Budenz Reveals GPU Plotted Trotsky Murder In New York!

By IRVING HOWE

Leon Trotsky, the great revolutionary leader, was murdered by the GPU, Stalin's secret murder gang.

Leon Trotsky's murder was partly planned and prepared in New York City—in the headquarters of the local section of the GPU and its appendage and servant, the American Communist (Stalinist) Party.

Leon Trotsky's murder was planned and prepared in New York by the GPU with the aid of the American

Communist Party, and among those intimately involved in the preparations were such nationally known leaders of American Stalinism as Earl Browder, Jack Stachel and - Louis Budenz.

These are the sensational revelations spilled from the pen of an ex-Stalinist leader-Louis Budenz, former editor of the Daily Worker and now a convert to the Catholic Church. In his Book, This Is My Story (Whittlesey House, \$3.00), there appears for the first time

part of the inside story of the workings of Stalin's murder machine in the Western Hemisphere.

Budenz's book offers inside corroboration of the charges made by the Trotskyist movement, as well as other sections of the socialist and radical world, that the GPU murdered Trotsky; that the GPU murdered innumerable other anti-Stalinist revolutionaries, like Ignace Reiss; that the GPU kidnapped from this country and probably murdered such dissatisfied tools of its

LABOR ACTION

apparatus as Julia Stuart Poyntz; and that the GPU ruled and still rules with an iron hand the American Communist Party, whose "leaders" cringe and tremble like slaves before these secret agents of the Kremlin.

Though these facts were known before and proved in many ways, Budenz's testimony is the first evidence from inside the top American Stalinist circles, and is therefore mighty valuable despite our detestation for Budenz's career as a Stalinist bureaucrat. (Continued on page 6)

Work for a Workers World **By Joining Workers Party**

MARCH 17, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

For a National Demonstration AGAINST:

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION WILL JOHN L. LEWIS ANSWER THE QUESTION?_

Who Runs the Supreme Court?

By DAVID COOLIDGE

"This constitutional court" which, according to Lewis "is, and we believe will ever be, the protector of American liberties, and the rightful privileges of individual citizens," has handed its reply to John L. Lewis and the coal miners. This United States Supreme Court, this constitutional court, this protector of liberty, this protagonist of "the rightful privileges of individual citizens," has decided in favor of the government and against the miners. The court has decided

that the miners have no "rightful priv- the employer. ileges" as "individual citizens," or as an organization of workers, which the government is bound to respect, in disputes between that government and an organization of citizens who are workers.

by Judge Goldsborough and not the The Supreme Court by a 7 to 2 vote sustained the contempt conviction of Lewis and the UMWA. By a 5 to 4 vote the court held that the Norris-LaGuardia Act does not apply to those situations in which the government is technically and legally

reduced fine of \$700,000 set by the Supreme Court. VARIATIONS OF OPINION

Although the justices of the Supreme Court were able to come to agreement on the question of contempt and on the question of the applicability of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, there were all sorts of variations of opinion between them as to their reasons for voting the way they

The court also commanded the

UMWA to withdraw the notice of

the termination of its contract with

the government. Should the UMWA

fail to do this the union will become

liable to the \$3,500,000 fine imposed

Five documents were necessary to outline the positions of the justices on the two questions; a total of 56,000 words. Jackson agreed with Vinson but said that the Norris-LaGuardia Act did not apply. Rutledge dissented in 44 pages. Black and Douglas partly dissented and partly agreed. Murphy

dissented and Frankfurter concurred.

gress did not expressly say that the miners and other citizens is due to act applied to the government, the court could not take the position that it did. Rutledge and Murphy took the position that the injunction was jurisdictionally invalid when issued and that therefore violation of the injunction could not be cause for contempt.

Vinson was very sharp in his criticism of Lewis and the UMWA. The strike of the miners was a violation "of the rights of other citizens." The improvement in the condition of the

their having the "rights of free men under our system of government the overriding loyalty of all is to our country." The conduct of Lewis and the UMWA before Goldsborough "showed a total lack of respect for the judicial process." Rutledge said that to construe the Norris-LaGuardia Act in the manner of the majority was. "to go beyond our function and intrude upon that of Congress." The Constitution did not contemplate (Continued on page 7)



By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, March 9-The important election campaign at Chrysler Local 7, the home local of R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO vice-president, ended last week in the overwh

crease without a price increase to the last few days of the campaign meet the rising cost of living, an enwhen they mailed out an imitation dorsement of the policy originally of this same program, but with one presented by Walter P. Reuther.

important addition. They denounced (2) Automatic wage increases to the unity group program as "cut and dried programs and a lot of empty over any rise in the cost of living.

By EMANUEL GARRETT

The Supreme Court decision holding John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers Union guilty of violating an injunction is a matter of far-reaching concern to the labor movement. The action of the Supreme Court is of a piece with the various schemes that are now before the two bodies of Congress to curtail the rights of labor. These schemes extend from the wildly reactionary Ball bill, which would outlaw the closed shop, to the "mild" curbs proposed by Truman and such Republican "friends" of labor as Senator Wayne Morse.

Together, the Supreme Court decision and the anti-labor proposals being considered by Congress are part of a comprehensive offensive launched by the captains of industry against labor. Both have essentially the same immediate background-the electoral swing last fall, which they interpret as a decline in the power and influence of the labor movement. It is a commonplace of American journalism to say that the Supreme Court follows

the election returns. It will, therefore, be up to the labor movement to make it unmistakably clear to the Supreme Court and the Congressmen that they have read the signs incorrectly-namely, that they have overlooked the invincible power of a MASSED and UNITED labor movement.

We have here, in the Supreme Court decision against the miners. several things that are in many respects far more dangerous than the craziest schemes designed by laborhating Congressmen. There is GOVERNMENT BY IN-JUNCTION. Few things are more abhorrent to the labor movement than this. Of necessity it compels the concerted effort of a unity of action that embraces every form of protest and demonstration, including STOP WORK OR STRIKE ACTION. There is GOVERNMENT BY JU-DICIARY. In years past, and often in connection with injunction attacks on the rights of labor, it aroused the common protest of the labor and, more generally, the liberal movement. Even the most dewy-eyed liberal can see the danger it spells, for it means the substitution of government by court order for representative government, however emasculated the latter may be under capitalist rule. Together, GOVERNMENT BY IN-JUNCTION and GOVERNMENT BY JUDICIARY represent an invasion of democratic liberties that can be more severe in their consequences than the vilest strike-breaking machinations. They represent an attempt to bind labor without coming face to face with its mass strength.

impact of which will be felt by every man, woman and child in the country

One Cent More

For Bread.

Bread went up one cent a loaf this week!

The price of most popular brands of bread in the New York City area went from 14 to 15 cents a loaf. Other cities report increases up to three cents a loaf.

A cent is a small unit. But this is momentous news, the

This is bread, not caviar. It is a basic food, and a basic necessity. The poorer the family, the more important the bread.

National baking associations have blamed the price jump on soaring prices in wheat, overseas shipments and increased labor costs.' But these excuses are deliberate and outright lies to conceal the real reason: PROFITS. The national baking companies do not care if a family has to deprive itself of some other food in order to pay for the increased cost in the loaf of bread. Just so long as they can rake in their profits.

Overseas shipments of wheat are infinitesimal as compared with wheat consumption here. And this has been a year of excellent crops; the grain harvests have been enough to leave a SURPLUS after overseas and domestic needs.

Profits of the bread baking firms have been so large that labor costs would have to triple before putting a dent into the baking companies' huge rate of profit.

A recently issued National City Bank bulletin shows that sixteen bread baking firms doubled their profits in 1946 over 1945, stacking up a neat little profit of \$44,665,-000 AFTER all taxes and expenses.

The same holds true of other food industries, notably meat!

These FOOD PROFITEERS have demonstrated their inability to manage and direct the most vital of all industries. It is a situation which calls for NATIONALIZATIO.) OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL so that the people can be assured of their basic necessities at prices within their reach.

It is a situation which also calls for general consumer action, just as the rent situation calls for tenant action. Tenants and consumers are the same people. They can plan their action together, buttressed by the support and direct representation and leadership of the unions in each locality and nationally. Buyers' strikes and every medium of organized pressure are the order of the day.

Despite the ballyhoo about a decline in prices ("proved" in columns of newspaper publicity about a cut in the price of admission to some movie house), prices are going up, and strangling the people's standard of living. The hue and cry of last year must therefore be renewed.

Bread is one cent dearer. The profiteers must not be allowed to get away with it!

Vinson said that the miners and the government had the relation of employer and employe. Frankfurter and Jackson voted with Vinson, not because the Norris-LaGuardia Act applied but because Lewis should have obeyed the order of Goldsborough, even though the act did not apply. The union should have waited for a "peaceful" settlement on appeal to the higher court.

According to Black and Douglas, the miners were government em-



a pro-Reuther unity group, and a disastrous personal defeat for Thomas.

Joe Hattley, a militant shop committeeman and a war veteran, defeated the Thomas-backed incumbent, Tom Cunningham, three-time president, by a record majority of 4,361 to, 2,526. the largest proportional vote in the history of the local. All other executive office candidates of the unity group were swept into office in the landslide.

The election results exceeded the fondest hopes of the Reuther forces in the local union. Only two weeks ago, Walter Reuther, international union president, had appeared before the Chrysler local membership to repudiate the wild charges hurled at him by R. J. Thomas, in connection with the Allis-Chalmers strike. The contrast between the programmatic speech of Reuther, and the irresponsible reply of a Thomas spokesman helped the election campaign of the unity group.

The unity group was a bloc of former Thomas supporters, Reuther supporters, and independents, including a substantial majority of the shop committee and the chief stewards. It presented a seven-point program as its platform. This program was:

(1) For an immediate wage in-

(3) For a guaranteed annual living wage.

(4) For an alert, vigilant, and militant body of shop stewards. The threat of speed-up never ends. For a body of stewards who are constantly improving working conditions in the shops and guarding against the deadly speed-up.

(5) To pledge the local to fight against discrimination of any kind because of race, color, creed, or sex. We support and participate in the struggle for a Fair Employment Practices Act.

(6) Urging labor to fight for the rights and benefits of veterans. A pledge to carry on a struggle for adequate housing, immediate cash payment of the state bonus out of a tax on corporation profits; for a federal bonus.

(7) Independent Political Action. It has become increasingly clear that both the Democratic and Republican parties do not represent the interest of labor. Labor must protest its gains on the economic front by changing the activities of the PAC of the CIO in the direction of independent labor political action.

In the face of this militant program, the Cunningham-Thomas-Stalinist bloc had nothing to offer until

slogans written on behalf of outside interests," a good red-baiting formula, typical of the red-baiters, and of the Stalinists in the Cunningham camp. It was directed against a group of militants in the unity group tagged as "socialists and Trotsky-

Outside of this one leaflet by the Cunningham camp, the election campaign was the cleanest in the local's record. Of course, the inevitable undertones and undercurrents of Jim Crowism, red-baiting, personal character assassination, were not absent but they were definitely submerged by the major programmatic campaign conducted by the unity group. The selection of Joe Hattley by the unity group for presidential candidate helped the campaign considerably, for Hattley has an enviable record as a militant shop committee-

man, a founder of the union, a war veteran, and a "non-factionalist." The rest of the slate compared very favorably to the Cunningham caucus candidates, with one exception.

The whole campaign of the unity group was energetic and effective compared to the Cunningham fight. A demonstration, a motor caravan, stickers, lapel' cards, attractive leaf-

lets on speed-up problems, featured the drive of the pro-Reuther forces.

We have often commented that however many may be the anti-labor (Continued on page 2)

Seek "Compromise" Formula to Boost Rents

Tenants Must Organize to Stop Direct OR INDIRECT Steal by Congressional Servants of Real Estate Lobby

By SUSAN GREEN

the-board rent increase has been help up in the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. The unpopularity of this measure with everybody but the real estate lobby, has given the politicians some second thoughts. After all, 50,000,000 tenants wield a lot of votes.

ported in favor of a compromise measure. It seems that Senator Sparkman (D., Ala.) has actually introduced to the committee a socalled compromise bill. It would provide no rent increase by Congress, but return rent control to the several states. This is the sort, of ings continued before the Senate "compromise" by which the realtors committee to give tenants a chance financial hardships suffered by land- and figures and appeals for consid-

would get their increased rents any-

The effect of the Sparkman bill, if passed, would be to banish the issue of rent control from the national scene as a whole, and allow each state quietly to kill rent control and to give the landlords unfettered freedom to charge what they please.

Veterans Committee; James B. Carey, Another development on the rent secretary-treasurer of the Congress front is that Senator Tobey, who Industrial Organizations; and chairmans the Senate Banking and others. The reported objective of Currency Committee, has received a the National Fair Rent Committee is request from Fiorello H. La Guardia to continue rent control through to reopen hearings. The "Little Flow-June, 1948, without a general rent er" once again steps into the politiincrease. cal limelight, now as chairman of a However, the new committee is newly formed National Fair Rent Committee. La Guardia wants hear-

"to combat the real estate lobby's drive to break rent ceilings." Among the notables acting with

ministrator; ex - Secretary of Com-

merce Henry A. Wallace; Charles

Bolte,' chairman of the American

ministration's policy which right now results in more than 30,000 rent the former New York City mayor hikes each month. are Chester Bowles, former OPA ad-La Guardia announced that "It is

> our hope to assist the many tenants' leagues and associations in making their voice as effective in the halls of Congress as the highly financed, lush lobby of the real estate interests who have attempted to jam rent legislation through the Congress."

There is certainly no objection to making the voice of the tenants of the nation heard. But we must remember that the case of the tenants has already been ably presented in

not opposed to specific rent boosts the Senate Banking and Currency "where the financial facts justify Committee by leaders of the CIO and such action." This concern for the AFL, for instance. But their facts

lords is in line with the Truman ad- eration of the hardships suffered by tenants made little or no impression on the committeemen.

There are places from which the voice of the tenants can be heard much better than in Senate committee rooms. Neighborhood tenant organizations throughout the nation, holding protest, meetings in their own localities, can make dozing committeemen sit up and take notice. In a word, the tenants cannot rely on a committee to do something for them. in Washington.

There must be solidly organized stenant groups in every block, determined to resist rent boosts. Their' voice lifted in public demonstrations. against rent finagling in Washington would definitely reach the ears of the politicians.

The bill for a ten per cent across-

Senator Tobey (R., N. H.) is re-

way.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Sharp Contest in Ford Local Election

By DON SHANNON

DETROIT, March 3-Election of officers at Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, the world's largest local union, got underway this morning when workers of the Tool and Die Unit went to the polls to cast their ballots.

Elections in the huge local-65,000 members in 16 units-start today, and barring the possibility of a runoff election will end March 29 when the 6,000 workers of the Press Steel Unit vote.

Five candidates are running for the presidency of the local, two of whom represent power caucuses. Thomas Thompson, incumbent president, is running for re-election on a slate which has the reluctant support of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. His major opponent is Michael Magee, a plant committeeman, whose slate is dominated by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Only other important aspirant for the presidency is Robert Lieberman, a leading Stalinist in the Detroit area, recently expelled from the Communist Party for his refusal to support Thompson in the current election.

The programs of the three major candidates are practically identical. Chief point in Thompson's program is his pledge to eliminate the most objectionable features of the present contract with the Ford Motor Co.-a contract he inherited from the previous ACTU administration.

SQUABBLES WITH STALINISTS

Elected to office in 1946 with the enthusiastic support of the Stalinists, Thompson and the majority of the local officers have recently been squabbling with this totalitarian group. The fight reached such proportions that it precipitated a split among the Stalinists, part of whom sided with Thompson and the rest with a flunkey they were considering running against him.

Angered at the arrogance of the Stalinist bureaucrats entrenched in the local union who plainly regarded 'him as an errand boy, Thompson cracked down with both fists, selecting Robert Lieberman, editor of the local union paper, as his chief target.

Lieberman, for many years a member of the Stalinist Party and from the standpoint of seniority the oldest bureaucrat in Local 600, has for years been regarded as the "unofficial" president of the local union whenever a Stalinist-sponsored réwolvgime held office.

An adroit politician schooled in the art of Stalinist double-dealing, Lieberman was rewarded for his maneuverings in Thompson's behalf by being appointed editor of the local union paper when Thompson was first elected to office.

LIEBERMAN QUITS

Recently Thompson and Lieberman clashed over the contents of the paper. Believing himself indispensable as editor of the paper Lieberof Ford local and was publicly expelled from the Communist Party.

Following his expulsion he issued a strong attack against Thompson in a leaflet widely distributed throughout the Ford plant. Had the Ford workers forgotten that Lieberman was the Stalinist lackey who during the war was the local union's most vociferous defender of the nostrike pledge and incentive pay plans, the leaflet might have had considerable effect. The Ford workers, however, have not forgotten.

RED-BAITING ACTU

Early last week the ACTU controlled slate, headed by Michael Magee, entered the fray with the most vicious red-baiting campaign witnessed in any local union election to

With photographers from the reactionary Detroit newspapers hiding

nounced his candidacy as president inside the factory gates, two men suddenly appeared in front of the plant, one of them dressed as Joseph Stalin and the other wearing a tophat on which was pasted a sign reading, "I'm Voting for Tommy and the Commies." Rushing out from the factory

gates, the photographers snapped pictures which shortly afterward appeared in the Detroit newspapers. The red-baiting drive was on. This spectacle was followed by a stream of literature issued by the ACTU group in which the Thompson

slate was denounced as a group of "reds." Unable to attack Thompson on any other issues for there are none, in as much as the programs of both groups are similar, the ACTU has made the red scare the issue of the campaign.

