

Wall Street Rushes Aid To Ramadier's Cabinet

— See Page 3 —

VOL. XI — No. 20

Fighting Policy Adopted By CIO Packing Union

By Ted Selander

CLEVELAND, May 8 — In the militant spirit that marked every hour of their four-day convention, the 400 delegates to the Fourth Annual Convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America answered the anti-labor drive of Big Business with fighting calls to action on the economic and political front.

Their answer to the Hartley-Taft straitjacket bills was "to urge the leaders of organized labor to consider such militant joint national action as a one-day national work stoppage."

On the political field the packinghouse workers blazed the trail for the American union movement by breaking demonstratively with both the Democratic and Republican parties. Its political action resolution also called on the union's local to run and support "independent candidates dedicated to the interests of the electorate and that at the proper time along with all other groups in the community interested in the objective of the people's welfare, (they should) join together for the purpose of establishing an independent political party so as to give the voters an opportunity to vote for representatives that will act in their interests."

In presenting this resolution, the chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Milton Siegel, of Armour Local 4 in St. Paul, declared that "the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party is a tool of the industrial and financial monopolists." He reminded the delegates how Truman broke the railroad strike last spring and that more Democrats voted for the slave-labor Hartley Bill than voted against it. Siegel got a big ovation when he asked: "Is there any reason why we shouldn't have packinghouse workers in Congress representing our interests?"

This resolution came to the floor only a few hours after Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee, tried to blame the workers for the reactionary Congress now in Washington and warned they better get busy and provide the funds for another "all-out fight to elect friends of labor in 1948." The packinghouse workers answered Kroll and the other union bureaucrats who are trying desperately to keep labor chained to the Democratic and Republican parties, by saying: "The Packinghouse Workers with 200,000 members are not going to play the game of tweedledee and tweedledum any more. We are going to run independent candidates and build an independent party." (Continued on Page 2)

Bilbao Strike Disturbs Franco's Fascist Rule

The Spanish workers have dealt a stiff blow to Franco's fascist regime. As reported in last week's *Militant*, work stoppages occurred throughout Spain on May Day. The Franco regime singled out the Basque workers of Bilbao for reprisals.

The May Day strike had been especially impressive in Bilbao, second industrial center of Spain. For two days the workers had shut down tight the great steel mills, mines and shipyards, including the Babcock and Wilcox machine shops.

Provincial Governor Riestra ordered mass arrests, but the strike remained solid. Then he decreed that all workers who had participated in the anti-Franco demonstration were to lose all seniority rights, suffer pay cuts and lose pension rights.

STRIKE SPREADS

The strike spread to other Basque cities. Guipuzcoa province was the scene of sympathy strikes which closed munition, sewing machine and bicycle plants.

Although the news is suppressed and the little that does get through is heavily censored, it is apparent that the announced penalties will not all be carried out. The Franco regime has been badly shaken.

The N. Y. Times reports that

Supreme Court Ruling Dooms Negro To Chair

By William Charles

An example of the kind of justice the capitalist courts have in store for minorities was revealed last week when the U.S. Supreme Court, whose Bourbon members were appointed by Roosevelt and Truman, gave their second judicial OK to the legal lynching of an 18 year old Negro youth, Willie Francis, at St. Martinville, Louisiana.

Francis was denied three times appeals for mercy by the Louisiana Supreme Court, and twice by the U.S. Supreme Court, which thus upheld the conviction handed down at a mockery of a trial in a Jim-Crow lower court.

A year ago, young Francis was taken to the electric chair for a crime allegedly committed at the age of 15. The first attempt to electrocute him failed because of faulty equipment, and ever since then the wheels of "justice" have been grinding steadily forward to send this youthful victim of Jim Crow through a second ordeal of electrocution.

Before his death, Francis thanked the thousands of people in this country and abroad who had supported the fight to save his life. Knowing his fate was sealed by the fascist-like racial laws in Louisiana, which are used by the Bourbon land-owners and government officials to terrorize the working people into submission, he decided to die courageously.

