

Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

MAY 3, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

On the Significance Of the Results In Italy's Elections

By HENRY JUDD

The results of the Italian elections gave the American press, and the world supporters of American imperialism, their first cheering news in many long months. A wave of optimism is sweeping over political leaders and spokesmen who, a brief few weeks ago, were sunk in gloom and despair about the westward surge of world Stalinism.

The election results and bare statistics apparently justify the smiles that, so it was said, lit up the face of the Pope and his escort. We shall see whether all these cheers and shouts are entirely justified, but first the actual statistics:

HOW THEY VOTED

Out of the 26 million Italians who voted for members of the Chamber of Deputies (that section of the new Parliament for which the largest number of people voted), the final vote was as follows:

Christian Democrats
12,752,000 votes—48.7 per cent
Stalinists
8,026,000 votes—30.7 per cent
Saragat Socialists
1,861,000 votes—7.1 per cent

The balance of votes was scattered among various parties to the right of the Christian Democrats. On the basis of this vote, the party of de Gasperi has an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and close to it in the Senate; thus, it can claim a sweeping victory and proceed to

the setting up of a government in its own image which may, or may not, include representatives of other parties.

So far, it is clear, the conservative Christian Democrats (much to the right of the French MRP of Bidault and Schumann), the Pope and American imperialism well may chortle over their great victory, particularly since they hardly expected it! A blow has been dealt at Stalinism by its major rival, and the onward march momentarily brought to a halt. Momentarily, we repeat, for this was a blow from the right, from conservatism, reaction (in the form of the Catholic Church), and imperialism.

Let us probe the statistics a bit further. Stalinism indeed lost, but not so much as one might expect. The only basis for serious comparison we have are the 1946 Constituent Assembly electoral figures. If we contrast the two, we see—to begin with—that in actual votes the Stalinists gained, not lost! They received about 7,500,000 in 1946 (it can only be approximately estimated since there was likewise a Stalinist-front slate in 1946, but at that time the right wing Saragat Socialists were included in it), which means they gained half a million actual votes. But, since more people voted this time, one can estimate that the percentage of the Stalinist vote declined by about 2 percent—a not very large figure.

(Cont. on p. 3 in World Politics col.)

UMW Fine Raises Question Of a Basic Labor Program

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The miners are returning to work once more. By the time this is in print virtually all of them will be back in the pits digging coal for Big Steel, Little Steel, GM, the railroads, home consumption and for ERP export. They are back at work with their pensions of \$100 dollars a month. This victory cost the coal diggers several weeks wages and \$1,400,000 out of the union treasury. Within a period of two years the UMWA has paid \$2,100,000 in fines into the U. S. Treasury.

We do not believe that two million dollars or five million dollars are too much to pay to win a struggle. We do not believe that the loss of several weeks wages is too high a price to pay to win a struggle against the capitalist bosses and their government. That is, we believe that such sacrifices are correct and necessary if they really push the labor movement and the working class ahead; if such sacrifices represent manifestations of conscious class struggle and are therefore examples of the heightening and intensification of the class struggle.

We are discussing this question as of 1948: months after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, years after the Great Depression, nearly three years after the close of the Second Imper-

alist World War; at a time when preparations are being made for the Third Imperialist World War, even before the debris of the Second World War has been cleared away, and before the maimed and butchered have recovered from their wounds. We are discussing this question at the time when the capitalist exploiters and ravagers of our country are reaching out for more and more profits, higher prices and lower wages. We are not discussing this question therefore in general but in a specific and concrete setting.

Aside from the above, what is the nature of the scene in which the working class, including the miners, carries on its struggle for wages, pensions, better working conditions and security? It is a situation in which the capitalist ruling class finds it necessary to keep the country constantly alerted for war. There must be a huge air force, larger and larger stockpiles of war materials, universal military training, the peacetime draft. This from the side of the Government, whose business it is to maintain vigilance for the protection of the country's national and international interests and security. This means, of course, standing guard over the class interests of the capitalist ruling class.

(Continued on page 4)

N. Y. Real Estate Interests Win Subway Fare Boost

By EUGENE KELLER

NEW YORK CITY—The fare issue came to a climax last week when Mayor O'Dwyer announced that, as of July 1, subway fares would be 10 cents and bus fares 7 cents, with a "flexible" system of transfers.

This complete about-face of O'Dwyer on the fare issue contains implications far broader than meet the eye.

Up to late 1946 the revenue from subway operation not only fully covered operating expenses but, in addition, yielded a surplus. This surplus went towards payment of debt service to the city's bankers and bondholders. The balance of the debt service came out of real estate levies. This meant that if the real-estate interests could get the fare raised, their contribution towards meeting the debt service would be reduced or possibly eliminated. Hence the agitation by real estate over the past twenty years for a higher fare.

However, in 1946 wage raises for the underpaid transit workers turned the operating surplus into an operating deficit. Money had to be appropriated from the city's General Fund (made up of income from sales taxes, fines, etc., but not from real estate) to fully cover operating expenses. Thereafter the agitation by the real-

estate interests rose to a high pitch and special hearings were held in February 1947.

ODWYER'S REVERSAL

But the fare could not be raised unless a section of the State Rapid Transit Law was complied with. According to this section the Board of Estimate had to move for a higher fare and the City Council had to schedule a popular referendum on whether the fare should be raised within 30 days of the Board's motion. Failing City Council action, a higher fare would automatically be instituted. Given the political situation in New York, however, it was most unlikely that the City Council would fail to act; and it was "politically risky" for the mayor, as chairman of the Board of Estimate, to have his board move for a higher fare.

These were some of the "political" obstacles which O'Dwyer had to overcome if he wanted to reverse his stand and at the same time retain the support of important labor unions with whose endorsement he had been elected.

After the serious defeat of the Liberal and American Labor parties, as well as other minority parties, in the November 1947 elections with the

(Continued on page 2)

Steel Price Fake Opens Drive to Freeze Wages

Reuther Murder Attempt Is Concern of All Labor

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, April 25—The attempted assassination of Walter P. Reuther, United Automobile Workers - CIO president, on Tuesday night, April 20, was more than a repugnant and cowardly act of violence against an individual respected and admired by thousands of workers. It was more than a shock and a personal misfortune. It was a political event of important consequence to the entire labor movement.

No one recognized this quicker than Walter Reuther himself. Although badly wounded, and in danger of losing his life, Reuther tried to catch a glimpse of his potential

Again Reuther said, "I'd say categorically that is not remotely associated with this."

One other important political statement was made in connection with the murder attempt. Victor Reuther, UAW-CIO educational director, brought out the question of the Russian GPU, by pointing out, "After all, if Stalin could send an agent to Mexico to kill Trotsky."

What is important in this for the labor movement to recognize is that any of three major enemies of unionism might have tried to kill Reuther, and that Reuther firmly believes this.

That raises two important questions. Finding the perpetrator of this particular anti-union act of violence and second, defeating these enemies of labor so that no possibility exists for them in the future to try murdering union leaders whom they consider effective.

ANTI-LABOR FIELD DAY

Nothing could be more ironical than the fact that the investigation into the murder attempt is in the hands of Detroit's most vocal labor-hater, Harry S. Toy, police commissioner, who only recently called for lawless action against the Henry Wallace movement!

Is it a wonder that a witch hunt hysteria was whipped up by him in statements to the press. Toy's first order, which was rescinded, was a round-up of all known anti-Reutherites and Stalinists!

Detroit's anti-labor daily newspapers had a field day at the expense of the union movement. The Free Press had an editorial blaming "union politics," the Hearst Times blew the Communist angle into a gigantic red plot, and the News did a murderous job in its headlines and stories. The conclusion became inescapable that Toy was more interested in capturing headlines than a serious investigation of all THREE possibilities.

Stalinist leaders in Ford 600 were questioned. An anti-Reutherite in Flint was questioned. George Addees was questioned... all of which might have been done quietly, without a fuss, as a matter of routine checking, just like Reuther's associates were questioned for clues. But the newspapers were determined, along with the police, to place the blame for the assassination attempt on the union movement.

On Friday, April 23, Toy announced he was asking for permission to examine the minutes of the international executive board meeting held Tuesday, for clues!

Every attempt is being made to smear the labor movement with the crime!

In the plants, the shock and anger was so great that the IEB issued through Emil Mazey, a statement urging calm, and asking the ranks not to take it out on any political groups, a very responsible attitude as against the hysterical statements of some Reuther followers who kept saying, "The Commies did it," in an effort to create a lynch spirit against the Stalinists.

What is puzzling about the CP angle, or to be more precise, the pos-

sibility of the hand of the GPU, is the fact that the FBI has not been called into the case, and surely if there were a remote possibility of such an angle, J. Edgar Hoover would be here in person, making the headlines.

As for the equal possibility, to use Reuther's phrase, that management might be behind the murder attempt, the city police have completely ig-

(Continued on page 2)

Under the impression that the labor movement is in no position to strike back, the big corporations have opened a new offensive against the wage standards of the American working class.

Unless they are quickly disabused of this impression, a new pay pattern of nothing or next to nothing in sorely needed raises will be imposed on the steel worker, and, after him, on the worker in other industries.

The new employer offensive is all the more vicious for being hypocritical. U. S. Steel, through its president Benjamin F. Fairless, announced on April 22 that it would cut prices on various steel products \$25,000,000, and would reject requests for wage increases. Bethlehem, Jones & Laughlin and Youngstown Sheet have since decided that the act is funny enough for them to get into also. Other industrialists have already indicated approval. Some are not even trying to play that cute game. Chrysler, for example, has arrogantly rejected a UAW wage demand, and arrogantly offered 6 cents.

