

Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 27, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

99

FIVE CENTS

Reuther Seen Winning UAW Delegate Vote

By KEN HILLYER

CHICAGO—It is obvious by now that Reuther will win an electoral victory in the United Automobile Workers Union. Sweeping victories at Dodge 3 and Chrysler 7 this week, added to victories all over the country, make it certain that Reuther will win the election.

Why was the victory so complete? First, we must note that the Addes-Thomas-Leonard caucus, which is opposing Reuther, is closely linked to Stalinism, which is currently under attack by the State Department. And, second, we must note the disgraceful level of opposition put forward by the A-T-L group.

The speed-up stories that started in Fisher Body Local 45, Cleveland, which has a strong Stalinist influence, boomeranged when it was found that the National Planning Association had listed Addes, Thomas and Frankenstein among its officers, as well as Reuther.

The Taft-Reuther combination libel, announced over the air by libel lawyer Drew Pearson, was blown to the skies when it was tied on Harry Barnard, new press agent for A-T-L, and formerly press agent of Mayor Kelly of Chicago's corporation counsel.

The Gerald L. K. Smith document which purported to prove that Smith will gain if Reuther is elected also backfired and solidified the union around Reuther.

The significance of these issues went deeper than appears on the surface. What was involved was an

indictment of Stalinist methods of employing slander and character assassination against opponents. This practice has served to poison the atmosphere and has led to extreme factionalism.

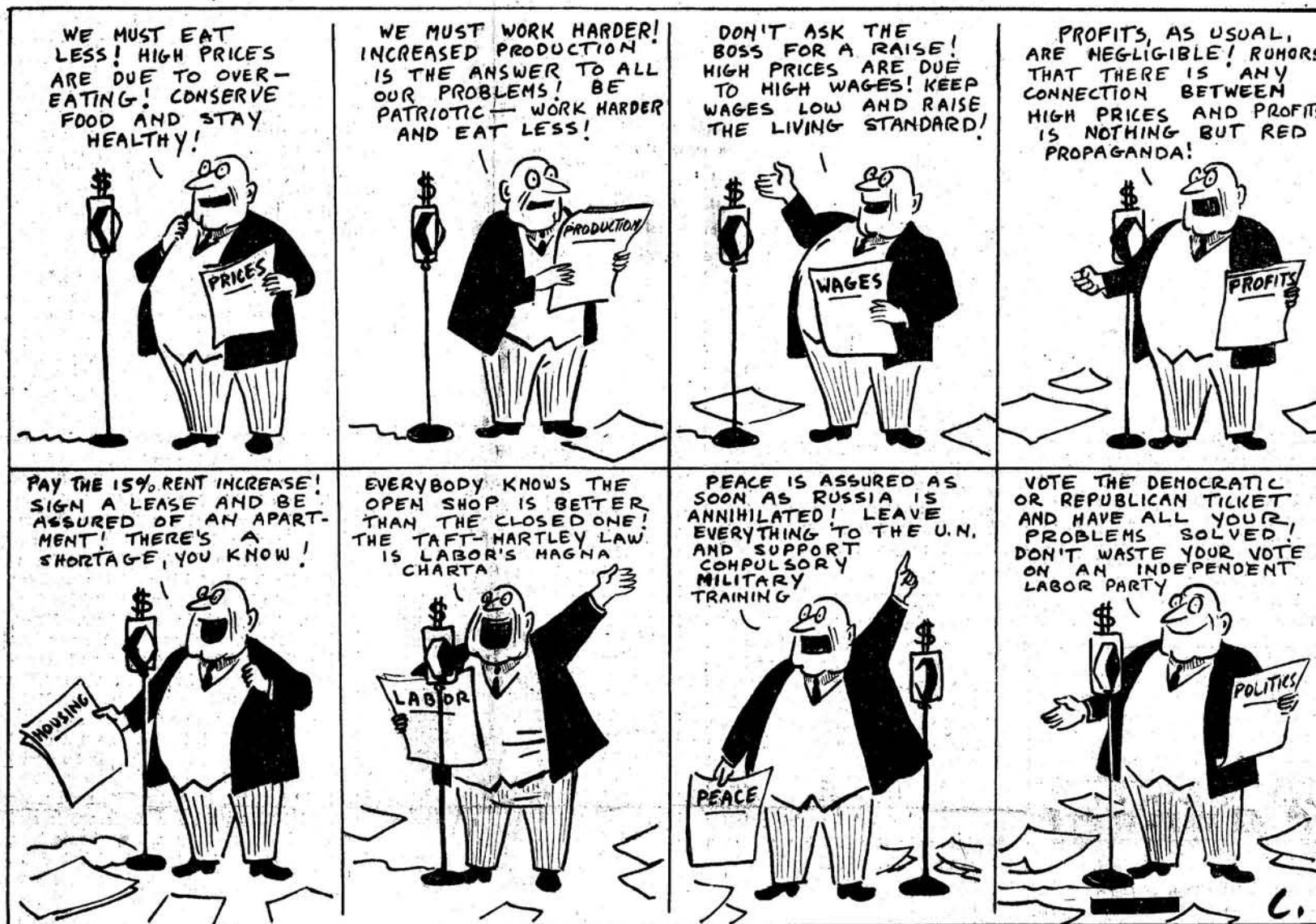
Because of this atmosphere, there is loose talk of the possibility of a split, and the possibility that the convention, which will meet in Atlantic City on November 10, will encounter "difficulties" that will make it hard to continue. This has to be understood by all militants as a danger. No splits, no disruption should be allowed. There are union-wrecking rumors which clearly issue from the same sources as tried slander and frame-up.

With organizational victory in sight, Reuther has moved further to the right. His playing ball with Murray, his dropping of the "call for independent political action" and his continuation of the theme of "no outside influences" have become all too obvious in their meaning. However, it is ridiculous to credit the charge that he is building a personal, dictatorial machine. The charge shows a complete lack of confidence in the militancy and independence of the auto worker. Reuther knows only too well how his popularity fell on those occasions during and after the war when the leading militants were opposed to his policy.

This will govern future events
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Bakery Profiteers Hike Bread Price One Cent!

The Capitalists Solve Our Problems!



Corporation Profits Soar To New High

Starting this week, consumers in New York City, Baltimore and Philadelphia will pay one cent more for the regular 18 ounce loaf of bread.

The price increase in bread is expected to spread to other cities. Announced first by General Baking Co., makers of Bond, and by Ward Baking Co., makers of Tiptop, other giant companies in the industry were expected to follow suit, with the smaller companies tagging along.

One cent more for bread means that a great many homes, already scrimping on milk, butter, eggs, milk products, meat and vegetables will sacrifice part of their diet with possibly serious consequences.

It seems incredible to speak of this in rich, fertile United States, but malnutrition is threatening the health of increasing numbers, especially children, as reports from various city and state departments of health attest.

If all this spells hardship for the worker and the people as a whole, it gladdens the heart of the profiteers. Big food combines like Atlantic & Pacific, Safeway and American Stores boosted their profits in 1946 to \$30,200,000, \$1,400,000 and \$8,300,000 respectively which in the same order represents an approximate tripling, doubling and quadrupling of profits over 1945.

Figures released by the Department of Commerce this week show that total corporation profits for the United States AFTER TAXES, rose from 16 billion dollars in the final quarter of 1946 to \$17.5 billion in the first quarter of 1947, and \$16.5 billion in the second quarter. Eliminating inventory adjustments, says the New York Times, "profits before and after taxes would show a steady increase from the last quarter of 1946 through June of this year."

Along with other things, that explains high prices AND disposes of the boss contention that wage increases either cut into profits or seriously boosted prices. It also explains the necessity of doing something about prices. The "free enterprisers" will do nothing to lower prices. It is AGAINST their interests, as it is IN the interest of the people to lower prices.

Bread, butter, eggs, milk, meat and almost everything else we need! Higher prices on these essentials dictate the necessity of comprehensive and coordinated ACTION to force prices down and push wages up.

The urgency of labor and consumer cooperation in price committees is crystal clear. Equally so, a militant union drive for wage increases that simultaneously bar price increases and provide for an escalator clause in union contracts.

The time to start on this is NOW. The place: IN OUR UNIONS and IN OUR COMMUNITIES. It won't be done for us. We must do it ourselves!

Truman Finds "Police State" in Price Control

By SUSAN GREEN

Mr. Truman has added a few new words to his political vocabulary. The words are "police state." He assured newspaper reporters that price control and rationing of food are "police state" methods. The President affirms that his voluntary "eat less" program is a test of free enterprise, his belief in which is unshakable.