Unhappily the best elements

among the Ford workers, due to the absence of an anti-Stalinist leftwing caucus, gravitate to the Stalinist-supported Thompson slate. In no local union are the ACTU elements so reactionary as in Local 600. Incapable of any constructive ideas whatsoever, their only solution to the workers' problems is a witch-hunt against all militants in the local union with the Stalinists providing the

LABOR ACTION

convenient point of attack. Regardless of the outcome of the election, when the progressive Ford workers come to realize that the only solution to their problems lies in the immediate formation of a militant caucus of the rank and file then and only then will the totalitarian Stalinists and the red-baiting ACTU elements be defeated in Ford local.

Only then will Local 600 function for the benefit of its 65,000 members

and not for either of these reactionary groups.

CLOTHING PRICES UP 84 PER CENT

Men's clothing costs 84 per cent more than it did in August, 1939, and women's clothing 68 per cent more, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported this week.

The Bureau said cotton clothing is 127 per cent higher than in 1939, wool clothing 60 per cent, and silk, rayon and nylon apparel 56 per cent.

Most of the small drop in the general cost of living was due to a decline in retail food prices. This decline was almost matched by a 1 per cent rise in the cost of clothing from December 15 to January 15. During the preceding month, just after price controls were abolished, clothing prices jumped 3.2 per cent. The drop in retail food prices, however, is expected to be wiped

out soon, as retail markups follow a rise in wholesale prices-particularly for hogs, corn and wheat.

Pacific Seamen Win Wage Boost; Faction Struggle Flares in NMU

MARCH 10 - A six per cent wage conference of all the unions. The increase was awarded this week to various organizations are in virtual three West Coast unions as a result agreement on the question of puting a stop to the transfer of Amerof an arbitration award by Profesican ships to foreign flags and on the sor Kleinsorge, government wage arproblem of defending the status ofbitrator. The unions affected by the award are the West Coast Marine aliens aboard American ships. Cooks and Stewards, the Marine Firemen's Union and the ACA. mitted to ship freely on American

The unions had demanded a 25 per cent increase as necessary to meet the increases in the cost of living. They had agreed, however, to leave the question to Professor Kleinsorge, who, after many weeks of "mediation," granted just onequarter of the minimum that the seamen had deemed necessary. The leaders of the unions involved have protested Kleinsorge's decision, but they are the ones who bear the responsibility for having led the seamen into the swamp of arbitration, from which one is fortunate to make an exit with his shirt intact.

Following on the heels of this decision, the professor gave the same meager award to the NMU, which had fallen into the same morass.

The SIU held a special meeting this week in which a resolution was passed demanding cost-of-living increases. This union, well known for its opposition to arbitration proceedings and for its reliance on more militant methods, concluded its resolution as follows:

"That in the event the shipowners attempt to stall us on this question beyond a reasonable length of time that we take the necessary steps, including economic action, to prevent such happenings."

Yesterday, representatives of the SIU met with shipowners and presented their demands.

NMU FACTION FIGHT

Meanwhile, the embattled factions **CEILINGS ON RENT** within the NMU are waging hot and heavy warfare upon each other. Cur-

Municipalities Will Have to Be Next Target of N. Y. Teachers

By A TEACHER

NEW YORK-When the gains and losses of the New York State teachers' battle are counted, the balance sheet, according to the latest indications, will include the following:

GAINS-higher starting salaries: higher maximum for those now in elementary schools; a single salary schedule for elementary, junior and high school teachers; higher pay for substitutes; incorporation into the permanent salary schedule of costof-living bonuses and increases granted within the past year and a half; and the experience of knowing that only by organized public clamor, demonstrations, and, in Buffalo, by strike were these gains won.

JOKERS NULLIFY GAINS

On the other side of the ledger are jokers in the legislation embodying

Alien seamen, who had been per-

removed from American vessels. The

unions are preparing a program of

of discrimination against their mem-

bers, most of whom are Spanish-

speaking seamen from the Central

The other question just added to

the agenda of the Washington con-

ference, the transfer of American

vessels to foreign flags, has aroused

the concern of all American seamen.

American - owned vessels are being

transferred to Panamanian registry,

under whose flag they are not obli-

gated to ship union crews and are

free to pay substandard wages. The

American steamship companies par-

ness roll up a neat profit because

they avoid American tax rates and

provide the crews with poor food

and bad quarters, which are allow-

able under the non-existent Pana-

These transfers have already cost

American shipping 100 vessels and

4500 jobs for union seamen. The only

answer to the shipowners in this lat-

est anti-union move is the organiza-

tion of American-owned vessels re-

ILWU ORGANIZES

ACTIONS TO KEEP

manian regulations.

gardless of registry.

ticipating in this scandalous busi-

and South American countries.

exceed the minimal percentages in making promotions. But since financial aid from the state to local communities will be calculated, among other ways, upon these minimal percentages, they may turn out, in practice, to be maximal figures. In cities like New York where almost no appointments of new teachers were made for many years, the affect may be to freeze most teachers at their existing salaries, for a great many years, if not the rest of their careers in education.

the gains which nullify them to some

extent or, at least, leave them in an

ambiguous state. Thus, while higher

maximums for elementary school

teachers are realizable on paper they

may be circumvented by a provision

stipulating that the basis for grant-

ing periodic increments after the

first six years of teaching during

which time they are automatic, are

to be determined by each school board

on a "merit" basis. Another provision

puts a mandatory percentage floor

under the number of teachers who

are to be promoted from one salary

bracket to the next higher one. It is

optional with local school boards to

March 17, 1947

The "merit" system was discarded in New York City almost thirty years ago because it left teachers' promotions to the mercy of supervisors and politicians. The president of the Board of Education has stated that the board would continue its present practice of basing promotions on defined, minimal academic qualifications called "alertness courses." But vessels during the war, at great even so the percentage quotas may danger to themselves, now are being bar promotions. And in other cities the "merit" basis is sure to open a wide door to abuse and cause displanned action to prevent this type: affection.

PASSES BUCK TO CITIES

In giving municipalities the option of establishing higher salary schedules than provide in its proposals, and in enabling them to use larger percentages in making promotions, Dewey's committee on education is passing the financial buck to local governments. It is up to them to make the decision and raise the money. Dewey's strategy is to divert the teachers from a concentrated fight on his administration and the state legislature, and break it up into hundreds of limited struggles against local governments.

The local governments, both Democratic and Republican, of course, want the state to foot the bill. Most of them do not have the money and can raise it only by new taxation which is sure to cause them no end of political trouble.

The wide sympathy teachers have won for their fight created a basis for a bloc between their organization and local governments or officials against the Dewey administration. Where the local government is Democratic the teachers' fight against Dewey is a welcome issue and insurance against a local fight. Where the municipal administration is Republican the fight against Dewey is a mixed affair. To the extent that it

diverts the storm from their bailiwick

Government By Injunction - -(Continued from page 1) bills in Congress, the Senators and fused to submit to injunction procedure, fought it, and witnessed vic-Representatives will think twice betory in its fight with passage of the fore they enact any measures that Norris-La Guardia anti - injunction will provoke the instant indignation

of the millions upon millions of organized workers. Nevertheless, we have warned against permitting even the mildest of restrictions to be legislated, if only because they invariably become entering wedges for more severe measures.

STRENGTH OF THE UNIONS

So, too, in noting the bold pronouncement of the steel industry that it means to clip the unions' wings, we doubted that they would seriously try to effect their intentions-not so long as an alert and vigilant and tremendous steel workers' union is there. Dividends do not come in for long when steel mills are silent, except for the tread of pickets outside. It is precisely because the big industrialists appreciate the immensity of union organization that they seek now to rely on legislative and judicial means. They do not, for the present, dare call on their goons and professional union - busters, armed with shotguns and tear gas. Hence, they seek to turn the clock back to devices that were employed when the labor movement was younger. They hope to employ them more ef-

fectively because conditions have

changed. Government intervention in the affairs of industry and labor has kept pace with the increasing concentration of wealth. We have had ample opportunity in the last few years to observe how every struggle immediately involves the government. exerting its centralized authority on behalf of its masters, the monopolists profiteers. Executive interven and tion has not been enough, regardless of how supine the labor leaders were. The ranks of the men and women who man the machines have kept pressing for wage increases, for better living standards-and the labor leaders have had to listen to one degree or another. Thus we have the "refinement" of GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION and GOVERNMENT BY JUDICIARY.

act in 1932. That act is now by way of being dumped without benefit of legislative alteration. Various injunction maneuvers were attempted this past year before the Supreme Court decision; these will now be multiplied. We are, however, in a position to stop the trend dead in its

tracks. What the union movement could do years ago, it can do today, on an infinitely more effective scale. Since the early struggles against GOV-ERNMENT BY INJUNCTION, the AFL has grown in size, added millions to its ranks. The CIO has come into existence with its millions of militants. The Railroad Brotherhoods and various independent unions are larger. They must act together, and acting together they can check the miscellany of anti-labor schemes, among which we include GOVERN-MENT BY INJUNCTION and GOV-

Regardless of how they felt about Lewis, virtually all sections of the labor movement rallied to the side of the miners when the Goldsborough injunction, now upheld by the sedate gentlemen of the Supreme Court, was first issued. They stood with the miners in defying the injunction. When the miners retreated, agreeing to take the case to the Su-

ERNMENT BY JUDICIARY.

preme Court, the CIO, for example, entered a brief on their behalf. These signs of solidarity have proved insufficient. More is needed. Basically, of course, a united labor

movement, a combined CIO and AFL would be in the best position to act. But the urgency is great and

merely a Samuel Gompers, labor re- . control and, generally, in connection with every issue that labor faces. Certainly now is the time for such a step. Our individual unions are powerful. That is true. But that strength is not even comparable to that which resides in the combined effort of all unions.

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

There is much else that requires deliberation in this situation. Above we have only touched upon one immediate need. GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION and GOVERNMENT

BY JUDICIARY are but different phases of CAPITALIST GOVERN-MENT. We can do many things to restrict their use. We can campaign to weaken the powers of the Supreme Court, or to abolish it. (That will seem a shocking statement to some people. Was it a very shocking idea in the days when Roosevelt inveighed against the Nine Old Men? It is worth observing, as we do in an editorial that appears on page 4 of this issue, that the Supreme Court now consists for the most part of Roosevelt and Truman appointees!) But the main thing that needs doing is to rip apart the entire fabric of capitalist government by replacing it with a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. That cannot be done overnight, admittedly. Many things are necessary first, among them an understanding of the role of political action. The day when politics and economics could be separated is long past, if it ever existed. What is incontestable is that today they are inseparable. We require political programs and political activity, undertaken by us

as a class entirely independent of the capitalist class and its politicians. Concretized, that means we need

man arrogantly tendered his resignation. He was stunned when it was accepted.

After this event the Stalinist leadership, with a majority of their membership supporting Lieberman, seriously considered withdrawing their support from Thompson in favor of a hand-picked stooge.

Thompson, however, with the support of most of the militant non-Stalinist workers in Local 600, refused to capitulate to the Stalinists, making it clear that he would run without their support and fight them openly if they attempted to split his caucus.

Angered at Thompson's refusal to capitulate and alarmed at the rank and file support rallying around him, the Stalinists, fearful of losing their base in the largest UAW local, cracked down on their members, ordering full support to Thompson,

Lieberman, refusing to obey the command to support Thompson, an-



NEW METHODS NEEDED

Neither of these can be tolerated! If the monopolists are using old methods in new and more highly developed circumstances, the union movement is able to take countermeasures in keeping with these new circumstances. The union movement was able to vanquish GOVERN-MENT BY INJUNCTION when it was infinitely weaker. At all times, whether a magnificent figure like Eugene V. Debs was involved or

achievement of unity between the CIO and AFL not immediate. Lacking unity, the representatives of the mighty union organizations' must come together and plot their GEN-ERAL STRATEGY AGAINST GOV-ERNMENT BY INJUNCTION, GOV-ERNMENT BY JUDICIARY and AGAINST EVERY KIND OF ANTI-LABOR PROPOSITION.

We do not propose to deliberate for such a conference of union representatives. But we do think that such a conference must meet, and that it must consider a NATION-WIDE PROTEST DEMONSTRA-TION under whatever form the conference thinks best-A GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE OF SPECIFIED DURATION. SYNCHRONIZED STOP-WORK ACTIONS. MONSTER MASS' MEETINGS, ORGANIZED MARCHES, all of it dovetailing with INDIVIDUAL UNION PLANS.

In the past two years we have had occasion to raise the demand for a DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED AND COORDINATED GENERAL STRATEGY BOARD. We have raised it in connection with the strikes that swept the country last year, proposing specifically that there be a GEN-ERAL BOARD TO COORDINATE STRIKE STRATEGY, just as the big industrialists plot their strategy in connivance with their servants in government. We raised it in connection with wage action, with price

Wanted! Marxist Literature In the German Language!

We have an urgent request from German socialists and workers for Marxist literature in the German language. We are therefore appealing to any of our readers who may have any of the witings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, etc.—be they books or pamphlets-to please contribute these works for a worthwhile purpose. Send them to

LABOR ACTION

4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y.

and we shall forward them to the proper hands.

an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. based upon the mass organizations of labor, challenging the bankrupt rule of capitalism with the political aspirations of the working class. We cannot meet the grave issues that face us, be they GOVERNMENT BY JUDICIARY or any of the designs and schemes of the capitalist class, without a political instrument that corresponds in political action with the economic action of our unions. An INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY is a must. In such a party, we of the Workers Party will strive to put forward a program aimed at achieving a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. Stack The Supreme Court decision is an

especially good time to speak of this. It will not meet with the approval of John L. Lewis or William Green or Philip Murray. It is consequently a job that has to be done directly on the spot, on the union floor, in the shop, in the mine. We must do everything to defeat today's menace of GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION and GOVERNMENT BY JUDICI-ARY. A national demonstration is indicated. A common board of union strategy is indicated. Beyond that, and to prepare in advance to meet the attacks that will come tomorrow, we have to start organizing our political strength today, laying the foundation of an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. That is the important lesson of the Supreme Court decision in the miners' case.

ran's charges against Vice-President Joseph Stack for "actions unbecoming a member and officer of the union and misfeasance, malfeasance and negligence" drew a counter - attack from Stack. The charges which consist of a hash of dead issues, no issues and irrelevant issues, can serve only to confuse the problems at stake in the NMU. Instead of clarifying the course of action that the rank and file of the NMU must take against the Stalinists in the union, these charges will make it appear that the controversy centers about the moral rectitude of a single man,

Despite all the confusion in the NMU, constructive plans are being made for the coming Washington

Gates Stresses Need For Labor Party At Seattle Lecture

SEATTLE-Without a fighting program, without a labor party and under the domination of a big-businessminded bureaucracy isolated from the rank and file, organized workers today are disarmed in the face of Operation Open Shop now developing in Congress.

Albert Gates, member of LABOR ACTION's editorial board, drove this point home to an audience of workers in the Gold Room of the Roosevelt Hotel here on Sunday afternoon, March 2.

The speaker explained that while the strike wave of last year developed such sweeping demands as the wage increases without price increases, crux of the United Auto Workers Union struggle against General Motors, confused and frightened leadership has so far blocked the road to the formation of an independent labor party.

The question period at the end of the address became a free-for-all debate between Gates, an IWW organizer and two individuals apparently confused by Stalinism. This situation forced the speaker to point out the inadequacies of the IWW's one-bigunion program and append his main speech with a factual recitation of how the Communist Party constantly readjusts its "line" to conform with the changes in Russian foreign policy.

OAKLAND, March 7-Local 10 the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union has announced a real union rank and file drive against rent increases in this area. At a meeting last week it was decided that the union will distribute cards to all members on which they will state that they will not

pay any increase in rents. "We are pledging ourselves not to pay a penny more rent if controls are lifted," said Germain Bulcke, president of ILWU Local 10. "If one our members is notified that his rent is raised, he is to come tell the union about it. We'll fight with everything at our disposal."

This kind of action against rent increases is already beginning to win support in other unions. UAW Local 76 in Oakland has taken up the matter and will push the circulation of the cards jointly with the longshoremen and any other unions which may decide on similar action.

The action of these unions can be the beginning for the mobilization of all workers, their wives and their friends in a solid front against the rent gougers who have already gotten in their licks against rent controls in Congress. The cards will no doubt be circulated not only among union members, but starting with them will be pushed in the neighborhoods on a block basis. This can be the basis for forming block committees which will fight the rent increases and any attempts at eviction together with flying squads from the

unions. The action so far taken is excellent, but it will be effective only if carried through with the greatest possible vigor. It is a well known fact that Bulcke and his Stalinist pals in the leadership of the ILWU Local 10 have a long record of talking tough and then writing postcards to their Congressmen instead of taking direct action. If the membership of the ILWU and the other unions actually "fight with everything at their disposal" and don't let themselves be satisfied with signing cards which are then filed away in the wastepaper basket, this drive will really smash the rent gougers before they have a chance to get started. Unionists in other cities, take note and get going along the lines started by the longshoremen. Let's get going

on this anti-rent-increase drive, and

keep going!

it is welcome; to the extent that it tends to create inner-party divisions it is a problem to be handled ginger-

In Buffalo Republican Mayor Dowd tried to stand with the teachers and with the administration. To the former he offered sympathy; to the latter he gave a sop by denouncing the strike as a revolt against educational authority. At the same time he pleaded inability to meet the teachers' demands. Had there been no strike he might have swayed on either side of his tight rope without falling. But pushed by the strike he finally had to grant increases out of city funds which he is now trying to raise.

LESSON IS CLEAR

The lesson of the Buffalo strike is clear: teachers' strikes break through the narrow channel of inter-party warfare and, when successful, as almost all recent ones have been, enable the teachers to become an effective force in the resolution of the salary problem. Had New York City's teachers followed suit they could have won a clear cut victory for all the teachers in the state, free of the entanglements and ambiguities of the outcome which is taking shape in Albany.