There is a definite connection between the price of steel and the price of other commodities closer to the worker's use. Hence, price and wage action necessarily go hand in hand. But this comic "anti-inflation" move by the steel companies is merely a brazen slap at the steel workers and an insult to the intelligence of every worker.

With prices soaring beyond vision, this two-bit reduction will have exactly no effect on the steel worker's real wage (what he can buy with his pay check). It's a long way from steel to butter!

Philip Murray, president of the steel workers' union and the CIO, labeling the reduction "picayune," immediately replied to the Fairless announcement.

"The corporation's profits, after taxes," said Murray, "\$153,000,000 in 1947, indicate clearly that the corporation could make a sizable profit instead of still retain a sufficient profit margin to grant the union's just demand for a real wage increase."

True, very true! And the CIO has repeatedly called attention to the facts and figures which prove that the monopolists could reduce prices substantially, increase wages to the extent necessary and still have a tremendous profit left.

Unfortunately, Murray's answer remains, in the circumstances, nothing but a formal counterplea. BEFORE FAIRLESS MADE HIS INSULT PUBLIC, THE STEEL WORKERS' LEADER ANNOUNCED THAT THE UNION WOULD NOT, UNDER ANY CONDITIONS, STRIKE. Emboldened by Murray's capitulation in advance, US Steel proceeded to stage its comedy.

There is, however, more to the steel union than Murray. And there are many more workers than steel workers, and all these workers will be intimately affected by whatever happens in steel. The next move must be theirs.

Ground has been lost, but it can be recovered. Steel workers and others know how to fight, given half a chance. Instead of being hobbled by their leaders, they can compel their leaders to take appropriate action.

First, it goes without saying that a wage increase, and a good one, is essential. Second, it is equally clear that prices must come down. Third, the two must be coordinated in an over-all union strategy.

Precisely because of the connection between one industry and the other

(Continued on page 3)

Full Scale Warfare Looms in Palestine

By AL FINDLEY

Fighting in Palestine is developing into full-scale warfare. From what was primarily an attempt to control supply lines, it has now become a struggle for control of strategic positions.

The Arab plan of war is to annihilate the isolated Jewish settlements in the north (Galilee) and in the Negev, cut off Jerusalem and squeeze the remaining Jews into a small strip on the coast and then force them to capitulate or drive them into the sea.

Jewish plans are to occupy and hold all land in Jewish possession and in the boundaries of the UN-allocated Jewish state, to bring in settlers and arms through control of the ports, to hold out for two-three years, in the meantime building up the settlements. Building and immigration will now serve a military as well as a political and economic function.

For the time being the Jews have attained military superiority, as the capture of Haifa demonstrates. They have held every settlement and have all but smashed the volunteer army of Kawukzi. This superiority can easily be reversed should an effective blockade or other reason prevent the Jews from importing arms. The military position of the contending forces will be greatly affected when the Arab countries send in their regular armies. Abdullah, King of Transjordan by the grace of His Majesty's government, will play the key role. He has the largest and best equipped army in the Near East. His army is British-led and is paid by the British. 10,000 of his 20,000 troops are now "keeping the peace" in Palestine. This army can and will do nothing without at least the tacit approval of London. The British face a "delicate problem" of how to justify the use of British officers and advisers in the invasion of British-held territory. The answer will probably be found in some arrangement like that reported for General Glubb, who has asked for permission to become a Transjordan citizen. His citizenship will probably be more temporary than the U. S. trusteeship.

The outbreak of open warfare has also encouraged the Jewish extremists, who demand Jewish rule over all of Palestine. For this reason now, the revisionists have been making the

question of Jaffa their main point in propaganda against partition. They claim that there are only two good roads leading from Tel Aviv, one of which passes through territory in the Jaffa municipality. The other road, they claim, is easily flooded and any rain can cut off Tel Aviv. The capture of Haifa by the Hagannah impelled the Irgun, for prestige reasons, to attack Jaffa. The Hagannah does not seem too anxious to stop them, probably in the hope of using the occupation of Jaffa as a basis for future compromise on the UN boundaries.

UN DEVELOPMENTS

Political developments in the UN are moving very slowly. Military events in Palestine have given an air of complete unreality to UN deliberations on a truce. The truce resolution and the Truce Committee of Belgian, American and French consular officials is not taken seriously, even by its sponsors. The most that UN observers now hope for before May 15 is some sort of truce for Jerusalem alone.

United States suggestions for trusteeship have been coolly received. In a test vote, a pro-partition bloc received 20 votes, more than enough to block any trusteeship proposal. The United States has made some progress in convincing England and France to join in policing the trusteeship. Negotiations are still in a critical state and may turn one way or the other. However, the United States will probably be able to carry any proposal through the UN. Russian action in joining the Trusteeship Council shows that the Stalinists are convinced that the US plan will be passed by the Assembly, and they are determined to have a full voice in the trusteeship.

The Arab politicians have indicated that they will accept a limited trusteeship, on their own conditions. Among the Jews, Dr. Magnes and his Ichud group are in favor of accepting the trusteeship. In addition, the Agudath Israel, the extreme clericalist group, has also indicated that it will accept trusteeship and will not participate in any "revolutionary" government, unauthorized by the UN.

Palestine now faces the possibility of a new foreign ruler. That can only prolong the strife between the

(Continued on page 2)

UAW Strategy Depends on Chrysler Victory

Murray Stand in Steel Injures Position of Auto Workers—Mazey Intervenes in Chrysler Negotiations

DETROIT, April 25—Once again Philip Murray, CIO president, has given the UAW-CIO a serious blow in its attempts to fight for a badly needed wage increase, when he capitulated to Big Steel's arrogant refusal to grant the steel workers a pay boost.

In 1946 during the GM strike, Murray signed a contract calling for 18½ cents while the UAW-CIO under Walter Reuther's leadership in the GM strike was demanding 30 cents, and even a government fact-finding board recommended 19½ cents without any increase in car prices.

In 1947 the UAW prepared a case for the autoworkers getting 23½ cents an hour but Murray set a pat-

tern of 11½ cents plus six paid holidays.

This year, Murray set a pattern of exactly no wage increase. Even before negotiations began, he told the steel corporations that he wouldn't strike under any circumstances, thus leaving the steel workers at the mercy of the steel barons.

Just before Murray accepted NOTHING from the steel corporations, the UAW-CIO had turned down a miserable six cents an hour offer from Chrysler. And when Norman Mathews, UAW-CIO Chrysler director, took it upon himself to tell Chrysler that the union was willing to go down to 18 cents an hour, he

was quietly but firmly rebuked by the international executive board, and he was forced to retract the offer.

But now the UAW-CIO leadership is on the spot. Chrysler, for example, has become more arrogant. One of its negotiators told the union representatives during negotiations, "If those dumb clucks didn't stop off on the way home and spend their money on beer, they'd have no problem."

It is clear the union has no recourse but to strike, or to back down on its demands. The international executive board issued a statement late this week saying that the UAW-CIO is going ahead with its demands, in spite of the Murray policy. Emil Ma-

zey, acting president of the UAW-CIO, issued the statement after a trip to Pittsburgh to discuss the situation with Murray.

The intervention of Mazey in the Chrysler negotiations should strengthen the union, for his reputation will build some confidence among the ranks. Neither Mathews nor any of the negotiators have been able to build up any spirit or confidence among the workers. And that is not the least of the problems confronting the UAW-CIO.

Briggs Local 212 also is taking a strike vote, and this gives the UAW-CIO more elbow room in its fight for wage increases. The union has a choice of spearheading the fight by

a shutdown at Briggs, which would automatically close Chrysler, or calling the Chrysler workers out.

It is no exaggeration to say that between the "pattern" in steel, the wounding of Reuther and the belligerence of Chrysler, the Chrysler UAW-CIO department was reeling around last week. The fact that Mathews isn't going to welcome Mazey's entrance into the picture doesn't help much, for it makes it more difficult for Mazey to assume full leadership.

The UAW-CIO is once again in the position of depending on the militant tradition and spirit of its cadres. They have never failed yet, and given a call to action, they can intervene decisively and effectively.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Attempt to Murder Walter Reuther - -

(Continued from page 1)

nored it, although they know, for example, that in 1938 a Ford Service cop and a gangster tried to do a job on Reuther at his home. (These two men were acquitted, incidentally, by a hung jury, after pleading that Reuther had paid them \$100 to do a job on himself for publicity.)

What about the fascist organizations supported by management over the years in Detroit? What about the old tie-ups between racketeer elements and managements in the past? Only recently Malcom Bingay, Detroit Free Press columnist, had an explanation, or more exactly, an apology for Henry Ford's keeping gangsters on Harry Bennett's "service department" payroll.

Outside of a mention in one newspaper that the police were checking on "suspects" in the old Briggs beating cases (Ken Morris, Genora J. Dollinger were two of the victims), this angle has been largely ignored.

What about the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, the Gerald L. K. Smith, fascists, the race-haters who provoked the race riots in 1943, who were behind the Sojourner Truth

housing violence? All these are violent enemies of Reuther.

Only recently Reuther's blast at Jim-Crowism in the American Bowling Congress provoked a bitter personal hatred against him by Jim Crow elements in the shops and in the city. Seldom was Reuther denounced as venomously as that week. Are those elements, who make up the lynchers in the South, incapable of trying violence. In 1943, 34 persons were killed and over 1,000 injured because these people provoked a terrible race riot.

The political climate for violence against Reuther, who symbolizes everything these fascists hate, exists in Detroit.

Likewise, Reuther's regime has made it much more difficult for numbers and bookie elements in the shops to function.

