

UN Mediator's Palestine Plan Backed by U.S.

By AL FINDLEY

The simmering pot of Palestinian politics boiled over last week. The assassination of Count Bernadotte, UN mediator, was its most sensational, but by no means the most important, development.

Count Bernadotte was appointed to supervise the original truce and to mediate between the Jews and Arabs for a permanent peace. His first attempt at mediation was a plan to give Transjordan all of Arab Palestine plus the Negev and all of Jerusalem. Also included was a permanent supervision over immigration to Israel. This plan was rejected by both Jews and Arabs.

The original Bernadotte plan was really nothing but a slightly modified British plan. It was this, plus the pro-Arab enforcement of the truce that laid the basis for the Stern group charge that Bernadotte was a British agent. Actually what Bernadotte did was to attempt to "buy"—at a high price it is true—King Abdullah's acceptance of the state of Israel.

The Count had been warned many times that he would be executed as a British agent. On Friday, September 17, 1948, he and his French aide were riddled by bullets from a sten gun. The "execution squad" consisted of four young men.

STERNISTS OUTLAWED

The Stern gang was immediately associated with the crime. The Stern group (FFI) has about 2000 members and advocates individual acts of terrorism. The Stern group is one of the Revisionist fascist groups operating in Palestine. It originated in a Revisionist split in 1940. Its founder was David Stern, an avowed believer in fascism. The Sternists later developed along pro-Russian and "national bolshevist" lines similar to the Strasser wing of the Nazi party in Germany.

Actually the murder was perpetrated by a splinter group of the Stern gang—the new Fatherland Front, acting on the same principles and policies of the Stern group. Their main immediate aim was to force the resumption of the war and to transform the war into a war of all Jews against all Arabs with the eventual conquest of all of Palestine.

As usual, this act of individual terrorism backed, both on the greater cause it professed to serve and on the partisans of terror. The assassination of Bernadotte has ac-

tually weakened Israel in the face of the new proposals at the current UN session. However, since it is power and not emotion that determines politics this effect will be only temporary.

The main and most important result of the assassination has been the opportunity it has given the government of Israel to smash the armed bands of the fascist Stern group and Irgun. The Stern group has been outlawed and 200 of its members arrested.

The Irgun too has suffered. The Irgun had accepted the discipline of the army but had kept its independent formations in Jerusalem. The Irgun hoped for a "concordat" with the army that would salvage some measure of independence for the Irgun. The assassination changed that. The government has given the Irgun an ultimatum to dissolve and turn over its arms and men to the

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Glass Pledges Fight For WP Ballot Rights

Joseph Glass, Workers Defense League attorney and prominent member of the Socialist Party, issued a statement this week denouncing the attempt of the Tammany-ALP bloc to remove the name of Emanuel Geltman, Workers Party congressional candidate, from the November election ballot. Glass, who has been conducting an active court campaign to thwart the Tammany-ALP move, said:



JOSEPH GLASS

"This is one of the dirtiest pieces of Tammany chicanery I have ever come across in my long practice as a labor lawyer. Klein himself told me that he is taking orders. I would like to know from whom he is taking these orders; the leaders of Tammany, the Stalinist leaders of the ALP, or both?"

"I intend to fight this case for the electoral rights of a minority party to the best of my ability."

"The attempt to throw the Workers Party off the ballot is one of the ugliest spectacles, presented in the name of 'democracy,' of a gang of political cannibals who are frightened of the possibility that they may be faced with even a small threat of political opposition.

"This move shows that Klein, the so-called liberal, fears that some thinking people may awaken to the fact that he is a Tammany hack.

"Klein's Tammany lawyers twice offered me phony deals if I would not be so militant about this case.

"This is one of the dirtiest pieces of Tammany chicanery I have ever come across in my long practice as a labor lawyer. Klein himself told me that he is taking orders. I would like to know from whom he is taking these orders; the leaders of Tammany, the Stalinist leaders of the ALP, or both?"

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GOP, DEMOCRATS SHOW EMPTINESS IN BID FOR VOTES

By WYATT LEE

The two major parties officially opened the campaign for the presidency last week with Truman and Dewey embarking on train trips that will criss-cross the country by the end of the month. Both candidates chose Iowa, in the heart of the farmlands, to make their initial major speeches.

The President, speaking at Dexter before an immense audience of farmers gathered to watch a national plowing contest, lambasted the Republicans with a brand of oratory that aroused memories of William Jennings Bryan. Like the Great Commoner, Truman charged the Republican leaders with being tools of "cold and cunning Wall Street reactionaries."

Forgetting for the moment his own Wall Street appointees, such as Federal Reserve Board Chairman McCabe and Secretary of Defense Forrestal, the President warned that a Republican victory would mean "a return of Wall Street economic dictatorship" and "low prices for farmers, cheap wages for labor and high profits for big corporations."

In Des Moines two days later Dewey replied in moderate terms. With only a few critical asides concerning the Truman administration, the New York governor spoke in platitudes about a wide range of subjects. He pledged Republican faith in the American people and asked in return for the people to have faith in Republicans.

PLAYS IT "SAFE"

In a quick succession of sentences, he expressed sympathy for a "sorely troubled world," for wives and mothers who must pay high prices, for veterans who must live in Quonset huts and cold-water flats, and for "millions of Americans who face the intolerable fact that because of their race or their color or the way they

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Army Scab Move Evokes United Labor Opposition

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 22—United labor opposition broke the back of the United States Army attempt to break the West Coast longshoremen strike. Knowledge that any attempt to use army personnel to load the struck ships would bring about the tie-up of all American waterfronts led the brasshats to accede to the terms of the International Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union.

After last week's attempt to circumvent the union hiring hall by recruiting scab labor through army offices had failed, the brass hats announced that they intended to use soldiers to load the ships. This announcement evoked a storm of protest from the entire labor movement. Philip Murray, president of the CIO, addressed a letter to the Secretary of Defense informing him that the labor movement would take the most serious view of army intervention, and intimating that it would take measures to defend itself.

NMU STATES POSITION

The Seafarers International Union, an AFL affiliate, had previously indicated "that it would back up the longshoremen to the hilt to combat this threat to the security of all seamen. The National Maritime Union, CIO, made its position clear with the following statement:

"All of us know that the attack on our brother maritime unions by the West Coast shipowners is an attack on all of us. It is an attack on decent working conditions and decent pay for all seamen. It is an attack on our dignity and our security. It is part of an all-out attack on the hiring hall.

"Therefore, although their joint policy committee has not yet consulted us, we have let the striking unions know that they have our full support."

The army, which had previously contemptuously rejected an ILWU offer to load essential army and navy cargo under conditions prevailing before the strike, now saw the light. It agreed to hire union men through the central hiring hall at pre-strike wages and conditions. The men will be employed through one of the stevedoring concerns not affiliated with the Waterfront Employers Association that has previously shown a willingness to bargain with the union. Under the terms of the agreement, checkers and terminal workers will receive retroactively any wage increases gained in the settlement of the strike.

UNION POSITION

Meanwhile the employers' united front against the striking unions showed signs of cracking elsewhere.

Thwart Move by Tammany To Delay WP Ballot Case

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 22—The attempt of a battery of lawyers employed by Tammany Hall to stall hearings on the removal of Emanuel Geltman, Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 19th District, from the ballot was temporarily defeated in the New York State Supreme Court. The Tammany lawyers had tried to get the hearing postponed until after the printing of lists of registered voters in October, the same time when the ballots themselves are printed. Had their move been successful, the Workers Party would have been unable to con-

duct a campaign as a party on the ballot until almost the end of the campaign.