Of course, so-called free enterprise is meeting the test in its usual fashion. Wheat on the Chicago exchange rose from \$2.80 a bushel when the President came out with his weak-kneed plan, to \$3.05 at this writing. The free-enterprise bakers are boosting the price of bread by one cent a loaf. Bakers have also agreed to wrap a smaller loaf of bread and leave the top crust off pies. It's as certain as the ever-rising sun that

the prices of the smaller loaf and the crustless pie will not be lowered sufficiently to make up the difference and the consumer will get it in the neck. Distillers are cooperating and have consented to a partial holiday in production. But how about the thousands of workers who will thereby become idle? Oh, the workers? Well, the United States Employment Office will do its utmost to find them something to do to tide over.

The way free enterprise is rising to the emergency is thus altogether in character. But the President does not want price control and food rationing. No, indeed. These are "police state" methods.

However, what the President is really saying is that the capitalist government, of which he is chief ex-

(Continued on page 2)

Penn Supreme Court Rejects Rader Appeal

PHILADELPHIA—The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has refused to hear the appeal of the Workers Party for reinstatement on the ballot. The Supreme Court, the highest judicial body in the state, gave no reason whatsoever for its decision. It merely declared that it would not hear an argument in defense of the Workers Party legal suit for its democratic rights.

In collaboration with the SWP, the Workers Party carried the legal battle for the democratic right to appear on the ballot through four court hearings. In the process of fighting for democratic rights the candidates,

candidate. This small number represented a real threat, however small, as several Republican politicians have let it be known, since it could snowball into a large threat and because any political action independent of Republicans and Democrats threatens the basis of their power.

That is why, not satisfied with disbarring the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party from the ballot, these two machines of the same capitalist class, have begun a detailed house-to-house campaign of lies, intimidation and threats. They seek to destroy the possibility of in the same sources that tried slander and frame-up.

SCARE CAMPAIGN

The chief accusation against the Workers Party has been that it is "communist," in the sense that it conspires with the Communist Party. They charge this in spite of the declaration by Martin Witkin, County Commissioner, that the Board of Elections was not charging the Workers Party with association with the Communist Party.

A statement issued by the Workers Party last week declared, "The Workers Party is and has been a consistent fighter against Communist PARTY domination of the labor movement. We are a revolutionary socialist party, against Stalin's dictatorship, but also against the dictatorship of the capitalist monopolies and the Sixty Families. It ill behooves those who but yesterday had a war alliance with Stalin's brutal police state for their own ends, to accuse consistent revolutionary socialists of association with the Communist Party."

More important are the threats of FBI investigation, of keeping names on record, of eviction and of job dismissals. All these have been employed by the ward-healing hirelings of the City Hall gang to frighten workers from the Fifth District from supporting independent labor politics.

The Workers Party statement declared, "We offer to give legal and other protection and defense to anyone in this district who is threatened or who suffers as a result of supporting our independent labor campaign."

Elections In France

Returns on the highly significant municipal elections in France were published too late for analysis in this issue of LABOR ACTION. Next week's issue will carry a detailed review of the elections by Henry Judd.

U.S., Russia Back Partition Plan

Palestine Independence Remains Central Need as UN Imperialists Pursue Their Own Aims

By AL FINDLEY

As a result of declarations by the United States and Russia in favor of partition of Palestine, Zionist officialdom in Jerusalem believes that, the Jewish community in Palestine is on the eve of statehood.

The U. S. declared itself in favor of the unanimous recommendations of the UNSCOP and the principles of the majority report on partition and immigration. Nothing was said

about that section of the report that urges all countries to admit the DPs. The doors of the U. S. remain closed to the displaced persons of Europe. The U. S. proposed modification in the borders of the two states, i.e., Jaffa to be given to the Arab state. The exact boundaries would be drawn by a subcommittee which would report back to the Ad Hoc committee of the UN, which would then report to the General Assembly and which

would be able by a two-thirds vote to make a . . . recommendation.

As to implementation of the recommendation, the U. S. had two suggestions. One was for an international constabulary force of volunteers. The second was an order-in-council to the British to stay in Palestine.

CRACKING THE WHIP

LABOR ACTION recently reported that the State Department be-

lieves the strategic needs of the Anglo-American bloc require the presence of British troops in Palestine. The present demand of the U. S. confirms this report. The British statement about "evacuating" Palestine was intended primarily as pressure on the U. S. to make Washington support the Morrison-Grady plan. The statement was supposed to place the Truman administration in the dilemma of either taking over control in Palestine—a solution it is not ready for—or backing the British. However, the senior partner of the Anglo-American bloc decided "to eat its cake and have it too."

Truman bids for Jewish votes by favoring partition—just like his Republican rivals—and at the same time keeps his skirts "clean" on American military intervention by the simple method of forcing the British to remain. That is the meaning of Herschel Johnson's statement that the responsibility for governing Palestine remains with the mandatory power.

The British lion has submitted a little. Sir Arthur Creech Jones again addressed the committee in the name

(Continued on page 4)

Let's Make Our Protest Heard:

Balk Landlord Strategy!

By IRVING HOWE

A highly dangerous leak in the already shaky dikes of rent control developed week before last when Housing Expediter Frank Creedon granted a request of the Louisville real estate agencies for an over-all and mandatory five per cent increase in rent. Immediately speculation arose in all parts of the country that the Louisville case would be used as a precedent to raise rents all over the country.

The attack on Creedon by Philip Murray, president of the CIO, in which he denounced Creedon as "weak" and "vaccillatory," was something of an understatement. For the truth was that by his action Creedon spread joy in the hearts of all the real estate agencies throughout the country, and simultaneously added still another prospect of economic hardship to the country's millions of workers already staggering under the greatest price rise America has seen since the First World War.

Creedon was not merely "weak" and "vaccillatory." He was lining up squarely with the real estate interests and squarely against the millions of wage earners of America. He was serving as a helpmate of America's capitalist class, helping it further to swell its already staggering and unprece-

dent profit rate. And he was acting not as an individual; he was acting as a responsible official of the Truman administration, that is, of the American capitalist government.

LANDLORD STRATEGY

The strategy of the real estate lobbies has been during the past several months to fight on two fronts: (1) to abolish rent control altogether; (2) to cripple whatever rent control there is. They did not succeed in the first objective because the members of Congress realized that they would be signing their political death warrants if they allowed rents to skyrocket without impediment. But the real estate lobbies have been gradually winning out on the second objective.

In innumerable ways, described in detail in previous issues of LABOR ACTION, rent control has been whittled away until it now has one foot in the grave and the other sliding in. The real estate lobbies, however, were sorely disappointed when their pet scheme of a "permissible" 15 per cent increase didn't work out: most people simply refused to grant such increases.

Hence they worked day and night to find another way to increase rents. They had their men

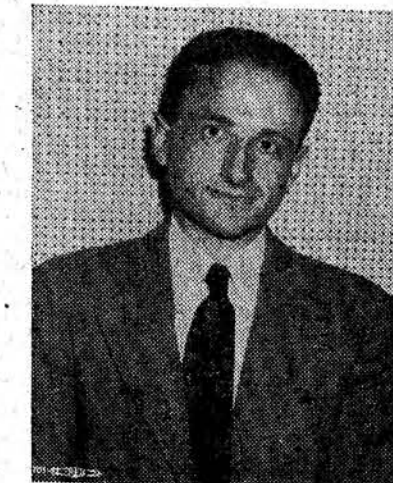
appointed to the "local advisory boards" that were to advise Creedon on local rent setups. And Louisville represented their first but important victory.

WAVE OF PROTEST

Now the situation stacks up this way: Unless there is an immediate wave of nation-wide protest from labor, tenant and consumer groups, the Louisville decision will undoubtedly be used as a precedent. If there is such a wave of protest, then Creedon and his crew will be forced to draw in their horns; they will recognize that they have gone too far and will decide not to repeat the "Louisville experiment."

It seems completely unnecessary here to tell our readers what a five per cent increase would mean. It is the equivalent of STILL ANOTHER wage cut. Each time the price of meat goes up you suffer a wage cut. Each time the price of butter goes up you suffer a wage cut. And now if rent goes up you'll suffer another wage cut. How many wage cuts can you stand?

That is why there is no time to be lost. A flood of protests, trade union actions, demonstrations are on the order of the day. Let Washington hear the voice of America's workers: NO RENT INCREASES!



I. JACK RADER

Jack Rader of the Workers Party and Irene P. Le Compte of the Socialist Workers Party, were fined \$100 each and two campaign supporters were fined \$50 each.

At no time did the representatives of the two corrupt boss machines, who were defending their monopoly of the ballot and of political power, seriously present legal or political arguments against the nominating petitions of the labor candidates. They were satisfied that their kept courts and commissions would do the dirty job for them regardless.