Despite his youth, he declared he would die "like a man," which was in contrast to the barbarous judges howling for his blood. After hearing of their decision, he invited his jailers to lead him to the execution and asked his lawyer to make no more appeals on his behalf. Evidently he had concluded that a second trip to the chair would be an act of mercy compared to the agony of living under the "four freedoms" which were so lavishly promised the Negro youth who gave their lives in the last imperialistic war.

Whatever penalties individuals may suffer, the workers in general have scored in a way that observers would not have believed possible in defiance of the iron-fisted Franco police system.

Although Governor Riestra has told reporters that nearly all of the arrested strikers had been released, citizens of Bilbao contradicted this statement. They told reporters that at least several hundred workers were still under arrest and that many had been severely beaten by the police.

Inasmuch as the sympathy strikes in Guipuzcoa were not known to the outside world till the authorities announced they were over there is reason to believe that other sympathy strikes also took place.

Outside of the Basque area the Franco government pretended not to notice the May Day stoppages.

May Day in Spain strikingly shows the weakness of the Franco police regime and the mounting revolutionary spirit of the masses.

MORE UNION BODIES JOIN CALL FOR 24-HOUR STRIKE

Build A Tank Trap!



Demand Release Of Jailed Trade Unionists In India

NEW YORK, May 9 — Mr. Asaf Ali, Ambassador from India to the United States and delegate to the United Nations, today received a strong protest against the arrest in Madras, India, of C.S.S. Antony Pillai, president of the All-India Trade Union Congress, together with several other labor leaders.

This protest was signed by George S. Schuyler, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*; Philip Rahv, editor of *Partisan Review*; Dwight Macdonald, editor of *Politics*; Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*; Emanuel Garrett, editor of *Labor Action*; E. R. Frank, editor of *Fourth International*; Max Shachtman, editor of *New Internationalist*; and James T. Farrell, novelist.

The text of their protest follows: "The undersigned have been informed of the following facts: 'C.S.S. Antony Pillai, president of the Madras Labor Union and member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, together with Colvin R. De Silva, Muttiah, and other members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India were arrested and imprisoned on April 16. These men have been persecuted for leading and supporting a strike by 14,500 workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mill in Madras. The union demanded that the workers be provided with decent housing, a cost-of-living bonus to meet inflated prices, and other necessary benefits.

"These just demands were met with violence and terror."

Minneapolis Vote

MINNEAPOLIS, May 13 — V. R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, was credited with 1,069 votes in yesterday's municipal primary elections, according to complete unofficial returns. This represented a 37% increase over the SWP vote for this office received in 1943.

Dunne ran sixth in a field of 13 mayoralty candidates. See next week's *Militant* for full story.

Antony Pillai was arrested under the Public Safety Bill, a notorious anti-labor weapon recently passed by the Madras legislature.

"In reply to this arrest of their leader, 100,000 workers struck in a 24-hour protest on March 31. When, on April 8, a demonstration of women and children attempted to petition the Madras premier for the release of Antony Pillai, they were heavily tear-gassed, clubbed and whipped by the police. Meanwhile the textile strike continues.

"We, the undersigned, have consistently supported the fight of the Indian people for freedom from all imperialist oppression. We have no less consistently defended the rights of workers in all countries to organize and strike to better their conditions. We believe that no country can be free if unrestricted exercise of these elementary democratic rights is denied to labor organizations, or if their leaders are persecuted for their political beliefs.

"For these reasons, we urge the immediate release of the arrested trade union leaders and

members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India and further ask that you transmit this request at once to your government."

Socialist Party Leader Arrested In Madras

United Press dispatches from Madras, India, last week reported that Jai Prakash Narain, leader of the Indian Congress Socialist Party, was arrested by Hyderabad state police on May 8 and ordered to return to Bombay.