However, Justice Cohallon refused to postpone the hearing, as urged by Tammany's lawyers, until he had heard arguments about the case itself. He therefore granted a postponement of hearings until Friday, September 25, 11 a.m., at which time the motion for adjournment until mid-October may again be made.

This is at least a temporary victory for the fight of the Workers Party to have hearings now so that it may gain its rightful place on the ballot and conduct a campaign.

By P. HOFFMAN

NEW YORK—Unwilling to brook any political opposition, Arthur G. Klein, self-styled "liberal" and Democratic incumbent in the 19th Congressional District of New York, has challenged the nominating petitions of Emanuel Geltman, Congressional candidate of the Workers Party in that district.

Klein made a formal challenge of the petitions two weeks ago, but on learning that the Board of Elections was going to rule the Workers Party off the ballot, he felt it unnecessary to provide the specifications on his challenge and failed to do so. After learning of the board's hearing on Wednesday, September 15 (see last

week's LABOR ACTION), at which time the Workers Party, represented by the well known civil liberties attorney, Joseph G. Glass, was ruled off the ballot because "its name was considered similar to the name United Laborite Party, Klein changed his course. Obviously dismayed by the flimsy charges provided by the Board of Elections and aware of the fact that the Workers Party intended fighting the Board's ruling in court, Klein served notice that he was going to court to ask for an extension of time to prepare the specifications on his challenge.

TAMMANY ORDERS

On Friday, September 17, at 10 a.m. the Workers Party appeared before the Supreme Court of New York. Present also was Arthur G. Klein, himself, flanked by a battery of Tammany lawyers.

Mr. Glass, attorney for the Workers Party, asked for a hearing on the show cause order he had obtained against the Board of Elections. He was joined at the bar by Klein's lawyer, who asked for an extension of time to prepare specifications. After Klein was granted that time extension, a dispute arose on the manner in which the cases should be heard. Mr. Glass asked for a separate hearing on the Workers Party case against the Board, while the Tammany mouthpiece asked that his candidate's specifications and the WP case be heard at the same time. With neither rhyme nor reason, the judge granted the request and set trial time for Wednesday, September 22, at 10 a.m.

Unable to grasp completely Klein's reason for pressing a case against the

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Battle of Rents Is On Again...

The battle of the rents is on again.

The real estate lobby, which goes under the name of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, announced last week through its secretary, Calvin Snyder, that it would start a campaign to pressure the next Congress into abolishing federal rent controls. For good measure, the real estate lobby will also campaign against federal-subsidized public housing and slum clearance.

The association is regarded as one of the wealthiest and most powerful lobbies in Washington and has often boasted that it has stopped action on the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. By general agreement, Washington observers held it responsible for defeating this bill in the last session of Congress.

In its statement, the real estate lobby said that so long as rent controls continue there will be a housing shortage. This, of course, is blatant nonsense in view of the fact that the housing shortage has not been appreciably eased as rent controls have been relaxed. The only observable result of weakening rent controls has been increases in rent.

Now that the real estate lobby has announced its carefully-planned and high-pressuring campaign to smash rent controls and thereby drive an even more serious wedge into the pocketbooks of the American people, it is again time for the trade union movement and consumers' organizations to move into action on this issue. The need, in fact, is for tighter and more stringent rent controls.

If rent controls are abolished, open catastrophe will face thousands, perhaps millions, of American families. Now, before it is too late, the unions and tenant and consumer groups have to raise a howl of protest against any such possibility.

UN Rhetoric Fails to Hide Threat Of War Outbreak in Berlin Crisis

As the United Nations Assembly prepared to hold another session in Paris, reports from Europe indicated that negotiations in Moscow over the Berlin crisis were on the verge of collapsing. The over-all European situation thus reached a point of considerable crisis, for if there is no temporary agreement between the two large blocs of powers on the Berlin matter all sorts of possibilities of further clashes, perhaps leading to outright hostilities, remain.

Nobody in possession of his full faculties expects anything significant to come out of the UN Assembly meeting in Paris. Even the diplomats who are preparing to unleash torrents of rhetoric at this meeting seem to be losing their taste for the political charades which take place at UN sessions. The language is stale, the conflict irreconcilable in words, and tempers are getting worse.

Slowly but quite surely the myth that the conflicts of an imperialist-

divided world can be solved by an international talk-show composed of these very same imperialist powers—this myth is being punctured. As a result, the Russians, least concerned of all the powers with diplomatic protocol, are not even sending their foreign minister to Paris; Vyshinsky can talk the same nonsense as Molotov.

CRISIS IS REAL

But the European crisis itself, of which the sore point is in Berlin, is real—even if the speeches made at the UN are fantastic. By now all pretense of a four-power government in Berlin has been dropped, and each of the occupying powers administers its own area. Military forces of each side guard the "borders" within Berlin, sometimes engage in raids into "enemy" territory, and give the city the appearance of a military outpost—which, to be sure, it is.

So long as the Russians are able

to maintain their land blockade and thereby force the Anglo-American bloc to use airplanes to ship goods into Berlin, they, the Russians, have the upper hand, in an immediate tactical sense. For they don't have to DO anything more; they don't have to make any "provocative" moves; they need only sit tight.

The problem of choice rests with the Anglo-American bloc. To continue to supply Berlin by air, an extremely expensive proposition and during the coming winter months especially difficult—or to withdraw from Berlin and suffer thereby a catastrophic loss of political face. That is the choice of the Western capitalist powers and, for them, it is a bitter choice indeed. Unless... unless they heed the advice of some hotheads on their side and try to run a train through the Russian sector. But that means really to risk the possibility of immediate war. For if such an

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Launch Spirited Campaign To Elect Maynard Krueger

CHICAGO, Sept. 15—An impressive amount of energy is being put forward in the independent campaign being waged by Maynard Krueger for Congress in the Second Congressional District of this city. Krueger is making no secret of the fact that he is a Socialist Party leader. At the same time the campaign is being waged as a broad independent one, conceived of and stated as a down payment on the idea of a new mass party based on the trade unions and co-ops.

A large number of active workers have already come into the campaign. In fact, during the nominating petition drive, a total of 14,000 signatures were obtained without any public appeal for assistance! The initiating committee didn't want to disappoint the general public in case of inadequate results, so that people were only approached privately to assist in petitioning.

Now that Krueger is on the ballot, all forms of publicity are being utilized. Half a dozen people are working full time rounding up precinct workers. The aim, which is now beginning to appear realizable, is to secure 420 workers, one for every precinct in the district!

ENDORSED BY WP

The district itself is a very heterogeneous one, including Gold Coast type skyscraper apartments and working class districts near the steel mills, as well as Negro and Nisei (Japanese-American) neighborhoods. The platform and a very thorough precinct workers' manual have already been printed. Ad space has been purchased on subway, street car and bus lines. Trade unions and organizations such as the Independent Voters of Illinois (an ADA affiliate) are being asked to forsake the senile Democratic candidate, who seems to

be fated to put up only a token campaign, and throw their weight behind a genuinely independent and progressive campaign.

In view of the stated aims of the candidacy, the South Side branch of the Workers Party in Chicago has endorsed Krueger, despite differences with some planks in the platform, and a good portion of its membership has volunteered to serve as precinct workers for the Krueger Campaign Committee.

At the same time the Workers Party expects to carry on some separate political activity in Chicago on its own in connection with the 1948 elections—to carry to as many people as possible its attitude toward the presidential elections and its position on the development of an independent labor party.

STRONG APPEAL

Both the idea of a socialist protest vote and the Krueger candidacy for Congress have vaulted into greater prominence, inadvertently, through the unfair actions of the Illinois authorities in throwing the national and state Wallace tickets off the ballot.