A strike now, in view of the partial success they have won, is not likely. But the future course of their struggle is uncertain. Even if the anti- strike bill pending in the legislature, which would punish public employee strikers with automatic dismissal, should not pass their effort will probably be dissipated in a multitude of guerrilla struggles against local Boards of Education. Dewey will have yielded more than he intended, but will have escaped with a whole skin. The target at which teachers will have to aim-at least until the next session of the legislature-will be the municipalities, to induce, persuade or force them to better the minimum conditions and salaries extracted from Dewey.

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March 17, 1947

Big Four Moscow Meeting Disputes Fate of Germany

By HENRY JUDD

Important as other post-war conferences may have been (Paris Conference, General Assembly of the UN at New York City, etc.), none can compare with the conference at Moscow. Here are gathering the Big Four, for the purpose of writing peace treaties for Austria and Germany. The preliminaries — treaties with the Axis satellite powers-have been disposed of; now the great rival imperialist powers get down to business on issues that vitally concern their réspective drives for power and possession. Germany and Austria, lying

Another infernational gathering of the imperialists, the most significant of all the post-war conferences, has begun in Stalin's Moscow capital. This gathering is supposed to decide the fate of Germany and Austria; in a word, the future of Europe itself. In all likelihood, it will do much more toward reveating the predatory designs of the major imperialist powers—particularly the rival intentions of America and Russia-than it will accomplish toward concluding peace treaties. LABOR ACTION will publish a series of running articles dealing with the Moscow Conference, and analyzing the various proposals and disagreements that come to the surface during the Conference.

at the heart of Europe and encompassing a population of 70 millions. together with immense natural resources and potentially powerful industries-these are two countries over which the Big Four are bound to clash and come close to blows.

Again the imperialists are gathering for their interminable discussions. This time the setting is Moscow, home of the brutal Stalinist dictatorship that has conquered and now oppresses huge areas and tens of millions of European people; land of the enslaved Russian people, ruled over by the cruelest of despots and his GPU forces. This is indeed a fit setting for bargaining over destroyed Germany. Bargainer Molotov can be in direct contact with his master, Stalin; Bargainer General Marshall, replacing Byrnes, can deal with people who talk his military lingo-the Russian Army Marshals who surround Stalin; Bevin of England and Bidault of France can voice their weak complaints and their muted demands, with a fond hope that the two supreme powers will pay them some attention. Moscow is the proper gathering spot for this collection of imperialist intriguers, cynical doubledealers and shrewd manipulators. This is the home of Stalin, master of them all.

Nobody believes that the Moscow Conference will get very far toward settling the problems of Europe, even on the imperialist basis around which the Big Four all have a common understanding. Secretary of State Marshall has voiced the hope that the final Peace Treaty with the issues involving Germany will be clarified. The wide divergencies between the rival imperialists, particularly Russia and the United States, is most clearly expressed in their clash over what to do about Germany. The basic issues are the following:

(1) The question of reparations. The Russians, anxious to participate in looting the wealth, resources and production of the Ruhr area, are demanding reparations in the form of current German-Ruhr production. America and England, desiring to utilize the Ruhr for their own exclusive purposes, oppose this. (2) What shall be the production

of Germany? Shall the country be aided in the reconstruction of its economic power, or shall it continue to stagnate as it does today Who shall own and control the industry? The Russians are anxious to continue their particular form of imperialist exproriation of German industry, known as 'nationalization." The Americans prefer to back up German capitalists and industrialists.

(3) What shall be the new frontiers of Germany? Poland's frontier; disposition of the Saar, the Ruhr and the Rhineland. (4) What shall be the form and

structure of a new German government? Shall there be a centralized government, as the Russians propose in the hope that their Quisling "Socialist Unity Party" will be able to expand into the Western zone; or shall there be the American-British conception of a weak, decentralized, federated system of German states, easy for the Anglo-Americans to control?



These are some of the basic disagreements, all of them centered around the desire of the respective great powers to dominate Germany, make use of its 65 million people for their own purposes and squeeze out their rivals and enemies. Whatever comes out of the Moscow Conference -the most important imperialist gathering since the war's end-it is safe to predict it will reinforce the charge that imperialism, Russian, American, British and French alike, has Europe in its grip and is responsible for the low state to which the Continent has fallen. The Moscow Conference is one way of learning the aims of the imperialists, of describing them to world opinion, and of indicating the uncompromising socialist opposition to the whole business. LABOR ACTION will follow the important developments in Mos-

American Dollars to Buttress Shaky British Bayonets in Greek Crisis

By ARTHUR STEIN

The announced intention of Great Britain to withdraw financial aid from Greece has generally been regarded as having produced the most profound crisis in American foreign policy since Pearl Harbor.

The British note of February 24, which was addressed to the State Department and bluntly served notice of Britain's inability to pour more money into Greece, brought to a head and into full and public view the three outstanding features of contemporary world politics: the irreconcilable conflict between Russian and Anglo-American imperialism; the precipitous decline of the British Empire; and finally the necessity for United States imperialism to assume the dominant role in the Anglo-American partnership.

The first question that arises in connection with the present "Greek crisis" is just why the top governmental officials in London and Washington find it of such pressing importance to continue economic aid to the Greek government and to maintain troops in that country. Greece, after all, is one of the smaller countries of the world; its food problems, though serious, are not nearly as serious as those of China

Here, then, is the explanation for the unusual concern shown over the Greek question in Washington: within this question is contained no less than an expression of all the preparations for a third imperialist world

ROLE OF AMERICA

Despite all their mutual rivalries and imperialist differences, the capitalists of Britain and America feel themselves allied against Russian bureaucratic_ collectivism;_ to_ be more precise, the British, too weak to stand by themselves, prefer to subordinate themselves to capitalist America rather than to non-capitalist Russia. For that reason there has to be some agreement on strategy between London and Washington.

continue its Greek venture-the senior partner in Washington, therefore, is called upon to take over. It is at this point that the politi-

cal awkwardness of the Washington government enters the scene. For though there cannot be any serious doubts that the loan to the reactionary government in Greece will finally be approved, it should not be imagined that this will be achieved without the most serious difficulties. The politicians in Congress do not easily grasp what is good for their class, and there are still sections of American capitalism that utilize the isolationist fear of becoming subordinated to Britain. This type of oppostion, of course, exists in addition to a very genuine and healthy resistance by American workers to

tanglements; American labor instinctively resents, and feels that it has had enough of, the khaki uniform, K rations and forced separation from home.

For these reasons, it is very unlikely either that America will send troops to Greece or that Britain will carry out its threat to withdraw its own troops. This threat must be un-, derstood mainly as a British attempt to emphasize the need for American dollars.

The most likely outcome of the British - American negotiations on Greece is that, the common requirements of the capitalists of the two countries-the requirements, that is, for a continued strong military and economic bases in Greece-will be met on the basis of troops from Britain is too financially destitute to foreign capitalist - imperialist en- England and imoney from America. Austria will be drafted; and, at best,

Results Determined in Kremlin in Advance_



By A. RUDZIENSKI

The "results" of the recent Polish cow were seized by the police. Be- The existence of a legal workers' reaucrats also expected an uprising, tary organizations. The organization servants of imperialism, and recogelections were decided not in War- cause they were suspected of having opposition to a Stalinist government presumably "reactionary" in char- "WIN" (Liberty and Independence) nize the "social revolution," as Comcontact with the underground, the is a unique phenomenon in the en-

Party activists in the district of Cra- to the government, were presented. man occupation. The Russian bu- dissolution of the underground mili- of Mikolajczyk and Zulawski, as the

acter, which they prepared to deal

and Germany, where millions face the immediate threat of starvation. Its industries have never played a major role in Europe, and its economic life generally, though deeply disturbed by the war, is in rather less chaotic condition than that of at least a dozen more important countries in Europe.

And yet, the "Greek question" is considered important enough by the politicians in Washington to upset completely the carefully planned travel schedule of Secretary Marshall, important enough to cancel Truman's trip to the Caribbean, important enough to call for a series of hurried conferences of the top policy-making officials of the State Department and the key figures of the two houses of Congress.

GREECE'S STRATEGIC POSITION

The answer to this question, of course, lies in the strategic position of Greece in relation to the current imperialist rivalry. A glance at the map of Europe reveals Greece as one of the most crucial borderline territories: the ambitions of each of the imperialist powers here find themselves checked and inhibited by the other. The Russians, through their stooge governments in Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, have for months subsidized in Greece a military force ready and capable of converting the country into another Poland. This force has been consolidated by the work of trained GPU agents from all the Balkan countries and from Russia itself; they have been working to convert the antimonarchist democratic popular movement into an adjunct of the Kremlin. The present unpopular and reactionary government of the Greek capitalists could not maintain itself against this force for very long without the presence of British (or American!) troops and the economic subsidy of Western imperialism.

The geographic situation of Greece makes it the key to the entire Middle East and to the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas. Turkey, the most vulnerable outpost of Anglo-American imperialism in Europe, would be completely at the Kremlin's mercy in case a Russian puppet government should gain control of the Greek side of the Aegean Sea. The rich oil fields of Iraq and Iran, over. which Turkey now acts as watch-dog, would thus slip from the reach of America and England.

saw, but at a meeting of the Stalinist bosses of first and second rank and Stalin himself in the Kremlin. There the conflict between the Stalinist bureaucrats of their party, the PPR, and the fake Socialist Farty (PPS) was resolved, giving to each group an equal number of deputies and posts. There too the decision was made to allot only six per cent of the deputies in the Diet and a maximum of ten per cent of the votes to Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party.

At the Kremlin meeting the general lines of an electoral "policy" for Poland were drawn, that is to say, the general "pogrom" against the opposition. Until now, the legal opposition has been allowed to function in order to comply formally with the Potsdam agreement, which guaranteed "free and unfettered elections." But within the framework of this "magic" formula, Stalin decided to demonstrate that for him Poland is not the same as Austria and Hungary, where the peasant opposition is allowed. Consequently, the elections were meant to be a demonstration of Russian strength in Poland masked as a "complete victory of Polish democracy."

To assure the success of this plan, the Russian usurpers unleashed a terror without precedent in two years of occupation. The military tribunals dictated dozens of death sentences against the militants of the underground, trying to demonstrate their activities on behalf of "foreign imperialism."

ANTI-PEASANT "POGROMS"

The "pogrom" against the Peasant Party constituted the second step in this terroristic offensive. Tens of thousands of Peasant Party militants were arrested, the number of prisoners reaching 100,000 in the last phase of the elections, a figure comprehensible only under a totalitarian régime. The scattered Peasant Party, which in spite of the arrest of 100,000 of its members continued its electoral campaign and elected deputies, revealed enormous combative and dynamic strength.

To the régime, however, this mattered very little. In the most important districts where it feared an oppositionist majority, the Peasant (PSL) lists were simply cancelled under the pretext that the candidates and the organizations were suspected of contact with the underground. In 48 hours, 2,000 Peasant

were struck from the electoral lists. In 11 out of 52 electoral districts, the lists of the Peasant Party were simply cancelled. Of the 850 candidates, around 380 candidates for deputies or people considered as such, were seized. Strong-arm squads in Warsaw wrecked the Praga Local of the PSL and destroyed tens of thousands of election leaflets. In Lodz, 200 Peasant Party militants were stripped of their outer clothing and held as prisoners in a building without windows, with the temperature at thirty degrees below zero.

The favorite method of breaking the will of the Peasant militants and forcing the candidates to sign their resignations was the "cold bath" in ice-cold water. The resignations were then jubilantly printed in the Stalinist press. In Kasno, above Odra, a Peasant election meeting, which included women and children, was fired upon indiscriminately and as a consequence, there were some deaths.

STALINIST TERROR METHODS

Bestially mistreated in Warsaw was W. Fiegat, deputy to the National Council. In Starogard - Pomerania, Stanislaw Trok was bathed in icecold water until he agreed to withdraw his candidacy. In Lodz, the organizer of the young peasant women, Janina Lugaszkowna, was bestially tortured. These are only a few of the cases. We cannot cite them all. The British press cites many instances in which workers were mistreated in Lodz, Cracow, Warsaw, Silesia, Pomerania, for having signed the lists of the opposition. Many of them were mistreated and threatened with death until they agreed to withdraw

their signatures. The fury of the Stalinists was directed against the Independent Socialists and the left wing of the Peasant Party. The names of the Socialist candidates were arbitrarily crossed off: Zdanowski, ex-general secretary of the worker's unions before the war, because he was suspected of contact with the underground in the districts of Lodz and Warsaw. Also crossed off the electrol lists were the names of the leaders of the Peasant left wing: Baginski, Mierzwa and Koter. Nevertheless, in the various industrial districts of Cracow, Lodz, Warsaw, Radom, Chrzanow, the lists of the Independent Socialists, oppositionists

names of 60,000 voters in this district tire Soviet Zone, outside of Germany and Austria, where Russian policy is modified by the fact of the threepower occupation.

> lists in 11 districts deprived more than three million people of the right to a free electoral voice. But this is just one aspect of the matter. The Polish Constitution and the electoral law guarantee secret elections. Millions of Polish homes were "visited" by the Stalinist hangmen and ordered to vote openly under the threat of losing their jobs, or else were directly threatened with imprisonment or assassination.

In Poland, today, 30 to 40 per cent of the active working population depends on the state for employment. The countryside is controlled by the co-operatives, which are completely monopolized by the Stalinists. The Rural Administration keeps its vigil over the peasantry, while the police keeps its surveillance over the city population. Aside from these measures, the electoral observers of the opposition were forced out of almost the electoral commissions. The results," therefore, were exactly those foreseen by the Kremlin. Nine million voted in favor of the government; about a million and a half in favor of Mikolajczyk's party, about half a million for the Christian Labor Party, while about a million boycotted the elections or were excluded from voting by the government.

The opposition has been reduced to margin narrower than that which it had in the famous fraudulent referendum. The Stalinist electoral machine solidly entrenched after two and a half years won a "victory" over a rebellious people. The Russian position in Poland was "consolidated" within the magic formula of Potsdam.

But there are other factors that played their part in the Polish elections. The Anglo - Americans, signing the Potsdam compromise, were confident that the Polish oppositionwith their support - would succeed in clearing the way and would weaken the Russian position; that this opposition would serve as the spearhead for the expansion of Anglo-American imperialism. They wished to spill Polish blood once more, as in 1939, as in 1944, as during the whole period of the Ger- don government has called for the

with after their own worthy fashion, that is, with a slaughter. The Allies frightened the Russians with the specter of civil war.

However, both were bitterly dis-The rejection of the opposition's illusioned. The Polish people, under the leadership of the legal and unpossible to avoid provocation. The underground organizations did not come out of the forests and, as during the referendum, the legal opposition did not boycott the elections. as both the Russian and Western imperialists had expected. It limited the boycott only to those districts where its lists had been cancelled.

HATE BOTH INVADERS

The London government and those organizations adhering to it directed a proclamation to the underground and the Polish people in general, recommending that they avoid provocations and liquidate the military organizations. It is evident that the Polish people and the organized opposition do not wish to be the shield or fifth column for the Western imperialists, and strive to reconstruct the country, no matter what the régime in power, even the hated Stalinist régime. The Polish people do not want a new war and do not desire to have their territory converted into a theater of war. If the Anglo-Americans want Poland, then they must conquer it by their own efforts. The Polish people hate the Russian invaders, but have no intention of spilling more blood in order to acquire new bosses.

The Anglo-Americans are prob ably aware of the prevailing Polish sentiments and, consequently, the Polish elections have caused much "nervousness" in the Anglo-American bourgeois press. Never have they supported the opposition and Mikolajczyk with so much fervor as now. The diplomatic notes directed to Moscow and Warsaw were very "energetic." There was even talk of a break with the Warsaw government. A year ago, perhaps, such an action would have found support in Poland, but such is not the case today. What remains of the bourgeoisie and landowners are trying to accommodate themselves to the ruling bureaucracy. The leaders of the national armed forces have arrived at an agreement with Bierut and celebrate in the streets of Warsaw. The Lon-

directed by the leaders of the PPS. deliberately abstains from terrorist actions. An important part is played by the agitation against the Anglo-American position on the question of the Silesian and Pomeranian territories. The bourgeoisie and the middle class, the peasantry and part derground opposition, did everything of the proletariat are fanatically against any "new division" of Poland. The government foments a campaign of unrestrained nationalism against Germany. On the other hand, a new legal

> workers' opposition, that of the Independent Socialist Party, is in process of formation. It is headed by Zulawski, Zdanowski and Bien, representing the old pre-war PPS, who are trying to clear the way for an independent workers' movement. This party participated in the elections with Mikolajczyk. We can risk the affirmation that the Polish anti-Stalinist opposition is undergoing a structural change: the bourgeoisie submits to Stalinism, while the proletariat begins to emancipate itself and form its own organized opposition to Stalinism. The same development is taking place in the Peasant movement. The right wing, headed by Kiernik, desires an understanding with the government, while the left wing, led by Baginski, intensifies its opposition. Surely this social and political change in the ranks of the opposition is due to the independent orientation of the Polish opposition, which has no desire to serve as a shield for Anglo-American imperialism. Surely this political transformation is due to the change in the sentiments of the Polish people in general.

The sentiment which has overwhelmed the propaganda of the London emigration is summed up in the argument that the task of "the country" is to reconstruct the national economy and the cultural and national life of Poland. The task of carrying on an opposition devolves upon a reduced section of the population and the Poles in exile. Surely this will displease the Anglo-Americans and perhaps, at the same time, Laski and Stalin. No pretext will arise that will permit a slaughter of the Polish people.