All of these angles deserve the kind of investigation Reuther outlined in his comments on the assassination attempt. But a Jim Crow police department and a labor hating police commissioner are hardly the persons to look under those conditions.

We must mention in passing the

growing anti-Semitism, which is directed considerably at Reuther, and upon which the fascist scum breed. Whispering campaigns circulate through the shops about Reuther as a "Jew," his wife a "Jew" and Reuther having too many Jews on the staff. (In the pre-convention fight a leaflet with this line was circulated in the shops.)

The reward which the UAW-CIO and its locals offered, amounting to

over \$126,000 indicates how seriously the unionists take this matter, and how much they are concerned with finding the murderous gang behind this deed.

But no matter which of the three possibilities becomes a reality, if the killer is found, the social conditions for the hatreds, and tensions remain. Until these are removed they exist always danger to union leaders, and to the union movement.

Buffalo UE Local 1581 in Stormy Debate Votes Opposition to CP

BUFFALO—Communist Party domination of UE-CIO Local 1581, representing over 6,000 workers in the Buffalo Motor Division of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, received a severe setback with the passing of a resolution on Sunday, April 4, "opposing the Communist Party" at the most turbulent meeting in the local's year and a half history.

Background to the furious battle was the smoldering resentment against the union tactics of the Stalinist-controlled administration machine. The Sunday climax to this resentment was touched off by a series of articles in the Buffalo Evening News during the past month.

By the end of March it was clear that the workers were determined to make "Communism" a major issue in present wage negotiations, in spite of all the edicts and resolutions against "red-baiting" and "company stooging" thrown at them by the union administration. The Buffalo Evening News articles—using among other things the appearance of 1581 leaders at a picket line protesting deportation proceedings against Ellis Island-held "alien communists"—had slyly fanned the flame into a major issue.

WANT AN ANSWER

A split in the CP-controlled Unity Caucus badly compromised the authority of the administration, gave a potential majority to anti-administration forces on the executive board, and left the CP Unity Caucus in growing isolation.

A long-standing anti-administration Rank and File Caucus (which had put all its anti-CP emphasis on a purely trade union level during the past year) adopted the same formula as the administration Unity Caucus, "The only issue is red-baiting." But a growing number of workers wanted an answer to the issue of Stalinism.

Left leaderless and told they were nothing but "red-baiters" and that "the wage increase is our only issue," workers began to accept the formulations and implied conclusions slyly advanced by the Buffalo Evening News articles. Thus the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), line on "getting rid of the reds" (in a manner which would also get rid of the union or turn it into a company union) began to penetrate the plant via the News' articles. (Which, incidentally, cleverly exploited the truth about the activities of the Communist Party, and yet left the News free to deny any interference of its own in the union's affairs.)

MILITANT APPROACH

Members within the Rank and File anti-administration caucus began to grope for a program to offer the workers, at first independently of each other and then as a growing minority opinion. They reached a general agreement that both the forces of big industry behind the Buffalo Evening News, and progressive unionists wanted to rid the union of the Communist Party, but that the News wanted to get rid of the CP and the Union. The problem was: "How to rid 1581 of Communist Party domination in the manner to build the union?"

The first step, obviously, was to take a clear cut position against the Communist Party in order to tell the workers the truth about it, and to undertake an alternative to the Buffalo Evening News direction.

The beginnings of a change came at a Rank and File Caucus meeting on a Saturday night before the turbulent Sunday membership meeting. A caucus slate was to be elected for Local 1581 elections in May, and a discussion of the caucus program opened the meeting. The program included demands for a sliding scale of wages, independent labor party, end of the incentive system and other excellent points, but said nothing on the Communist Party.

A motion was put on the floor, "against the Communist Party and against red-baiting," and after a long debate, was passed. Election of a Rank and File slate followed. The minority opinion won all but a few offices and became the majority.

On Sunday, informal caucusing with the group which had bolted the administration Unity caucus, brought loose and informal agreement on a motion to oppose the Communist Party, not "Communism." It was also agreed that no banning or barring of Communists would be introduced into the motion, with some agreeing

on the principle of not undermining trade union democracy, and some simply because such a move would entangle the union with the International and generally tend to divert the issue.

STORMY DEBATE

The large membership meeting opened in a general atmosphere of anti-Stalinism, divided between those who were following the Buffalo Evening News line, and those who were following the approach worked out by the Rank and File. Because the Rank and File approach had been so belated, there was grave danger at times that the meeting would break up in a union-undermining brawl.

It was also clear that what outright red-baiting did take place on the floor could have become the completely dominant note. Ugly remarks and anti-Semitism were an inevitable outcropping of the attempt to bottle up the workers with the cork labelled "the only issue is wages, red-baiting is wrong." They were determined to deal with the issue of the Communist Party, in the right way if they could, or the wrong way if they had to.

A motion by the administration floor leader and plant chief steward embodied a parliamentary trick which threw the meeting into a turmoil. He moved to back the report of Edward Matthews, UE Secretary of National Westinghouse Conference Board, "in our fight for a wage increase, AND—instruct our stewards and officers to make this the main issue and cease internal discussion of our other problems until we win our wage increase." (Matthews incidentally, was obviously not at the meeting "just to give us a negotiations report," workers agreed with knowing looks.)

A stormy hour of debate followed. One baffled but fighting spokesman held the floor for over a half-hour while he denounced the union-undermining tactics of the CP, its slander technique, and its phony militancy, and succumbed as well to scoring it as "un-American and a threat to the nation." This mixture of Buffalo Evening News "patriotism" and opposition to the CP's union-undermining tactics, prevailed in varying degrees in almost every anti-Stalinist speech.

With indignation against the "package" motion (for the wage increase fight and for gag rules—vote down the gag rule and you're voting against a wage increase) offered by the chief steward reaching fever height, a Rank and File spokesman gained the floor and succeeded in splitting the two issues.

After tabling the tricky motion, a new one "to back our UE officers in our fight for a wage increase, period," was passed unanimously. The meeting then proceeded to discuss the Stalinist issue, and ended by voting its condemnation of the Communist Party.

Palestine Warfare - -

(Continued from page 1)

two peoples. It ought to be clear to all those sincerely interested in Palestinian independence—especially Arab labor unions and progressive nationalists—that Palestine will not and cannot achieve its independence by Arab attempt to forcefully prevent the Jews from exercising their elementary rights to self-determination and by the military subjugation of the Jews. Such a course will lead not only to the strengthening of the reactionary elements of the Arab community but, as events indicate, will result in a new form of foreign rule, trusteeship, or protectorate.

ARAB-JEWISH UNITY

The road to independence and unity in Palestine requires recognition of the Jews' right to self-determination in an independent state and working for the reunification of Palestine on a basis that guarantees the national rights of both peoples.

Whatever one may think of the advisability of proclaiming a Jewish state, one thing is clear: the Jews

One-Tenth of the Nation

By E. R. McKinney

SOUTHERN MORALS

Atlanta, Georgia, has eight brand new Negro cops right out of a Georgia "police training school." These eight cops are walking the sidewalks in the Negro section around Auburn Ave. It is reported that five of the new cops have had college training; whatever that means in Georgia. It is not easy to understand why anybody, white or black, would go to college in order to qualify as a cop in Georgia.

There is something very interesting about these new Negro cops. They will be permitted to club and beat up Negroes only. Its the same old story: if a Negro is to have the right to club anybody, it must be another Negro. These Negro cops have instructions not to arrest any white person. Chief of Police Herbert Jenkins said: "My instructions were specific to Negro officers. When they see a white man who should be arrested they are to call the police station and a squad car with white officers will be sent to make the arrest."

I don't know how this scheme will work and I don't care whether or not it works. I am busy trying to get the answer to a puzzle. I am trying to guess what kind of Negroes these eight cops are. What kind of men are they, if they are men. Have they ever heard of just ordinary plain manhood independence? Do they know the difference between being a man and being a mere walking lump? I take it that these eight will make a very fine record in the Negro section of Atlanta. Atlanta Negroes are going to have some real police "protection." They will be served by ignorant white cops and eight of "their own people."

MISSISSIPPI MORALS

Mississippi having taken care of "white supremacy" and the "purity of white womanhood" now turns its attention to the "moral character" of its citizens. This would be considered a very laudable enterprise if it were as innocent as it sounds. There are a lot of people in Mississippi who need their moral characters changed. But this is something else. If the voters adopt a constitutional amendment just submitted by the legislature, only persons of "good moral character" will be permitted to vote in Mississippi. This has nothing to do with Negroes, mind you. Or any recent decisions of the Supreme Court. Not at all. The state legislators merely discovered that too many people were voting who have bad morals and no character. They plan to put a stop to this. If the referendum carries only God-fearing, upright, law-abiding, sober and clean thinking Mississippians will be permitted to vote.

This of course will reduce the numbers of voters, but that's all right. At least there will be one state in the union with clean, honest and moral voting, voting of character. Now its possible to get elected to Congress from Mississippi with two or three thousand votes. After the "good moral character" purge, it will be possible to get elected with two or three hundred votes. And of course all of them will be white votes; since no Mississippi Negro will be successful in convincing the election officials that he lives with his own wife, that he works, that he doesn't steal and that he isn't an in-fidel or a commUNist.

South Carolina's professional poli-

ticians and officeholders are doing a lot of drinking, spitting and cussing these days. The federal courts have decided that a state political party is not a private club and that a primary of that party is not a barbecue to which the party can invite a few select guests and exclude all who have not been invited. They are trying to devise some scheme to keep the Negroes in the fields and away from the polls on election days. Being rather stupid these politicians have not been able to find an answer.