Those non-Stalinist Wallaceites whose only excuse for not casting a socialist vote was its "ineffectuality," will have to work hard to prove that it is more practical to campaign for Wallace write-in votes than it is to campaign for votes for Thomas or Teichert, who are on the ballot.

Furthermore, the Krueger candidacy is so strong that the Wallaceites haven't even put up a candidate in the district, and there is no question that district for district, Krueger's campaign will arouse more support and draw more people into independent political activity than any of the district campaign of the Wallace-Stalinist movement.

Chapters From a New Pamphlet by Jack Ranger

A Labor Party—A "Must" for American Workers

Chapter 12

What Program for a Labor Party?

THE labor party will be based upon and controlled by the unions. The policies of the labor party will be determined by the unions.

A democratic union is a forum for various programs. The union members with different viewpoints put forward their own political and social programs for the union. This is right and proper. In the long run, if the union is democratic, that social and political program which best defends and advances the interests of the union and the working class will win the support of the union.

We socialists of the Workers Party will also put forward our program for the union and the labor party and seek by all democratic and honest means to win support for this program. But if this program is not the one which the labor party adopts, the Workers Party will still loyally support the labor party in its struggles against the old capitalist parties. Where we believe the labor party in principle or practice falls short of defending and advancing labor's interests, we shall criticize it. At certain times and places, where in our opinion the interests of the working class will best be served by such action, the Workers Party will run its own candidates for office, on the platform of our own party.

If the unions were to put a national labor party in the field now, the Workers Party would advance the following program for that party:

(1) *Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law* and all other anti-union legislation. For the unrestricted right of labor to organize and strike.

(2) *For price control* by labor and the consumers. Wipe out profiteering and high prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer goods. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price-control committees.

(3) *For a living wage*. For an immediate wage increase to meet the high cost of living. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual living wage, at a minimum of \$5,000 annually for each family.

(4) *Clear the slums, build homes*. For a \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing at low rentals for all. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units. For modern mass-production techniques. Give the AFL building-trades workers first priority on factory jobs building prefabricated houses at union wage scales.

(5) *Tax the profiteers*. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes. No taxes at all on incomes under \$5,000. Shift the tax burden to the rich, force them to pay for their wars.

(6) *Nationalize big business*. For the nationalization of the big monopolies—the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems, the mines and the banks—to be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.

(7) *End discrimination* against the Negro people. For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

(8) *Open the doors to the Jewish refugees*. For full and unrestricted immigration to the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

(9) *For generous economic and educational opportunities for veterans*. For a veterans' wage of \$40 a

week for single men and \$55 for married men for on-the-job training, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependant. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

(10) *For peace and freedom*. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops and ships and planes home. For an end to conscription and the increasing militarization of the United States.

For a socialist America, a socialist United States of Europe, a socialist world federation!

Chapter 13

How Long Will It Take?

THERE is no guarantee. It took the British trade unions a generation before they convinced the majority of the British people that labor should lead the nation.

On the other hand, in a critical situation somewhat comparable to labor's situation today, it took the new Republican Party only six years to start from scratch (in 1854) and spring into undisputed leadership of this nation. As against the slaveholding group which controlled the Democratic Party, the young Republican Party then represented the progressive capitalist class—just as today, the infant labor-party movement represents the progressive working class as against the old and decaying capitalist class.

It may take four, eight, even twelve years for the labor party to take over the reins of government. It will almost certainly take more than four years, unless the whole capitalist system meets some unlooked-for catastrophe that finally enlightens tens of millions of people as to its monstrous, murderous character.

Even if we get the bulk of the union movement and its leaders to subscribe to and work for a labor party and to run a national slate, the real crisis will come at the first election when we fall short of the goal.

Then all the hidden enemies and "plants" of the old parties in the ranks of labor will try to stampede us back to their rotten political machines. They'll start whispering campaigns; they'll whine that the whole thing is a mistake; they'll encourage the summer patriots to introduce proposals that the labor party give up its fight and that labor resign itself to subservience to capitalism; they'll strive to water down the program of the labor party with the argument that the movement is too radical for the people; they'll try to organize deals with the old parties.

We must prepare for such moves and be prepared to thwart them. We must understand in advance that the fight will be a long one, that a thousand obstacles, some of them unforeseen, will be thrown in our path, that a thousand tricks and maneuvers will be used against us. (Churchill's Conservative Party in Britain was not above using forged letters against the British Labor Party in 1924.)

We must become inured to the permanent red scare which will be the obvious weapon of capitalism against us, even if the Stalinists are a negligible factor in the labor party. This red scare will never let up, it will become more and more hysterical, as we begin to open up a path of hope for the people, it will batter at the labor party and try to terrorize it in all sorts of ways.

Union men and women who are serious about fight-

ing for a labor party must learn how to shrug off contemptuously the red-baiting of the capitalists and their politicians, must learn how to expose its roots and to counterattack, to educate, to enlighten, to explain, and thus to render ineffective the reactionaries' appeals to ignorance and prejudice.

Another obvious weapon that will be used, especially at election time, is that of seeking to induce the young labor party to make "deals" with the discredited capitalist politicians who, seeing that they cannot lick us, will try to join us. Many forms of "all-party" committees and political blocs will be proposed, many squeezed lemons among the capitalist politicians will try to jump on our bandwagon and mislead the movement.

We must particularly guard against the proposal—which is sure to be made by one or another of the old parties—that we run our own candidates in the state elections but support one of the capitalist politicians on the national scene. The labor party must show such people and such proposals the back of its hand.

While the labor party will welcome and encourage and win thousands and hundreds of thousands of supporters from among the intellectuals and the middle class, these people must come to the labor party on its own terms, understand its goals, recognize labor's right to lead the movement and determine its course. Why labor's right? Because labor, by its position in capitalist society as the most exploited class and at the same time the class best organized by its position in the factories, is the only class that can lead a progressive struggle against the capitalist class.

The labor party must take particular efforts to win over the farm organizations and farm cooperatives, by advancing progressive demands that defend the interests of these people, by conferring with them and giving sympathetic consideration to their plight and their ideas.

Today, it may seem unlikely that a labor party can win much mass support from the farmers. But we base ourselves upon tomorrow. We know that this present hopped-up, artificial and uneven prosperity cannot possibly last. We know that so long as the capitalist system survives, longer and longer depressions will follow briefer and briefer periods of prosperity. The farmers who today may disregard labor's overtures, tomorrow will frantically look to us for aid in giving them leadership to solve their problems. And they will aid us in solving our problems.

A particularly fruitful field for the labor party will be among the youth, in the colleges and in the factories.

Since the end of the war, the labor movement has lost contact with the youth, especially the veterans in the schools and colleges studying under the GI "bill of rights." While the federal subsidy to such students has been grossly inadequate, yet it has been enough to separate them for a period from the working class. In the colleges they have had their heads stuffed with all sorts of nonsense about the grandiose prospects capitalism has for them.

Unless we misread the signs, just about the time many of these young veterans are to graduate from college the depression of 1929-40 will have resumed its sway. There will be few jobs for the millions of graduates, and what few jobs there are will pay little. Reality will strike these youth like a bolt of lightning. We can expect a very rapid radicalization of the youth.

One can expect that the youth will seize upon the labor-party idea and help to carry it far along the path to success.

Chapter 14

What if a Labor Party Is Not Built?

HAVE you thought of what is in store for the union movement if it doesn't find the resources within itself to take the road of independent labor political action?

Failure to take this step will inexorably lead to the weakening of organized labor, the cutting down of the unions, loss of membership, and finally the disintegration of the very organizations which the old-time labor leaders think to save by their "same" tactic of pressure politics and "support of the lesser evil."