PROBLEMS IN POLAND

The alternatives which confront the Polish Marxists are not very difficult to grasp. Ought we to struggle tirelessly against the opposition

rade Frank in the Fourth International • magazine and the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International counsel us, thus lending "critical support" to Stalinism in Poland? Or should we take our places in the ranks of the opposition, in order to criticize its errors and vacillations; in order to crystallize the revolutionary program of the proletariat; in order to win the oppositionist masses over to this program; in order to constitute ourselves the vanguard of the independent socialists, and the rebellious peasants in the struggle against Stalinism, and by our efforts give a Marxist character to the workerpeasant opposition?

If we, as Frank, considered the Warsaw government "objectively revolutionary," and the changes in Poland as a form of "social revolution," then we would follow his advice. But in our opinion, the Stalinist counter - revolution prevails' in Poland, based on the occupation of the country by Russian imperialism. It is our opinion that the economic and social development of Poland is being reversed, is being pushed backward instead of forward: that Poland is being reduced to the status of a colony of Russian imperialism; that the Polish people are being exploited, robbed and impoverished; that the policies of the government corrupt and destroy the Polish proletariat and peasantry. Therefore we are compelled to struggle against this new form of Stalinist reaction. We are compelled to ally ourselves with all the workers and peasants who also wish to struggle against this reaction, although in an inconsistent and vacillating form. For this reason, we shall take our places in the left wing of the worker-peasant opposition, striving to form our own nucleus and our own party.

We have had sufficient experience with the Luxemburgist errors in Poland. We have learned that we cannot isolate ourselves from the rebellious peasants, even though they are not socialists and from the working class, even though they do not belong to the Fourth International. For this reason, we shall take our place in the ranks of the workerpeasant opposition without hesitation or fear of reproach, in order to struggle for a socialist Poland, for a socialist Europe, in order to destroy the Stalinist reaction.

LABOR ACTION



What Is The Supreme Court?

The U.S. Supreme Court has struck a government dedicated to the basic propomighty blow against America's workers sition that capitalist society, the private in its decision on the coal strike. The na- ownership of the means of production, ture of that blow is discussed in other must be maintained. By this we don't parts of this issue of LABOR ACTION .. mean that every little, incidental step Here we wish to raise the question of la- which the government or its various bor's attitude toward the Supreme Court branches take is with that purpose in itself.

Editorials

Page 4

L. Lewis made after Justice Goldsbor- matters of basic policy, in which the funough's decision in the Washington Federal District Court against the miners. capital is involved, the government will Lewis declared that he had full confidence in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Now on what basis did Lewis express this confidence? Was there any precedent in the past which made it reasonable for him to express such confidence? We think not. In actual fact, the Supreme Court has usually been the refuge of reactionaries who wished to wipe out an occasional piece of legislation which did help the labor movement somewhat.

Everyone remembers the phrase about the "nine old men." That's what they were called during the Roosevelt administration, when they held out firmly against progressive legislation.

But now there's a Supreme Court with new personnel. It is composed of "nine young men." Almost every one of the present justices is a Roosevelt appointee. -as, for that matter, was Goldsborough himself. They have had careers in politics before their appointment, during which they were known as "liberals." When they so we see the Court, appointed largely were appointed they were hailed as people who would reverse the reactionary trend in Supreme Court decisions and give labor a break.

mind-though a great many of them un-You may remember the statement John doubtedly are. We mean rather that on damental relationship between labor and always line up on the side of capital.

> There are of course differences of opinion among various sections of the capitalist class and its political agents on how best to maintain their system. Some capitalist politicians are rather stupid, to put the matter mildly; they don't understand that, from their own class point of view, it is sometimes necessary to make concessions to the workers in order the better to maintain the basic capitalist system. Other capitalist politicians, like Roosevelt. his associates and his appointees, realize that occasional concessions, especially in times of unrest and depression, are necessary. In this latter category fall the present members of the Supreme Court, most of them former Roosevelt political agents.

But when the issue involved is basic, as is the case with the miners' struggle, they rally to their class interests. And by Roosevelt, twisting the knife that Justice Goldsborough drove into labor's back.

If labor will understand this matter, if it will understand the true relationship But it hasn't worked out that way, has involved between the government and the it? In this crucial decision on the miners' employer-employee struggle, then it will strike—a decision which affects the fu- have little difficulty in recouping its losses. ture of every American worker - these. For then it will understand the need to of every age had to do so from be-"nine young men," the appointees of break with the two old capitalist parties, be they conservative or liberal, and pro-Behind this fact there is something ceed to organize a party of it own, a LAwhich is of first-rate importance. The BOR PARTY, with the objective of creatpresent government of the United States ing a government and society of its own,

International Socialist Notes

10,000 AT MASS RALLY OF **CEYLONESE TROTSKYISTS**

We print below a letter from a leader of the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. The letter describes the activities of the comrades in Ceylon since the unification of the two Trotskyist groups which had previously existed there as separate groups. It is reprinted from the Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Fourth Internationalists.

I write to give you a brief report of the first mass rally of our party since the unification of the Cevlon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the two Trotskyist parties. in Ceylon. The rally was held on Saturday, January 8, at Galle Face green-the biggest in Colombo-and was attended by about 10,000 workers and others.

The rally itself was preceded by a huge demonstration in which more than 5,000 workers paraded the main streets of Colombo on their way to the meeting place. The slogans they shouted proclaimed their determination to "Smash the capitalist-imperialist alliance," "Destroy the reactionary Soulbury Constitution," "Save the Indo-Chinese people from French imperialism" and not to load a single ship carrying arms, men or supplies to the French imperialists in Indo-China."

The purpose of the meeting, besides being the first held by the party since the unification, was to announce the party's final election list and to inaugurate officially its election fund. This was the opening of the second front-the parliamentary front-against the new slave constitution the imperialists are attempting to force on the people of Ceylon through the agency of the native capitalists.

strate this solidarity by refusing to

load a single ship bound for Indo-

China carrying arms, men or sup-

ka Sama Samaja Party condemns the

reactionary proposal of the Board of

Ministers to refuse recognition to

Trade Unions of Government work-

ers and to accord to them the status

of mere associations, and warns the

entire working class of Ceylon that

this anti-working class measure,

though directed in the first instance

against the government workers, is a

prelude to a determined onslaught on

the entire body of the working class

of Ceylon on the part of the British

imperialists and their native agents.

This meeting further calls on the

workers of this country to fight this

measure with all the resources at

3. "This mass meeting of the Lan-

ka Sama Samaja Party demands the

immediate and unconditional release

of Comrades Daniel Weerasena and

Hemasiri Silva, the two remaining

With International Greetings,

October, 1937, he gave an order to

his troops: "Massacre the Haitians."

The order was carried out with bar-

In two days of slaughter an esti-

mated 15,000 Haitians were cut down

by machetes and rifles. Some esti-

mate that the number of bodies

piled high among the ravines totaled

25,000. The other Haitians in Domin-

go managed to flee across the border.

Thus Trujillo abetted a major eco-

attitude to its Caribbean neighbor?

allies in South American dictators,

smile sweetly on the fortunes of Ra-

ests of trade, large American sums

were sent to Domingo. Evidently,

where American money interests are

concerned, freedom and democracy

doesn't mean a thing. Not unless it

nomic crisis and solved a minority

What about the official Washington

barous efficiency.

problem

Fraternally yours,

ROBERT GUNAWARDENA,

Acting Secretary.

political prisoners in Ceylon."

their command.'

2. "This mass meeting of the Lan-

plies to the French imperialists."

The party announced a list of 27 candidates for the Parliamentary elections, contesting all seats in the City of Colombo and a fair number of seats in the up-country areas where the plantation workers are concentrated.

But most interest has been caused by the decision of the party to put forward one of its front-rank men, Comrade Edmond Samarakkody, to fight the leader of the reactionary Ceylonese capitalists, D. S. Senanayaka (would-be Prime Minister) in his own carefully selected rural constituency. The party announced an Election Fund of two and one-half lakhs of rupees to which it asked the public to contribute generously. The following resolutions were al-

so passed at the meeting: 1. "This mass meeting of the Lan-

ka Sama Samaja Party declares its complete solidarity with the heroic people of Viet Nam in their armed



THE GREAT PRISONERS, Selected and Edited by Isidore Abramowitz. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York; 879 pp.

Reviewed by JUSTIN GRAHAM

This first anthology of literature written in prison is a selection of the Progressive Book Club; a left wing, anti-Stalinist organization. Its value is enhanced because it comes at a time when the printing of anthologies, an easy, low-cost, profitmaking venture, has been unjustly abused in the rush for profits. This volume, however, is skillfully compiled and with distinct suppose. Those of us whose stomaches have been turned by the pennyil candy products of modern anthology makers will delight in this book-it is a real confection.

The Great Prisoners is no mere jaunt into some remote bypath of literature, as the title might suggest; history has been such that a large number of those who contributed to the intellectual and material advance hind prison walls. Hence the imposing list of great minds whose writings make up this book: Socrates, Boethius, Villon, Donne, Bunyan, Defoe, Balzac, Dostoevsky, Verlaine, Lenin and Luxemburg-to mention only a few. The historical and biographical notes of the editor, I. Abramawitz, are scholarly and of a caliber worthy of the men, ideas and movements with which he deals. Many of the writings which the book contains are not to be found elsewhere The Great Prisoners has no message other than those given by the prisoners themselves, but it has a ell defined purpose. It is a study of the non-conformist tradition in our culture, and as such it is an odd but effective commentary upon the history of western civilization.

scores of Dominicans were slain by Truiillo's agents.

At the same time Trujillo set about amassing an enormous personal fortune. His methods used to accomplish this varied, but were always successful. Bootlegging, cuts from national lotteries, outright appropriation of stocks resulting in a personal monopoly in industry, are just a few of the methods whereby the dictator has raised his non-taxable income to \$50,000 a day, according to Mr. Hicks.

LIFE IN HAITI

The Dominican Republic covers two-thirds of the island called His-Just as our State Department found paniola. The other third, with its three million population, makes up such as Vargas in Brazil, so did it Haiti, the only nominally independent Negro state in the Western Hemisphere.

Haitians have lived under the most abject conditions. Oppressed by American imperialist interests and native exploiters, they have also been victimized by the neighboring Dominican dictatorship. For political



The Wrangle Over China PART IV

A three weeks' cold spell-and the faded tapestry of British imperialism falls to pieces before the eyes of everyone. That is the measure of the decline of the greatest colonial empire in the world, based upon 400 years of war, pillage, slavery, and exploitation.

As the empire stumbles from one crisis to another-now Greece, now Palestine, now Indiathe United States is forced to take over its commitments. This it does not do by the classic means of occupation and direct rule. Neither the restive colonial masses nor the temper of the American people at home now permit such an ambitious undertaking. Rather does U. S. imperialism largely control by deploying its tremendous material wealth in credit, loans, UNRRA supplies, food, shipping, and arms. These furnish the backbone for the activities of quislings of one stripe or another all over the globe. This is the method currently being employed in China.

The United States urgently needs economic stability in China. Especially as domestic - consumption in the United States tapers off in the ensuing period will China become an important market for capital investment and for American commodities. Political stability is needed precisely to guarantee economic well-being. The present warfare destroys the possibility of normal commercial relations. The army alone consumes seventy per cent of the government income. Political stability is further necessary in China to hold down the acceleration of political consciousness in the Orient as a whole. 2011 Str. 10 2 10 10

THE UNITED STATES' DILEMMA

To do this in the face of Stalinist encroachments means to find a force in China which will gain the support of the Chinese masses against the Stalinists through solving the major economic problem, the agrarian question, and the problem of political freedom. This the Kuomintang cannot do. This presents U. S. imperialism with a dilemma which has been neatly expressed by the London Economist:

"When it comes to actual official policy, therefore, a British or American government is in a difficult position; it wishes to find some counterweight to the influence of Moscow and seeks a political force which is both democratic by faith and practice and effectively organized. But where is such a force to be found in a country which has no democratic or parliamentary traditions and suffers from all the social strains and stresses of a backward economy? Inevitably policy tends toward reliance on forces which can fairly be called 'reactionary' or even 'Fascist.' But even if official quarters come to accept such a position under pressure of raison d'état, public opinion is uneasy and rebellious."

These contradictions the Marshall mission of 1945 attempted to solve. The aims of U.S. policy were summed up in a statement released on December 18, 1946, by Truman, the man who is living proof of the contention that almost anybody can-and, alas, does-become president of the United States:

"The agreements provided for an interim govfael Trujillo. In fact, Trujillo had ernment of a coalition type with representation been nurtured by American interests all parties, for revision of the draft constituand Washington had done its best to maintain Trujillo in power. Under tion along democratic lines prior to its discussion and adoption by a national assembly and for rethe aegis of Roosevelt and the imperialist Good Neighbor policy, Truduction of the government and Communist armies and their amalgamation into a small modernized jillo prospered. Dominican officers. truly national army responsible to a civilian govmany of whom must have participated in the massacre of Haitians ernment. who had worked on American plan-

Roosevelt, have turned against labor.

is a capitalist government; that is, it is a a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

Are Government Workers Chattels?

York State Legislature which would deprive government employees of the right to strike. This bill, though introduced by State Legislators Condon and Wadlin, was prepared at the direct request of Governor Dewey, Republican hopeful for the Presidential nomination. Its immediate occasion was the strike of Buffalo teachers, who demanded a decent wage level.

Simultaneously, there appeared the Supreme Court decision against John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers which upheld the decision of Justice Goldsborough. The Goldsborough decision had denied the right of the miners to strike, on the ground that they were working for the government in an essential industry. This contention the majority of the Supreme Court upheld. Even the minority of two, Justices Murphy and Rutledge, who dissented on this matter, did so on the grounds that the miners were not really government employees but were employees of private industry. Murphy and Rutledge also took it for granted that government employees don't have the right to strike.

This is a highly dangerous conception. It is absolutely essential that the labor movement challenge it immediately and fight it to the end.

For what is involved is the conception right; they will be completely at the merthat government employees are chattels, cy of the politicians who run the governvirtual slaves and not free workers with ment. And what they can expect from the right which free workers have. Gov- these politicians they have already had ernment employees, say the Supreme bitter occasion to learn.

A bill has been introduced into the New Court and Governor Dewey and all of the Congressmen and politicians in agreement with them, do not have the right to use labor's mightiest weapon-the right, by organized action, to abstain from work as a means of gaining the demands they make.

> Why should government employees be BLOOD IN THE STREETS, by Alconsidered in any different light from workers who work for private employers? They don't have particularly better jobs or working conditions. Teachers today often make less money than workers in factories. But even if they did have good working conditions, even if they did make "high" wages, why should that be a reason for their not having the right to strike?

The relationship between the government and government employees is essentially the same social relationship as that between boss and worker in private industry. By himself, as an individual, the worker is helpless. It is only when he bands together with other workers into a union that he has any strength. And often he finds it necessary to back up that strength with his mightiest weapon: the strike. Is there any reason why all of this does not apply equally well to government employees?

For if the Supreme Court and Governor Dewey have their way, then government employees will be deprived of this basic bert C. Hicks. Published by Crea-

tive Age Press, Inc.

Reviewed by J. FALK

Blood in the Streets, by Albert C. Hicks, is a useful and unpretentious book which traces the personal background and political career of Rafael ujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic." The book also presents a factual account of events leading up to Trujillo's coup d'état in 1930 and political score-sheet of his murderous régime since then. The book is a selection of the Progressive Book Club.

Trujillo's career is a family tradition. His grandfather spied for Spain on exiled Cuban revolutionists living in Santo Domingo; his grandmother gave orders to a gang of professional assassins and was instrumental in securing and perpetuating a 16-year (1883-99) despotic rule of a dictator named Utises Hecureaux; his father was a shady character earning a dubious living. Trujillo, combining all of his ancestors' talents and putting them to most effective use, pushed his way up from cattle-rustler and pimp to army officer and finally dictator. -

After Truiillo had machine-gunned his way to the presidency in 1930, he outlawed all political parties except his own, the Partido Dominicana. He then proceeded systematically to assassinate or imprison hundreds of radicals, liberals and other oppositionists. Thousands of Dominicans fled the Trujillo terror, many of them to New York. But even in exile

economic and social reasons, the Trujillo régime, like its predecessors, did its utmost to arouse anti-Haitian feeling among the Dominican people. In true Nazi-like fashion, Trujillo, himself part Negro, tried to impress Dominicans with their white racial superiority over the black Haitians.

pays off. There were, however, thousands of Haitians living in Santo Domingo The above are some of the facts who had been imported by the Truand problems dealt with in Hicks' jillo régime to work on the huge book. Written in a simple style, Hicks American - owned sugar plantations fortunately doesn't attempt to make and in other occupations. By 1937 a real social analysis of the Trujillo there were 200,000 Haitians in this dictatorship and its relationship to category. But the sugar market met American imperialism. The few parawith serious reversals and for some graphs in the book which attempt time there had been a general ecoprobing beneath the surface are unnomic slump in Domingo. Thousands fortunately naive and muddle-headof Haitians who had been an asset to ed. Blood in the Streets indicates American interests and Trujillo were that its author is a poor analyst but now a handicap. They were pennia good reporter, with an important less and unproductive. This problem story to tell.

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THE CLUB HELD BEHIND THE BACK tations, were further trained by the U. S. in Puerto Rico. In the inter-

To make these proposals go down easier a grant of \$66,000,000 was made, chiefly for the purchase of raw cotton, ships and railroad repair material. A further more substantial sum of \$500 .-000,000 was earmarked as additional credits by the Export-Import Bank-contingent upon the implementing of the U.S. policy.

Chiang Kai-shek could not meet these conditions. To do so would have meant encroachments upon the economic and political prerequisites enjoyed by his banker, landlord, and merchant supporters. Such a truce would have permitted the continued growth of the Stalinists, whose strength was based not primary upon their military activity, as was Chiang Kai-shek's, but upon their political program. Further, the strength of the Stalinists had increased greatly during the war and in the post-war period. The prestige of the Kuomintang had simultaneously declined, when areas previously unacquainted with Kuomintang practices had come under its rule during the war.