Narain had come to Madras on a political lecture tour and had refused to comply with earlier instructions to call off a meeting he addressed on the evening of May 7.

Widespread rioting broke out in strike-torn Madras after Narain was deported from the city. Many police were injured, according to the UP reports, and the disturbances were not quelled until after the police had been reinforced with detachments of troops.

Hunger Demonstrations Sweep Germany

Great hunger demonstrations swept Germany last week. Protesting the complete breakdown of the ration system, million of workers stopped work and in mass meetings demanded enough food for their families to exist on.

In Hamburg the greatest mass meeting held in Germany since the end of the war was the culmination of a general strike. 120,000 workers gathered before the Hamburg Trade Union headquarters and appealed to the world for more food. Adolf Kummernuss, chairman of the Hamburg Federation of Trade Unionists, declared: "We want to tell the world that a man can not live on 800 calories." The placards of the strikers read: "We are hungry — give us bread" and "We can't work when starving."

The protest against the starvation diet has rapidly spread to Solingen and Hamm in the Ruhr where general strikes are reported. Demonstrations are also reported in Hanover and Brunswick. In Bochum union leaders met to decide whether they should call a two-day general strike.

There are two rations in Germany: the "official" and the actual. The actual one is what the workers really receive and it is always less than the "official."

On April 1 the official ration of 1,550 calories was cut to 1,200 calories. Two weeks later General Clay admitted the crisis and that the actual ration was to fall to 915 calories.

Now the situation, especially in the great industrial cities of the British zone, has reached the lowest point yet. In many cities the ration level is falling below 650 calories.

ACEWR Plans To Cable Packages

Mahoning County CIO Council Urges Stoppage

By Harry Frankel

YOUNGSTOWN, May 10 — The Mahoning County CIO Council at its last regular meeting called upon the national CIO to initiate a 24-hour general work stoppage throughout the nation. The Council favors such a stoppage as a blow against the plans of Big Business and the politicians of both major parties to hamstring labor, and as a protest against the anti-labor bills now pending.

This is the latest in a series of moves against the labor-baiters undertaken by the labor movement in Ohio. On April 30, over 2,000 CIO and AFL workers crowded into the State Senate chamber in Columbus to protest bills to outlaw the closed shop and hit at the labor movement in other ways. The workers hooted, cheered, whistled, sat in the aisles, and in other ways broke the Senate rules and disturbed the decorum of that august body.

READY TO FIGHT

Representatives of the AFL and CIO told the Senators that labor would not be intimidated. Labor, they said, has fought in the past and is ready to fight again in the future. Passage of the law would only make a lot of law-breakers, one of the AFL speakers said, and he for one would not advocate not breaking the law.

The CIO speakers pointed out that this present campaign being conducted under the slogan "Against the Labor Monopoly" is similar to the campaign of 1900 "For the Open Shop," and the 1919 banners of big capital, "For the American Plan." All of these drives were masked behind the cries of "Americanism," but none of them succeeded in breaking the labor movement.

Demand Action Against Anti-Labor Legislation

As the Senate by a vote of 68 to 24 passed the worst anti-labor legislation in decades, an increasing number of union bodies called for a 24-hour nation-wide protest strike. Only by such militant action, they hold, can labor hope to halt Wall Street's drive to smash unionism in America.

The Fourth Annual Convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America last week urged "the leaders of organized labor to consider such militant joint national action as a one-day national work stoppage" in answer to the Hartley-Taft slave labor bills.

The Mahoning County, Ohio, CIO Council on May 10 called for a 24-hour general work stoppage throughout the nation as a blow against the plans of Big Business to hamstring labor.

On May 11 the Western Maryland Labor Unity Conference, consisting of 19 AFL, CIO and independent unions with 20,000 members, wired heads of all unions urging a one-day protest stoppage if the bills pass.

The first of such resolutions was passed by the Greater Flint Industrial Council of the CIO, Michigan, on April 26. They called on the National CIO "to immediately call a 24-hour General Strike throughout the U.S."