RUTHLESS MACHINE

We were opposed by a well entrenched, ruthless and vicious apparatus which has held tight political control in Pennsylvania for 75 years without serious challenge, namely the Republican Party. The action of the Supreme Court, in simply refusing, without reason, to hear our appeal, is another indication of the complacent rule of the big business machine. There is no resort to pretense.

We have been disbarred from the ballot for one reason only. That is, we received 1200 signatures on our nomination papers and on the basis of an independent labor program and

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Sees Lesson for Labor in AFL Parley

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 17—Through days and days of dull, uninspiring sessions, made stimulating only by occasional flurries on a few issues, the 66th national convention of the American Federation of Labor met in this city the past two weeks.

As in 1935, John L. Lewis roared his opposition to the AFL's officialdom, this time on the issue of submitting anti-Communist affidavits to the NLRB.

"Belly-crawlers," he called his adversaries. "God knows they pay you enough to think," he bellowed.

Secretary George Meany presented the attitude of the majority of AFL officials in his reply to Lewis.

Thus, the leading representatives

of over seven million organized workers, meeting in annual convention, countered what they themselves had called a "slave law" with an appropriation of a million dollars for "educational and political" work.

The visit of Kurt Schumacher, German Social-Democratic leader and the first representative of German labor to speak before an American labor gathering since the early thirties, failed to stir the convention.

The CIO's urgent plea for united action was summarily dismissed with the now familiar cry of "organic unity or nothing."

There was more "militancy" in some of the addresses of invited governmental guests than in the statements of most of the AFL officials.

It is, however, worth noting that the convention adopted several resolutions that are more progressive than usual.

ity discrimination and for fair employment practices, and for anti-lynching legislation. Plans were laid for a vigorous organizing campaign in Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

The political action provisions were a hodge-podge of variously worded documents pledging the strength of the AFL to elect people "who favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and favor labor's legislative program."

An independent Labor Party resolution was unexpectedly presented by a delegate from the Santa-Cruz Central Labor Council.

ILLUSTRATES TASK

The two remaining Federation officers after the constitutional change, President Green and Secretary Meany, were unanimously re-elected.

gauntlet to them; their answer was a whimper and an appropriation of a million dollars now and two million for a later "emergency."

As for John L. and his miners, their independence and heroism and militant speech - making are not enough this time.

However, the problem in 1947 is no longer merely the organization of workers in mass-production industries.

HOUSEWIVES SCOFF AT TRUMAN PLAN TO "SAVE" FOOD

BALTIMORE—The Baltimore Afro-American reports that most of the housewives interviewed expressed doubt as to whether "meatless Tuesdays," omitting poultry and eggs on Thursday, and saving a slice of bread a day is the answer to the problem of how to obtain more food to feed Europe.

Even by utilizing meat substitutes and left-overs, housewives find that they are spending substantially the same as they did before prices began to soar.

"I don't see how I can save much more," she said.

Truman Finds "Police State" -

(Continued from page 1)

ective, has no intention of compelling the speculators, the monopolists, the economic masters, to subject their profit just to the general good.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

On second thought, perhaps Mr. Truman, who is so befuddled in general, doesn't know the meaning of the term "police state."

History has given that term unmistakable significance. When a ruling class resorts to force and terror against the whole people to keep them in hopeless subjugation to the exploiting minority, that's a police state.

Does Mr. Truman know all this? Then he is simply saying "boo" to scare the people.

Only the National Association of Manufacturers and those whose thinking it controls, can claim that, in the face of the world crisis in food and food prices, anything short of strict price control and fair food rationing can seriously meet the problem.

Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 17—The several months old strike of walking bosses against the Luckenbach Steamship Company and the Outer Harbor Dock Company in San Francisco and Los Angeles is officially over, courtesy of Arthur Miller, government arbitrator by insistence of the union, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen, CIO.

The waterfront employers used the Taft-Hartley Act's provision against granting NLRB bargaining rights to "supervisory" employees as their reason for their anti-union tactics.

WDL LAWYERS HOLD PRINTERS' STAND IS LEGAL

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—Contrary to editorial denials by the Memphis Commercial Appeal, Howard chain newspaper, the peonage situation in the deep South is "even worse than anticipated."

Watts investigated in particular the case described by the WDL in its fund appeal of a Negro who was kicked, later beaten and finally flogged almost to death when he attempted to leave a plantation for a better job.

Had a Store Shave Lately?

Maybe you think you're a pretty good guy. And, maybe, with the exception of one or two little tricks you occasionally pull on the wife, you think you are a pretty good husband.

NEW YORK WORKERS! RESERVE THIS DATE:

Friday, Nov. 7th FALL FESTIVAL AND BARN DANCE CARAVAN HALL 110 EAST 59TH STREET

Auspices: Local New York, Workers Party

Find Peonage Facts Worse Than Expected

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—Contrary to editorial denials by the Memphis Commercial Appeal, Howard chain newspaper, the peonage situation in the deep South is "even worse than anticipated."

Watts investigated in particular the case described by the WDL in its fund appeal of a Negro who was kicked, later beaten and finally flogged almost to death when he attempted to leave a plantation for a better job.

An atmosphere of extreme fear reigns in the area as a result of the recent discovery of the decapitated body of a Negro veteran by a roadside.

The situation in an adjoining Alabama county is equally bad, Watts said. An additional investigation has been added to the WDL staff now probing peonage.

Meanwhile, support for the League's anti-peonage campaign came from California, where eleven Los Angeles unionists and civic leaders publicly urged full support of the drive.

WDL LAWYERS HOLD PRINTERS' STAND IS LEGAL

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—The International Typographical Union's policy of refusing to sign contracts under the Taft-Hartley law was held legal by Rowland Watts, secretary of the Workers Defense League's committee to aid local unions under the Taft-Hartley law.

In offering the League's legal aid to Samuel Katz, secretary of Local 915, ITU, Watts wrote: "We believe that the position taken by the ITU in establishing shop conditions independent of contract is not only legal but a basic pattern for union security which will become increasingly necessary in all industry."

The local has been accused by the Nassau Daily Review-Star in a complaint to the NLRB of refusing to bargain.

NMU Convention

An article summarizing and interpreting the recent convention of the National Maritime Union arrived too late for inclusion in this issue. It will appear next week.

With the Workers Party

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY.

- AKRON: Write to Box 221. BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. CHICAGO: 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor. CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m., in Room 4, Slovenian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave. DETROIT: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. LOS ANGELES: 3314 So. Grand Los Angeles 7. LOUISVILLE: Write to Robert Durant, Box 1181. NEWARK: 248 Market St., Newark 2. NEW YORK CITY: CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St. YOUNGSTOWN: Write to J. P. Walters, Box 605.

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of their money for the good of the country and for their families is presented by the U. S. Department of Commerce in an itemized budget showing scores of detailed expenditures. After you read in this report how much money was spent on individual items in 1946 you will question your value to your community and your family.

Editorials

The UAW Fight And the SWP

Our readers know that LABOR ACTION has expressed itself unambiguously in support of the Reuther group in the United Auto Workers Union in its fight with the Stalinist-Addes-Thomas group for control of the organization. The reasons why LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party as a whole have taken this position have been set forth many times in these pages.

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, has finally come forward with the contrary point of view. After a dispute in its own ranks in which a minority of its militants who are active in the UAW proposed support of the Reuther group, the SWP decided to support the Stalinist-Addes-Thomas combination. The reasons for this position are given in a leading editorial published in The Militant of October 13.

In coming issues, LABOR ACTION will print articles with a detailed analysis of the latest situation in the UAW fight with special reference to the position taken by the SWP. Here we want to deal with only one aspect of the editorial in The Militant on the UAW fight.

Our readers know that while we are not Reutherites, we support the Reuther group as against the Stalinist-Addes group. The difference is highly important. The real need of the UAW, as of the whole labor movement, is a program and a leadership based firmly on the class interests of the workers. Neither of the two main groups in the UAW meets this requirement. In the absence of a qualified independent group, we have consistently advocated the idea of supporting the Reuther group in the fight for control with its rival. We are not interested in the personalities involved, with such second-rate or totally unimportant questions as whether "Reuther has dictatorial ambitions" or "Thomas is a nobody."

What is important to us in the given situation is that the Reuther group does what it must do—namely, defend the labor movement which it leads, even if it does so inadequately, at least from our standpoint; whereas any group which is aligned with the Stalinists and dominated by their aims, is not and cannot be interested primarily in defending the independent labor movement because their course is dictated by the objective of subordinating everything they lead or can control to the interests of the totalitarian Russian bureaucracy, interests which are incompatible with the existence of any independent or free movement. As our readers know, our opposition to the Stalinists has nothing in common with so-called "Red-baiting," since there is nothing "Red" about Stalinism and since the Stalinists are the fiercest enemies of every genuine socialist or communist movement. So, again, without being Reutherites, we are unhesitatingly supporting the Reuther group in the UAW conflict.