The recovery of territory held by the Stalinists, particularly the rich Manchuria area, is of prime importance to Chiang Kai-shek. Always present in the back of his mind also, is that the extension of reforms might overflow safe limits and result in a revolutionary situation such as obtained in the mid-twenties.

To motivate continuing the war against the Stalinists the Kuomintang leadership employs the argument that the current economic and political stalemate must be broken so that reconstruction ean begin, and that United States intervention on the side of the Kuomintang is ultimately guaranteed because of its clash of interest with Russia. Opposition to the war by the "liberals" is motivated by their belief that the continuation of the war will only strengthen the Stalinists. But such opposition, which is composed largely of merchantcapitalist elements in the Kuomintang, is weak because of the increased interpenetration of landlord-merchant capital which took place during the war, the landlord class, of course, having especially direct interest in recovering land from the Stalinists.

Further, because of the previous all-out and unconditional aid given upon demand to Chiang Kai-shek by the U. S. the opposition lacks influence.

Under these conditions it was almost guaranteed in advance that if only because of the Kuomintang attitude the truce arranged by Marshall would quickly break down.

Such proved to be the case,

March 17, 1947

HOW GPU AGENT JACSON ASSASSINATED LEON TROTSKY.

The Murder Machine That Drove a Pick-Axe Into Trotsky's Brain **Directs Its Terror Against All Sections of the Socialist Movement**

BV EMANUEL GARRETT

Leon Trotsky was struck down in his home near Mexico City on August 20, 1940, by a Stalinist assassin, variously called Frank Jacson, Jacques Marnard and Jacques Vandendreschd, who drove the point of a pick-axe through the brain of the great revolutionary socialist leader. Final, irrefutable proof of the charge, made by the Trotskyist movement and generally accepted by world opinion, that the arm that manipulated the assassin's hand was Stalin's, is now presented in the testimony of Louis Budenz, then editor of the Daily Worker and involved in the plot to murder Trotsky, in a book published this week. The Budenz story is detailed elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION. Referring our readers to the sordid admissions of Mr. Budenz, summarized in the review of his book, we should like here to sketch very briefly the system of intrigue and assassination which led to the murder of Leon Trotsky and COUNTLESS other socialists.

Above we used the word COUNT-LESS, and deliberately, because the victims of the GPU terror are unbelievably numerous, bearing comparison only with the mass exterminations of peoples organized by the Nazi régime. And the victims include representatives of the working class movement whose views differed widely and radically, but who were insufferable to the Stalinist régime because they had, all of them, one thing in common-hatred of Stalinist totalitarianism.

It in no way slights the memory of those valiant socialists who would not save themselves by compromising with Stalinism to say that Leon Trotsky was the victim that the murder machine pursued most relentlessly. His death was the culmination of years of planning, years which witnessed the murder of one after another of his colleagues and supporters. The blow that was delivered on August 20, 1940, was planned at least two years earlier. Other schemes were in the meantime planned and executed; should one scheme fail, the GPU had another ready.

MORE THAN ONE ATTEMPT AT MURDERING TROTSKY

For twelve years, after having been driven by Stalin from the land whose revolutionary armies he had led in 1917, Trotsky was the target of the GPU murder machine. Exiled to entire affair) planned a trip to Eu-Alma Ata, then to Turkey, then to France and finally Mexico, Trotsky GPU learned of her plans. A top was pursued everywhere by the agents of the GPU, who sought first to prevent his admission to each country, and then schemed to assassinate him. It must be remembered met in the old American Workers that Trotsky was the socialist enemy Party (which fused with the Comwhom Stalin feared above all others. munist League of America in 1934). So long as Trotsky lived, a giant of Ruby Weil, whom Budenz graciously the revolution, a co-worker of Lenin covers with anonymity of "Miss Y," lived, able to gather around him the forces of revolutionary socialism. Alive, he was always a threat to Stalin, the man who butchered the Russian Revolution and converted the workers' state, created in revolutionary sacrifice and heroism, into a workers' prison. From his pen came surgical analyses of Stalinist totalitarianism as well as monuments of socialist theory and program, the victory of which meant the death of Stalinism, along with all forms of oppression. The GPU multiplied its efforts



Jacson or Vandendreschd played

his part well, courting Ageloff, dis-

even went so far as to establish for

himself a reputation as a mountain

climber! (Had he been discovered on

cial mountain-climbing pick-axe, his

excuse was ready-prepared for in

Paris many, many months before.)

It is interesting to note, though no

direct connection has yet been made,

that Jacson was in Paris at the time

that another of Leon Trotsky's sec-

retaries, Rudolph Klement, was ab-

ducted and murdered by the GPU.

Klements headless and mutilated

body was found in the Seine after

a palpably forged letter of his had

been forwarded to the Trotskyist

movement in France. It is also in-

teresting to note that at about the

time, of Klement's murder, Jacson

hurriedly left for "Belgium" and

man dressed as a peasant brought bomb during Trotsky's absence from the house and tried to leave claiming any interest in politics. He it for him to open. About a year after this first known attempt, the alarms, set into the walls surrounding Trotsky's house, were set off in the day of the murder with the spethe middle of the night by someone trying to climb over. The most ambitious attempt before the one which actually succeeded was perpetrated on May 24, 1940, when machine guns blazed away at the Trotsky home. Trotsky and his wife, Natalia, were then saved only by dropping to the floor as machine gun bullets peppered their pillows. Siguieros, the Mexican painter and a renowned Stalinist, was involved in this attempt on Trotsky's life. THOUGH TROTSKY HIMSELF ESCAPED, SHELDON HARTE. ONE OF HIS SECRETA-RIES, WAS ABDUCTED AND MUR-DERED.

was gone for some weeks. Long before the machine-gun attempt, the GPU was at work on an In time, Jacson came to the United elaborate plot which was directed States and then to Mexico. He trafrom New York, as is now proved velled under a false passport issued conclusively by Budenz. A young to a Canadian, Tony Babier, who woman, Ageloff by name, for some had been a member of the Internayears a sympathizer of the Trotskytional Brigade and who had died in ist movement (and who was proved Spain. As Albert Goldman in his to be completely blameless in the pamphlet "The Assassination of Leon Trotsky-the Proofs of Stalin's Guilt" rope for the summer of 1938. The observes: "It is a matter of common GPU agent, according to the revelaknowledge that the GPU took away tions of Budenz called a Miss Buby the passport of every volunteer fight-Weil, who was friendly with both ing in that Brigade, including Amer-Budenz and Ageloff, whom she had ican and Canadian volunteers. It is a matter of common knowledge that the GPU kept the passports of every volunteer who was either killed in action or killed by the GPU."

STALIN MANIPULATED ARM THAT HELD THE PICK-AXE Jacson was in Mexico at the time of the Siguieros attempt, came to the United States several days after tion for questioning, went to Eng- it and returned to Mexico on or about July 1. He may have been involved in that or he may simply have been waiting to see if the attempt succeeded. This much, however, is known: Jacson, while in Mexico, used an office that was also used by Siquieros! Working carefully, taking particular pains not to seem too forward, Jacson established an acquaintanceship with friends of Trotsky and

members of his household. Thus, from his room, he died. Attempts to through Ageloff, he met Alfred and exhume the body and examine it for Marguerite Rosmer, close friends of Trotsky, though Ageloff herself, meeting Jacson in Mexico, made no effort to introduce him into the Trotsky household. In this manner, Jacson managed to get himself invited. into Trotsky's house and visited there several times. This man, who had in Paris denied any interest whatsoever in politics, now pretended a great interest in Trotsky's theories, going so far as to proclaim himself a staunch follower of Trotsky. .

On August 20 he drove to the Trotsky home and, unlike his usual custom, left his Buick facing away from the house, prepared for a quick getaway. He gained entrance to Trotsky's study by informing Trotsky, whom he met in the yard, that he the Trotskyists and socialists who had an article he wanted Trotsky to read. While Trotsky was reading this article, Jacson, approaching his victim from behind, drove the pickaxe into the revolutionist's brain. Trotsky's cries brought guards, one of whom pounced on Jacson while the other went to Trotsky's aid. While the guard was pummelling Jacson (and stopped by Natalia, who wanted Jacson free to talk), the assassin kept repeating: "They made me do it, they made me do it." And: "They have imprisoned my mother-

they have imprisoned my mother." Placed under arrest by the Mexican police, Jacson composed a long statement which from beginning to end reeks of the GPU. The full text of this "confession" was published with notes in LABOR ACTION of September 9, 1940, and in the Goldman pamphlet. We lack the space to examine it here. Suffice it to say that it exposes itself at every point. The long police investigation disclosed that there was no record of a Vandrendreschd or Mornard in Belgium, either in or out of the nobility. Though he spoke French fluently, investigation pointed to Jacson being a Balkan of undetermined nationality. And it is equally likely that the GPU has some such hold on him as an imprisoned mother. It is a method

commonly employed by Stalin. There has never been any doubt that the GPU engineered the murder. With the testimony of Budenz there can be no doubt! Goldman recalls in his pamphletathat, when Trotsky's house was being remodelled after the May 24 assault, Jacson remarked: (published by Pioneer Publishers) "The GPU will use different methods." He knew!

Jacson is today in a Mexican jail. Several times the Stalinists have tried to spring him. There is no doubt that they would like to kill him, or spirit him away to Russia, for so long as healives he may yet tell the full story. It is said that Jacson is, therefore, not too anxious to leave his prison cell.

evidence of poison or other foul play were balked. Thus, though there is yet no direct proof that Stalin murdered Leon Sedov, the suspicion of murder stands; the circumstances point to it.

One after another, with the exception of Natalia, whom they hoped to get in the May 24 machine-gunning, every member of Trotsky's family has been removed, directly or indirectly, by Stalin. Such is the vengeance of the totalitarian monster who sits in the Kremlin! Trotsky's daughter, Zinaide, committed suicide, but her death can equally well be laid at the door of Stalin, for she lived in constant terror, hounded by the GPU murder machine.

We should like to enumerate all have been murdered by Stalin, But how is it possible? How is it possible to name all the Greek revolutionists who were killed by the Stalinists? Several months ago LABOR ACTION published a list of Greek Trotskyists KNOWN to have been killed by the Stalinist machine. Even that list cannot be republished here. It is too long!

And the tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands!, who were killed in Russia. Not all their names are known, nor even their exact numbers. But they were killed by Stalin. All the world knows of the infamous Moscow Trials which sent to its death almost the entire generation that forged the Russian Revolution. Not all of these were Trotskyists. Some of them were political opponents of Trotsky. But they had participated in the work of the revolution; they remembered its ideals. They had to be exterminated. Name them? To list only the world-famous revolutionists - Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and their co-workers - is an impossibly long task. And there are in addition the hundreds of thou-

sands of "unknown" revolutionists, Russian workers and peasants who had to die because they had in them the memory or conviction of the gigantic days of the revolution. And there are the hundreds of thousands of others, like Trotsky's close colleague, Rakovsky, who are either dead or suffering a living death in some concentration camp.

NIN, EHRLICH, ALTER-ALL FACTS MUST BE MADE KNOWN

But, we repeat, far more is involved here than the Trotskyist movement.

ANDRES NIN, the Spanish revolutionary leader, was not at the time of his death a Trotskyist. But he was murdered by the GPU in Spain. EHRLICH and ALTER were far from being Trotskyists. They were Polish socialists whose views differed widely from Trotsky's. After Stalin occupied Poland, during his past with Hitler, these two socialists were brought to Russia. Stalin tried to. bend them to his will. They refused. An international campaign tried to save them. They were murdered by Stalin! They were not Trotskyists; they were, however, implacable foes of Stalinism. That sealed their doom once Stalin had them in his hands. These facts must be repeated constantly and every effort made to disclose new facts. Recently stories were published in the press of how the GPU, operating through the Communist Party, spreads its terror through France. From small, incidental beatings of socialists, trying to distribute a leaflet, to assassination-it is all part of the work of the GPU. And the GPU has at its disposal the Communist Parties of each country, which are nothing more nor

members of a party whose leaders are dictated to by Stalin, who execute every political turn at his command, and participate in the crimes he organizes.

Page 5

The working class has to drive from its ranks the Stalinist influence. For its own self-protection, it has to wage constant warfare against Stalinist totalitarianism. The murders of the GPU machine are part

and parcel of the system that imposes slave rule on the Russian people. The GPU lives by assassinations, lies and slanders of the men who genuinely pursue socialist ideals. It slanders them with fabricated accusations, according to whatever is Stalinist line at the moment, fabrications that cannot stand the test of examination, just as the accusations and "confessions" of the Moscow Trials fall to shreds at the merest scrutiny. Every bit of Stalinist duplicity must be made public and broadcast widely. Everyone who has information of the machinations of the GPU must, be made to get up and tell his story. That is why months ago we challenged Budenz to tell his story. We challenge him again to state whatever he has not yet revealed. We asked the Nuremberg Court to question the Nazi defendants of their alleged complicity with the defandants in the Moscow Trials as charged by Stalin. The prosecutors would not permit that examination because it would irrevocably damn the infamy perpetrated against Stalin's victims

We demand that Ruby Weil be brought forward to add to the evidence. We demand that Browder and Stachel and every one of the gangster leaders of the Communist Party less than the tools of Stalin. Yes, be challenged to tell what they know. many members of the Communist. Ferreting out the truth about the Party, sincerely interested in the Trotsky assassination, the Reiss assassination, the Ehrlich and Alter cause of the working class, may protest. Yet it is a fact. They may have murders is a NECESSARY service joined out of the soundest of aspirato the cause of the working class, to tions. But, willy-nilly, they become the cause of socialist freedom.

''Labor Action'' Demanded That Budenz Reveal Facts on the GPU Assassins

Aware that Louis Budenz was in the inside of the Stalinist-GPU machine, LABOR ACTION has twice editorially demanded that he tell the facts he knew about the Trotsky murder. These editorials indicated that Budenz was not telling all he knew; that it was to the advantage of the labor movement to get him to talk. The first editorial appeared in our November 25, 1946 issue; the second in our February 17, 1947 issue. Excerpts from them follow:

We do not know how much the editors of the Daily Worker are let into the inner secrets of the GPU. They are, however, part of the entire GPU apparatus-Budenz when he was editor, as much as others who have edited it since. Very well, what we want to know then, Mr. Budenz, is this:

And what do you know about other anti-working class machinations and assassinations and hooligan attacks carried out by the GPU against Trotskyists, and revolutionists more generally, in this country and others? You appear to know a lot about Eisler. Let us have ALL the facts.

Again we put our question to Mr. Budenz: What more do you know? Get out of the secret chambers of the FBI and Congress! Make your information available to the labor movement. Name names!

Budenz's disclosures have been hitting the headlines regularly ever since he quit being editor of the Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party, and became converted to Catholicism. So far he told us anything that we did not know. We would like him to tell much more, and to tell a few things about HIMSELF! As editor of the Daily Worker he was in the GPU entourage. He claims knowledge of GPU activities. Let him make his real information public. Let him say a few things about his own activities. Let him tell us what he knows about the Trotsky assassination. And we have reason to believe that he knows more than he has made public.

was to travel with Ageloff to Europe and there arrange for her introduction to a "Belgian count," Jacques Vandendreschd. Weil, who could not be found after the Trotsky assassinaland with Ageloff, stayed a week and claimed she had to return to the United States. Note how cleverly the GPU made its plans. Even its tool, Ruby Weil, was not to know too much about the plot. In England, Ruby Weil introduced Ageloff to a relation who provided Ageloff with a letter of introduction to a "Belwhen Trotsky entered Mexico. Once gian Count" in Paris.

It has also been reported that the FBI interviewed Jacson last year and received from him a full statement. The principal outlines are clear, but we should like to have every last detail so that the Stalinist murder machine can be pilloried before the entire world. There has never been, we have said, any doubt as to the responsibility of the GPU. The Budenz story offers the last link of positive evidence needed to implicate the GPU. All that remains now is more information on this mysterious assassin, who he is and where he comes from. We already know who his employers were!

NOT ONLY TROTSKYISTS. BUT ALL SOCIALISTS

It is important that we know these things. Knowing them, we can present the evidence to the working class of the world, to decent people everywhere. We speak here of Trotsky, but there is much more involved than Trotsky or his followers who have been killed.

We have already made mention of two of Trotsky's secretaries, Harte and Klement, who were murdered. A third, ERWIN WOLF, was kidnapped and murdered in Barcelona in 1937. But the systematic campaign to eradicate Trotsky and his associates goes back to 1929 and before! In 1929, for example, BLUMKIN; a sincere revolutionist who had become a member of the GPU when he considered it an instrument for revolutionary socialism, went to visit Trotsky in Prinkipo, Turkey. Blumkin was killed!

In 1937, IGNACE REISS, another member of the GPU, perceiving its counter - revolutionary role, broke with the GPU. He was murdered in Switzerland and the facts as they were disclosed in a court investigation at the time are every bit as "story-bookish" as the facts surrounding the Trotsky murder, involving, among others, White Guard agents of the GPU.

In that same year, Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, died under mysterious circumstances in Paris. Taken to a hospital for an appendectomy, Leon was presumably recovering, when, without any established medical reason, and in the absence of nurses

What else do vou kna personnel of the GPU?

What do you know about the assassination of Leon Trotsky, plotted and carried through to execution by the GPU? In the investigation of the murder of Leon Trotsky, one of the chains in the GPU link was traced to YOU, Mr. Louis Budenz! Tell us, now that your soul is seeking redemption, what do you know about Trotsky's murder?