A conference of the Foundry Council of the CIO United Auto Workers, held in Cleveland April 26-28, likewise called for "a national labor holiday of all members of the labor movement — CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents — in protest against anti-labor legislation and as a demonstration of labor's solidarity, unity and fighting determination to defeat reaction."

A number of smaller labor bodies have passed similar resolutions. For instance, a conference of 200 shop stewards, representing the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods of Mansfield, Ohio, called for a one-day protest holiday. And District 3, New York Upstate Council of the CIO United Electrical Workers urged Philip Murray to call a one-day national stoppage.

Meanwhile, the top bureaucrats of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, were backing wholly on a veto of the Taft-Hartley bills by President Truman. High-ranking Democrats predicted that Truman would exercise the veto, but Truman gave no indication of his views while the bills were being debated, refusing to put pressure on Congress and refusing to mobilize public opinion against the Taft machine.

Truman is known to favor strong anti-labor legislation; however he fears the consequences at the polls in 1948 if he goes on record for the Taft-Hartley bills.

A week ago (May 7) the Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Truman's strategy would be to refuse to sign the measure and to make counter-recommendations, trimming off some of the most vicious items in the Republican-sponsored bill, but leaving in all the major provisions demanded by Big Business.

This was the old Roosevelt strategy — to sponsor tough measures while at the same time gaining credit for "defending" labor from worse measures written by Congress. On May 9 a group of Democratic Senators offered such a "substitute" measure. Its "mildness" can be judged from the fact that it would cut the heart out of the Wagner Act.

Local Settlements Pave Way For End Of Telephone Strike

By Alan Kohlman

MAY 12 — After five weeks of heroic and inspiring struggle, the strike of 340,000 phone workers is slowing to a halt. Over half have already signed new contracts, while final negotiations continue for Bell workers in 14 states as well as Western Electric factory and installation workers.

The strike settlements are being concluded on state and regional levels, with wage raises ranging from \$2.50 in the South to \$4.79 in New Jersey. Most other issues in dispute are being

settled by compromise or referred to arbitration. The dissolution of the 49-member National Policy Committee of the National Federation of Telephone Workers paved the way for these divergent and uneven settlements.

The N. Y. Times gloats that the strike has ended in "defeat." It is true that the settlements fall short of the original aims of the strikers, but that is only one side of the picture. Equally important are the facts that the phone workers did succeed in wringing pay concessions from AT&T-Bell and that their young

and inexperienced union, though weakened in influence, resources and prestige, is still intact.

In addition, many reports indicate that the rank and file members, though disheartened by the setbacks they have received, are not demoralized and are ready to reorganize in preparation for new battles. Whatever the Times may write, the phone monopoly knows that this spirit of the rank and file is a sign of new battles ahead.

IMPORTANT EVENT

It was no small achievement for the phone workers to challenge this powerful monopoly for five long weeks, especially under present conditions when Congress is engaged in the worst anti-labor drive in decades and most union leaders were ready to make any kind of wage settlement they could get. In fact, the very launching of this strike was an important event in labor history.

Only eight years ago, these phone workers were still in the stranglehold of company unionism and the "paternalistic" vise of the AT&T overlords. The great transformation of white collar workers, the majority of them women, from docile servants of the communications trust into front-line pickets, exemplifies the forward march of unionism into the nerve center of Big Business. The magnificent fight and high morale of these newly-unionized forces achieved high levels of militancy in the best traditions of the American working class.

Another development in this strike, of great political significance to the entire labor movement, was the determined stand

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Notebook Of An Agitator

The Mad Dog Of The Labor Movement

Among the whole gang of corrupt and contented labor fakers who infest the labor movement to its detriment — especially the AFL unions — and fatten on their crimes against the workers, one in particular is striving, not without success, to distinguish himself as the greatest scoundrel of them all. This is Daniel J. Tobin, the \$30,000 a year president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, who has already won for himself the title of The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement and is demonstrating his right to hold it against all comers.