DIXIE DISMAY

When the Louisiana legislature convenes during the summer it is expected to pass a law requiring that only those will be permitted to vote, who have a "grammar school education." I take it that those who run for office must be registered voters and therefore people with a grammar school education. Louisiana may get into difficulties if such a law is passed. There will be a demand for more schools and more teachers, white and black.

Another problem may arise. If thousands of present illiterates and semi-illiterates acquire a grammar school education, that means they will be able to read and write. If they know how to read and write, they can then understand better how to vote in their own interests. That will not be good for the present demagogues who rule the roost.

No matter how they try southern "gentlemen" of various stripes are not having much success in keeping Negroes and more poor whites from the exercise of suffrage and other elementary democratic rights. Dixie's political leadership of today is on the road to the scrap heap.

See Stalinists Losing Ground In Cleveland CIO Leadership

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, April 21—May Day 1948 sees a definite change in the Cleveland labor scene. This city has long been a stronghold of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, and the Cleveland Industrial Union Council (CIUC) has been just another group of hand-raisers reflecting the ever-varying line of the CP. In the past few months the division in the entire CIO over the Marshall Plan and Wallace has had its effects here and now the anti-Stalinist, pro-Murray forces are well on the way to victory.

Up to quite recently the Stalinists were in such complete control of the CIUC that many of the non-CP dominated locals had simply withdrawn from the Council. Then came the top CIO edict that city and state councils had to go along with national policy. Further, the CIO ruled that local unions had the right to vote in these councils according to their membership strength. With these to arm them, the pro-Murray forces have come out on top at the last few Council meetings. Their next goal is to gain complete organizational control in the coming CIO elections, and they are especially interested in ousting A. E. Stevenson as Executive Secretary.

In the Cuyahoga County CIO-PAC (political arm of the CIUC), the Stalinists have already been swept from control of the Executive Committee. Some of the brothers relieved of their duties there are now working full time for Henry Wallace.

Most of these developments have not reached down to the rank and file CIO members in Cleveland. It has been an organizational fight between two cliques at the top, and no new program has been offered other than substituting American imperialism for Russian expansion. The advantage is that the totalitarian stranglehold has been broken, and it is likely that there will be more freedom and democracy in the Council.

PRECISION STRIKE

Perhaps of more meaning to Clevelanders is the terrible defeat suffered by the workers of Precision Castings Co. on the west side of the city. The shop has about 500 workers, and was organized by the Mine Mill and

Smelter Workers, and had a union contract. About two months ago negotiations for a new contract broke down. No doubt the real issue was the company's unwillingness to bargain in good faith on wages and working conditions. However, management said that it wouldn't bargain with a union that refused to comply with the Taft-Hartley Law in the matter of filing non-Communist affidavits.

The local union, following the line of its Stalinist national leadership, refused to sign the affidavits. They struck the plant and completely stopped production. Three other Precision plants outside of Cleveland were also called out, but these other strikes either never materialized, or soon fizzled out. The Precision workers here received plenty of front page publicity, and the bosses laid it on thick—saying that only the affidavits stood in the way of normal negotiations and return to work. The Stalinist leadership, committed against signing the affidavits on principle (so they say), even offered to sign non-Communist affidavits directly with the company, but not with the government! Precision wouldn't accept this, the strike dragged on, and the terrific propaganda campaign began taking effect.

The AFL moved in, began signing up members, and requested an NLRB election. Court orders were secured limiting picketing, and a back-to-work movement took hold. Finally this week, the remnants of the loyal Mine Mill and Smelter union members offered to return, asking only for their seniority and no discrimination. Flushed with victory, the company refused even this, saying to do so would amount to a contract, and offered to take individual applications for re-employment from the strikers, promising only to hire them as needed. At this writing, the remaining strikers are claiming a lock-out, and are filing for unemployment insurance.

SUICIDAL POLICY

While every good union man in Cleveland owes his support to the rank and file Precision strikers in their fight for wages and better conditions against a reactionary employer, so also must we have only disgust and contempt for the Stalinist leaders who took their members, out on a limb over the affidavit question.

While the entire labor movement should have refused to comply with this and all the other odious provisions of the Taft Hartley Law, once this refusal was denied by the largest part of the unions, it was suicide for the Stalinists to insist on non-compliance for their own locals. This example shows again that to the CP the welfare of union members is not their main interest. Rather are they set on carrying out their line, which at this particular time is to appear very militant in order to strengthen Stalin's hand in international affairs.

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SECOND THOUGHTS ON THE BOGOTA UPRISING

By A. FERRARA

Just how much substance is there to the charge made by the Colombian government and Marshall, American Secretary of State, that the Bogota uprising (including and beginning with the assassination of the Liberal Politician, Jorge Eliacer Gaitan) was the work of the GPU?

We know only too well that the GPU is capable of any crime in carrying out Stalin's orders. It is also an established fact that the GPU has an extensive and well-knit Latin-American organization with its main centers at Buenos Aires and Mexico City. It is known that GPU agents were present in Bogota before and during the uprising. That these GPU agents participated in the demonstrations along with the Colombian Stalinist Party and in-

cited the masses to aimless violence (aimless from the viewpoint of giving the outbreak a political direction, not from the viewpoint of disrupting the Inter-American Conference), is unquestionable.

It has not been proved however that the assassination of Jorge Eliacer Gaitan was the work of the GPU. According to Rear Admiral Hillenkoetter, head of the American espionage service, the assassin was a Colombian Conservative named Jose Sierra who murdered Gaitan for having obtained the acquittal of his uncle's slayer. Was Sierra a GPU agent planted in the Conservative Party? This fact remains to be established.

In any case, the Stalinists profited greatly from the Bogota events. First, the United States sponsored Inter-American Conference was interrupted

by this outburst of popular wrath, thereby dealing a severe blow to American "prestige." In addition, there remains no serious obstacle to Stalinist domination of the trade union movement in Colombia now that Gaitan is dead. The Stalinists now have no serious competitor in the struggle for political leadership of the Colombian masses.

The authority of the Stalinist Party, which masquerades under the name of the Democratic Socialist Party, will be reinforced by the repressive measures being taken by the Conservative Colombian government against all its political opponents, beginning of course with the Stalinists. Until now the Stalinists were a very minor factor in Colombian politics, were split into several factions and were steadily losing ground. Gaitan's death and the character of the Colombian government will change all this.

THE GPU AND THE WORKING-CLASS

The question of the role of the GPU in the Bogota events should not obscure far more fundamental and urgent issues. Should the tensions between the United States and Russia increase in the coming period, the GPU, operating through the various Latin-American Stalinist Parties, will push the workers into bloody and adventurist actions against American imperialism which will have no other purpose than to disrupt and disorganize the entire political and economic structure of South America. This will serve as a means of halting the flow of raw materials and food to the United States and Western Europe, thereby impeding American preparation for war.

The line American imperialism will take has already been indicated by Marshall's statement on the Bogota uprising, and the anti-Communist resolution passed by the Bogota Inter-American Conference. All political and economic disturbances will be branded as the work of the GPU and thereby be used to justify the cruelest repression. Such repressions have been going on in Latin-American countries for the last eight months and are now gaining in intensity.

The Trotskyists, together with all other progressive left-wing forces in Latin-America, have the responsibility of unmasking the GPU and its agents as enemies of the working-class, and of exposing its criminal aims. The American working-class has the responsibility of denouncing the support given by the American government to the bloody repressions being carried out, not only against the Stalinists, but against the progressive workers and their organizations throughout Latin-America. Our WP comrades must sponsor resolutions on this question in their AFL and CIO trade union organizations. Above all, the Inter-American Labor Federation, an organization of anti-Stalinist trade unions in the Western Hemisphere formed at Lima, Peru last January, must speak out against the reactionary measures sponsored by American imperialism and its satellite government in Latin-America as well as against Stalinism. Unless it fights both imperialisms, the Inter-American Labor Federation will lose the confidence and support of the progressive sections of the South American labor movement.

RECORD OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Intense anti-American feeling exists in Colombia. It is not the invention of the Russian GPU. What this antagonism feeds on and why it continues to grow is worth recording. For this is one part of the background to the Bogota uprising which the servile and dishonest American press did not sketch in.

In Colombia, out of a total direct American investment of 112 million dollars, 75 million is invested in petroleum properties. The major share of these properties is controlled by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. These statistical facts must be translated into the realities of everyday life if one is to understand how ruthlessly American "venture capital" operates in Latin-America.

The atmosphere of corruption and intrigue which surrounds the operations of these oil companies is provided by the following accusations which were made by G. R. Hernandez, a Liberal Congressman, in the Colombian House of Representatives on September 25, 1947.

According to Hernandez, no less than four government Ministers were acting as agents for the oil companies. We outline some of the charges:

The Minister of Finance, Dr. Francisco Perez, before entering the government served as lawyer for the Tropical Oil Company (Colombian subsidiary of Standard Oil) in controversies between Tropical and the government. That this same Perez was a founder and shareholder in said company. That after Perez became Minister of Finance his son took over the job of acting as the lawyer for Tropical and its subsidiaries in arguing cases before the government. Hernandez read a list of 35 legal actions undertaken recently by the Tropical Oil Company and its subsidiaries. In every one of them the lawyer had been Perez, junior.

