups, but only to political parties. The Workers Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Party are all groups and not parties in the eyes of the law since none of them has the legal requirement necessary for being considered a political party.

In an able and moving appeal, Mr. Glass made it clear that he is not even a member of the Workers Party and what, is more has ideological differences with it. But, known as a socialist to all members of the Board, he wanted it made known that the defense of the rights of minority groups was his business as a matter of principle.

He told the Board that what it was doing was depriving the 4,500 people who signed Workers Party petitions from exercising their right of choice in the election. Once again, he urged the Board to reverse its ruling and not force him to use the last and expensive resort—the courts.

Obviously shaken by the plea, Costuma then attempted to place new specifications before the Board. He speculated on the validity of the petitions handed in by the Workers Party. A flimsy afterthought, this did nothing to strengthen his pitifully weak case.

Glass refused even to discuss this material and made it amply clear that his one interest was in persuading the Board to reverse its original motion since there were no new ones before it.

His motion was denied and the Board's ruling now stands.

## Berlin —

(Continued from page 1)

A particularly encouraging aspect of these anti-Stalinist manifestations was the lack of any indication of any revival of Nazi ideology. Close to half of Berlin voted Social-Democrat in the last municipal election in October, 1946. Nobody knows the likely vote today, but observers think it would be even more favorable to them. New York Times Correspondent Drew Middleton repeatedly insists that a "great many of the Social-Democrats... think of themselves as Marxists and regard the Russian Communists as traitors to the socialist cause. They refer to the latter as Stalinists."

### CRUCIAL WORLD PROBLEM

The "German question," supposedly decided by the last war, is again the crucial problem of world politics. The two sides of imperialism are struggling for this richest spoil of their late victory in preparation for their new conflict. Russians blockade, and the Americans and British deliver by air, and the people of Berlin add another experience to the nightmares of Nazism, bombardment, siege and occupation.

Their renewed vigor not only amazes but inspires the rest of the international working class. Right now, the Russians represent their greatest enemy. But, despite the official pronouncements of their leadership, they know that the future of their city and country offers promise only with the removal of ALL foreign troops.

Since its inception in 1940, LABOR ACTION has stood by the program of the "third camp" in opposition to both sides of imperialist bandits. The change in world alignments does not change that position. Today in Berlin and throughout Germany, that position is more meaningful and necessary than ever before. The job of the valiant German socialists is to lead the nation in the campaign to rid the country of all foreign oppression. It is the responsibility of all of us to demand the removal of ALL troops—U. S. as well as Russian. Let the German people decide their own destiny, not the two war machines bent upon making it again the main battleground of world warfare.

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