Tobin, a relic of the horse and buggy days of trade unionism, is a small-souled, grasping, selfish old reprobate who thinks the teamsters' union exists for his personal benefit. In addition to his huge salary he taps the union treasury for heavy expenses and pre-paid vacation trips for himself and family, and makes the union carry his son, whom he is grooming to become his successor, on the pay-roll at a fancy honorarium. A rich man himself, he fawns on the bosses and the capitalist politicians, but fights the rank and file workers with savage fury. In all his long and malodorous career he has never yet been caught in a generous impulse or a gesture of good will and solidarity toward the workers who pay his exorbitant salary.

A SKILLED OPERATOR

Tobin never knew anything about organizing workers and leading them in struggle to better their conditions. But he is an expert mechanic in the vile trade of breaking strikes, smashing democracy in local unions, working in cahoots with the bosses to keep rebellious workers from making a living at their trade, and spilling blood in gangster raids on the jurisdiction of other unions, and he is getting more proficient as he gets older.

Tobin disposes of a huge treasury — \$14,800,000 at the last report — accumulated from the dues payments of the hard-working and underpaid members of the union, and he utilizes a large part of it to maintain what amounts to a private army of murderous thugs, recruited in part from the underworld, many of whom have criminal records. These gangsters, under Tobin's direction, usually operating under the benevolent indifference of the authorities who are "taken care of" in various ways, wage war on the rank and file of the Teamsters Union, and are at present especially preoccupied with a jurisdictional war to force the brewery workers to quit the union of their choice — the Brewery Workers Union, one of the oldest industrial unions and one well-respected in the labor movement — and to compel them to pay dues into the Teamsters Union, whether they desire to or not.

In this campaign beating, maiming, incendiary and dynamiting are routine procedures and murder is not excluded. Announcing a "knock down drag out fight" against the brewery workers, Tobin sent his private army of professional thugs into Pittsburgh. They moved in on Pittsburgh to convince the brewery workers that they should give up their own union, now affiliated with the CIO as a result of a free vote of the membership for that preference, and sign up in Tobin's union. And this "convincing" process did not take the form of ideological disquisition or logical elucidation. Tobin's mobsters relied on arguments of another kind learned in their own school, which honors Capone and Dillinger more than Plato and Aristotle.

USUAL PRACTICE

The usual practice of pulling drivers off their trucks and beating them within an inch of their lives was tried first but did not work very well. The Pittsburgh brewery drivers, with the help of other CIO fellow unionists,

The penalty of three other appellants was modified "in view of their expressions of repentance." Their sentence was commuted to one year of suspension with "probation for a period of two additional years." Whether these three suspended members who "repented" will be permitted to work and make a living at their trade during the suspension was not stated. Probably not.

MINNEAPOLIS RECORD

Tobin's criminal activities in Minneapolis have been rather widely advertised. It is known that he tried to break the great strikes in 1934. He didn't succeed then and could not prevent a strong union being built up without him and in spite of him. He then tried to get rid of the honest, fighting leaders of the union in 1941 by placing the union in "receivership." When the rank and file revolted against that, he called the federal cops through his friend President Roosevelt, and simply had the leaders thrown into prison. At the same time, a horde of Tobin's gangsters, armed with blackjacks and baseball bats, were turned loose on the trucking districts, with the open connivance of the city police, to force the truck drivers to wear the button of Tobin's "reorganized" local. The State Labor Board, under Governor Stassen, denied the workers the right of an election to register their preference. In return for that favor, the labor-hating Governor, author of the notorious Minnesota "Slave Labor Law," was introduced as the guest of honor and highly praised by Tobin at the subsequent international convention of the IBT.