The SWP editorial statement supports what it calls the "Thomas-Addes-Leonard faction" (evidently it is not a Stalinist faction of any kind). To justify this policy, which is in our opinion utterly false and an inexcusable blow to the interests of both the labor and the socialist movements, the SWP not only minimizes the significance of the Stalinists in that faction to the point of unimportance, but engages in attacks upon Reuther which are misleading, at best, and vicious and slanderous, at worst, and which are taken directly out of the filthy arsenal of the Stalinists themselves. Proof of this is available to anyone who takes the trouble to compare the SWP editorial with almost any issue of the Daily Worker.

The writers of the SWP statement did not even bother to disguise the source of their charges. The Stalinist-Addes-Thomas group publishes a weekly anti-Reuther smear-sheet filled with the most venomous slanders against its opponents. It is called "FDR." Even if we didn't know whose organ it is, an elementary knowledge of political language in the labor movement plus an equally elementary knowledge of the methods and language of the Stalinists would soon give us the necessary information. It reeks of "Moscow Trials" at a distance of six feet. Only the most naive ignoramus could make any mistake about it.

We have before us the editorial in The Militant of October 13 and the September 25 issue of "FDR." Page 2 of The Militant prints an article which shows that its editors have also seen the September 25 issue of "FDR." We note with astonishment that the SWP editors have not only seen "FDR," but that they have repeated its whole "program" of attacks on the Reuther group in their own policy statement on the UAW situation. And in some parts of this statement they have been so careless as to repeat the Stalinist-Addes arguments just about word for word. It is hard to believe, but here are a couple of striking examples.

Speaking of Reuther, "FDR" says: "He has centralized everything in GM into his own hands so that no decision of any consequence can be made in the GM local unions and plants without the authority and sanction of the GM Department, that is, Walter P. Reuther."

The Militant editorial echoes: "The GM Department is unquestionably the worst bureaucratic division in the UAW. Everything there has been centralized into Reuther's own hands, so that no decision of any consequence can be made by the local shop committees and officers."

"FDR" writes: "How does Reuther get away with this? Because he has a 'gentleman's understanding' with the GM management who play ball by dealing only with him and his representatives, and ignoring all other union officials and local shop leaders."

The Militant editorial echoes: "Reuther has successfully constructed this autocratic edifice with the help of the General Motors Corporation. He has a 'gentleman's understanding' with GM, and the latter deal only with him and his representatives and studiously ignore all other union officials, as well as the local and shop leaders."

We can understand a policy of supporting Reuther's opponents, even though we consider the policy wrong, disorienting, demoralizing and

harmful in every respect. But in adopting such a policy, why did the SWP find it necessary to borrow the very language of the gang whose every word, as bitter world-wide experience has taught us, is suspect the minute it is uttered? The significant relationship between politics and the language of politics is well known. The policy of the SWP is mainly determined by the fantastic theory that the Stalinists are at the "left wing" of the labor movement and that it must follow right behind the tail of the Stalinists. This is tragic but true. This is not the first time the SWP has repeated the arguments of the Stalinists. It has seldom done it so crassly. That is a bad sign.

Not for Food

The U. S. government is dumping potatoes by the thousands of bushels, despite repeated exhortations to the people to eat less.

Department of Agriculture officials have announced that 595,000 bushels of potatoes have been dumped during the past eight months.

Last year, department officials said, about 22,000,000 bushels were left in the ground to rot or were otherwise destroyed. Despite this waste, potato prices have been gradually climbing, until housewives now pay an average of five cents a pound.

To cover up this scandalous situation, the Department of Agriculture insists that it doesn't pay to ship these potatoes since the price of transportation is prohibitive. (Transportation charges on refrigerated ships to run \$70 a ton.) They say that by the time potatoes arrive abroad they are a very high priced article.

But this excuse obviously doesn't answer the questions which should be raised about this matter. Some of these questions:

1) If it is too expensive to ship potatoes abroad, why not keep them here in America, use them for food and send across a less bulky item in their place? If more potatoes are eaten in the U. S., then more of some other food could be spared for starving Europeans.

2) Even if potatoes can't be shipped abroad and if no substitute for them can be shipped, then why not allow them on the market so that prices of potatoes can go down? There are plenty of people in this country who have a tough time making ends meet. If the price of potatoes declines, things will be easier for them.

It is clear that what is happening here is a repetition of that capitalist wisdom by which Henry Wallace, when he was Secretary of Agriculture in Roosevelt's cabinet, paid farmers to decrease production, even while millions of Americans lacked food and clothes. Here again we see capitalism as an economy of scarcity, of deliberate and artificial scarcity.

End of an Era

A little-noticed newspaper item announced a week or two back that The Progressive, organ of the Wisconsin "Progressives," has folded up. Thus the last ember of the fire once lit by Robert La Follette, once the leader of American progressivism, has been squashed. The reason given for discontinuing the paper is that prices of printing have gone up; which, while true, seems hardly sufficient explanation. Other and smaller papers keep on going.

We suspect that the real reason The Progressive folded up was that its editors and political backers felt that it no longer had any special purpose. At one time the older La Follette had captured a segment of the American imagination; he had spoken as the representative of the small farmers ground down by big business, and of those liberals not willing to break from capitalism and align themselves with the socialist cause. La Follette was a man of very considerable energy, talent and stature. Though he did not understand the basic workings of modern capitalist society, he at least had a partial vision of its inadequacies. And he had a sense of rebellion against social injustice. In part he was an inheritor of the populist tradition of the American Mid-West, which at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, flared into revolt as an expression of rural discontent.

La Follette, it should be remembered, was a contemporary of Eugene Victor Debs, the great socialist leader. To say that it is both to place him and to point out his failings. Where Debs saw that the entire social system was rotten, La Follette still hoped to patch it up; where Debs was a spokesman of the militant working class, La Follette largely gained his support from the lower middle class.

Between the progressivism of the older La Follette and its recent version of his sons, Philip and Robert, there is a wide gulf. For all its social inadequacy, the former had a certain crusading fire. But as one perused the pages of The Progressive in recent years, it was obvious that there was a dried-out cause, badly floundering between timid liberalism and a flirtation with America First isolationism. The magazine began to look more and more like the Social Democratic New Leader, though fairness dictates that one admit it was more "progressive" than the New Leader.

In its decline—as in the folding up of the American Guardian several years back—we may observe a symptomatic epitaph to a period of American life. Issues have now been posed too sharply, struggles are too open and blunt to permit a half-way position. The intermediary position of liberalism—be it the rural variety of The Progressive or the more sophisticated varieties that still persist in a number of magazines—can answer no basic social question.

The issue is posed ever more sharply: one side or the other, decaying and rotten capitalism or revolutionary and democratic socialism. The readers of The Progressive, who cannot retire into comfortable political positions, as do its backers, will be faced ever more inexorably with that choice. We hope they choose the side of socialism.

WORLD POLITICS

Last week, Secretary of State Marshall, speaking with customary military preciseness, addressed the national CIO convention and won open support for his Marshall Plan from the assembled delegates, with the exception of those Stalinists present. It was an important victory for Marshall, since Philip Murray and other CIO leaders had first intended to bar the whole issue from discussion at the convention. The character and content of the Marshall program for European intervention is beginning to shape up much more clearly now and the beginnings of a definite strategic orientation—both as to how to put the plan across in America and how to carry it out in Europe—can be observed. It was therefore with deliberate intent that Marshall accepted the invitation to address the CIO gathering and went out of his way to gain its endorsement.

But this easily gained victory, thanks to the uncritical position held by the conservative, pro-imperialist CIO leadership, is a minor step compared to the obstacles Marshall must yet overcome. His principal block is, of course, the set of numbskulls and blind reactionaries who exercise such powerful influence in the present Congress; a crew of gentlemen whose vision is so distorted that the proper, in fact only, path possible for the very imperialism they wish to advance, is lost to them. It is not the noisy opposition of Russia's Stalinist agents in America; nor, unfortunately, the admittedly weak opposition to his plans offered by revolutionary socialists, that Marshall fears. It is his own crew of stony-faced, cigar-smoking, ultra-conservative Congressmen.

SEE WHAT THEY WANT TO SEE

Many of these "representatives of America," traveling singly or in organized groups of greater or less size, have just returned from trips of varying lengths to the countries of Europe. Each has contributed his wise words on the "European situation" upon his return; each has seen—as could have been foretold—precisely what his preconceptions had already determined he would see. The beset Secretary of State unquestionably will enjoy imposing military silence upon his Congressional mouthpieces!