These are new times. The tactics that worked from 1890 to 1940 don't work any more. Capitalism is going downhill fast. In Europe it is already bankrupt. Big business in the United States can no longer afford the luxury of strong unions and union wage scales, union working rules, the luxury of civil liberties.

This is the meaning of the Taft-Hartley Act, the proposals for abolition of the forty-hour week, the increasing attacks on workers' rights by most of the state governments, the proposal to outlaw union contracts on a national scale, the red scares, the growing militarization of the nation, the influx of Wall Street men into policy posts in Washington. This is the meaning of high taxes upon the workers.

The union movement is facing a major crisis, and its leaders haven't the courage to sound the alarm, to mobilize the ranks for an all-sided fight.

Their tactic of tailing the old parties in the 1948 election will only lead to new disappointments, to more cries of "betrayal" as the politicians whom they now label "liberal" and "friends of labor" obey their real masters after elections. Given the tactic being followed by Murray, Green, Hutcheson, Whitney & Co., it is inevitable that reaction will continue to grow after the 1948 elections.

The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act should have opened everyone's eyes to the true state of affairs. There is no explaining away the hard fact that the majority of both old parties voted for the slave-labor act. And the even more ominous fact that the non-union public itself raised no outcry.

Why didn't the people protest against the Taft-Hartley onslaught on labor? Because too many people have lost confidence in the labor movement. Because many people, watching the antics of the big union leaders, believe that labor is as selfish and narrow as are the monopolies, that labor is interested only in protecting its own rights, that the unions are only job trusts, that the union leadership has no higher ideals than the corporations and the capitalist politicians.

The people see the AFL building-trades unions conspire with the building-materials trust and the contractors and local political machines, to prevent an easing of the housing situation by the introduction of modern prefabricated housing.

The people see a brutal bureaucrat like Dan Tobin run his teamsters' union as though he were Czar of All the Russias, crushing democracy in local after local, issuing edicts to the members as though they were soulless serfs, precipitating jurisdictional strikes whose only "aim" and "ideal" is that of forcing more dues-paying members into the teamsters' union.

The people see Gorman of the AFL Butcher Workmen, obviously carrying the ball for the packing trust, come out against meat rationing at a time when prices have placed meat beyond the reach of the average American family.

(Chapter 14 continued next week)

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Tactical Problems In Berlin Crisis

The struggle over Berlin and the intervention in it by the city's population brings up certain problems of tactics with which I will attempt to deal in the following.

The precondition for any effective struggle on the part of the Berlin workers against the Stalinists at this time is the continued occupation of the city by the Western powers. Should the latter leave, the city will be engulfed by the Stalinists and all democratic workers' organizations atomized. Therefore, the reverse side of the Berlin workers' struggle against the Russians necessarily involves their demand upon the Western powers to remain in the city. The Berlin workers have used, and had to use, the presence of the Western powers as a tactical advantage in their struggle against Stalinist oppression, and it remains necessary for them to retain this tactical advantage as long as the possibility to struggle exists, for whatever reasons, in the presence of the Anglo-Americans.

It is false to believe that this demand necessarily implies political support of the occupation of Berlin or Germany by the Western powers. General Clay once said that "the Germans hate us only somewhat less than they hate the Russians" and this succinctly expresses the true attitude of the German masses toward their

oppressors. The policies of the Anglo-Americans have been, up to the present, no less destructive than those of the Russians. Where the latter shipped their sector's industries and products to the East, the former, aside from relatively minor dismantlings, let most of the industries of their respective sectors simply deteriorate to a degree where they have become glorified scrap. (There appears, moreover, little prospect that the Marshall Plan will basically change the trend, thanks to its own internal contradictions.) This fact alone is scant basis for any illusions the German workers might have about the Western powers as against the Russians, from whom they must be "guarded." I need say even less about the great demonstrations and strikes of the past three years which occurred in Western Germany, which were quite obviously directed against the occupiers.

It follows from these well known facts that the Berlin workers consider the demand for continued occupation of the city by the Anglo-Americans as a tactic necessary to preserve their organizations; it does not follow that they identify the occupation with their long-range interests, as little as the acceptance by the resistance movements of World War II of arms furnished by the Allies necessarily constituted acceptance of the latter's war aims or failure to recognize these aims.

It is a mistake to assume that there

is an "iron-clad logic" in this position. Such a logic exists only if the tactic and its "logical" implications are abstracted from the general situation and its potentialities. There exists in Germany a large and politically relatively advanced working class, burdened with few illusions about either "democracy" or Stalinism, and therefore constituting a powerful potential Third Camp. The preservation and regeneration of this class as an organized class can be one of the few guarantees for the genuine rehabilitation of Europe and the prevention of a Third World War. In the struggle over Berlin the German workers are NOT confronted with the question of "aligning" themselves with either power; if this were the case, if war were an immediate and inevitable prospect, as it is NOT at present, the problems of working class resistance, etc., would be totally different in nature and they could not be solved by supporting either side during such a war.

There will be, however, as there are now, situations demanding that tactical advantage be taken of whatever conjunctural military or political events take place on either side. The present leadership of the German Social Democracy cannot, to be sure, carry out such tactics in the long-range interest of the German working class; but neither can correct tactics be devised if one fails to realize that the Third Camp is a potential,

not an actual force, and that the in-

ternational working class is not what it was thirty years ago.

TACTICS IN STRUGGLE

It may be asserted by some that the Anglo-Americans are compelled, in view of their general foreign policies, to remain in Berlin at all costs, that the Berlin workers should accept this as a political fact, that therefore for them to demand the continued occupation of the city by the Western powers unnecessarily compromises them and that they should persist in their demand for German unity and evacuation of all troops without qualification. To this one can say, firstly, that there is nothing inevitable about the Western powers staying in Berlin; it would be in their interest to do so, but the indifference of the European masses and the latter's opposition to any war makes it exceedingly dangerous to risk a greatly aggravated international situation over the fate of Berlin; to say nothing of various physical difficulties bound to come with the approach of winter. (Superficially, this makes it appear as though the demand for the continued occupation of the city by the Western powers is contrary to the "interests" of the European masses; it is, however, the failure of the European masses to act in their own interest which compels the Berlin workers to take such "anomalous" steps.)

Secondly, the demand for German unity and withdrawal of all troops,

while on the order of the day, is not a demand that can be put forward without qualifications; i.e., this demand cannot be realized by either the Stalinists or the forces congregating under the banner of the Christian Democrats. It is the central slogan in Germany today, but it is a transitional slogan at the same time, realizable only under the leadership of an independent German working class. It therefore cannot be applied tactically in specific instances where it will imperil the very condition which alone guarantees its realization: the condition being the independence of the German working class. The German Stalinists are basing themselves tactically and strategically upon the demand for German unity and withdrawal of all troops but at the price of the subjection of the German masses to the Russian imperialists. For revolutionists to put forward this demand under the specific circumstances prevailing in Berlin without taking into consideration the immediate problem of survival of the Berlin working class would be a crime if they reside on the spot or sectarian abstentionism (if they live 5,000 miles away).

The struggle of the Berlin workers is our struggle and the Workers Party would do well to take official cognizance of this.

Eugene KELLER
Sept. 13, 1948

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General Clay Finds Ilse Koch, Buchenwald Butcher, Has Paid Her Debt to Her Victims

When the husband of Ilse Koch had himself a job as "warden"—that is, chief executioner—of the Buchenwald concentration camp, Ilse developed some interesting habits.

She used to pick up likely prisoners whose skins appeared attractive to her, have them murdered by the SS troops, and then dry and stretch their skins, tattoo them with appropriate designs to match her furniture, and use the skins as lampshades.

To the prisoners of Buchenwald, Ilse Koch was known as an even more bestial, more depraved creature than the male Hitlerites.