One other accusation deserves mention. Until the cabinet change which followed Gaitan's murder, the Minister of Government, the functionary in charge of maintaining "law and order" in the country, was a politician named Arbalaz. It was this minister who had the entire labor movement legally outlawed by the Colombian courts in May, 1947. It was this minister who requested and received arms, ammunition and teargas bombs from the United States military attaché in the Canal Zone. Hernandez charged Arbalaz with having been the lawyer for the Phillips, Colombian and Caribbean Oil Companies and of having neglected to sign over his power of attorney for these companies to anyone before becoming Minister of Government in Ospina's cabinet. Finally, Arbalaz was charged with also having acted as the lawyer for the American Embassy in a controversy over some mining properties with the Ministry of Mines in 1944.

The role of the United States itself is worth briefly noting: On September 7, 1947, the American State Department protested to the Colombian government that it was discriminating against United States shipping in the coffee trade. This protest grew out of the fact that the Colombian government had ordered Colombia coffee to be shipped on the Grand Colombiana Merchant Fleet (owned and operated jointly by Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela) whenever possible. The Colombian reaction was quick. On September 10, a demonstration took place outside the American Embassy in Bogota. The building which houses the Grace Line offices, an American shipping company, which has vast interests in Latin-America, was also stoned.

On the basis of such facts as we have sketched above, there is no mystery as to the source of the violent anti-Americanism of the Colombian (Latin-American) masses. In their own government, the American government and the American capitalist class, they see a rapacious and powerful trinity which must be fought to the end. And they are right.

WORLD POLITICS

(Continued from page 1)

Actually, the real defeat of the Stalinists lies in the field of strategy, where they failed to achieve their coveted goal of a majority or, at least, a plurality vote. The fact nonetheless remains that Stalinism represents a formidable mass party of 8,000,000 people, on the whole the working class, poor peasantry and most oppressed people of the Italian nation. Nothing can conceal this blunt fact. Since the de Gasperi regime cannot solve the social and economic problems of these masses, it is idle even to speculate about the "finish" of Stalinism. A strategic defeat, yes; a fatal blow, no.

We must therefore reject as not worthy of serious consideration the loud and vigorous claims of American imperialism. Stalinism can easily cope with, survive and outlast such defeats. But, at the same time, we consider that the Italian elections did chalk up a far more real and substantial victory for the Italian people.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SARAGAT VOTE

We refer, of course, to the surprisingly large popular vote attained by the Saragat Socialist Party, the anti-Stalinist, ring-wing Social Democratic movement founded in opposition to the pro-Stalinism of Nenni. This Party, whose principle publicist is the famous novelist Ignazio Silone, staged a surprising comeback at the polls and emerged as an independent force to be reckoned with.

What is the significance of its 2 million votes? It lies, above all, in the fact that enormous numbers of workers turned away from Stalinism, in the Northern Italy industrial cities, but refused to go to the Pope, or clericalism, or American imperialism (despite threats and letters from their American kin). In the key city of Milan, for example, the Saragatists received 250,000 votes and ran the Stalinists a close second. We do not support or agree with the political program of Saragat—that goes without saying—but we hail this vote as proof that substantial numbers are prepared to vote for socialism but not Stalinism; prepared to fight for democracy, but not the reactionary Papist clericalism.

The coming struggle in Italy will not take place merely against the Stalinists. The latter, clearly unable to take power now because of their defeat, will launch a campaign of strikes and sabotage. But there will also be a reactionary threat from the Right, in the form of the new government, which will attempt to slip over anti-labor legislation, stall off the land demands of the peasantry and, in general, serve the common interests of the Papacy and America. The Saragat Socialist Party cannot dodge such issues. That is why it must become the arena for intense political struggles. That is why this Party, its vote and its future prospects, offer the one bright spot in the entire Italian political scene.

A NOTE ON THE RDR:

Our Paris correspondent, Vincent Care, has sent us a sober and objective report on the newly-founded RDR movement in France, published in this issue of LABOR ACTION. In a previous issue we have called attention to the vicious characterization of this movement by the Social Democratic New Leader. We must now deal briefly with another unwarranted attack not only on the RDR but on those French Trotskyists who have joined it.

RDR Seeks Way to Regroup Socialist Forces in France

By VINCENT CARE

PARIS, April 18 — During recent weeks an important development has taken place in the realignment of the French working class movement. The announcement of the formation of the Rassemblement Democratique et Revolutionnaire (Democratic and Revolutionary Front) during the first week of March, was received with consternation, violent attacks, and enthusiasm.

The RDR, now in its second month of existence, was originally formed by David Rousset, the well-known writer on Nazi concentration camps and old militant of the revolutionary socialist movement; Jean Rous, centrist leader of the left wing of the French Socialist Party; Jean-Paul Sartre, existentialist writer and philosopher; Roger Stephane, one of the best-known resistance leaders during the occupation; five socialist deputies, etc.

The RDR has issued a manifesto stating that it is its objective to organize a broad regrouping of all tendencies of the left, on the basis of the following minimum program: that it is necessary to rebuild an independent socialist movement which suffers neither from the corrupting effect of social-democracy nor from Stalinism; that neither an alliance with Moscow or Washington will save the French labor movement, but only an independent, socialist France offers hope for survival; that the objectives for which the Resistance fought have been betrayed by both the Right and the Left; for trade union unity, for the revival of working-class internationalism. Above all, the program is framed around the fight against the inevitability of war between Russia and America and the conviction that only the socialist revolution can save the world from war and barbarism.

The RDR, as it exists today, declares that it is not a party, that it intends merely to serve as a rallying point for all socialist men of good will who are interested in making heard, once again, the voice of independent socialism. One can remain a member of a political party and, at the same time, adhere to the RDR. The thinking behind this formula is to avoid smashing the Socialist Party and thereby creating a political vacuum in France between Stalinism and de Gaulism, until RDR has become a mass force and a political weight.

There is no question but that the

Paul G. Stevens, writing in the Cannonite Militant (March 22, 1948) on the formation of the RDR, informed his readers about *Franc-Tireur*, publication of the RDR. "This paper, since its foundation during the resistance, has been close to the Stalinists, but recently aroused Stalinist ire by advocating a united front against de Gaulle between the CP and the SP." He further quotes from the first RDR manifesto (published in toto in LABOR ACTION) which takes its stand equally against Social Democracy and Stalinism. One is justified in concluding that on March 22 Stevens considered the RDR, whatever its faults and despite its failure to register or request permission for existence from the Cannonite central office, at least as an anti-Stalinist movement. So far, so good.

But by April 12, 1948, Stevens had changed his tune. The RDR has become suddenly a "pro-Stalinist movement"! Yes, believe it or not, the RDR—viciously denounced in the Stalinist press, berated over and over in the Social Democratic press—is a pro-Stalinist tendency in France! What caused this change on Stevens' part? It appears that the party Stevens supports in France, the PCI, had meanwhile expelled Demaziere, leader of the anti-sectarian wing of the PCI, together with 45 percent of the Party. This left the PCI with a handful of a few hundred isolated comrades.

Slenderer Stevens announced that Demaziere is a notorious "pro-Stalinist" who proposed "... a line of adaptation to the Stalinist policy dominant in the French mass movement." LABOR ACTION, therefore, has an unprincipled alliance with Demaziere, the pro-Stalinist, since LABOR ACTION (as everyone knows) is pro-Truman!

We ignore the question of LABOR ACTION's Trumanism—there is, after all, a limit on what must be replied to. We reject, however, the slander of Comrade Demaziere as "pro-Stalinist." After the war, and including last year, we had many serious differences with Demaziere and his supporters, above all on the question of their attitude toward Stalinism. We spoke of this openly and frankly in our press. But this was last year, and Demaziere has come much closer—along with many others—to our general point of view on Stalinism and other questions. Slenderer Stevens ignores this. We cite but one evidence. In his letter to the PCI, announcing his intention of adhering to the RDR, Demaziere writes:

"The RDR, slow in coming into the world, seems to enjoy very lively success in its first days. My profound conviction is that it must develop seriously in the weeks to come to the point where it will rapidly reach a membership of some tens of thousands. It is the symbol of the confusion reigning, of the bewildered searching of thousands of workers, intellectuals and petty bourgeois who do not wish to choose between Truman and Stalin—that is, between the insuperable evils of petty-bourgeois capitalism and the inhuman issue of bureaucratic and terrorist collectivism, as the form of society following such prolonged degeneration." (our emphasis)

Is that the "pro-Stalinism" you're talking about, comrade Stevens? Incidentally, comrade Stevens, isn't it true that the Fourth International leadership supported the Stalinist Popular Front bloc in the Italian elections?

PS.—Those interested in obtaining the full letter of Demaziere to the PCI may obtain it for 15 cents from the Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1; N. Y. (Bulletin Vol. 3, No. 2)

Whose Law Is This? And What Is This Law?

By STAN GREY

One man puts on a black frock, sits down behind a high bench in a room containing chairs, bibles and American flags and he speaks. As a result of his words, the miners union is fined over a million dollars, the mine leader \$20,000 and a threat of jail is held over his head. The newspaper editorials sing: the system of law has prevailed. The judge is hailed as "courageous" and "realistic." Lawlessness and one man tyranny has been defeated by the rule of Law.

And what, indeed, could be more lawful? John L. Lewis and the government were in dispute. They both appear as equal parties before the Law, a Law which stands above them both, indifferent to the prejudices of either. The Government of the U. S. vs. John L. Lewis. Just like a case of John Doe vs. Sam Smith. The identity of the claimants does not matter. What will decide, what determines is not party interest, but LAW, the eternal principles of Justice which is the bedrock of order.

This is the appearance. This is what seems to take place in the august court of justice. This is the legend that is taught in all schools, propagated and hailed by all newspapers especially when it leads to the fining of the miners unions.

But what is the reality? What really takes place when this one humble human being called a judge utters a few sentences which so drastically affect the lives of the working class. This is a question which every worker must be interested in, for in the Name of the LAW, it is his union, his welfare, his freedom which is now being threatened.