The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

PARKER TYLER

Poet, Critic, Editor of "View" "Hollywood Hallucination—An Examination of **American Movies"** - 8:30 P. M. March 16

CONRAD LYNN

Noted Negro Lawyer "Black Justice: A Survey of the Negro in American Society" March 23 8:30 P. M.

A new series of lectures at the Labor Action Forum will begin in April. The Forum will continue to present authoritative speakers on vital subjects. Watch for further announcements.

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Page 6

Budenz Book Proves Trotsky Murder Plotted in New York by GPU --

(Continued from page 1)

In this article we shall present in detail the revelations made by Budenz, quoting his account where necessary. Let us begin with the most important revelation: that the murder of Trotsky was partly prepared in New York City by the GPU and the Stalinist Party leadership, in which Budenz himself played a key role.

In this story of the New York Stalinists' role in the preparations for Trotsky's murder, Louis Budenz himself, despite his attempts now to hide behind the skirts of "Mary Immaculate, Patroness of our Beloved Land," to whom the book is dedicated, played an important part. Budenz had at one time been associated with leftwing anti-Stalinist groups-the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the American Workers Party in the early thirties-and when he joined the Stalinists in 1935 he was therefore of special value to them as an "anti-Trotskyist specialist." Not long afterward Budenz was enmeshed in the GPU apparatus as a tool who provided it with special information about the Trotskyists. As Budenz describes it:

"It was rather early in my party career that I was summoned to meet members of the Soviet secret police. . . . The telephone on my desk rang imperatively. The call was from Jack Stachel on the ninth floor. I was wanted 'at a conference' there.'

Budenz, accordingly, went to a nearby restaurant where he met "a well-built individual of about 40" who was introduced to him as "Friend Richards." Richards, says Budenz, had an obviously Russian accent.

"As we ate together, Richards quietly told me his purpose in seeing me. His commission was to investigate the condition of the Social Democrats, and to determine who among them and what Trotskyites and 'fascists' were making organized efforts to enter the Sovief Union....

"... But where did I fit info an enterprise for the protection of the Soviet Union against plotters? I was readily told. I was to collect all the data I had on enemies of the Soviet Union within the Left of labor ranks, and specifically the Trotskyists. Their names were to be given and everything else about them that might be pertinent to this inquiry. Particular attention was to be paid those who did much traveling, especially abroad. If I could learn where they went or were reputed to have gone, so much the better. Could my report be ready by the following Monday, three days hence?"

In this way, then, was Budenz sucked into the GPU's grasp. Was he really so naive to believe that the GPU wanted this information to prevent plots-at the very time that it was engaged in a campaign to murder all dissidents and was concocting

the frame-up Moscow trials? Probably not; whatever else, Budenz gives little evidence of naivete. In any case, that is his weak excuse for having consented to serve the GPU. After that, Budenz held regular appointments with the GPU. Their agents changed, from "Richards" to "Michaels" to "Roberts" but the procedure was the same. The original agent, "Richards," returned and asked Budenz what he knew about the national executive board of the Socialist Party. To the best of his ability, Budenz sketched the members of that board as he knew them. It should be remembered that at the time the American Trotskyists were in the Socialist Party; therefore the GPU agent's question was not merely connected with the Socialist Party, but with the plans the GPU was hatching against Trotsky

THE CHAIN THAT LEADS TO TROTSKY'S MURDER

and his followers.

For several years' Budenz continued to act the informer against the American revolutionists in behalf of Stalin's murder machine. His usefulness to the GPU increased. When a new and more skillful GPU agent, "Roberts," was assigned to work with him, Budenz broadened the scope of his work. Thus he carefully notes that his was not "a menial task." Such tasks as peeking through keyholes and searching mailboxes were reserved for others. Budenz's job was to get facts "about persons, dates and addresses" as directed by Roberts.. To get them he went "into the highways and byways of New York and picked them up in casual conversation."

"Roberts" who knew his business, soon had Budenz snooping around and picking up all sorts of material. This activity was known to the then leaders of the American CP, Browder and Stachel, who even helped Budenz. It should be noted that Budenz was a mere tool; he never knew what happened with the information he provided, to whom it went; he was a mere wretched snooper in the service of a murder machine. After a while "Roberts" showed

him some photographs and lists of names. Among these was that of a young woman named Sylvia Ageloff, later to play the role of a tragically duped victim of the GPU in the Trotsky murder. Let us quote this section from Budenz; we are getting to the central point:

"Photographs, foo, came into his ('Roberts'-1. H.) field of inquiry. . . . Then he inquired about certain names on lists, which he said were 'Trotskyite couriers.' ... Another was Sylvia Ageloff, whose name became widely known as the woman who brought Leon Trotsky's assassin, 'Frank Jacson,' into Mexico." It was not an accident that "Roberts" mentioned Miss Ageloff to Bud-

enz. For a little while later, writes Budenz-

that I bring Miss Y, a young woman who he had learned was a friend of Sylvia Ageloff, 'the Trotskyist courier.' I had known Miss Y in the CYLA (Conference for Progressive Labor Action) and had been aware that she seemed to know both certain Trotskvites and

certain Stalinists. I was not sure about her fealty, but Roberts had apparently checked and seemed assured that she was 'loyal,' though she had never done undercover work before. That was why he wanted me to introduce her to him. I complied with his request." The web of intrigue is now clear,

is it not? The GPU had cleverly fixed on Miss Ageloff as a possible dupe through whom access might be secured to the Trotsky household. It knew, further, that this Miss Y, whose name is really Ruby Weil (Budenz hides her identity for reasons of his own private convenience . . .) was acquainted with Miss Ageloff. Accordingly it planned to use Ruby Weil as a means of bringing Miss Ageloff and the GPU agent. "Jacson," Trotsky's assassin, together. Thereby "Jacson" was able to assume a false pose as her friend, and gained entry into Trotsky's house.

In this plot Budenz played a key role. It was he who brought the GPU and Ruby Weil together! It was he who gave the GPU this invaluable contact! It is he who, along with others of Stalin's GPU, has the blood of Leon Trotsky on his hands!

Budenz puts the matter very bluntly: "I learned that this quiet-

voiced, grave-faced, intelligent man ('Roberts') had arranged the preliminaries for one of the greatest political assassinations of recent years. He had served his Soviet masters well, using many innocent people in the process and calmly abusing their confidence. It was a first-class instance of the ruthlessness with which the Soviet machine will use people for its ends and then leave them shattered and uncertain to face as they may the consequences of Soviet plots and gangster acts. So far as I could piece that plot together, several unsuspecting persons were left high and dry in this very fashion. Even I did not dream that this mildmannered man, so preoccupied with 'defending the Soviet Union.' was engaged in such a fantastic fatality as was to be staged in

Mexico City. * "And that is the story of the killing of Leon Trotsky. In 1940 and 1941 the Miss Y whom I had brought to Roberts . . . was severely ill with fuberculosis and

confined to various convalescent homes. I had not seen her for many months, but before going away she had looked me up and hurriedly told me part of the story . . . Roberts gradually got her to establish close connections with the Trotskyites, including a

"Roberts startled me by asking

trip to Paris to attend a Trotskyite 'congress.'

... she was persuaded by NKVD (GPU-I. H.) people in Paris (if I remember correctly, the agent then was another woman) to introduce 'Frank Jacson' as a Belgian count to Svivia Ageloff . . . who promptly fell in love with him. It was later disclosed that through her he became accepted by the Trotskyites and was smuggled into Mexico, where he gained admission to the Trotsky household. He was the man who murdered the former Soviet leader."

There, then, is the story of the Trotsky murder. A crack has taken place in the GPU-Stalinist machine: one of its flunkies, Louis Budenz, has told some of the dirt he knows (we are ready to state that he knows a good deal more about the Stalinist machine, but that he does not talk for reasons of his own). And the truth is then that Trotsky's murder was planned in New York City by the GPU in conjunction with the American Stalinist leaders.

GPU'S IMPLICATION CAN NO LONGER BE DOUBTED

No one can doubt this any more. A formerly highly-placed leader of the American CP. Louis Budenz, former editor of the Daily Worker and member of the CP National Committee, has told part of the inside story. Now all the feeble alibis of the Stalinist gangsters that Trotsky's murderer was a disaffected follower, that Jacson murdered Trotsky for personal reasons are shown to be the desperate lies they were.

The blood of Trotsky rests on the hands of Stalin and his GPU!

The blood of Trotsky rests on the hands of Louis Budenz, of Earl Browder, of Jack Stachel, of the entire Stalinist-GPU Mafia!

Let the facts be known. Let them be spread far and wide. The truth is vindicated by one of the guilty tools of the assassins himself. The headquarters of the American Communist Party at 35 East 12th Street, New York, is not a workers' headquarters; it is the center from which reactionarv Stalinism plans and prepares the murders of the revolutionary socialists, of its great Marxist opponents like Trotsky.

This is the story of the murder of, Leon Trotsky, as told by Louis Budenz, one of the men responsible for that murder.

BOOK DISCLOSES OTHER MURDERS

Though the most sensational disclosure of Buddenz's book is his account of the preparations for Trotsky's murder, there are many other valuable pieces of information in it. Ignace Reiss was a GPU agent who in 1936 broke from his masters and solidarized himself with the Fourth International. Shortly afterwards he was murdered in Switzerland. This murder, the Trotskyists conclusively demonstrated, was or-

ganized by the GPU itself. Budenz had been the foremost hosannaconfirms this charge to the hilt, confirms further that the leaders of American Stalinism - those totally depraved and corrupted creaturesknew the truth about the Reiss murder.

Budenz writes:

On another occasion Comrade H (Clarence Hathaway, former editor of the Daily Worker-I. H.) made some interesting comments or confessions regarding langtz Maria Reiss. That faithful Red and member of the conspiratorial apparatus for the Communist International had suddenly gone sour on his CI work, disillusioned by the cruelty of the gangster apparatus. He was kidnapped and liquidated in France, and the evidence pointed overwhelmingly to the Soviet secret police. The New Republic chose to say as much and to make a bitter assault on Soviet assassination methods . . . I suggested we reply to it.

"Comrade H said this was 'im possible' and he stressed the word . . . I was stubborn and persisted in raising the question "Comrade H took me aside then, and said, 'Don't you know what you're doing? You are raising a question which we will not deal with under any circumstances. This Reiss case is closed so far as we are concerned. We have received definite instructions not to mention it, no matter what happens. The facts won't stand discussion.

"Even then, I said, being somewhat chastened. 'Frame-up, eh?' And he replied, 'That's it....' "

Another instance of long-discussed Stalinist terror is cleared up by Budenz. That is the Julia Stuart Povntz case. Poyntz was, in Budenz's words: "A prominent member of the Communist Party and was a part of the conspiratorial apparatus, but just before her disappearance, she had begun to differ with that group. The member of the Political Committee whom we shall call Comrade H (Clarence Hathaway-I. H.) advised me, almost in so many words, that she had been 'liquidated' by the Soviet secret police." Later Budenz had a further con-

versation with Hathaway, during which Hathaway told him about the Poyntz case:

"'Well,' he drawled, 'that is hot cargo, that case. We never want to allude to it in our press or touch on anything that might lead to a discussion of it. It's hot cargo, mind you, and it could cause serious trouble in the undercover.' Then he caught himself short and made a meaningless joke. And a year or two later, when we were discussing a further development of this case, he was even more emphatic."

Has Budenz told all he knows? We doubt it very much. What, for instance, does Budenz know about the murders of Rudolph Klement and Erwin Wolf, European Trotskyists who were victims of the GPU? What does he know about the present

singer for Browder-were afraid to talk to him in the CP building. A few, like Roy Hudson, tried to make peace by persuading Browder to capitulate, but they too fell into line when Foster made it clear that he had the backing of Moscow.

For three or four weeks, Budenz reveals, Browder tried desperately to readjust himself to the new line. He believed for a while that Moscow would come to his rescue. The new line had come in a special letter from Joseph Starobin, Daily Worker foreign editor, who was then attending the opening sessions of the United Nations. Starobin was handed the line there by Dmitri Manuilsky, Stalinist delegate to the UN. Browder believed that his line would be backed up by Stalin and therefore refused to go along with Manuilsky. He paid for his mistake.

The sessions of the National Committee meetings of the American CP are vividly described by Budenz. Were there not overwhelming evidence from other sources and were not Budenz a personal participant. it would be difficult to believe that such sycophancy, such knee-scraping, such debasement of personality and dignity is possible even in the Stalinist party. When Browder was in favor, his entrance into a National Committee meeting evoked a half hour of applause. When he was in disfavor, no one said hello to him. That, then, is the picture of American Stalinism.

AND A WORD ABOUT MR. BUDENZ HIMSELF

A word, perhaps, should be said about Budenz himself. This wretched hypocrite now pretends that he was always on the verge of religious conversion, even during his years as a Stalinist. Such acclaim is, of course, nonsense; it is an attempt at retrospective whitewash.

But to the revolutionary movement, to every honest person in fact, Budenz presents a totally nauseating spectacle. Here is a man who knew the truth about the Trotsky murder, the Reiss murder, the Poyntz kidnapping, for at least six years—and said nothing. Today he preaches morality. . . . Here is a man who even in this book, written under the Catholic canopy, continues —the habit is in his blood—to spread such infamous slanders as that the German Trotskyists were prisóň guards for Hitler, even though he knows full well that the German Trotskyists were among the first to be murdered and imprisoned by Hitler. It is to be observed that here Budenz speaks not from personal knowledge,

thorities whose animating motive is hatred of revolutionary socialism. Here is a man who served as the finger for the GPU, pointing out dis-

but from hearsay, based on vague au-

sidents, checking on prospective GPU agents, obtaining information for the Stalinist Mafia. And today he splutters with Hail Marys on every page. Here is a man who was responsible in part for the murder of the greatest revolutionary socialist of our time, a figure of titanic heroism and unmatched intellect, a man who kept alive the Socialist flame in the darkest days-Leon Trotsky. And this willing pawn of murderers dares talk about morality. . . .

March 17, 1947

But enough about Budenz. He has merely transferred from one totalitarian allegiance to another.

The central task in connection with this book remains. Budenz has spilled the facts, the Stalinist monolithic wall has cracked. The truth is out on the murder of Leon Trotsky.

Let us spread these facts far and wide until every worker, every human being knows the truth about Stalinism—this machine of murder, counterrevolution and totalitarian despotism.

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NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND

By STANLEY GREY

It was demonstrated last week that it is "control of the means of production" which is decisive in estimating any society. In a capitalist system, it is the capitalist class which controls the means of production by virtue of owning them. In a socialist society, it would be the people themselves who would own and control the means of production. Socialism without workers control of production is impossible.

Let us take this crucial measuring rod and apply it to England, the country which the U.S. capitalists call "socialist." Who owns and controls production in England, the capitalist class or the working class?

With the capitalist press incessantly hammering away about "socialism" and "nationalization" in England, it is sometimes forgotten that, despite all the talk, there has been very little actual nationalization. So far, only the Bank of England and the coal industry have been taken over by the state. Outside of these spheres, the capitalist class continues to own the means of production. To be sure, there are plans and projects for further nationalization. But these future nationalizations will come to life-as have the previous two-at a time and under conditions favorable to the capitalist class.

The sum total of all projected nationalizations would still leave capitalist rule intact. The Labor Party has announced it does not intend to nationalize more than about 20 per cent of English industry. Under the best conditions, therefore, with the successful realization of the Labor Party program, the means of production in the country will remain predominantly in the hands of the capitalist class. To speak of such an economy as being "socialist" is either inexcusable ignorance or malicious distortion designed to charge socialism with the failures of capitalism.

CAPITALIST PROFITS CONTINUED

In addition to the fact that the nationalized industry is only a small fragment of the economy, the nationalized industries themselves are operated in a capitalist manner for the benefit of the capitalists. The proof of this is that

1) the capitalists who were "expropriated" received huge compensation for their property and were granted interest-bearing government bonds as a source of continuing "profit" and

2) the capitalists who previously owned the industry continue to manage it under state ownership. There is no workers' control.

Let us examine the nationalized Bank of England and the coal industry for verification.

In nationalizing the Bank of England the government compensated the shareholders by giving them \$1200 worth of government stock at 3 per capitalists dominate the board, the former tech-

merly at 12 per cent. This indeed is nationalization. with a profit . . . for the capitalists.

It placed Lord Catto, who had been governor of the Bank of England and a leader of British finance, in the position of chairman of the Board of Governors of the nationalized bank. Thus the capitalists maintained their control.

It failed to nationalize the Joint Stock Banks which have great loan powers and exercise a corresponding influence over industry. The failure to nationalize these important banking institutions weakened immeasurably the already feeble nationalization of the Bank of England.

The nationalization of the Bank of England was therefore little more than an accounting transaction in which the cash value of the stocks was increased 300 per cent with the power of control left in the hands of the old capitalist financiers.

PATTERN OF CAPITALISM CONTINUES

In the nationalized coal industry the same pattern prevails. Whereas before the capitalists owned and managed the industry and risked great profit losses due to its backwardness, today the capitalists are still in control and enjoy guaranteed profits. These profits consist of the interest on the government bonds which the former owners received in compensation.

Buf the industry continues to be backward and lose money. Who suffers the losses now? They are absorbed by the state which means that they are placed upon the shoulders of the people. Nationalization of coal has therefore meant little more than nationalization of the losses of the coal industry and the guaranteeing of the profits of the capitalist coal magnatës.

It is almost as if the Labor Party was deliberately trying to illustrate Lenin's statement that "state monopoly in capitalist society is nothing more than a means of increasing and guaranteeing the income of millionaires on the verge of bankruptcy in one branch of industry or another." In this respect, if in no other, the Labor Party has followed Lenin's analysis to the limit.