After the war's end, Ilse Koch was tried by the Allied courts—and sentenced to prison for her crimes. Now, after she has been in prison for three years, her sentence has been commuted (for "good behavior") to four years, which means that she has one more year to serve.

In one year, then, Ilse Koch, responsible for the death and torture of thousands, a creature so filthy, so nauseatingly vile that one cannot even think of her as a human being, will be free. No doubt, when she is released, the Allied officer in charge of her prison will shake hands with her and wish her well.

You become used to the stupidity and vileness of the ruling powers of this world; you know how flimsy and opportunistic their "anti-fascism" is. Yet, no matter how cynical you are, this sort of thing comes as a bit of a shock. Why did the Allied government commute Ilse Koch's sentence? What possible motive, political or personal, could warrant such an action, certainly calculated to arouse public opinion throughout the world? Pro-fascist sentiment? Bureaucratic ineptitude? Sheer stupidity?

Whatever the motivation for the action of the U.S. military government, one thing is certain. It has given the Stalinists a perfect political handle, a talking point to claim that they alone are the true "anti-fascists."

But as one reads the Daily Worker, sees it raising whoops of horror about the Allied action, one cannot but remember what the Stalinists themselves have done. Remember the Nazi generals whom they took under their wing—von Paulus and the rest of the "Free German" Committee. Remember, too, the youths whom they sentenced to 25 year sentences in Berlin the other week for daring to demonstrate against Stalinism.

When the Stalinists express indignation against the action of the U.S. military government in commuting Ilse Koch's sentence, they are protesting against behavior of which they themselves have been guilty innumerable times. One scoundrel has no right to denounce another!

It would not surprise us at all if, when Frau Koch is freed (to go into the lamp business?), the workers of Germany, still smarting under the memory of Nazism, get hold of her and tear her from limb to limb. For this sort of creature does not deserve to live. Only American army officers can feel solicitous about her. But anyone who remembers Buchenwald will feel that whatever fate the remnant of concentration camp prisoners mete out to Ilse Koch will be deserved. She has no place in the human race—even though General Clay signed a commutation order.

U. S. To Push Bernadotte "Compromise" Plan For Palestine at Paris UN Assembly Session--

(Continued from page 1)
of Jerusalem with a co-dominion corridor to the sea, would present much less difficulties.

BERNADOTTE PLAN

Shortly after his death, the UN published Bernadotte's latest proposal for peace in Palestine. The basic premise now was not mediation but peace imposed by foreign powers. The new plan, however, follows the same basic pattern of the old one. It attempts to "buy" (appease) the Arab rulers and especially the Transjordanian King (whom Bernadotte considers the only effective military power) into accepting Israel. Only now the price is not so high. This proposal confirms LABOR ACTION's predictions that an attempt will be made to impose a modified Bernadotte Plan.

The reduction in the bribe offered Abdullah is but a reflection of the growth in the military power of Israel since July 1. Jerusalem is to be internationalized — not given outright to Abdullah. The Jews are to get Gaza and Western Galilee and in return give up all of the Negev. The states will now be continuous in area. Immigration is to be under the sole control of Israel. The port area of Haifa is internationalized but Aqaba is under sole Arab control. The new plan scrapes the most progressive feature of the UN partition plan—i.e., economic union of Jewish and Arab Palestine.

The latest Bernadotte plan does not correlate either with relationships of power or with the needs of both Jews and Arabs. The creation of a separate international regime for Jerusalem is an open invitation to—or, better, a call for continued strife and warfare. In addition, it denationalizes against their will 200,000 people who want to be part of their communities. The partition

of Jerusalem with a co-dominion corridor to the sea, would present much less difficulties.

The proposal ignores the basic need of the Jews—room to accept new immigrants. The Negev is the only large area of uninhabited land. Taking away all of the Negev in return for the small and populated western Galilee removes the possibility of absorbing the DPs of Europe. No wonder there is no need for the supervision of immigration in this plan.

The development of the Negev is inconceivable without a Jordan Valley Development that requires an economic union, capital and modern science. The present plan rules all this out.

ENDORSED BY U. S.

In addition the plan preferentially places Arab Palestine under the tutelage of the absolute monarch of Transjordan instead of leading to the democratization of Arab political life, the greatest need of the Arab masses. No attempt is made to ask for even formal guarantees of democratic rights. Neither are any economic reforms projected.

Since the latest Bernadotte plan gives Abdullah more than he can take militarily, Britain is sure to favor the plan.

The U. S. through Secretary Marshall has formally endorsed this latest proposal for "peace" in Palestine. The U. S. is interested in getting the "troublesome issue" out of the way. The State Department had hoped to be able to confront the assembly with peace negotiations. There were some peace feelers in Paris between Abdullah and Israeli officials, but these never developed to the stage of negotiations. The present Bernadotte plan with its seeming "quid pro quo" exchanges gives the U. S. the hope that it can settle this "L — — — y

Business" once and for all with a modicum of justice in the eyes of the general public.

Besides vote getting considerations both Washington and London are inclined to haste because they are afraid that continued struggle will strengthen Russia in the Near East.

Both Jews and Arabs have indicated they will reject the plan as it stands at present. There is, however, the possibility that should the U. S. and England force the plan through the UN Assembly it may be accepted as a basis for negotiation and amendments. It is, however, not excluded that we may see a process of shifting U. S. position in this assembly as in the 2nd special Palestinian assembly when "Intransigent Harry" realizes the extent of Zionist opposition.

RUSSIAN POLICY

Russia will violently oppose the plan in the assembly if the attitude of the Jewish Freiheit (N. Y. Stalinist Yiddish Daily) is any indication. Publicly Russia is continuing the policy begun in April, 1947, of supporting the Jews. Materially, Russia has been sending Israel heavy equipment.

But while placing most of its eggs in the Israeli basket Russia has not neglected to build itself a nest in the Arab feudal camp. The "Yiddisher Shtime" of Mexico City reports that the Lebanese government accepted food and ammunition from Russia to supply three divisions—a total of 120,000 tons. Russia is financing and building an arms factory and repair shop near Damascus, Syria. Russian technicians have already arrived in Damascus. Russia has signed a contract to supply Egypt with 216,000 tons of food. Since Egypt does

not import food for its own use it is obvious the food will go to troops in Palestine. Official UN sources have confirmed Russian satellite sale of quantities of arms to the Arab League.

This policy has already brought results. Jamal Huseini, the plenipotentiary of the Mufti, declared that Russian overlordship in the Near East would be no worse than British. Undoubtedly this statement is a mixture of large parts of blackmail against the West and only in a small part due to a projected Mufti-Russian alliance.

It is interesting to note, however, that Sulzberger of the N. Y. Times confirms this trend repeatedly reported in LABOR ACTION in the past few months. According to Sulzberger (Sept. 16) Russia has greatly in-

creased its diplomatic activity in Arab capitals. Arab leaders close to the Russians are saying that the Russians are preparing a return to their pre-April 1947 pro-Mufti and anti-Zionist policies.

Ilya Ehrenberg in a four column article in "Pravda" declares that while the Stalinists recognize the aspirations of Israel they have no sympathy for its government and are strongly opposed to Zionism.

No one can predict with certainty whether or not the Russians will reverse their Near East policy. One thing is sure—what will determine the Kremlin position is not the needs of either Jews or Arabs but the needs of the Kremlin's greedy imperialist expansionism. (Next week: "Pretenders to rule in Arab Palestine" by Edward Findley)

UN Rhetoric --

(Continued from page 1)
extreme step were taken, the Russians might well respond with bullets.