What is this law? How is it made?

THE JUDGE AS "PHONOGRAPH"

There are people who say that the rules of law are not something which men make but principles which they discover, which exist in nature. The judge merely serves as a "phonograph," reading a law which he does not formulate and applying it to whatever case comes up before him. The law is conceived of as some vital, living principle which exists in a world of its own born out of the bosom of nature itself and expressed through the medium of judges and ministers who can only transmit it without alteration or moderation. This is a very lofty point of view and makes of the law an objective truth to which all must submit. Because this view of the Law is one which denies it any prejudices, interests or class preferences, it is the favorite legend fostered and developed by the capitalist ruling class. Thus when Judge Goldsborough rules on Lewis, it is not a person's opinion, it is not the capitalist class, it is not the government, it is the LAW, cold, impersonal, above-the-scene, dispensing its justice according to universal truths.

Most students of the nature of law now recognize this theory to be false. They recognize that the judge is no indifferent transmitting mechanism, but an active participant in the formulation of the law. The judges not only read the law, they make the law. New conditions of life, the problems created by the constant changes in the social economic life of the people are not always covered by the rules of law of a preceding age. These old rules must be developed to apply to new conditions. And it is the judge who does the developing. Supreme Court Justice Cardozo writes of the judge that "he legislates between gaps. He fills in the open spaces in the law."

In the Lewis case, Goldsborough spoke of "a new legal principle" which this case gave rise to. But it was Justice Goldsborough who formulated this principle of union responsibility, it was his interpretation which created a new rule of law, a rule which weakens unions and strengthens the position of the capitalist class. How did Goldsborough arrive at his "new principle." The very fact that he enunciates a new principle should shatter the notion that judges are simple dispensers of a LAW which stands above men. Judge Goldsborough made the law which he applied to Lewis.

HOW THE LAW IS MADE

By what principles did he make this law? There is a crude distortion of Marxist theory which insists on another version of the "phonograph theory," but a phonograph of a different sort. It says that the judge is nothing but a mouthpiece of the bosses, that what the board of directors say in their private conferences, he transmits as law on the bench. This is a distortion of the Marxist view, because what is involved

is not some behind-the-scenes coaching and rehearsing of the judges but a vast structure of capitalist ideas and morals which the judge has absorbed in every fibre of his being from the time he was born. Cardozo in his book "The Nature of the Judicial Process" says:

"Of the power of favor or prejudice in any sordid or vulgar or evil sense, I have found no trace, not even the faintest, among the judges I have known. But every day there is born in me a new conviction of the inescapable relation between the truth without us and the truth within. The spirit of the age, as it is revealed to each of us, is too often only the spirit of the group in which the accidents of birth or education or occupation or fellowship have given us a place. No effort or revolution of the mind will overthrow utterly and at all times the empire of these subconscious loyalties." (pg. 175)

The birth, the education, the fellowships of the judges as a group are such as to make them convinced that the system of capitalism is the best possible system. Any development which threatens the private ownership in the means of production is one which they genuinely believe is a threat to law and order, to peace and prosperity.

The Constitution of the U. S. which was written by and in the interests of the class of landowners and merchants to lead the American revolution has as one of its key principles the sanctity of private property. But this is a very general principle which leaves open wide areas to interpretation. And the judges by their very training and "subconscious loyalties" interpret these provisions in such a way as to protect and strengthen the great industrialists who own this private property and who in our time use it to the detriment of the masses of people. The judge therefore is a legislator and interpreter for the capitalist system and this general approach indicates his attitude towards workers struggles, their unions and activities whose growth and strength threaten this system.

THE COURTS AND LABOR'S INDEPENDENCE

You might say in challenging this point of view: how is it that judges have often passed decisions which favored unions? How is it that the mere existence of unions with whatever powers they have is permitted by law? The answer to this plausible question is the same as to the question: how is it that the capitalist class, whose interests are immediately threatened, now "accept" unionism? How is it that the capitalist government sometimes passes favorable legislation for the working class? The point is that in these cases, the capitalist class is submitting, wisely and in its own interests, to the alternative of least damage.

Modern conditions are such, that to appease the more than legitimate rights of workers, the capitalist class must make concessions to them. These concessions, of wages, hours, unions, etc., are less expensive than the threat of revolution which they imply and which might materialize if they were not given. The courts and their judges react in the same general fashion. No one will say that the capitalist class is impartial simply because it sometimes permits pro-labor measures. For the same reasons, it would be false to believe that LAW is above classes because occasionally its rulings are favorable to workers.

The basic consideration is: when the capitalist system is threatened either immediately or indirectly, the judges fill the breach with a pro-capitalist ruling. This is why we call this LAW a capitalist law, a law based on the rule of private property and therefore on the rule of the powerful capitalist class which owns and controls this property. It is for this reason that the policy of the labor leadership which is one based exclusively on fighting through the courts, that is to say, the "fight" against the T-H law, is a suicidal one. For it seeks redress for workers' wrongs at the hands of those whose every thought and conviction lies basically with the class which imposes these wrongs. No other course can possibly lead labor to the realization of its just rights than the use of its strength independent of capitalist institutions while taking advantage of every possibility in these institutions. Pressure and force exerted through the power of its own class organs, its own political party will accomplish more by their mere existence than a dozen "objections" at the knees of the Justice of the Goldsboroughs.

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(Continued from page 1)

must there be a coordinated effort. Confronted with a mobilized union movement, mapping its demands and the campaign to win these demands together, the corporations would be considerably less cocky.

The answer to the boss offensive is, as always, a labor offensive: an offensive for substantial wage increases WITHOUT ANY PRICE INCREASES; an offensive propelled by a democratically elected board of strategy, representing the men at the furnaces and the lathes, organizing a militant wage-price campaign on a national scale.

Calif. IPP Boosts Wallace, Blocks Way to Labor Party

By ALBERT GATES

Several noteworthy things are happening in Southern California. The population growth of the Los Angeles area is astounding; the city itself is expanding at a rate probably never experienced by any other city in the country. Industrialization of the area occurs at the same time and is one of the reasons for the present influx, but it undoubtedly takes second place to the climate and the manner of life it produces. This growth of population and industrialization will have a profound effect on the already exotic politics of California. And currently, the political situation in the state commands first attention.

California will go Republican; the "popularity" of the dull Warren administration is not the important reason for this prospect. Nor will it be due to the split-up of the Democratic Party and the sharp internal struggles that continue within it. The decisive reason is the Independent Progressive Party of California (read: Stalinist Party) whose candidate is Henry Wallace.

Why Stalinist Party? Because the IPP was conceived, organized and developed by the Communist Party of California for the purpose of splitting the Democratic Party, creating a pressure for a Wallace candidacy or some other such personality in the event Wallace had decided not to run, and carry out Stalinist political and foreign policy through the election campaign.

Some will recall that during the war years the Stalinists sought to penetrate the Democratic Party, but no place did it succeed so well as in Southern California. Stalinists and their followers actually reached high office in the Democratic Party organization, and the County Central Committee in Los Angeles contained more than one Stalinist fellow traveler. The struggle in the Democratic Party over Wallace began quite early in Los Angeles. At the same time, the CP went out and organized the Independent Progressive Party.

HOW IPP WAS BORN

In August of 1947, the CP organized a conference made up of the unions it dominated as well as non-union bodies and the innocents it could round up with its trade union front. It was not a difficult venture since the Stalinists controlled the State Council of the CIO and many local councils, the most important being Los Angeles and San Francisco. The officials and spokesmen of the newly organized IPP were either Stalinists or their supporters and followers.

Being uncertain of the future of the Democratic Party and the nature of the next presidential election, the Stalinist leaders of the IPP did not seek recognition of the party in the state by registering the minimum 27,000 voters required on a state basis, but rather by a mass petition. This would not bind the IPP as a party, which would have been the case had it registered 27,000 voters as IPPers. The freedom of action obtained by this method was obvious: if no candidate like a Wallace was available, the party could seek some other way of expressing Stalinist policy in the 1948 presidential campaign.

With the Stalinist Party as the organized base of the movement, the petition campaign was highly successful and the IPP qualified as a po-

litical party in California. Naturally, the name of Henry Wallace gave the party the zest it needed, for in a state which produced Sinclair's epic movement, the Ham and Eggers, the Townsend-Plan, and a dozen other quack movements, this should not be surprising. There is no need for misunderstanding: the Wallace support here is not basically a quack movement. With the powerful support of the CP and the unions under its control, its character is already established. The issues which Wallace has raised find a consistent echo among large layers of the population. (See previous articles in LABOR ACTION.) But even the slightest knowledge of California politics and movements indicate that the messianism and mysticism of a Wallace is bound to find a responsive echo in the state, particularly, its southern portion.

NATURE CLEAR FROM START

The interesting thing about the IPP is that there was nothing mystical about it. Its organizers were known—known in the union movement as Stalinists or fellow-travelers, known outside the union movement as the same kind of people. The program of the party was likewise known: either it would become a third party if the proper candidate was found, or it would act as a blackmail on the Democratic Party and even on some sections of the Republican Party in lower rank elections. Under no circumstances would it become a labor party; on the contrary, it would fight bitterly against one.

Its program declared that "the purpose of the new party is to guarantee that progressive voters will have someone to vote for. Under the two major parties' practices rank and file voters are rarely consulted about party candidates. With the new party the rank and file voters will be the people who select candidates." It was going to be the Roosevelt Party.