Having tasted blood in Minneapolis, Tobin has been running wild ever since in his violent campaign against any sign of independence or militancy in the ranks of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. At the present time approximately 40% of the local unions are under "receivership" with appointed officers and no autonomous rights. This simple fact in itself is the most devastating testimony of the extent of the rank and file discontent and revolt against the tyranny and treachery of this mean-spirited, vicious old man and the whole gang of well-heeled labor snakes and common crooks who make up his unruly machine.

REBEL TEAMSTERS

With this tide of rank and file revolt rising all around him, Tobin spits hydrophobic venom in the faces of the union membership and threatens to spend their own money — the money they paid into the treasury of the International Union — to fight them and beat them down. He warns "any foolish group in any district" that they "must get this into their heads now — that if they ever get so cocky and self-important that they think they can defeat this International Union they are making the mistake of their lives. We don't want trouble and disagreement, but when it is forced on us, we will never back down if it costs every dollar in the treasury. You fight me, and I'll hire more gangsters to fight you — that is Tobin's April message to the rebel teamsters. There is no doubt about it, one can buy a lot of professional thugs with \$14,800,000.

Daniel J. Tobin employs yet another murderous weapon in his war against the rank and file of the IBT. He reinforces his brutal dictatorship over the local unions of the Teamsters International by the device of first expelling dissenting workers and then taking their bread and butter away from them by "taking them off the job." In the April number of The International Teamster, Tobin boasts about breaking up an opposition to the gangster-ridden union machine in St. Louis which culminated in a strike. "The International Union sent in a number of men," he says significantly, meaning a mob of strong-arm men whose assignment was to waylay the strikers and beat them up — "and every business agent and officer of our local unions in this city of St. Louis pledged his full and undivided help." It is known to Tobin that one of these local "business agents," in fact the boss of the whole Tobin set-up in St. Louis, is a gangster with a criminal record.

According to Tobin's account, the leading rank and file militants in the strike — truck drivers, not gangsters — also had the bad habit of "continuously finding fault with the union officers." Consequently, "the general president ordered that charges be preferred against them." And of course, "several of them were expelled from the union."

Next came the deal with the bosses. Says Tobin: "The employers were notified that these men were no longer members of the union and that our union shop agreement must be observed. The employers complied with the agreement, and those individuals were laid off by the employers." By this combination of anti-labor measures the strike was broken. The workers were beaten and forced into line. It was "a famous victory," and Tobin gloats over it. "In a few days," he writes, the men "begged to be allowed to go back to work." Maybe the poor devils had families to support. And maybe the families were hungry. The proudest men have been known to submit under such circumstances.

But proud men who beg through clenched teeth are dangerous animals to provoke. There are many of them in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at the present time, and their number is steadily growing. One of these days they are going to count noses and come to the conclusion that they are strong enough, if they act together, to put a stop to the humiliations and defeats imposed upon them by brutal violence and treacherous collusion with the bosses. That will be a bad day for the Mad Dog of the Labor Movement. The dogcatchers will catch up with him.

By George Breitman

When the convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers voted last week to break with both capitalist parties, it took one of the most encouraging political steps made by any section of the union movement since the end of the war. It gave voice at the same time to the aspirations of millions of American workers who are fed up with capitalist politics and want to establish a party of their own that will represent their interests on the political field as their unions represent them on the economic field.

The UPWA is not the first international union to criticize both the Democratic and Republican parties; but it is the first in recent years to condemn them equally and to urge the workers not to support either. Such a stand — without any reservations, ifs, ands or buts — is absolutely necessary if labor is to be able to defend itself against the political attacks of Big Business. For this bold and wise declaration the UPWA deserves the gratitude and support of the whole labor movement.

Similarly welcome is the UPWA decision to help nominate and work for the election of independent candidates, pending formation "at the proper time" of an independent political party. Only last month members of UPWA District No. 2 in South St. Paul, Minnesota, showed what could be done in this direction by nominating and electing independent labor candidates as Aldermen and members of the School Board. Political action of this kind on a local scale throughout the country can greatly strengthen the movement for a labor party.