CAUGHT IN RIVALRY

In the meantime the political maneuvers that support and accompany the chronic crisis tend to intensify the crisis itself. The Russians are preparing an East German government, just as the capitalist powers are preparing a West German government. Each of the two large imperialist blocs will thereby have at its disposal its "own" German regime. The Russians sentence Berlin anti-Stalinist demonstrators to 25 years imprisonment, thereby antagonizing German public opinion; and then the Americans announce the commutation of the sentence of murderer Ilse Koch, who made lampshades out of Buchenwald prisoners' skins, which also antagonizes German public opinion. But pressed down by the two rival occupying powers, scurrying desperately back and forth for some food, fearful of committing themselves to one or the other power because they may be risking their necks on the wrong horse, the German people themselves suffer dreadfully from the rivalry of the two big blocs.

Whether the immediate crisis will erupt into war it is difficult to say. American newspapers have been full of war talk as never since the end of

the last one. What is significant is that, by now, the likelihood of another war is taken for granted and the only question debated is WHEN the war will take place.

Probably some sort of patched-up agreement will be worked out for Berlin. Or, if not, the status quo will be maintained on a trembling, uneasy basis. But so long as Europe remains dominated by the two major power blocs, no genuine peace is foreseeable or possible. And against the grisly background, the speeches to be made at the UN Assembly will ring especially hollow. Nobody, least of all those who make the speeches, will believe a word.

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Should Stalinists Be Expelled from the AVC?

Decision of AVC National Committee in Gates Case Raises Issue for Progressives—Undermines Anti-Stalinist Struggle

By WILLIAM BARTON

The National Policy Committee of the American Veterans Committee, meeting in Washington over the September 17-19 weekend, voted to expel John Gates, Stalinist editor of the Daily Worker, from membership in the AVC organization. The vote was unanimous except for one opposition vote and one abstention, thus making the expulsion legal under the two thirds vote requirement. The action undoubtedly will be contested at the coming national convention of the AVC in November of this year.

This action marks a serious turn in the history of AVC, the most promising veterans' organization ever known in this country. Only future events will prove its ability to survive the equal dangers of Stalinist seizure of control and general disintegration. It is possible that the ousting of Stalinist Gates may win enough liberal support for the Stalinists to give them an organizational victory at the convention. Even in the event of a victory on the part of the anti-Stalinist Independent Progressive Caucus, the "Gates case"

may so disrupt and disorient the AVC as to make its future growth and activity very difficult.

DILEMMA OF LIBERALS

What is now happening within the AVC and to its members indicates the present dilemma of American liberals in general. They have admitted, in effect, that they cannot decisively defeat the Stalinists politically and that they must therefore resort to organizational measures. The vote at last year's national convention in Milwaukee was overwhelmingly in favor of the Independent Progressive slate. Twenty-one out of the twenty-four elected members of the National Committee belonged to the Progressive caucus, and one other was later won over to its support. Yet the leaders of this group now confess that they could not hold and extend that domination and influence.

At various IP caucus meetings, many have stated that they were "tired" of fighting the Stalinists; that they could not "compete" with their rivals in organizing factions, planning strategy, maintaining sup-

port, etc. How was it that these defenders of Stalin's Russia and his innumerable crimes could command such strength and energy, while those who claimed to uphold democracy and human freedom were so easily weakened? And now this weakness expresses itself in desperation, leading to organizational measures against an opponent whom they feel they cannot successfully defeat in their own organization, except in such a fashion. This, of course, is the essential failing and weakness of liberals everywhere in their struggle with Stalinism.

DANGEROUS TREND

Most AVC members, of course, still favor civil and democratic rights for divergent political views. The membership of the AVC is among the best political element in the country. But the kind of argument that many of them have recently been presenting is, in our opinion, extremely dangerous. One of the leading national figures in AVC, Merle Miller, author of the novel, "That Winter," speaking at the national AVC caucus in Wash-

ington last week, appealed for "decisive action" as an answer to the current dilemmas of the liberals. But his proposed panacea of "action," gave no precisions as to what kind of action and for what purposes.

A successful struggle against Stalinism has been waged by most sections of the American labor movement. They have more or less accomplished this task satisfactorily because they emphasized, while attacking the Communist Party, their intention of fighting militantly on behalf of their own members. A progressive veterans' organization like AVC can flourish and defeat its internal enemies, the Stalinists, in essentially the same manner. The members of AVC, the men who came out of the war determined to build a better world, are prepared to fight against and defeat the Stalinists at the same time as they want to have a militant, progressive veterans' organization that works in their behalf.

Correction

In last week's article on Berlin, a sentence in fifth paragraph reads "The non-Stalinist members organized their rump assembly in the old quarters." It should, of course, read "The Stalinist members..."

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Critical Year Ahead in UE Contest

By MARK WARD

NEW YORK—Although the 13th annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, third largest union in the CIO, ended here last week with the Stalinist machine still firmly in control, developments at the convention indicate that the membership's opposition is growing apace, and that the coming year will be crucial in determining future control of the union for a long period of time.

While there was no appreciable increase over last year in the number of delegates supporting the opposition caucus led by James B. Carey and Harry Block, the weakened position of the Stalinists was manifested by their failure to keep their voting strength in line on all issues and by their qualified stand in resolutions they presented on some issues. In some instances, the anti-Stalinist vote, which was normally about 25 per cent of the convention, rose as high as 45 per cent.

Most noteworthy was the failure of the Stalinist officials to present last year's resolution ordering the opposition to disband or face expulsion. The verbal attack they made upon Carey personally and upon the record, activity and plans of the UE Members for Democratic Action, was more violent than last year's, but the Stalinists stopped short of actually presenting a resolution calling for punitive action.

Also of symptomatic significance was the failure of the Stalinists to submit a resolution formally endorsing the candidacy of Wallace. Instead, after using the convention as a platform for Wallace, and after putting across the propaganda of the Communist-Progressive Party, they limited themselves in the actual resolution to the statement that "We expressly assert the right of any member, local or district of the UE to work for the advancement of the new Progressive Party or any other political party," and committing the UE to no candidate.

In actual practice there was little more to be gained by formal endorsement since the national UE Stalinist officialdom will in any case be free to participate actively in the Wallace campaign, and will continue to use the name, finances, publications and influence of the UE to support Wallace. It is clear, however, that the Stalinists would have preferred an outright convention endorsement of Wallace, if that could have been done with a large enough majority and without putting delegates on the spot before their local memberships after the convention.

Knowing the temper of the membership, however, the Stalinists planned to use an approach that would avoid raising the issue of actual endorsement. If there was any doubt in their minds, the wisdom of this approach was confirmed at the opening day of the convention when almost half of the delegates "sat on their hands" or booted Wallace when he spoke.

CONSCRIPTION VOTE

An unexpected revelation of the nature of many of the groups that compose the Stalinist machine in the UE, as well as a further indication of the shakiness of its support, was provided when the resolution condemning conscription was introduced to the convention. The Stalinists carried this by a vote of only about three to two.

The supporters of the UE officialdom who switched to the opposition on this vote favored conscription. This is evident from all the circumstances surrounding the debate on the resolution.

Contrary to reports in the capitalist press, the Carey-Block caucus DID NOT support conscription. Carey himself, and the bulk of his caucus, adhere to the position adopted by the national CIO—opposition to conscription. They opposed the anti-conscription resolution, however, as a sign of non-confidence in the UE Stalinist administration that had presented

it and because they recognized that the Stalinists were merely using this issue as another device to support Russian imperialism as against American imperialism. Their vote was actually, therefore, meant as a demonstration of opposition to the general policy of the Stalinist UE administration.