About the only group in California that seemed not to understand the nature of the IPP was the Socialist Workers Party. Everything it said about the party has turned out to be wrong. The completely Stalinist character of the movement was lost on these acute observers who judged the movement not on the fact that it was rejected by all non-Stalinist unions and movements, but by the few innocents pulled into it, including themselves. The SWP set itself the task of transforming the IPP into a labor party, a goal which they firmly believed was, given a break here and there, a real, a living possibility. They hoped to take the movement out of the hands of the Stalinists by calling upon voters to go and register as IPPers despite IPP policy, thus forcing the hands of the organizers and compelling it, by this coup, to become a party. There was something naive and miachavellian about the SWP policy, and not a little of the bragatt involved.

Such a policy could have value if the movement had a genuine all-embracing labor base, conceived and organized by the union bureaucracy as a means of heading off a labor party. But given the character of the IPP, revolutionary socialists could have but one attitude toward it: exposing it as a Stalinist creature, warning the workers against it, and opposing its formation as an obstacle to the development of genuine independent political action of the workers. It seemed that only a handful of SWP

members in this area understood the meaning of the IPP but their opposition was too weak to overcome the opportunism of their local leadership which was sustained by the national leadership.

CLEAVAGE IN CIO

In any case, the IPP is now on the ballot with Wallace as its candidate. This factor has resulted in a sharp cleavage in the CIO. As a result of a bureaucratic decision of the last CIO convention which makes it mandatory for all CIO councils, state or local, to carry out CIO policy, a decision carried out with Stalinist support, no council can legally pursue any policy other than that worked out by the Executive Board. In the present case, where the CIO executive has come out against a Third Party and the candidacy of Henry Wallace, all Stalinist dominated councils are in conflict with the CIO.

This situation has produced a virtual split in the CIO in California. The state and local councils are divided. Bridges has been removed as Northern California CIO Director. Murray has written critical letters to all Stalinist dominated councils demanding that they get behind the CIO election policy and rejecting Stalinist demands for disciplinary actions against the "right wing splitters."

The PAC's are also split. Stalinist dominated PACs collect money to carry out their election policy; the "regular" PACs are collecting money to carry out CIO "wait and see" election policy, or what passes for an election policy in Murray's mind.

WRETCHED POLICY

The split will have a profound effect on the future of the CIO in California. For the first time in years, Stalinist domination of the CIO is seriously threatened. It is a pity that it has to come over such a wretched issue, since breaking the death-like grip of the Stalinists in the CIO cannot but be for the good of the labor movement here as elsewhere. No, the issue is not wretched; the policy of Murray and the CIO bureaucracy is wretched. For never was the time better for the actual organization of an independent labor party. Yet the CIO leadership remains paralyzed; playing the game of reactionary boss politics it does not know what to do.

The capitalist-minded Murray, without a candidate in the Republican or Democratic parties, is lost. As a result we have his obscene pressure to get Eisenhower to run and thus pull him out of a hole. The scene is no better when we look to the AFL, and especially in California, where, for example, the Los Angeles AFL council just passed a resolution demanding that the government keep its hands off tidewater oil—a resolution that could have been written in the offices of the big oil monopolies.

The opportunity for a widespread agitation for a labor party is present. The split in the CIO offers such an opportunity. Pity then, that in this situation, the best that SWP policy could develop was "critical support" to the Stalinist resolutions on the theory that somehow or other, directly or indirectly, the Stalinist resolution pointed a way to independent political action for the workers.

Yet, it is obvious that the ferment in the ranks of the workers runs deep and strong.

A Salute to the Heroes of Warsaw!

By ED FINDLEY

Five years ago, on May Day 1943, the historic uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazi hangmen raged with a stubborn ferocity unparalleled in history. Led by the Jewish labor underground, a remnant of 40,000 Jewish slave laborers, reduced by extermination from an original half-million, rose in armed revolt against the mighty Nazi state.

Isolated, and without allies, they fought not with the hope of early victory over their then all-powerful Nazi masters. Nor, was their heroic fighting spirit merely the result of despair. Many of the Ghetto fighters had ample opportunity to save themselves by escaping from the Ghetto rather than staying and fighting a hopeless battle.

They fought to assert the human dignity of their oppressed, degraded and decimated people. Their proud soldiers' march to death was imbued with a deep, ineradicable faith in the ultimate victory of the oppressed.

This spirit is well expressed in the following manifesto addressed to the Poles by the Jewish Armed Resistance Organization in the early days of the Warsaw Ghetto Battle in April 1943.

"Poles, citizens, soldiers of Freedom! Through the din of German cannons destroying the homes of our mothers, wives and children; through the noise of their machine guns, seized by us in the fight against the cowardly German police and SS men; through the smoke of the Ghetto, that was set on fire, and the blood of its mercilessly killed defenders, we, the slaves of the Ghetto, convey heartfelt greetings to you. We are well aware that you have been witnessing breathlessly, with broken hearts, with tears of compassion, with horror and enthusiasm, the war that we have been waging against the brutal occupant these past few days."

"Every doorstep in the Ghetto has become a stronghold and shall remain a fortress until the end! All of us will probably perish in the fight but we shall never surrender! We, as well

as you, are burning with a desire for vengeance. It is a fight for our freedom, as well as yours: for our human dignity and national honor as well as yours! We shall avenge the gory deeds of Oswiecim, Treblinka, Belzec and Majdanek!"

"Long live the fraternity of blood and weapons in a fighting Poland."

"Long live Freedom."
"Death to the hangmen and the killers."
"We must continue our mutual struggle against the occupant until the very end!"

"Jewish Armed Resistance Organization."
It is significant that socialist youth and workers formed the majority in the Jewish Armed Resistance Organization which organized and led the struggle.

On May 1, 1948, we salute these fighters for the freedom and honor of the oppressed and degraded. Their immortal spirit of unyielding defiance of the oppressors serves as an inspiration in the fight for the socialist liberation of mankind.

Fifteen Rounds to No Decision

RR Worker Is Low Man on Totem Pole

By GORDON HASKELL

The engineers, firemen and switchmen of the railroads of America are being slowly dragged by their union leaders to the conclusion of the latest wage and rules movement.

They say "the mills of the Gods grind slowly." But compared to the mills of the rail labor leaders working under the Railway Labor Act, the Gods proceed with reckless speed.

One whole year has passed since the leadership of these organizations first decided to demand a much-needed revision in rules and wages. One year at the BEGINNING of which the railroad workers were behind the rest of labor in wages and conditions. One year at the BEGINNING of which they were miles behind the rising cost of living.

During this year the rest of the labor movement got one wage increase, is now about to fight it out for another one. During this whole period the rank and file engineers and switchmen have been living on hopes and pulling in their belts.

MOCK BATTLE

If it weren't such a serious business for hundreds of thousands of families in America, the handling of this wage movement would look like a cheap comedy, with the audience (the rank and file) cast in the role of the "fall guy."

Reading the back issues of Labor, national rail labor newspaper, is like listening to one of those broadcasts of a foperoo fight. The "fighters" stagger about the ring in fond embrace, or make mighty swipes at the air. But the radio announcer reports a thrilling battle in which the champ is pounding the contender to a pulp. As one round after another goes by, the radio audience begins to wonder: How come so many blows have been dealt and so much damage done, yet the contender doesn't seem to weaken and the fight goes on?

On May 31, 1947, Labor reported that the five operating brotherhoods had decided to re-submit to the carriers the rules program which had been abandoned (after much shouting about how necessary it was) in 1946.

Twenty days later Labor reported that a meeting had been arranged for October 7 with the carriers on rules, and that a demand for higher wages was to be added.

By October 11 (five months from the opening bell) the "battle" began to warm up. The brotherhood leaders were making "firm statements" to the effect that unless the carriers came across, and promptly, they would do something or other about it. At the same time they decided to demand 30 cents an hour or \$3 on the basic day, effective November 1, 1947.

From that time till this, in addition to the main event (the endless "negotiations," "mediation," "fact-finding") the brotherhood chiefs have been staging a side show with the railroad managements: the "battle of the advertisements."

The companies have spent thousands of dollars (which are doubtless deductible from taxes as an "operating expense") in newspaper ads which claim that rail workers are rolling in money which they earn by "featherbedding." And, quick to strike a blow where a blow is needed, the union chiefs have spent thousands of dues-dollars in newspaper ads which prove that rail workers have about the lowest hourly earnings of any industrial workers in the nation.

(Of course, the question might well be asked: You rail labor leaders are now proving that under your "leadership" your workers have been steadily losing ground for many years. This, it would seem, is about the most damaging admission of failure any labor leadership could make. If your whole past activity has resulted in making railroad labor "low man on the totem pole" of wages and conditions, the only honest thing you could do is to declare your bankruptcy and resign from office. How about it?)

BREAK RANKS

But, back to the main event. By November 8 Labor was quoting union officials to the effect that "operating workers will not brook delay on the wage question." One week later headlines read: "Ops are Pushing for Showdown on Wages and Rules"; "Negotiations Move Into High Gear"; "Must Have Action Soon, Leaders Say." That was exactly five months ago. The only people in "high gear," it seems, were the headline writers on Labor's staff.

Then, in November, the rail workers were treated to the usual scandal which disgraces their union

ment. In the middle of negotiations, two of the participating organizations (the BoRT and the ORC) broke ranks and made a deal with the employers, leaving the remaining three to carry the fight for their original demands alone.

The word "fight" appears in the last sentence. So far it has been, as before, a good fight in Labor with the contestants still clinched in loving embrace while pawing the air with purely verbal haymakers.