The UPWA resolution is thoroughly progressive as compared with the position taken by other CIO and AFL internationals and by the CIO-PAC, which are committed to supporting so-called progressive candidates in the two capitalist parties. But it still leaves some questions without clear or complete answers.

Fighting Program Adopted By CIO Packing Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

What, for example, is meant by the formulation about creating an independent party "at the proper time"? The UPWA of course cannot create a new party by itself. Such a party can be formed only when it has sufficient union and mass support. No one can have any quarrel with the resolution's formulation if that is what it meant to say.

Different meanings. But on the other hand, "at the proper time" can have an entirely different meaning. It can mean, for example, that the present time is not the proper time, politically speaking, no matter how much support the new party movement may have. Such a position is taken by many union leaders. If that is what is meant, then it is dead wrong.

For in a political sense "the proper time" for a labor party is right now, or as soon as is humanly possible. The longer its formation is delayed, the longer the capitalist politicians will remain in power. A resolution on labor political action should not be vague on this question, but should explicitly stress the need for independent political action at the earliest possible time so as to educate and mobilize workers to the need for acting soon rather than late.

It must also be borne in mind that many union bureaucrats oppose formation of an independent party now on the ground that it will not be "the proper time" for such action until the Wallaces, Peppers and LaGuardias are ready to leave the capitalist parties and assume the leadership of a new party. It is necessary to clarify this question — and another one associated with it: What kind of independent party does the UPWA resolution advocate — a labor party or a third capitalist party?

From the entire tone and orientation of the UPWA resolution, we believe the majority of the convention delegates intended it to express their desire for a labor party and not for a new edition of the Democratic Party, which would be controlled by untrustworthy liberals whose only commitment is to the maintenance of capitalism. But the lack of exactness in the resolution makes it possible to read different interpretations into it.

To show how this is done, and how much confusion can deliberately be created as a result, attention should be directed to the May 8 Daily Worker editorial on the UPWA resolution. The Communist Party, it should be explained, is fiercely opposed to the creation of a labor party. Instead it favors a third (capitalist) party when Wallace and other capitalist party liberals give their approval to its creation. Yet, because the UPWA resolution is not sufficiently precise, the Daily Worker editors begin by saying:

"Hats off to the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union for giving a fresh push to the third party movement at its annual convention. . . . Then, in order to disorient its readers about what kind of

"third party" is needed, the editorial declares: "Development of the third party movement should not, of course, mean abandonment by progressives of the fight against reaction inside the two major parties."

"On the contrary, through the building of independent political organization, labor and its friends must supply the leadership and the pressures for progressive struggle within these parties."

Here it can be plainly seen that the Stalinists, while giving lip-service applause to the UPWA resolution, are actually very worried about it. They are afraid that it goes "too far." And it certainly goes too far for the Stalinists who consistently refuse to adopt comparable resolutions in the unions they control and who are still spreading illusions about the possibility of "progressive struggle" inside both the Republican and Democratic parties — illusions which can only have the result of postponing the creation of a labor party.

Such illusions must be fought and exposed and rooted out, no matter who spreads them — union bureaucrats or Stalinists or capitalist liberals. A good place to have done it was the UPWA convention where the sentiment of the delegates was clearly for labor party action. The UPWA resolution — and the movement for independent labor political action — would have been strengthened by preciseness on this point.

But even with these shortcomings, that resolution is the most hopeful sign on the political horizon in a month of Sundays. It should serve to inspire similar action by militants in other unions and to set the ball rolling on a nation-wide scale. Properly utilized, it can be a starting point for labor's next big stride forward to a better world.

Then, in order to disorient its readers about what kind of

Our Program:

- Defend labor's standard of living!**
A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours — reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- Build an independent labor party!**
- Tax the rich, not the poor!**
Repeat the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
Against capitalist conscription!
Abolish the officer caste system!
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
Trade union wages for the armed forces!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
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