The capitalists not only draw their interest on their bonds, but they continue to manage the industry. The ruling body is the National Coal Board. On it sit two picked trade union bureaucrats who had to resign from their unions-with union permission-to serve. The only power this labor "representation" has on the board is to advise. Needless to say, the capitalists and their representatives on the board need not take their advice. Thus even this meager, undemocratic representation of labor in the industry which the "people" own has no more real power to control production than any editorial in a newspaper. The

cent interest for every \$400 worth of stock for- nicians and administrators continue to run the industry, and the worker is, as before, an exploited instrument of production with no power of control. For him the "new management" is still the old régime. As the French saying goes, the more things have changed, the more they have remained the same.

A GOOD RISK FOR CAPITALISTS

Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was stating sober and self-damning fact when he said: "The credit of the British government now stands so high that we are able to borrow money more cheaply than has ever been possible before. In fact, the Labor Government is a good risk, and the city (England's Wall Street-S. G.) recognizes that fact."

Small wonder. The social rule of the capitalist class remains intact. The government saved the coal magnates from bankruptcy and rewarded their bequest to the British people of a brokendown industry with huge compensations. The government follows capitalist policies at home and abroad.

The surprise in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement is not that the government is a "good risk"-that is only common sense for the capitalist-but that a "socialist" minister has no hesitation and shame in announcing this fact to the public. The spectacle of this "socialist" boasting of the confidence of the capitalist class reveals perhaps better than any other single fact that these Labor Party "socialists" are little more than humble and grateful servants of the capitalist class. History has shown that where the capitalist class allows "socialists" to take power without molestation, these "socialists" prove to be the faithful servants of the capitalist class. The Labor Party is only the latest of many examples.

To sum up: The English economy remains basically a capitalist economy. The capitalist class still owns most of the means of production. Those which are nationalized remain under its control and provide it with huge profits in the form of interest on government bonds. There is no workers control of production. If it is argued that the British experiment is still young and it will take time to reach socialism, it should be understood that this infant born of the marriage of the Labor Party and the capitalist class will never cut its socialist teeth. It is as much the child of the capitalist class as the Labor Party is its servant. The main contribution of the Labor Party was to put a "socialist" label on the wristband. This new label cannot conceal the old fact of capitalist rule.

Next week's installment will deal with the meaning of workers' control of production based on a nationalized economy.

apparatus of the GPU in America? Let him name names! LABOR AC-TION has in editorials reprinted in this issue demanded that Budenz spill all the facts he knows about the insidious workings of the Stalinists, not to the FBI, but to the labor movement which must be the main force to smash Stalinism. He has told a lot. But is that all he knows?

STRIKING PICTURE OF LIFE IN CP

If the most striking aspect of Budenz's book is his revelations about the GPU murder machine, his picture of the inner life of the American Stalinist Party is also of great importance.

From Budenz's book one gets an almost incredible picture of internal totalitarianization, of cringing and debased personalities known to the outside world as leaders of the American Stalinist Party but in reality mere flunkies of the GPU and the Kremlin.

This article is already much too long, so we shall not give too many details. But we wish to urge every one to read this book, provided they have rather strong stomachs. Budenz, for instance, tells the story of the downfall of Clarence Hathaway. That unfortunate person was at one time editor of the Daily Worker and a top figure in American Stalinism. Yet Budenz reports an incident in which a GPU man, "Edwards," stormed into the Worker's editorial office to berate Hathaway. "Edwards" told Hathaway off in no uncertain terms, and Hathaway swallowed it quietly, smiling a little shamefaced-

Later on Hathaway became cynical and as Budenz reports:

"Once, in the rear of a National Committee meeting, he had suddenly whispered: 'Even such wise men as Browder and Stachel get their orders how to think from abroad. Their "lines" are not self-starting.' When I looked up quizzically, he laughed rather vacuously and became stone silent."

Budenz paints a picture of the intrigue in the National Committee of the CP at the time of the downfall of Browder and the reemergence of Foster that is fascinating in a macabre sort of way. All of Browder's former adulators-especially Eugene Dennis, present party secretary, who

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.

II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living. 2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.

3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for \$ \$5000 annual minimum per family.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.

2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

IV. Tax the Profiteers

For a 100 per cent on all wartime profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.

V. Nationalize Big Business

For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.

2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.

2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.

2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farm-

ers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

LABOR ACTION

things. It said first that workers

must not strike against the govern-

ment. The court upheld by this de-

cision the contention of the govern-

ment that wherever the government

puts up a sign bearing the legend,

"U. S. Property," it makes no differ-

ence if the property really does not

belong to the government. Thus the

court said that not only must work-

ers not strike against the government

where the government really owns,

as in the case of a navy yard, but

also in the case of the mines, which

are really owned by the coal compa-

nies and are only being temporarily.

The court said that wherever a

U. S. marshal, an officer of the Army

or Navy, tacks up a sign by order of

the President, saying "U. S. Property,"

no strike can take place legally at

that place or in that industry. The Su-

preme Court said, in effect, that no

distinction will be made on threat of

strike, between a government navy

vard, arsenal, or atomic bomb plant

and the property of Mellon, Ford,

du Pont or Morgan, if the government

is temporarily in possession of that

property. Despite the fact that the

private owners still operate the plant,

determine wages, working conditions

and prices, continue to receive the

profits, determine and pay dividends

and interest—in such plants the work-

ers, according to the court, are em-

ployes of the government. Even

though government ownership is a fic-

the decisions and rulings of a judge

must be obeyed even though a higher

court or some members of the higher

court, may hold that the lower court

had "no jurisdiction." That is, Lewis

and the UMWA should have obeyed

the order of Goldsborough even

though they believed, and a higher

court may have decided later, that

the Norris-LaGuardia Act did apply.

This decision of the Supreme

Court only underscores again the fu-

NO TIME TO LAMENT

The Supreme Court also said that

tion, the employes may not strike.

operated by the government.

DECISION ON UMW POINTS TO VITAL LESSON FOR LABOR



AKRON

Write to Box 221 for information. BALTIMORE

Headquarters: 21 West Preston St. Meetings of Socialist Youth League

held every Friday at 8 p.m. Public forums are held second Friday of each month.

For details of Workers Party branch, contact above address.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison,

2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone—CHEsnpeake 5798 Office hours: 8-5:80 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLASSES-every Friday night at 8 o'clock on a series of Marxist classics. Led by Albert Goldman.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE business meetings held every Sunday at 7:30. Forums held three times a month on Sundays at 8:30.

CLEVELAND

The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m. The Cleveland branch of the Social-

ist Youth League meets every Friday at 8:00 p.m. A class in basic Marxism meets

every Monday at 8:00 p.m. Definite headquarters are not yet established for these meetings.

DETROIT

Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10. Telephone: PLaza 5559. Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Sta-

LOS ANGELES

Headquarters at 3161/2 W. Pico, near 7-3230. Olive, Telephone: Richmond Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily ex-

cept Sunday.

LOUISVILLE

For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party - Write Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

NEWARK

HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday-3 to 6 m.; Wednesday-12 to 3 p. m.;

p. m.; weanssay-12 to 5 p. m.; Saturday-3 to 4 p. m. Forums every Friday at \$:30 p.m. 'at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.:

NEW YORK CITY

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 6 p.m.

Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681. You are welcome to attend all open Branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City. BRONX BRANCH: Meets every N. Y.

Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx. HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every

Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.). room 106. CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St.,

third floor. CHELSEA BRANCH: Meets every Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St.,

third floor. SATURDAY AFTERNNON BRANCH: Meets every Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West -..th St., third floor. BROOKLYN BOROUGH HALL

BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor. BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, EAST NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pit-

kin Ave.). SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Meets every Friday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

READING

For information regarding the ac-tivities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. Or Box 1671. Regular class on the "Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism" every Monday evening at \$:30.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Gerard Avenue (3rd floor). WP branch meets Wednesday at

8 p.m. Socialist Youth League meets Friday at \$:00 p.m.

cents. LABOR ACTION FORUMS each Sunday at 8:15 p.m., LABOR ACTION HALL, 1139 West Girard Ave., N. E. corner of 12th and Girard. Saturday, March 15, 8 p.m.-A mu-

sicale. Saturday, March 29, 8 p.m.-Dance and social.

Friday evening lectures in "Social Forces in American History," beginning Friday, March 28, at 8 p.m. Sub-scription, 25 cents per lecture, \$1.00 per series of six.

ST. LOUIS

Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbitt Avenue, University City 14.

For information on the activities f the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 206, Oakland 7, Calif.

SEATTLE

Write to P. O. Box 29, University Post Office, for information.

For information of Workers Party addresses and activities in cities not listed above. write to Workers Party, Court Square, Long Island City 1,

(Continued from page 1)

"any case of admixture of civil and criminal proceedings in one." Murphy wrote in his dissent that "time and again strikes were broken." before the Norris-LaGuardia Act by the issuance of temporary restraining orders. The "highly fluid character" of labor disputes and the delay in getting final court action in injunction cases, "often resulted in neutralizing the rights of employees to strike and picket." The UMWA decision was "full of dangerous implications." The government would have the power to seize property where a strike was threatened, get an injunction and then return the

property to the private owners after

THE "JUDICIAL" MIND

the strike had been broken.

We have dealt with the reasoning of the various members of the Supreme Court as an illustration of the "judicial process" and the judicial mind; particularly to show what the "judicial process" and the judicial mind are in cases where the capitalist courts are considering the rights of the working class. Here was a sordid display of what Lewis' "constitutional court" really is. This fantastic orgy of legal and constitutional verbiage, this barrage of solemn sophistry and word-mongering is, according to his communication to the miners; a basis for the protection of "American liberties and the rightful privileges of individual citizens."

How could Lewis or anyone else have expected anything different. Murphy was the only justice who even approached getting down to the nub of the situation. What else could the Supreme Court have done? Could this supreme representative of the capitalist ruling class render a decision, in a labor case, which meant that workers have the right to strike against the government of the capitalist exploiters? It is only the capitalist exploiters themselves who have the right to do

this and under the protection of the courts. Aircraft companies during the war can hold up production until their government guarantees them a higher profit. Copper companies can supply their government with defective cable. The du Ponts can maintainagreements with German trusts during the war. The big capitalist corporations can do all these things and more. They can get away with it because it is their government at Washington: their President, their Congress and their Supreme Court.

What did the Supreme Court really say in this decision? It said two to accept the hypocritical and reac-

capitalist "judicial process," but by disrespect for capitalist judicial process. This is historical fact. What rights the working class has today were not gained through obeying the decisions of capitalist judges but by disobeying them when we felt such disobedience necessary in our own class interests.

spect. Neither on acts of Congress, This struggle, however, cannot be orders of the President or decisions carried on in the manner proposed by of the courts. Labor cannot put its Lewis, Murray, Green, Reuther and the other labor bureaucrats. They are faith in anti-injunction laws. The government will find a way to violate as blatant in the defense of the "judithese anti-injunction acts, the courts cial process" as are Vinson, Truman will find a way to sustain the governand the two capitalist political parties. They are as fervently committed ment and Congress will find a way to ignore any violation of its legislation to "our system of free enterprise," as by the President or by the courts. are the Mellons, Fords, du Ponts and That is, where the rights of labor are **Rockefellers.** These labor leaders not only bend the knee before the capital-For labor to wail and lament over ist government at Washington but they stand with drawn saber against this decision is a waste of time. To berate the Supreme Court or the any attempts of the working class to government for taking such a posimove even in the direction of a govtion "after the war is over," is to ernment of its own: A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. This is particularly misunderstand the war, the govern-

applicable to Lewis.

capitalist society. It is precisely be-There is no place at all in his cause labor did not understand the thinking for labor politics and an in-Second Imperialist World War, the dependent political party of labor. At role of the government at Washingleast Murray and Reuther talk about ton and capitalist society as a whole. a labor party and reject the notion. that labor is confronted today with Lewis never gets to the point of resuch a decision as this, with such an jection because the idea seemingly arrogantly hostile Congress and with never enters his head, or the heads of an administration, that no matter any of the top leaders of the UMWA. how stupid, is solidly devoted to the This decision of the Supreme straight-jacketing of labor. The President may be suffering from Court, the arrogance of the administration and the raucus anti-labor "delerium Trumens," there may be noises in Congress, have the labor those who are convinced that he is bureaucracy backed against the wall. what Mencken called Calvin Coolidge, They have no weapons with which but at least he is aware that the they can fight back. The weapons capitalist ruling class must be prowhich they are accustomed to using are dull, rusty and useless today. The one powerful weapon which is indicated and which they could use, they If labor cannot strike against the are hesitant about. That is the numgovernment at Washington then we bers, the power and the might of the need to put a government in Washworking class. They fear to summon ington that we can strike against if labor to action because although such an act is necessary in order to they don't know much, they at least defend our interests and the interests

Such a struggle would have to take place in the streets: at the mine pits, the factory gates and in the fields. Masses would become involved, millions of workers and toilers. The militant politicalized workers would be there; explaining, teaching, guiding and leading. The workers and toilers

would be inspired to bury the capitalist "judicial process" along with "our system of free enterprise." The workers and toilers would sever all connection with the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties. They would form their own independent labor party. The masses at the factory gates, at the mine pits, around the mills and in the fields, might get the notion that the mines, mills, factories, railroads, the banks and the fields should belong to them and be operated by them. It might occur to them instead of "writing your congressman," to march to Washington and surround the Capitol, the White House and the Supreme Court with the mighty army of labor. Even the thought of such an act by labor puts the labor bureaucrats into a cold sweat and creates panic in their ranks.

Despite their timidity and stupidity, despite their subservience to capitalism and the capitalist ruling class, we recommend again this course of action to Green, Murray, Lewis and the others among the labor leadership. There is no other road for labor which leads to freedom and security. There is no other answer to the Supreme Court, to Truman and to Congress. There is no other working class substitute for the operations of the capitalist injunction and the capitalist "judicial process."





LABOR ACTION MARCH SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE:

The first few days of the March Subscription Drive for 2,000 new readers to LABOR ACTION indicate that we will make a success out of this campaign. A total of 106 subscriptions has already been sent to us, and the subs are beginning to increase in volume. As branch after branch of the Workers Party swings into action in support of the campaign, we expect an avalanche of subs. We shall list, in this column, the progress of the campaign from week to week. The drive ends on March 31, and shortly thereafter we'll announce the various prize winners. Meanwhile, here's the progress we've made after the first few days of the drive.

LOS ANGELES	 39
Detroit	 24
	 1.11

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Hits SWP Attitude **Toward the GPU**

on Eisler? Under the circumstances, the Dies Committee. They were ico just before the assassination? in the murders of left wing oppon-

been courageous enough to ask for a cent the invitation, later hastily son? What was the purpose in send- must apply. The FBI has evinced United Front with the Daily Worker withdrawn, for him to appear before ing CP members like Stachel to Mex- little objection to the use of the GPU

ers" and then only under conditions set by the government of the private employers. This can only mean that we can only strike on conditions set by the capitalist employers, when another section of itself, to strengththey decide and only so long as they. en its position as the defender of the are willing to let the strike go on. interests of the capitalist ruling This is not the way we won the right to organize and to exercise the right

tected from labor.

HOW TO FIGHT

get our unions and the rights we offerent of detailants

have, as workers, through respect for

of the masses. Labor cannot go on

forever accepting the decision of the

capitalist government that we can

only strike against "private employ-

class. Is anyone so stupid as to believe that the only concern of the government was to keep the production of coal going? To believe this is

of collective bargaining. We did not

Whose Interests Does Supreme Court Serve? --

took place in the mines.

concerned.

tionary sobbing of the capitalist

press in its editorial writing about the

hardships which would be inflicted

on schools and hospitals if a strike

The action of the government and

the Supreme Court, in this case, again

should make clear that labor cannot

depend on the government in any re-

ment, the capitalist ruling class and

only one aim in view: to establish its contention that "you cannot strike against the government." The government sought through appeal to

The government at Washington had

tility of labor relying on the capitalist courts for protection and support.

Comrade Weber who submitted the letter we publish below is well known in the Trotskvist movement. We asked Comrade Weber to condense his letter, in view of our space limitations. He asked us, however, to publish his letter in its entirety, The silence represents political cowwhich we herewith do.

Dear Editor:

The attitude of the "official" Trotskyists toward Stalinism and the GPU has been for some years enough to set one's teeth on edge. As if to clinch matters in this respect, there is an editorial in the February 15. 1947, issue of the Militant which demonstrates anew their utter inability to give leadership and direction to the fight against the murderous GPU apparatus. The editorial points out that Ruth Fischer is NOT a Trotskyist, which is perfectly correct. It goes on to characterize her as an "informer" for having testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (successor of the infamous Dies Committee), giving all the information at her disposal concerning her brother Gerhard Eisler. Ruth Fischer is further accused of being a "tool of American imperialism" because she writes. "sensational" articles on Stalinism.

The politics of Ruth Fischer have never appealed to me. She has been wrong on most questions. But in one matter she has my whole-hearted endorsement: in her unremitting struggle to unmask and expose the GPU and all its agents. That she has thus knowingly placed her life at stake goes without saying. The Militant places her precisely in the same category as the renegade Budenz. who has the protection of the FBI and the imperialists. That serves rather to characterize the SWP and its politics, not Ruth Fischer. Let us

CALLS IT COWARDICE

What remains unsaid in the editorial in question counts far more than what is said. If Ruth Fischer is denounced as an informer, just as is done in the Daily Worker, then implicitly Eisler is to be considered as a leader in the ranks of the working class who is now under attack by the imperialists and, therefore, despite all his betrayals, should be defended. The Militant should have greed with Trotsky's proposal to ac- sky? What did he know about Jac-

in a great hurry. Why didn't the Militant have one single word to say on Eislers Under the circumstances. isn't it the duty of the Militant and the SWP to teach the workers how to think and act correctly? What should be done about GPU agents? ardice.