Europe is a hungry, semi-starving, half-wrecked continent of disillusioned and listless masses of people. The just published Krug report reveals that American wealth and productivity, without excessive strain, could pour \$20 billion life-giving food, materials and equipment into the Old World and bring it back on its feet. Yet listen to the approach and attitude expressed by our eminent representatives just back from Europe. Here is a member of the Herter committee, considered to be one of the more serious and conscientious groups that have been touring.

"We tried to look at Europe in about the way a banker would look at a bankrupt corporation trying to get a loan. Is it worth while trying to refinance the outfit (he is referring to Europe—HJ) and get it on its feet, or should it be allowed to go through the wringer and start again from scratch?"

We can rest assured the clever European Stalinists will rebroadcast these superbly rotten remarks the length and breadth of Europe. Then there are the two famous Congressmen, Representative John Taber, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and one of his Republican buddies, who blandly announced they had seen no signs of starvation, nor even of undernourishment in Europe! His buddy also informed us that the difficulty lay in the unwillingness of people in Europe to work hard.

These folk expected the undernourished to appropriately announce themselves to the visitors, and the starving to parade the streets. The hungry and undernourished? They are everywhere in Europe, with minute exceptions. We wonder whether these men looked in the workers' suburbs of Paris, or the destroyed quarters of Berlin and a dozen other German cities, or the dock areas of Northern France, or the towns and villages of Italy? Steered around by American army offi-

cers, as were most of the tourists, this is most unlikely. As for the starving, will someone kindly inform these Americans that they remain home in bed, until their finish has come? But anybody in Europe could have led Taber to homes where he might witness these scenes—provided he cared to. As for the problem of working at a speed satisfactory to American Congressmen, let the proper caloric diet be provided for and then complaints are in order. These over-colored gentlemen are not noted for their labors and efforts.

HOW EUROPE'S MASSES VIEW U. S.

The very week that these gratuitous remarks were made, the Sunday Times published its latest comparative report on the American and the European diet, derived from statistics of the International Emergency Food Council. Its essential facts are eloquent:

United States	3,400 calories per day
England	2,900 calories per day
France	2,600 calories per day
Holland	2,600 calories per day
Belgium	2,500 calories per day
Austria	2,000 calories per day
Italy	2,000 calories per day
Germany	1,800 calories per day

We accept these figures as sufficient to indicate the absurdity of the Congressmen's remarks, but we are highly skeptical about them. The Americans get their listed diet—the others do not, in practice. But regardless of this, it indicates that tens of millions in Europe eat half or only slightly more than half of what the average American does.

The words of Taber and his kind, rest assured, travel from one end of Europe to another. The new "Cominform" will guarantee that! The approach of the more liberal Democratic Party tourists is little better. Those who propose aid do so entirely from the point of view of maintaining America's prestige and its foothold in Europe, as opposed to those who wish to withdraw. All found the situation in Europe a favorable talking point for making the United States "stronger on land, sea and air." The most ardent supporters of the official Marshall Plan emphasize the save Europe from Stalinism objective, without the slightest hint as to what Europe should be created. This, of course, is characteristic of the largely negative strategy of American imperialism. But an analysis of the Marshall Plan, in the concrete, must await the release of more details and information about it.

Four months in Europe have convinced this writer of the powerful, ever-present and growing anti-American feeling that exists. It is not solely due to the behavior of American GIs (in Germany and Italy), together with this recent exhibition of callousness and indifference displayed by the touring Congressmen. Nor can it entirely be laid at the door of the widespread Stalinist efforts to discredit America. No, the factor of indifference and disinterest displayed by the American labor movement, both AFL and CIO, toward the European labor movement, is definitely an element present. For it must be understood that this anti-Americanism is strongest of all among the European working classes, of the different countries. It is the European middle class remnants, petty bourgeois and bourgeois who alone are pro-American—that is, pro-American imperialism. The European people are not, generally speaking, they have contempt and disdain for things American and are too easily prey to the Stalinist demagogues.

The uncritical endorsement by the labor federations of the Marshall Plan (the details of which cannot, according to the most optimistic accounts, go into operation before six months) can hardly help to bring about that essential and necessary distinction between American big business imperialism and the American working class. To the European worker, that differentiation is yet to be made. It must be made, as a part of our struggle against BOTH Washington and Moscow.

HENRY JUDD.

International Socialist Notes

Indo-China

We publish below a report that has come to us on the activity of the Trotskyist movement in Indo-China. We have made no effort to elaborate or edit the material, but present the bare facts as we received them. Of course, we cannot vouch for the accuracy of each detail. However, we expect additional material in the near future.—Ed.

There was a split in 1930 in the Communist Party, from which there emerged three semi-Trotskyist groups. One called itself the La Lutte group and the leader of it was Ta Tu Thau. The second was a small group of journalists and intellectuals, and it soon disappeared. The third group called itself the International Communist League and oriented toward the building of factory cells. It came into conflict with the La Lutte group, which wanted to unite with the left wing in the CP to form a centrist party.

In 1939 the La Lutte group participated in the local elections and achieved an unprecedented electoral victory over the Stalinist candidates. The ICL supported the La Lutte group in the elections and also succeeded in getting them to come out openly in the elections as a Fourth Internationalist party. At the end of 1939, the La Lutte group was recognized as an official section of the Fourth International, whereupon the ICL disbanded and joined the former.

Between 1939 and 1940 there was intense rivalry and conflict between the Trotskyists and the Stalinists. During this period the Trotskyists could claim 3,000 adherents. The La Lutte group had by then a full Trotskyist program.

ICL REESTABLISHED

In 1945 the Trotskyists succeeded in organizing a trade union movement in Indo-China. However, the rising nationalism engendered by the war gave birth to the Viet Nam. From the beginning this came under Stalinist control and drew a large part of the La Lutte element into it. The ICL was then reestablished.

On August 25, 1945, there was a large demonstration for national independence in which 40,000 people participated. The ICL participated in this demonstration with Trotskyist slogans and drew the greatest acclaim from the demonstrators.

This was the peak of the Trotskyist strength and influence during the struggle for national independence against the French imperialists. At that time the ICL had its own headquarters and military formations and had organized in Saigon more than 200 workers and peasants' committees. The ICL had the main posts (chairman, etc.) in the executives of these committees. The ICL even had its own print shop.

At the above mentioned demonstration there were only two political tendencies: Trotskyism and Stalinism. So militant was the demonstration that even the police who were present were forced to carry revolutionary banners. Japanese soldiers were also present and joined in applauding the speakers. The sympathy of the Japanese soldiers with the slogans of the ICL was so great that they brought to the Trotskyist headquarters 5,000 rifles, six machine guns and 15 cases of machine gun ammunition.

ATTACKS ON ICL

The La Lutte element unified with the Viet Nam on the basis of national independence and a Viet Nam Republic. They repeated the mistake of the CP in the Chinese Revolution by merging with the Viet Nam and surrendering the struggle for revolutionary organizations independent of the Viet Nam in which workers and peasants could fight for their social interests. The La Lutte element refused unity with the ICL organization and even went so far as to attempt to assassinate members of the latter, but were prevented from doing so by the masses who came to the support of the ICLers and protected them.

However, the attacks against the ICL that were parried in August were successfully inflicted the following month, when the masses had to fall back under the onslaught of the imperialists. In September, it

the course of a demonstration, French colonial troops opened fire on the demonstrators, causing many casualties. The Nationalist Party, which together with the French police and French administration had staged a coup d'etat and which, because of their lack of mass support, had then given over the power to the Viet Nam, now accused the Trotskyists of provoking the reaction by pushing the people to revolt. On September 12, as a result of the anti-Trotskyist campaign fomented by the right-wing Nationalist Party, the chief of police—who was a Stalinist—and 500 police encircled the headquarters of the ICL and arrested the entire Central Committee of 53 members.

On September 23 British and French troops arrived. The Viet Nam abandoned its positions and fled. The masses were reorganized by the ICL into syndicates and workers' and peasants' committees which included Japanese soldiers. However, in the face of an imperialist enemy armed with tanks and modern equipment, the workers and peasants found it necessary to retreat eight kilometers after a bloody struggle lasting 15 days.

FIGHT AGAINST ODDS

From then on for six months they continued their fight against a superior imperialist foe, during which time the Viet Nam sabotaged their struggle. The ICL was the backbone of this fight. One of their members was made a general in recognition of his services. He was killed in battle on January 1, 1946. So great was his reputation that all the leaders of the nationalist army came to his burial to pay tribute to him and on his grave they inscribed the fact that he was a member of the ICL.