From December 6 to January 24 the leaders of the three unions (engineers, firemen, switchmen) were in "mediation" with the employers. Thus forty-nine days were consumed in shadow boxing with employers who had already demonstrated clearly enough FOR EIGHT WHOLE MONTHS that they would make no concessions. Of course, the well-paid officials of both unions and companies took the holidays off from "mediation." After all, it was only in the columns of LABOR that a real fight was going on. (And that was for the benefit of the rail workers who had to work over the holidays at straight time rates, as usual.)

Three months ago mediation ended. In the meantime the union chiefs had taken a strike vote among the men, while assuring one and all that they had, really, no intention of striking. It was just one of those things you do under the Railway Labor Act to go through the motions of a fight for the benefit of the suckers who pay the freight in union dues.

UP AND DOWN

By February 7 of this year Labor was at it again: "He's up, he's down, he's up, he's down" cries the announcer, while the contestants waltz around the ring in slow motion. By this time the proceedings had reached the stage of hearings before a President's Emergency Board. As usual, smashing headlines appeared in the paper. "Three 'Ops' Present Strong Case for Pay Raises and Modern Rules"; "Much Larger Raise Held Justified by Months of Delay." (Question: if "justified," then why not demand a much larger pay raise?)

In the same issue of Labor, however, there appeared a small item stating that the brotherhoods had agreed to extend the deadline for the hearings to March 10 "in the public interest." That was a good one! For

eight long months the union leaders had been pleading, negotiating, mediating and who knows what all else. But even at this stage of the game they were quite willing to postpone things for days and weeks.

After all the "smashing testimony" and "telling arguments" presented before the Emergency Board (any railroad man's wife or ten-year-old kid could give all the "arguments" needed in ten minutes. One pay check and one sheaf of grocery, rent, light, etc., bills should be enough) the unions were offered just what everyone knew they would be offered: the same 15 1/2 cents per hour offered months before, and a few insignificant rule changes.

Well, it's been a long story, but it was a long "battle." At the moment of writing the union leaders have "refused" to accept the Board's proposals, have set a tentative strike date, and have again met to negotiate with the carriers. This is the fiftieth round.

NEXT ROUND UNCERTAIN

What will happen now? Nobody knows. At least, nobody who works on the railroad knows. The engineers and switchmen whose "leaders" have been engaged in the bloody conflict described above haven't the slightest idea of where they stand. The odds are that the union chiefs, with heart-rending screams of protest ("we wuz robbed") will accept the "decision," that is, just what the Board offered. Again, probably, in the "public interest," or some such pap. The only "interest" in which they don't seem to be concerned at all is the interest of the men whom they are supposed to represent.

Eleven months is a long time to wait, even with a good announcer at the mike trying to keep the customers awake. While the rail workers' wages have stood still all this time, and while their conditions are as bad as ever, the cost of living hasn't stood still.

There is an off chance, of course, that things have gone so far that the union leaders won't dare come before their memberships with the insulting "gains" offered. There is an off chance that they will realize that even though in the past they have been able to put on these phony shows and get away with it, this time their heads (read "salaries") are on the block, and that they will therefore call the men out on strike.

The last railroad strike proved one thing. Despite their misleadership, once the chips are down rail workers can and will strike to a man. Last time Truman intimidated the leaders, he didn't scare the rank and file. He knows that, the men know it, the country knows it and the brotherhood chiefs know it. That is probably the thing which scares them most.

When railroad workers show the same solidarity and militancy in running their own union affairs as they showed in the rail strike of 1946 there will be no more year-long "negotiations." They will then choose leaders who will get action, who will get results.

Rail labor need not be "low man on the totem pole" in wages and conditions. To rise in the scale, however, they need a new kind of leadership. That is one of the chief lessons of the present wage movement.

WAYNE COUNTY CIO COUNCIL RESOLUTION BACKS COAL MINERS

DETROIT, Mich.—The Wayne County CIO council adopted a resolution supporting the coal miners in their struggles, and calling for a 24 hour nation-wide general strike. The resolution termed the miners fight a battle of the entire union movement. A fund of \$10,000 was to be raised from local unions to send to the miners. The resolution and action was prompted by Local 7 delegates.

The UMW and the Question of a Basic Labor Program - -

(Continued from page 1)

The capitalist ruling class seeks through its government at Washington to maintain "law and order," capitalist law and order. They seek a "government of laws" and not of men. They are determined to keep the working class and the trade unions within the framework which capitalism and the capitalist ruling class has prescribed for labor and organizations of labor. They must do this because, only in this way, can our capitalist masters maintain their class domination.

The capitalist ruling class in the U. S. today seeks to combat Russia, to establish economic dominion over all the earth and its people, and to raise profits to increasingly higher levels. They seek the aid and intervention of their government in accomplishing these purposes. They approach the Executive, the Congress and the Judiciary. They seek new decrees, new laws and new convictions. They resort to trickery, bribery, intimidation and boycott. They will not hold back from fraud and physical violence, either private or by their government. These are the reasons for their Taft-Hartley law, their plans for the complete and permanent militarization of the country and its inhabitants and their agreed upon formulas for slight wage increases or no wage increases.

POLITICAL STRUGGLE

This is the situation which confronts the working class, the unions and the masses. A greedy, grasping, degenerate, reactionary, destructive ruling class, half afraid, senile, but

determined to have its profits and maintain its rule; a ruling class bearing misery and degradation, but insistent on ruling and taking its dividends.

It is in the midst of this political, economic and social setting that the coal miners have had two strikes recently. We have said before and we repeat: the miners do not grasp and understand the nature of today's political setting. They do not understand that their struggle and the struggle of all labor is or should become a political struggle. To put it very bluntly this means that the fight of labor today should become a struggle for political power. To put it very bluntly this means to carry on a struggle for a government of our own; a class government of the toilers and the masses.

To continue the explanation, this means for labor, the working class to assume the leadership of the nation. This question must be faced squarely and objectively. Are the miners willing to go on being dragged by Democratic Truman into Goldsborough's court and fleeced of a million dollars? Perhaps some workers think that things would be different under a Republican Taft, Dewey, Stassen, Vandenberg or Martin. Then they wouldn't be dragged into court. Or if they were it would be into the court of some "friendly" judge. If one is guided by the cloudy and reactionary politics of Lewis this kind of mythology might be accepted and believed.

THREE COURSES

Lewis, of course, does not understand these things and he never will.

The ranks of the miners and all other workers, however, must begin to understand. We put it very bluntly, in the case of the miners. There are three courses and only three courses for the UMW: (1) adopt a no-strike policy or a partial no-strike policy; (2) continue as heretofore, have an injunction slapped on, be convicted for violating the injunction, receive a million dollar fine; after this go back to the mines with no gains or relatively small gains; (3) take the course which we have outlined above: the way of political organization and working class political action, assume the leadership of the nation, establish a workers' state and a workers' government, begin a real struggle to transform capitalist society into a socialist society.

These are the choices before the miners and there are no other. These are the choices before the entire working class and there are no others. Murray thinks he can escape by announcing that, although U. S. Steel has said "no wage increases," the steelworkers will abide by their two-year no-strike agreement. When Lewis is faced with this kind of situation he merely notifies the miners that no agreement has been reached and they stay away from the pits.

It is nonsense, however, to talk about the miners being the militant spearhead of labor, basing oneself merely on the fact that the miners strike oftener than other unions. It is not sufficient to call Lewis the ablest labor leader in the country, belabor Murray for class collaboration, conservatism and what not, and let it go at that. The steelworkers and the

miners are in the same ditch. The militant, progressive and far better educated and trained automobile workers are in that same ditch.

In fact, there is no "spearhead" in the trade union movement today. There cannot be so long as no union and no labor leader steps out in front with the call for political organization and independent working class political action. It is time for the shelving of all romanticizing and word-mongering in this connection. It will not do the miners or any other workers any good. The miners get enough of word-mongering from their own phrase-laden leader. We remember that when Lewis appealed to the Supreme Court after his last bout with Goldsborough, he announced pontifically to the miners that this is a "constitutional court... it has been and we believe will always remain the protector of constitutional liberties. . . ." This protector of liberties decreed that he should give the U. S. Treasury \$10,000 and his union \$700,000.

We say very frankly, that labor cannot emerge from the present day wilderness by bombast, the paying of fines, by the simple procedure of strikes, by mere refusal to strike, by Truman vetoing a Taft-Hartley bill, by drafting Eisenhower or by the Olympian statesmanship of the Honorable Joe Martin.

NEW OUTLOOK NEEDED

We are making no demands here for "labor to throw out the present leadership" and elect another leadership. We are not telling "the workers" what they "must" do. We are not in-

terested in increasing the volume of gas in the universe nor the sum total of verbiage. We are trying to the extent that we are able to explain to workers and particularly to the miners that the times have changed. We tried before to explain to the miners that they cannot use their old slogan, "we do not work without a contract" in the same way as in past years. That slogan can no longer be upheld and supported by the economic strike alone. The UMW discovered this last year when the union was fined and sent back to the pits. That slogan can be properly advanced in the future only by a workers' organization which is ready and prepared to engage in a conscious and planned political struggle. A union, however, which understands this, will also understand that an orderly retreat for reinforcements or for the organization of an offensive, is to be preferred to a rout and a scattering of the forces.

The strategic need of the labor movement today is not so much to elect new individuals to office but to have a new program, a new outlook and a new goal. We can envisage the possibility of the labor movement getting a worse leadership than the one it has now if the emphasis is placed on getting new individuals into the offices. We can think of no one in the UMW who would make a better president than Lewis. We could only prefer Reuther to Murray as president of the CIO because Reuther advocates a program of a more advanced sort than Murray. But even here we have to say that in the long run there may be no ground for a