The other delegates who voted for the resolution, however, were obviously not interested in recording general opposition since they were supporting the Stalinist machine. That they were actually in favor of conscription was further attested by their informal conversation among delegates, as well as by some of their speeches on the floor.

OPPOSITION'S WEAKNESS

Chief responsibility for the failure thus far to weld the widespread and growing membership opposition to the Stalinist machine into a powerful national grouping rests with the UE Members for Democratic Action, the Carey-Block caucus.

Before the convention it failed to elaborate a dynamic platform to appeal to the membership, and organize a campaign to mobilize maximum voting strength for electing delegates. As a result, the delegate strength at the convention did not accurately reflect the sentiments of the rank and file throughout the country. At the convention itself the caucus displayed total ineptitude in floor leadership, ineffectual organization and mobility to grasp the real issues. Consequently they failed to win the support of the many delegates who were independent of the administration or of those who had come with a "let's see" attitude.

The caucus was completely hamstrung in debate by its program of passive adherence to "CIO Policy." While it denounced the UE leadership's subservience to the needs of Russian foreign policy, and support of the Stalinist-Wallace Party, the only alternative it could offer was the Marshall Plan and support of Truman. It was thus vulnerable to the effective attack by the Stalinists.

Most striking outcome of this "support of CIO Policy" was the absence of any attack in the caucus against the UE leadership's timid wage policy of dependence on the UAW to crack the employer front in this year's round of wage increases. Such an attack would have opened the way for criticism of Murray's wage policy.

In line with "Murray policy" was the failure of the caucus to challenge the UE administration's stand on the non-Communist affidavits, although this stand has caused great damage to the UE by denying locals access to the legal rights and procedures still available to unions even under the Taft-Hartley Act. The caucus should have submitted a resolution calling for signing the affidavits, coupled with a program for an effective fight against the Taft-Hartley Act.

DRAFT PROGRAM

The most hopeful event of the convention week was the Thursday night meeting of the opposition caucus at which an eight-point plan was adopted for setting up an effective national organization, and a national steering committee of two representatives from each district was elected.

The plan, among other things, called for speedy development of a platform. This step must be taken at once if the growing anti-Stalinist opposition of the membership is not to be diverted into futile and reactionary channels. Sentiment for secession from the UE has become widespread in many areas. Red-baiting is on the increase, since many anti-Stalinist groups in the ranks, not being educated to any progressive program, make use of the easiest weapon that comes to hand in the fight against the Stalinists—the weapon they find in the daily capitalist press.

This situation is ideal for the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists who have by default attained an important and in some cases—notably in Pittsburgh—a dominant position in the opposition caucus.

The Stalinists, recognizing that this year will be a critical one for them in the UE, are girding for battle. They will probably abandon the more blatant evidences of UE ties to the Wallace party (if, indeed, the party isn't dissolved) and concentrate on demonstrating their "constructive trade unionism" in the bread-and-butter problems of wages, working conditions, and organizing the unorganized.

In answer, to stem the reactionary red-baiting currents on the one hand and defeat reactionary Stalinism on the other, the opposition caucus will have to build a far-reaching economic and political platform of independent working-class struggle.

Question Legless Veteran, Victim of "Loyalty" Purge, In Star Chamber Hearing

By M. HOWARD

Denied even the right to an open hearing, James Kutcher was questioned in a Star Chamber hearing last week in Philadelphia, the "liberty" city, by the Loyalty Board in an effort to show why he should be dismissed from his Veterans Administration clerical job because he is a member of the "subversive" Socialist Workers Party.

Kutcher is a veteran of four years service in World War II, holder of the Purple Heart award, who lost both legs at San Pietro, Italy. He has been employed by the Veterans Administration for two years, and at no time has his record with them been called anything but "very good" or "excellent." He has, as the government admits, no access to confidential information on his job, nor is his job what the prosecutor calls a "sensitive" one. The government has introduced no evidence to show specific acts of "disloyalty" by Kutcher, or to prove that he has had dealings with a foreign power.

The government has only one thing against Kutcher—his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, an organization included on Attorney-General Clark's list of "subversive" organizations.

INQUISITIONAL TONE

The SWP, along with the Workers Party and other Socialist groups, was included on a list of so-called "subversive" organizations compiled last December by Attorney-General Clark with Truman's endorsement. Clark's list lumped Stalinist and fascist organizations together with genuinely socialist groups which have consistently defended democratic rights and fought for real freedom. These organizations were given no opportunity to defend themselves against the "subversive" charge. No hearings were held, no questions were asked, no testimony was heard.

LABOR ACTION at the time characterized the listing as something similar to the procedure in a lynching: "Pull the rope first, then question witnesses." Subsequent to the listing, Truman ordered that membership in the included organizations was deemed prejudicial to federal employment. Thus Kutcher's indictment by the Loyalty Board.

In the case of James Kutcher, however, the government has slightly altered its "lynch" procedure. It has gone so far as actually to hold a hearing—but a Star Chamber hearing, behind closed doors, at which only Kutcher, his attorneys, and the secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee were permitted to be present. Both the press and the public were specifically excluded, and Kutcher's demand for an open hearing was turned down, supposedly for the "protection of the defendant."

No decision has yet been handed down by the Loyalty Board on Kutcher, but the probable decision can be seen now, in view of the fact that the hearing was held only "to determine if Kutcher is actually a member of the Socialist Workers Party," and Kutcher openly admitted his membership prior to and during the hearing.

Reports made by Kutcher and his attorneys indicate that the whole tone of the hearing was one of sneering inquisition. The judges ("impartial" of course), Benjamin E. Hinden, Dr. W. A. Jacques and J. P. Elzroth, with George H. Merker acting as their attorney, refused to permit George Clark, campaign manager of the

SWP, to introduce evidence repudiating the "subversive" charge. They inferred that Kutcher, as a disabled veteran, was being treated so well by the capitalist government that he had no right to be a socialist. Didn't he have a pension, a job and artificial legs to boot? They sneered when Kutcher tried to explain to them that under a socialist government it would not be necessary for a worker to lose his legs in an imperialist war in which he did not believe.

WITCH HUNT

Probably the main line of questioning, as reported by The Militant, was an effort to establish whether he believed in "armed overthrow of the government." This is the classic charge made by capitalist governments against radical parties and their members and has been dealt with by socialist groups many times. It goes without saying that in this case such questions were especially out of order, since they did not help to establish Kutcher's openly admitted membership in the SWP (the sole purpose of the hearing) and since Truman's henchman, S. W. Richardson, stated when the "subversive" list was first published that membership in the organizations listed did not PROVE disloyalty.

The danger in the Kutcher proceeding is demonstrated by the fact that mere membership in a socialist organization is enough to cost a veteran who gave his legs in this government's war, his government job. He does not have to be proved "disloyal." He doesn't even have to be proved inefficient at his job. He only has to be a socialist. This is the practical joker behind Truman's "Civil Rights" program. This is a witch hunt.

A committee including prominent veterans and labor leaders has been formed to defend Kutcher. Harold Russell, the veteran who lost both arms and is well known to the American public, heads the committee. The committee plans to carry the case through all possible legal channels. It is to be hoped that the committee wins the kind of support that will make it possible for it to carry its work to a successful conclusion.

NMU Officers Vote to Sign T-H Affidavits

NEW YORK, Sept. 19—The national office of the National Maritime Union, CIO, voted five to one this week to comply with the requirements of the Taft-Hartley law and to have a referendum of the union membership on this question.

Should the membership endorse the resolution in the referendum, it would mean that every elected officer of the NMU would have to file non-Communist affidavits. Those failing to do so would have to resign. The majority of the committee felt that although they were bitterly opposed to this and other provisions of the Taft-Hartley slave-labor law, the failure of the NMU to comply with the law's requirements had placed the union in a disadvantageous position in its attempts to organize the unorganized seamen, and had left the union wide open for attempted raids by other maritime unions.