The ICL worked against great odds and with little material resources. Despite that, they had guns, their own radio, doctors, nurses, a hospital and organized the feeding and other services of their forces. The Viet Nam was in constant conflict with the ICL during the fighting and even went so far as to steal a good deal of the food sent to the ICL by the peasants and workers.

VISHINSKY

HIS "DISCRETION" IS NOT ALWAYS A VIRTUE

The following letter was sent by Max Shachtman to the editors of the New York City press:

Sir: The credibility and moral value of Mr. Antrey Vishinsky's declarations may be judged from the following incident. It is reported in a recent issue of the weekly journal, New Leader.

At his press conference on September 26, Mr. Vishinsky was asked by a correspondent to confirm or deny the authenticity of two secret protocols signed in 1939 by Molotov and Von Ribbentrop, found in the files of the German Foreign Office and published in Europe and the United States.

Mr. Vishinsky replied: "I must say that a similar question was raised at the Nuremberg trials. I can only ask the persons who ask such questions whether they can confirm or deny the fact that there are many documents which prove that the Trotskyites were in the pay of the German fascists."

I hope you will permit me to point out that this "fact" not only can be denied but has been denied. It may be added that no one, neither Mr. Vishinsky nor any other representative of the Russian government, has ever confirmed it. And it is precisely at the Nuremberg trials, to which Mr. Vishinsky so imprudently refers, that ample opportunity for such a confirmation was available to his government colleagues.

PETITIONED NUREMBERG EXAMINATION

Your readers are aware of the fact that literally hundreds of prominent Russian Bolsheviks were executed, following the notorious Moscow Trials, on the charge of plotting the subversion and overthrow of the Stalin regime in concert with the Hitler government and the German Reichswehr. Outside of Russia, the trials and the convictions were generally regarded as purely political persecutions without serious juridical foundation.

The Stalin government could not have asked for a better occasion to prove its charges against the Trotskyites, real and alleged, than the one offered by the Nuremberg trials. First, the Nuremberg Tribunal had literally tons of German government and Reichswehr documents at its disposal, which would certainly have revealed at least traces of the "Trotsky-Hitlerite plot" if one had ever existed. Second, the alleged principal German partners in the plot were present in the dock for questioning about their share in the conspiracy. Third, the Russian government itself was well enough represented both on the judges' bench and among the official prosecutors.

With this in mind, prominent public personages in this country and England addressed themselves by telegram and letter to Chief Justice Sir Geoffrey Lawrence of the International Military Tribunal in March, 1946. Through Sir Geoffrey, they asked the Tribunal to examine both the documents and the defendants with reference to the charges made at the Moscow Trials. "While these Nazis are still alive," read one of the letters, "any testimony or documentation they can present, is subject to the most thorough scientific investigation and check. Moreover, it will not be possible to understand why the defendants at Nuremberg were not interrogated with regard to the charges which asserted that Trotsky was actively engaged in a conspiracy with them to bring about the World War."

STALINISTS PREFERRED SILENCE

In the United States, this communication was signed by Messrs. Norman Thomas, Matthew Woll, Oswald Garrison Villard, George N. Shuster, Harry D. Gideonse, A. Philip Randolph, Dorothy Detzer, David Saville Muzey, Selig Perlman, Horace M. Kallen, Rev. John Paul Jones, Msgr. L. G. Ligutti and about a hundred others, all of whom are men of recognized social responsibility and prominence. In England, a similar letter was signed by the late H. G. Wells, Capt. John Baird, M.P., Dr. C. A. Smith, Prof. C. E. M. Joad and numerous others.

It is a matter of record that neither the Russian prosecutor nor the Russian judge at the Nuremberg trial adduced or even sought to adduce any material evidence to sustain the charges at the Moscow Trials. Neither did they direct so much as a single question to any of the Nazi or Reichswehr defendants on the same subject. It is not difficult to reach a conclusion about the reason for this remarkable omission. While the evidence about the "Trotskyites [being] in the pay of the German fascists" exists in Mr. Vishinsky's official imagination but never existed during the Nuremberg trials, it would have been a comparatively simple matter for a few properly directed questions to bring into public existence the very real relations that existed between the Nazis and the representatives of the government represented by Mr. Vishinsky. The silence of the Russian representatives at the Nuremberg trials shows not only that they are capable of exercising discretion but that discretion is not always a virtue.

Yours,
Max Shachtman, Chairman,
Workers Party.

October 20, 1947.

CONFERENCE WILL PRESS TRESKA INVESTIGATION

BOSTON—A nation-wide campaign to effect a solution of the unsolved murder of Carlo Tresca, crusading editor of a New York Italian journal, will get under way here Sunday, November 2, when delegates from at least 25 labor and liberal organizations in ten states will gather for an all-day session at the Hotel Touraine.

The object of the movement is to galvanize the New York City police and District Attorney Frank Hogan's office into a new investigation of the Tresca killing, widely regarded as a political murder. Tresca, who had made numerous bitter enemies because of his attacks on both fascists and Stalinists, was slain in the 1943 dipout. He was shot down near the office of his paper, El Martello (The Hammer).

Speakers at the Boston meeting, to be called the Justice for Tresca Conference, will include Norman Thomas, Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, lately back from Japan, where he made a survey of civil liberties, and other prominent individuals.

Plans for similar Tresca conferences in San Francisco, New Orleans and elsewhere already are being discussed.

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I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member.

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An Examination of the SWP's New Line in the Auto Union Fight

Which Caucus Should UAW Militants Support?

By WALTER JASON

At long last the silence of the Socialist Workers Party (Cannon faction) on the factional struggle in the UAW-CIO has been broken. The October 13 issue of The Militant, which speaks for the SWP, appeared with an analysis of the fight inside the auto union.

Less than six months ago spokesmen of the SWP were assuring the auto workers that the struggle between the Reuther tendency and the Addes-Thomas-Leonard-Stalinist bloc had no meaning except as a scramble for posts. And SWP supporters introduced resolutions in local unions to that effect (example, Local 212).

Now, "Great and important things are at stake in this fight." Correct, as any activist in the Auto Workers Union understood more than six months ago.

The sharp and politically significant conflict between the Reuther tendency and the anti-Reuther bloc is reaching a climax at the forthcoming national convention in November.

How ironical that at the very mo-

ment of a real victory over the Stalinist rule-or-ruin clique, at a time when the decisive section of the most militant, democratic and progressive union in America is giving those scoundrels the blows they deserve, the SWP calls upon the auto workers to reverse their decisions, to defeat the Reuther caucus and to give control again to the Addes-Stalinist bloc!

Such advice is worse than stupid. It is a crime. Fortunately the auto workers, in decisive majority, will pay scant heed to it, except to make a mental note about the authors, for the SWP has succeeded only in discrediting itself by the policy it advocates.

A BASIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

In order to understand the grave character of the error committed by the SWP and to grasp the roots of that error, it is required that one state unambiguously what fundamental approach guides sound trade union tactics.

Here we can think of no better elucidation of the problem than the following quotation:

"We must classify the Stalinists and the reactionary and 'progressive' patriotic labor fakers as simply two different varieties of enemies of the working class employing different methods because they have different bases under their feet. It brings us into a complicated problem in the trade union movement. It has been our general practice to combine in day-to-day trade union work with the progressives and even the conservative labor fakers against the Stalinists. We have been correct from this point of view, that while the conservatives and traditional labor fakers are no better than the Stalinists, are no less betrayers in the long run, they have a different base of existence. The Stalinist base is the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. They are perfectly willing to disrupt a trade union in the defense of the Soviet Union. The traditional labor fakers have no roots in Russia nor any support in its powerful bureaucracy. Their only base of existence is the trade unions. That tends to make them, from self-interest, a little more loyal to the unions than the Stalinists. That is why we have been correct in most cases in combining with them as against the Stalinists in purely union affairs."

This analysis is essentially correct, especially when applied to the UAW-CIO. This quotation is from the speech of JAMES P. CANNON, head of the SWP, as printed in the Socialist Appeal of October 19, 1940.

The factional struggle in the UAW-CIO during the war period confirmed to the hilt this analysis of the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists. The flip-flops of the Stalinists proved they functioned exclusively as agents of Stalin. The distinction between the militants and the Stalinists was razor-edge sharp on two vital issues: the question of piecework and the no-strike pledge. The Stalinists sought to tear the guts out of the UAW-CIO and the working conditions in the shops by demanding a pro-piecework policy, and by opposing irreconcilably any strike struggle of the UAW-CIO militants. In contrast, the "progressive patriotic labor fakers," "from self-interest, a little more loyal to the union," responded to the pressure of the membership, and resisted the Stalinist drive. Inadequately, to be sure, but none the less he resisted. The Addes-Stalinist bloc demonstrated "they are perfectly willing to disrupt a trade union in the defense of the Soviet Union."

But that does not answer the question. When and on what issue or issues in the UAW-CIO during the past 18 months did the genuine militants break from the Reuther caucus? Perhaps on the Allis-Chalmers strike debacle, which discredited R. J. Thomas and the Stalinists? Perhaps on Reuther's demand that the International Executive Board keep verbatim minutes so the rank and file can keep a closer check on the leadership? Perhaps on the FE merger fight? There is no evidence, and none can be produced to prove that the solid union militants switched sides. Quite the contrary.

There is an amazing but understandable gap in the SWP analysis of the UAW-CIO factional struggle at this point. There has to be. Walter Reuther has retained and solidified his leadership over the bulk of the militants who built the UAW-CIO. One issue that made this crystal clear was the fight on the phony FE merger proposal advocated by the Addes-Thomas-Leonard-Stalinist bloc.

Precisely because the record of the past 18 months proved to the anti-Reuther forces that they did not have and could not win the support of the UAW militants, the Addes-Stalinist bloc was forced to try a ruthless, cynical maneuver to pack the forthcoming convention with new votes. This reckless gang tried to use its mechanical majority on the International Executive Board to railroad through the FE merger proposal.

HAVE UNION MILITANTS QUIT REUTHER CAUCUS?

The Reuther tendency coalesced during the GM strike in 1946 when the GM strike program united the "progressive patriotic labor fakers," symbolized by Reuther, and the genuine militants who built the Rank and File Caucus to fight the no-strike

pledge. The SWP can hardly dispute this analysis thus far. The point of their argument is that subsequently the genuine militants have deserted the Reuther caucus because as "president of the union he has been far from militant and far from progressive."

Of course, Reuther has not advanced one step from the GM strike program. As a matter of fact, he has been competing, and successfully, with the Addes-Thomas-Leonard-Stalinist bloc for a bloc with Philip Murray, CIO president, on the basis of Murray's conservative program.

The pressure for Reuther's "swing to the right" came primarily from Murray and the top CIO officialdom. It is not a reflection of the sentiment of the masses who support his tendency. The disorientation caused by this is reflected in The Militant editorial and provides a basis for the discredited Stalinists and semi-Stalinist demagogues, who themselves have been crawling on their bellies before Murray, to recoup some of their dwindled prestige by a barrage of empty radical-sounding phrases. If rank and file militants accept the reasoning of The Militant editorial, as they will not, it will serve only one aim—the aim of the Stalinists, which is to postpone by any means the final blow of the axe which is inevitably coming.

But that does not answer the question. When and on what issue or issues in the UAW-CIO during the past 18 months did the genuine militants break from the Reuther caucus? Perhaps on the Allis-Chalmers strike debacle, which discredited R. J. Thomas and the Stalinists? Perhaps on Reuther's demand that the International Executive Board keep verbatim minutes so the rank and file can keep a closer check on the leadership? Perhaps on the FE merger fight? There is no evidence, and none can be produced to prove that the solid union militants switched sides. Quite the contrary.

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Willingly or unwillingly—it is beside the point—Reuther had to appeal to the rank and file on a militant, democratic, sound industrial union basis for support in blocking the Addes-Stalinist plan. The response exceeded Reuther's fondest expectations. The UAW ranks gave the Addes-Stalinist bloc a terrible defeat. The victory in this fight was that of the rank and file, even more than Reuther's. The results of the elections for convention delegates—roughly a trend for a two-to-one majority for the Reuther tendency—show that the ranks understood the significance of this struggle, in terms of an analysis of the character of the two contending factions.

Is it a wonder that the SWP officially was silent on this crucial issue? That its present analysis, the first it has published in many months, conveniently overlooks the significance of that struggle? The facts contradict the SWP theory, so the facts are ignored. In passing, one must record that the role of the SWP on this question was thoroughly opportunistic. Officially, no policy. In practice, vote for the merger in locals where it would carry, and evade the question in locals dominated by Reuther supporters!

The blind spot of the SWP in that fight, and in its present analysis, is the unwillingness or inability to grasp the character of the "struggle against the Stalinists in the UAW. In his struggle against the Stalinists, from 1943 until today, Reuther has been attacking them essentially as a reactionary force in the UAW. His main attack concerns their war record, the FE merger fight, and their rule-or-ruin tactics in behalf of Moscow, irrespective of the interests of the men in the shops.

STUMBLE INTO TRAPS SET BY STALINISTS.

The bulk of the UAW militants support Reuther as the symbol of the struggle against the reactionary Stalinist gang. Reuther retains this support primarily because he knows how to appeal to the sound, democratic and militant sentiments of the ranks. The FE merger fight is a vivid and fresh memory in the minds of the auto workers.

The SWP characterizes Reuther as a "red-baiter." But what does this mean? Does Reuther attack the CP because they are too militant, because they are revolutionists? No. He attacks them essentially for the reactionary role they have played in the UAW-CIO and links up this reactionary role to the anti-working class regime in Russia. His formula against outside political parties, which obviously can cover genuine revolutionists as well as Stalinists, is the cloak for maintaining the domination of bourgeois political ideas in the labor movement, and Reuther utilizes an essentially correct criti-

cism of the CP in order to help bolster his own opportunistic, pro-capitalist politics, which is summarized in support to the Democratic Party. But in this respect Reuther is not one iota different from his opponents, who use the identical formula in their statement of October 3 against outside interests.

The confusion of the SWP in fundamental line on the Stalinists makes them prey for the two Stalinist traps set up for the gullible. In the first instance in an effort to hide their record, the Stalinists and their allies have centered agitation against the miserable features in the GM contract. By screaming at Reuther in GM the Stalinists hope to divert their role in shoving the notorious "company security" provisions in the Ford contract, in putting piece-work provisions in some contracts during the war which still remain in force. The SWP loses itself in criticism only of Reuther. Certainly, the major criticisms of the GM contract are correct. But the duty of objective criticism is to subject the whole of the UAW-CIO bureaucracy and its results in contract negotiations to the same test. The results of this kind of investigation are admitted by the SWP.

"A number of the leading figures of the Thomas-Leonard-Addes caucus can unquestionably be classified as narrow-minded union machine politicians. Furthermore, the basic program of this faction on wage policy, political action, etc., scarcely differs from that of Reuther or Murray. There should be no misunderstanding on this score," the Militant informs us. Well, then the Stalinist demagoguery on the GM contract should not, and does not serve as a decisive basis for choosing between the two factions.

The second trap set by the Stalinists for the gullible, concerns the present character of what the Militant names as the "Thomas-Leonard-Addes" bloc. It consists in demonstrating that the Stalinized caucus is not Stalinist. "Not only do they (the Stalinists) not control the Thomas-Leonard-Addes caucus. They have no voice in its top councils, and are not even a significant factor in its lower ranks," The Militant declares.

For the Stalinists, this device covers up their own reactionary role. For the Militant, the device serves to avoid the question of the struggle against Stalinism in the UAW where militants are engaged in a desperate battle with it.

Here one can learn an instructive lesson in judging the character of a tendency or faction in the labor movement. Does one judge a caucus by who makes the speeches? Who sits on the platform at caucus meetings? Does one ask the absurd question is Thomas a Stalinist? Is Addes a Stalinist? Or has he been cheating the Stalinist party out of dues? This type of question has importance in estimating the individual's role in the caucus. But what is the political program of that group? What is the decisive line?

Of course the Stalinists, for diplomatic reasons, have taken a back seat in the anti-Reuther caucus. They are not idiots. The days when Nat Ganley or John Anderson openly mingled with the leadership are over. But what policies has this caucus followed? What policies do they advocate for the coming national convention? We ask a simple question. On what important political or organizational question has the Thomas-Leonard-Addes—minus the Stalinists—caucus disagreed with the Stalinist line in the UAW-CIO? The SWP would have to search the records not for one day, or a week, or a month, or a year, but for a long period of time, and still they would not be able to furnish any important example.

MUST JUDGE ADDES BLOC PROGRAMMATICALLY

There is another test. What kind of programmatic struggle is the anti-Reuther caucus waging. Unfortunately, in this case we see only another trap set by the Stalinists, which has ensnared at least the SWP.

"But a confluence of circumstances has forced upon the Thomas-Addes-Leonard faction a more progressive role than Reuther's. These circumstances are the reactionary nature of Reuther's factional struggle, his attempt to displace his fellow officers

and install himself as the undisputed leader of the auto union, his ideological bloc with the right-wing elements of the labor movement (Dubinsky, John Green, Emil Rieve, etc.) Through sheer necessity and for its own protection, the Thomas-Leonard-Addes group is forced to assume the role of a progressive grouping, fighting for more militant methods, and attitudes, and for democratic rights of the entire membership."