President Joseph Curran of the NMU issued a statement in which he declared: "Eighty per cent of the labor movement... have signed these affidavits. Had there been a united refusal on the part of the entire labor movement to comply, there might have been a good possibility of waging a successful fight against this provision of the Taft-Hartley Act. Not on the basis that any of the leaders of the labor movement were afraid to declare whether or not they were members of the Communist Party, but on the basis that this was an invasion of the rights of American citizens."

WEAK MEMORY

"Since 80 per cent of the labor movement has signed up, it would be stupid for anyone to believe that the remaining 20 per cent could wage by themselves, the type of struggle needed to defeat the Taft-Hartley Act. To continue to refuse to sign this affidavit places our union in a position where it is completely handicapped, subject to raids, and stands a chance of being weakened and destroyed in a skirmish before even getting into the battle that lies ahead to successfully fight for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act as a whole."

His statement goes on to attack the Stalinists for their splitting of the labor vote by creating the Wallace Progressive Party and, unbelievably enough, calls upon the seamen to support Truman and the other so-called Democratic Party "friends" of labor. His article fails to point out that the majority of this Democratic Party's representatives in Congress voted side by side with the Republicans for the anti-labor bill. But if this memory is too distant for him, he should recall, as many seamen do, that this same Truman threatened to break the NMU strike with troops in June, 1946, and just last week his Secretary of Defense attempted to smash the West Coast longshoremen's strike, together with their hiring hall, by means of scab labor and the promised employment of soldiers to load ships.

By failing to provide a realistic alternative to the Truman-shipowner-Democratic Party, Curran works right into the hands of the Stalinist-Wallace Progressive Party. Only by calling upon the seamen to work for the creation of an independent labor party can such measures as the Taft-Hartley Act be sent into oblivion. Only labor's own party free of the control of not only the Stalinists but also of the boss-dominated Democratic and Republican Parties can serve the cause of labor.

GOP and Democrats - -

(Continued from page 1)

choose to worship God, they are denied rights which are their birthrights and which, by American principle and law, are their just due."

Dewey's reluctance to put forward specific proposals to deal with any of these problems is due in part to a continuing basic strategy that is proving successful. An avoidance of discussion of basic questions marked the New Yorker's pre-nomination campaign and left him in a favorable position in a faction-torn Republican convention. With all the odds pointing to a Republican victory in November, Dewey will continue to speak in resounding phrases that will offend the minimum number of voters.

There is a more basic reason for his innocuous speeches. The Republicans simply do not have, and cannot devise, a program that will answer the burning domestic questions of high prices, housing shortages and racial discrimination. On the even more crucial question of foreign affairs, they can only tag along with

the plans of American imperialism as enunciated by Marshall and Dulles.

Truman's fulminations against "Wall Street" serve a similar purpose as Dewey's more genteel pronouncements. They are merely a hypocritical smokescreen to veil the fact that the Democrats are equally impotent against the economic facts of the post-war period.

The President did present a program against inflation and he seeks to make political capital out of the Republican refusal to adopt his proposals at the special Congressional session called last summer. Leaving aside the questionable nature of the program, the truth is that a Congress dominated by Democrats would be apt to reject the bulk of his proposals. On the very questions that Truman speaks most strongly—the tax cut, Taft-Hartley bill, housing—the record shows that a decisive section of the Democratic congressmen voted with the Republicans.

Truman's aim is to erase from the public memory his own sorry role in three years as President. The man who asked Congress for power to draft strikers now poses as the opponent of the Taft-Hartley Act. By executive order he abandoned OPA at the request of the National Association of Manufacturers; now he is the champion of price controls. Wilson Wyatt was dumped as housing administrator at the behest of the real estate lobby; now Truman denounces the Republicans as servants of the same lobby.

Many of Truman's supporters are vitally interested in blacking out the immediate past. The ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), led by Leon Henderson and composed of many New Dealers, only a few weeks ago cried to the heavens that the nomination of Truman would be a national calamity. Today these "liberal independents" are backing the Democrats with the professional zeal of a wardheeler.

A good section of organized labor's leadership is in equal possession of short-lived memories. They have trotted to the support of the man they denounced not long ago. A. L. Whitney of the Railway Trainmen has forgotten his dramatic vow of vengeance and again waits on the President, hat in hand. Walter Reuther, who only a few weeks ago pledged the auto workers that he would build a labor party, found himself a few days later sharing a speaker's stand with Truman in Detroit.

The coming weeks of the campaign will be marked by the deliberate spreading of confusion. Truman will exhort with the utmost demagoguery the broad masses of voters upon whom Roosevelt could call term after term. Dewey, playing it safe, will depend upon the unmistakable trend toward a "change," which in the American tradition means the election of the major party out of power. Neither will be able to point out a clear road to the solution of the problems that beset the American worker.

WP Ballot Case - -

(Continued from page 1)

Workers Party, which is not, unfortunately, a serious threat to Klein in the 19th District. Lawyer Glass approached the Democratic candidate and asked him about it. Shrugging his shoulders apologetically, Klein indicated that the case was not his idea, but rather the idea of his political masters, Tammany Hall.

Here we have a classic example of machine politics at work. The great liberal Klein, the man who has so carefully built a political reputation for himself as champion of the underdog, dares not allow civil liberties in his own district when Tammany gives the order against it.

So fearful are the ruling political parties of political opposition that they must go to the greatest lengths to rid themselves of it. Designed just for that purpose is the New York State election law which virtually does its best to keep minority parties from ever appearing on the ballot.

MATTER OF PRINCIPLE

The Workers Party intends to fight the Board of Election ruling and all charges against its petitions made by

Klein. And this is not only the fight of the Workers Party. In the words of Lawyer Glass, prominent member of the Socialist Party: "This is a matter of principle."

It is a matter of principle not only for the Workers Party, but for all militant and progressive individuals. We must see to it that democratic rights are extended to minority parties and that they are given the elementary right to appear on the ballot.

We must challenge the power of the machine politicians and their henchmen. This must be done now and the fight to keep the Workers Party candidate, Emanuel Geltman, editor of LABOR ACTION, on the ballot in the 19th Congressional District must be the first step.

ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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MINISTERS PROTEST PHILA. POLICE BOOK CENSORSHIP

PHILADELPHIA (WDL)—The Philadelphia police censorship, which was inspired by certain church groups, has drawn a protest from 146 ministers from 28 states. The protest was initiated by the Rev. Donald Harrington, national chairman of the Workers Defense League.

The censorship was featured by a series of raids which resulted in the confiscation of some 2,000 books from more than 50 booksellers, including many which have been recommended reading in universities for more than a decade and which are to be found on the shelves of Philadelphia libraries. Among these books are "Studs Lonigan" by James T. Farrell, "God's Little Acre" by Erskine Caldwell and "Sanctuary" by William Faulkner.

The ministers' protest says: "We protest against the attempts of these church groups to impose upon an American community their private views and standards of good taste and morality. The right of free speech and freedom of the press are basic to the existence of any democracy."

In addition to the Rev. Mr. Harrington, signers of the statement include Rev. Harman M. Gehr and Rev. Walter W. Wolfe of Philadelphia, Rev. John Paul Jones, Brooklyn, Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, Rockville Center, N. Y., Rev. Henry C. Nation, Los Angeles, and Rev. Samuel F. Freeman, Little Rock.

Advertisement for 'The NEW INTERNATIONAL' magazine, September 1948, featuring articles like 'CAN THE MARSHALL PLAN SUCCEED?' and 'Stalinist Purge in Rumania'.