There is a distortion of truth in the last sentence of the paragraph quoted from the Militant editorial. Just as the Stalinist hacks speak of "Soviet Democracy," and vigorously defend a totalitarian regime, so the Addes-Stalinist bloc pays ceremonial tribute to militancy in those localities where this deception might garner a few votes. But the character of their struggle against the Reuther tendency must be judged not by bread crumbs tossed to hungry faith-seekers, but by its over-all political nature.

The real character of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard struggle is Stalinist in every respect. Utilizing the position of the top Reuther leaders on the question of signing the non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley law, the Stalinists' real brain trusters of the anti-Reuther caucus have concocted a genuine Moscow Trial frame-up technique against Reuther.

BORROWING MOSCOW TRIAL TECHNIQUES

First, Drew Pearson, Washington correspondent, was sold on the idea that the Republicans were considering Reuther as a running mate for Taft. Then a Taft-Reuther club for president and vice-president was announced in Chicago. Instantaneously, the Stalinists in every local union in Detroit began shrieking about a Taft-Reuther plot to destroy the UAW-CIO. Here was the ace-in-the-hole that was to swing the majority of auto workers from Reuther to the Addes-Stalinist bloc. Another variant on this smear technique was the publication in a gutter sheet called the "FDR" of a letter from Gerald L. K. Smith purporting to back Reuther because Reuther was supposedly anti-Semitic! (Parenthetically, this "document" hasn't prevented Thomas and Addes supporters from carrying on a vicious anti-Semitic campaign against certain militants in the Reuther caucus.)

Unable to debate issues, the Stalinists and their fellow-travelers always resort to the Moscow trial technique. What is alarming, as well as disgusting, is to see SWP supporters in Flint and Detroit distributing this filthy literature in the presence of a member of the Political Committee of the SWP. Such is the disastrous end to the road that the blind policy of the SWP in the UAW-CIO brings them. Instead of utilizing this opportunity to educate the auto workers in the tragic consequences of acceptance of the Moscow Trials, and the Stalinist technique the SWP tail-ends the Stalinists, and urges the auto workers to put that bloc in power.

No one can say that the SWP did not have sufficient warning against such fatal consequences to their policy. In 1940, Cannon himself pointed out, in the same speech already quoted, "We must be very careful. If we allow ourselves to become confused and mixed up with the Stalinists, we will cut ourselves off the road of our approach to the rank and file of the trade union movement, which, in my opinion, is a more important reservoir of the revolution than the Stalinist rank and file." We subscribe to that viewpoint. The same cannot be said of the SWP today.

UAW Vote - -

(Continued from page 1)

also. As the Labor Party idea grows in the consciousness of the workers, Reuther's attitude toward it will determine whether he continues to be as popular as he is today. Reuther will have to LEAD the workers and advance such ideas as captured the imagination of the workers during the GM strike. To look at it in any other way is to give up on the militant independence of the UAW.

The danger of "outlawing" all politics outside of CIO-PAC and the opposition to independent working class politics must be fought. In this Reuther has also been aided by the disruptive role of the Stalinists and the publication of "FDR."

Will there be a fight for a Labor Party at this convention?

This question can only be answered by Martin Gerber and Emil Mazey. They represent the minority of the present board who favor the independent Labor Party. They must realize that delegations coming from Briggs, Budd, Chrysler, Flint Chevrolet, Electro-Motive La Grange, Revere Chicago, Bell Buffalo and others are in favor of the Labor Party. They must not be permitted to allow the organizational question to take precedence over all questions.

A Labor Party caucus must be convened. The majority of delegates for a Labor Party, mentioned above, are within the Reuther caucus. A fight has to be made within that caucus for their position.

Partition Plan - -

(Continued from page 1)

of the British Empire and in a poor imitation of defiance repeated his statement about evacuating Palestine, adding that while England would not do anything alone, or in a major role, it would participate in a minor role in enforcing any decision. A few more cracks of Uncle Sam's whip and the lion's tail will wag in the direction that Wall Street wants it to wag.

RUSSIA'S OBJECTIVES

Once the U. S. declared itself in favor of partition, the Russian delegate made a similar statement. He too accepted the principle of partition with boundary revisions. The drawing of concrete boundaries is to be left to the UNSCOP for future study. All that this session should do, according to the Russians, is to decide the principle of partition, with no final action taken, thus leaving the situation fluid so that Stalinist imperialism can fish in muddied waters.

Russia is interested in getting the British out of Palestine and, if possible, in sticking its finger into the Near East oil pie. The Russian diplomats have decided that partition is the quickest way to achieve their goal. The Russians also were not overlooking the fact that their support of a Jewish state would make it easier for the Communist Party to agitate against the Marshall Plan among the Jewish workers. The Russian delegate made no mention of the question of "implementation."

These almost identical statements by the world's two great imperialist powers seemed to guarantee the ac-

ceptance of the partition plan and many Zionists are talking as if a Jewish state is guaranteed. These optimists will not find the road an easy one. While there is no doubt that the Ad Hoc committee will by majority vote favor the partition plan, there seems to be little chance for a two-thirds vote in the General Assembly, according to the PRESENT line-up.

Many countries like France and some Latin American states are abstaining. This fact is beginning to alarm some Zionist leaders and they, together with the liberals of The Nation and PM, are now urging the U. S. to force the smaller countries into line. The U. S. has often done this when it feels that its imperialist aims will be served. What it will do in this case remains to be seen.

However, the problem of votes is not the main obstacle. The main stumbling block is who is to occupy Palestine in the next immediate period. None of the imperialist states is in favor of immediate independence. The U. S. wants to maintain the present Anglo-American military position in Palestine. Russia is sure to object. Stalin wants to get some sort of foothold on the Mediterranean even if in a subordinate role. There is little prospect—to say the least—that the U. S. will allow that to happen.

Despite the momentary appearance of agreement in principle, the Palestine question will not serve as a means of bringing the two imperialists together, but like all other issues will become a bone of contention between the two—with both the Jews and Arabs as the victims.

Memorial to 6 Million Dead

By EUGENE KELLER

On October 19 the cornerstone for a memorial for the six million Jewish victims of German fascism is to be unveiled on New York City's Riverside Drive. High United Nations and government officials, as well as ambassadors of almost all countries are to attend the ceremony. It will indeed be an outstanding affair, and none of the dignitaries present will want to be outdone in voicing his concern over the fate of the Jews. That the memorial is to be built upon the soil of the richest and "most democratic" country on earth may seem right to some; but, in considering the true relation of the U. S. government to the refugee problem, one cannot escape viewing the ceremony with bitter irony.

One is reminded of the Unknown Soldier, whose torn corpse is of greater concern to the authorities than his living body. And just as the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the speeches made over it do not so much signify his courage as the hypocrisy of the authorities, so the memorial to Europe's slaughtered Jews does not so much bespeak their tragic fate as the callousness of American officialdom.

The figures on immigration, covering the years 1933-41, are an indictment of the American policy. The quota system, under which the number of immigrants entering the U. S. is restricted according to their country of origin, was devised in 1924, ostensibly to prevent excessive job competition. Under the quota, about 27,000 persons could immigrate from Germany and Austria, 3,000 from Czechoslovakia and 6,500 from Poland. (We cannot go into the various discriminatory aspects of the system by which, for example, the United Kingdom was allocated about 65,000 persons annually, but countries in far more dire need of emigration a much smaller amount.)

When the persecution of Jews by Hitler took on serious proportions, quotas were not expanded. What is of decisive importance in this connection, however, is not the quota system as such, but the fact that prospective immigrants had to give very considerable financial guarantees, or had to have relatives in the U. S. give these for them. These and similar restrictions explain why even the pitifully low quotas were never filled. Thus from 1935-45 there were 134,000 immigrants from Germany,

QUOTAS UNFILLED

and Austria and Czechoslovakia as against a quota totalling about 300,000 for these ten years.

Despite the increasingly severe plight of the Jews in these countries, the immigration restrictions were never eased. Temporary stays (on non-immigrant visas) were allowed to only 42,000 persons. Asylum was never granted (except to "persecuted" royalty). To top off a policy which spelled the doom of vast millions, all U. S. consulates in Germany and Austria closed in June, 1941, making emigration almost impossible at a time when it still constituted the alternative to deportation and death.

These facts reveal the hollowness of the war aims, supposedly embodied in the "Four Freedoms" for they imply an utter disregard for the democratic principle of asylum. While in WORDS the fate of Europe's persecuted masses were bewailed by the capitalist politicians, while Roosevelt created a number of powerless refugee boards and committees, by their ACTS these politicians betrayed their real position.

These are things to remember when the speeches drip honey at the unveiling ceremony.

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