Ah, yes! We shall be told that the workers must place no reliance in the imperialist state or any part of it, to fight their enemies, whether of the fascist or the Stalinist variety. This is a fight for the winning of the masses and that can be accomplished only by patient, independent politistruggle and education. The cal workers must learn to build up their own defenses against the GPU, as against the Nazis. Well then, perhaps the Militant will favor us by pointing out just where they have tried to do anything along these lines! And meantime what should be done? Remain silent while the GPU hatches its political plots and its schemes for assassinating opponents?

The SWP would have to agree that it is in order for the workers' press to point the finger at GPU hatchet men. thus exposing them to the FBI. The Militant has itself done this in the past. Remember Contreras? And Mink? But perhaps there is some distinction between GPU 'politicals" and GPU hatchet-men. Yes, the distinction is that the leaders make the plans and supply the resources, and the underlings do their bidding. If the workers' press makes public the machinations of the GPU, then it is obviously in urgent warning of the left wingers. That means the more widespread the information the better. The militants must know how to make use of the widest possible forums to reach everybody possible. And what better forum than a national one, such as a House Committee which is in the. spotlight of the world's news?

TROTSKY'S ATTITUDE

The new "Dies" Committee has the most reactionary aims and certainly must not be aided in its vicious work. Is it permissible to utilize such a forum? Well, in what way is Ruth Fischer's courageous action any different (from that proposed by Trotsky in the case of the original Dies Committee? The Cannonites disain New York against the life of Trot-

afraid that it would be misinterpreted and easily distorted in the minds of workers. But would they have dared call Trotsky an "informer" if he had been allowed to appear as he proposed? Would Trotsky have denounced individuals as tools and hirelings of the GPU? One has only to turn to the testimony he gave before the Dewey Commission to see. He would have utilized the forum of the Dies Committee to gain the widest possible audience for his revelations and attacks on the counter-

revolutionary Stalinists and their GPU murder-apparatus. Trotsky answered a question of Beals in the course of his testimony: "They have a sufficient number of agents, because every functionary of the Comintern, of the French Communist Party, is an agent of the GPU. And in the United States the same. The Politburos of the Communist Parties all consist of paid agents of the GPU." The last words of Trotsky's stirring speech in his own defense contain the following: "Emissaries of the GPU are prowling in

all countries of the Old and the New World. They do not lack money. What does it mean to the ruling clique to spend twenty or fifty millions of dollars more or less, to sustain its authority and its power?" But perhaps there is a difference

between such abstract remarks and the specific individual "cases." Then one has only to remember that Trotsky made the sharpest demands on the Mexican courts after the first attempt to assassinate him. The courts were quite unwilling to act and it was only under the lashings administered by Trotsky's pen and tongue that the Sigueros bandits were brought to trial.

QUESTIONS TO BUDENZ

The case of the murderer Jacson still remains unresolved because all the links have not been publicly uncovered. Why did not the SWP take advantage of its opportunity to put some pointed questions to the "confessing" Budenz? What prevented the SWP from demanding publiclythat a whole series of questions beput to Budenz by the House Committee? True, they would not have been put. But the press might have caught

them up. What did Budenz know

about the plot concocted right here

And more, many more questions This would have shown up both Budenz and the Committee.

There, you see, is the real difference between the attitude of Trotsky and that of the SWP. Trotsky knew how to distinguish clearly his aims from those of the Dies Committee, or the Mexican court, or a Budenz. Political cowardice is what prevents the SWP from making use of opportunities that arise for making its position crystal clear. (Assuming it has a correct position-there's the rub!) The leaders of the SWP feel the pressure of Stalinism first and foremost. The silence on Eisler and the attitude on Ruth Fischer are merely new proofs.

There is tragic irony in the appearance of the editorial in the Leon Sedov memorial issue. One remembers how insistent Trotsky was in trying to force the French courts to unravel all the links that tied the murder of Sedov to the GPU. Trotsky traced the "reluctance" of the French authorities to pursue the matter further to the politics of the Franco-Soviet pact. Should not the Greek Trotskvists demand similarly that the Greek government (yes, the trebly reactionary Greek monarchist government) investigate thoroughly the murders of hundreds of members by the Greek tools of the GPU? Rest assured that the trail, truly followed, would soon lead to the Greek Eisler. Naturally we do not expect the present Greek régime to lift a finger in the matter. But that would serve also as a political demonstration concerning its nature as also that of the Stalinists.

HOW FIGHT GPU?

One sees here a certain naivete in the Cannonite approach to this question. The FBI knew all about Eisler for a good long time. In fact, the House Committee was accused of having spilled the beans prematurely. The FBI knew the links leading straight to the GPU as well as to the Comintern. Neither the Congressional Committee nor the FBI have ever shown the slightest desire to link Eisler or others with the GPU, except in connection with the atomic spy ring. The committee desired only to show that the CP of the U.S.A. is the agent of a foreign government, The FBI his its own reasons for going easy on the GPU angle. But there is precisely where our aims

ents. We do have some slight objection. It thus happens that our views coincide in part with those of the Congressional Committee, although with entirely different aims. We have been foremost in showing that the Communist Parties in this country and elsewhere, are nothing but the tools of Soviet foreign diplomacy. Have we been informers in pointing this out? Shall we halt aghast in our analysis when the immediate material links proving this are exposed to view? The Cannonites act as though we would be aiding the reactionaries by clinching our argument. The whole matter comes back to clarity of aim and the means of bringing this out. We want to expose the GPU apparatus to the working class so as to free workers to fight in their own true interests, not for those of a corrupt, bureaucratic apparatus that has dragged the meaning of internationalism in the mud. The imperialists try, through the Stalinists, to weaken the working class in its struggle. It must therefore be our effort to turn the attack against the imperialists, the main enemy, as well as against the Stalinists.

The GPU is something unique in all history. It has no precedent. It is the dread counter-revolutionary apparatus of suppression, at home and abroad, of a reactionary government that has drowned the Russian Revolution in a river of blood. It is a thing of dread only so long as it remains at work in the dark, completely hidden from view. The moment it is dragged into the light of day, it becomes a thing despised and hated by all that is decent in society, above all the vanguard of the working class. Let the Cannonites indicate other methods than those pursued by Ruth Fischer to unmask the GPU and all its agents. For the present, there are none. One thing stands out clearly. The politics of Cannonism serve not to unmask but to abet both Stalinism and the GPU apparatus, JACK WEBER.

Feb. 22, 1947.

ELECTION RALLY

Harold Draper will speak on "A Socialist Program to Smash Jim Crow, Sunday, March 30, at 8 P. M. Elks Temple, 40th and Central.

Philadelphia	
Streator, III.	
New York	
Buffalo	1.1
Akron	
Cleveland	
Boston	1.1
Miscellaneous	
TOTAL	

Streator, Ill., thanks to the splendid work of Comrade S., has already fulfilled 50 per cent of its quota! Many other branches have not yet been heard from. Local New York sent out many of its people on a sub-getting RED SUNDAY during the week, but we have not yet received the results of this work.

From Akron, Literature Agent Brant writes us that, "I want to point out that instructions pertaining to the sub-drive have been presented conscientiously. The drive is already under way and you will find our first two subs enclosed. I hope that Akron will be able to get many more than the quota of 50 it subscribed to "

As he rushed like a whirlwind through our office, the Newark WP branch organizer, Sol Berg, informed us that the aim of Newark is "to fill each part of our quota assignment (getting subs from our trade unionists, veteran supporters, renewals from housing projects, forums, socials, etc.) We should considerably surpass the total quota of 100!"

The first report on a RED SUNDAY activity comes from Billy the Balladier, in charge of the Detroit sub-getting drive. He tells us, "The branch mobilized today. Sixteen people attended; three were excused; thirteen were absent. The day was snowy and wet. I'm going to flick a couple of exposed behinds (of those absent) with my 30-foot blacksnake whip. We concentrated on a Negro housing area. Comrades were given several blocks each and went out with old papers to give away and new ones to sell.

"A total of eighteen subs was gotten during the day. The bulk of the sub-drive will have real, constructive value to the branch. I told all comrades that they should take their time, talk to people, and then make comments on the sub-blanks when they turned them in, for the possibility of further visiting."



LABOR ACTION

March 17, 1947

British Imperialism Resorts to Martial Law To Prevent Jewish Immigration Into Palestine

By A. P. FINDLEY

Page 8

A new war of terrorism has been loosed against the Palestinian people simultaneous with a British announcement that it "submit" the Palestine question to the United Nations and postpone any decision on Jewish immigration.

On Saturday, March 1, the Irgun Zvei Leumi bombed a British club in Jerusalem, killing sixteen persons. The British administration immediately put into effect its often postponed plans for martial law. The entire city of Tel-Aviv (population 181,000), all communities in the plains to the East and the Mea Shearim district of Jerusalem, inhabited by oriental and orthodox Jews were put under martial law. Over 300,000 people are affected by this military straight-jacket.

NAKED MILITARY RULE

support to:

Transportation of industrial workers has ceased, phone communications are completely suspendedeven within small sections, imports and exports are cut off. The effect is

The American Committee for Eu-

The ACEWR has added to the lists

ropean Workers Relief, 193 Second

of those whom it is helping the

names of all those families whom

the now-dissolving Labor Action Eu-

ropean Relief Service has been aid-

ing. Henceforth LABOR ACTION

will carry on its appeals and pub-

LABOR ACTION urges all those

who have been assisting us in this

vital European relief work to con-

tinue their efforts and to give their

support to the ACEWR-a relief or-

ganization deserving the fullest con-

fidence and support of all those in-

terested in helping. We shall, cam-

paign actively in its behalf and we

have decided to throw our support

to it because of our knowledge of the

fine work it has been conducting.

Henceforth any inquiries about relief

work, or matters relating to it,

ACEWR, 197 Second Avenue, New

We are publishing below a letter

received 'from Germany, a letter of

appreciation for one of the many

packages shipped to Europe through

the relief service that LABOR AC-

should be addressed to:

TION has been running.

licity in behalf of the ACEWR.

Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

Labor Action Suspends

Its Own Relief Service

To Work With ACEWR

that of a blitz kreig. In Tel-Aviv, industrial and economic center of Palestine-over 10,000 workers are out of jobs.

This first week of naked military rule in Palestine will go down in history as one of the blackest acts of a decaying empire. It has been characterized not only by economic strangulation, but by indiscriminate shooting, even of playing children. It has meant complete freedom for drunken imperialist soldiers, afraid of their hostile surroundings, to strike out blindly at anything and anybody.

Although officially directed against the terrorists of the Irgun and the Stern gang (a small minority of the population) martial law is actually directed against the entire Jewish community and all forms of resist-

Even from the viewpoint of the British imperialists, the results of this brutality are of doubtful value. The arrest of alleged terrorist leaders will not mean much. The acts of terrorism against British soldiers have increased during the reign of

martial law. If anything, the "ex- sion, since a two-thirds vote will be tremists" have been politically strengthened.

The only effect has been to strangle the economic life of the country. their past actions point in the direc-Britain, having failed to impose its will by political and military power, is now trying desperate economic pressure.

EFFECT ON COMMUNITY

Previous British reprisals against the Jewish population primarily affected the workers' communities and cooperative farms. Despite, mass searches of workers' sections, destruction of their homes and possessions, the workers stood firmly with the Hagannah and resistance.

The present martial law, while causing great hardship among the working class, is also putting intense pressure on the businessmen, manufacturers and middle class elements in the attempt to force these classes. to act as a fulcrum for exerting pressure in the direction of "collaboration" and appeasement of the British overlords.

Dr. Weitzman, traditional spokesman for pro-British policies, has proposed the establishment of a new top executive, with himself as head, to negotiate with the British. The Jewish press reports that this proposal has already received the approval of the Jewish agency and the Vaad Leumi (existing executive bodies) and all capitalist elements (except for the Revisionists). The Histadruth, the Jewish trade union of Pal-

and is urging upon its readers for everything very quickly. This second post-war winter is much more bitter and harder on us than was the first. The public as well as the paltry private reserves have been used up. The cold, transportation difficulties, etc., make the import of food very difficult. For weeks the women have waited many hours for bread at the stores. Already, a few cases have happened where people froze to death on

these lines. At school, whose director I am, up to 25 per cent of the children stay away daily because they have no shoes and only insufficient winter clothing. Many children are sick because their weakened bodies cannot offer resistance to the effects of the

weather. I report everywhere the winderful solidarity among us. Out of the spirit of the present mutual help there should grow the spirit of a new humanitarianism, which will regard as its highest duty preventing at all costs the repetition of the fascist madness. We shall fight with goodness, we shall take the tedious assignment of patient enlightenment and we shall treat with the greatest harshness all attempts at a repetition of injustice and violence.

I hope that you are of similar intentions. Help us further; you help

could revive their semi-alliance with required. England, the empire is now so weak that they cannot be depended upon.

Russia and its satellites represent a somewhat doubtful case, although tion of an alliance with the Arab League as a means of penetrating the Near East for oil, etc.

In his speech to Parliament, in which he announced the decision to submit the Palestine question to the UN, Bevin depicted the poor British Empire as an advocate of peaceful cooperation and bi-nationalism, caught between the unreasonable attitudes of both the Jews and the Arabs. This is a familiar "pose" for the self-righteous imperialists (inqua. for example) who close their eyes to the historical facts in Palestine, where for 25 years the British have been making every attempt to pit Jew and Arab against each other.

The hypocritical preachings of Beven should not obliterate the fact that the starting point for consideration of Palestine is the fact of the existence of two nations within the same country. In his speech, Bevin' labeled the Jews as a religious group, overlooking the new, broader and secular Jewish national movement which rotting capitalism has created amongst the Jews the world over. Bevin attempts to befuddle the issue by making the fact that the lives of several million Jews are at stake, appear like a matter of religious taste.

ZIONISTS IN QUANDARY

The official Zionist leaders are desperately seeking a way out of the impasse. Only yesterday they refused to consider the question of immigration as distinct from the political solution-a Jewish state, if only in a section of Palestine.

Now that the policy of relying on another of the contenders for world power, or on the UN has shown its bankruptcy, they are reduced to pleading for immediate admission of Jews into Palestine on purely humanitarian grounds.

Most Zionist leaders place their hope in America, others still hope for a solution which will satisfy the British, still others pray for a favorable shift on the part of the Stalinist rulers of Russia. The more astute are talking of finding allies in other Near Eastern countries, among the various minorities in the Arab countries. They feel that even if they

ELECTION RALLY IN LOS ANGELES!

HEAR:

HAROLD DRAPER

WP CANDIDATE FOR

COUNCILMAN

Speak on

The Socialist Program

to Smash Jim Crow

SUNDAY, MARCH 30, 8 P. M.

Caravan Hall

110 East 59th St.

Draper, WP Candidate, **Calls for Workers Control Of Los Angeles Transit Lines**

LOS ANGELES, March 10 - "For now operating, he pointed out, will strap - hanging human sardines' who pay exorbitant fares for poor transportation there is no relief except unification, city ownership and union control of car and bus lines," asserted Hal Draper, Workers Party councilmanic candidate in the Seventh District, in a statement issued to the press today.

Unification of the seventeen lines

tered the Stalinist-controlled New

York CIO Industrial Council at the

beginning of the war and is known

to have collaborated with them on

many issues. Dubinsky, an authori-

tative spokesman for right wing op-

portunism in the labor movement, is

be seen dead in the same room with

Jack Altman. Active trade unionists

look upon Altman's present anti-

Stalinism as an attempt to cover up

his collaboration with them in the

Kerrigan, who is sometimes known

as the man on the flying trapeze in

the UAW, has worked cheek by

jowl with the Stalinists in the Ad-

des caucus. Several Stalinists have

make it possible to go anywhere in the metropolitan district on one fare. Transferring from one line to another now often requires the payment of an additional fare. Operation of the transit lines by the city for service and not for profit will do away with the zone system, which brings one-way fare for those living a few miles from the center of the city up to as much as 17 or even 22 cents.

Control of transit lines by the unions will insure decent wages and working conditions for transportation employees and a much higher standard of service to the hundreds of thousands of workers who daily jam buses and street cars to and from their jobs. "Even without this much-needed reorganization, there is no justification for the recent fare increase, and I propose the immediate cancellation," Draper said.

The advantages, in the form of better service and lower rates, of municipal ownership of public utilreputed to have said that he wouldn't . ities are exemplified in the city water and power department to which Draper referred in his statement. Despite reasonable rates, the department has accumulated a huge cash surplus, which Draper demanded be returned to the people in the shape of lowered rates. The fact that such a surplus can pile up at all is indication of how much money is wasted and skimmed off as profits under private ownership of utilities.

> Draper came out in favor of the much-discussed "freeways" - a system of express boulevards-but demanded that these links with outlyvelopment, the well-to-do suburbanites. "The only time workers will be other five per cent live," Draper

> Draper's position on the transit, utilities and other problems vital to the working people of Los Angeles will be fully discussed in the candidate's address to the election eve mass meeting, Sunday, March 30, at 8 p.m. in Elks Temple, Central Avenue near 40th Street.

> Draper's surprise attack on Jim Crow restrictive covenants at a meeting of the Crenshaw Chamber of Commerce (reported in last week's LABOR ACTION) was given commendatory recognition in the current issue of the Los Angeles Sentinel, a widely read Negro newspaper. "Jim Crow in Los Angeles," the special campaign pamphlet authored by Draper, sold well outside a housing rally in the district Friday night and at a mass meeting for Conference of Studio Union supporters at the Olympic Auditorium on Sunday.

Yesterday morning a crew of cam-

have adopted a position favoring binationalism, while Moscow continues to denounce immigration to Pales-

The unofficial decision for a UN commission to make a preliminary investigation and report to the Gen-September, has

been vetoed by the United States,

which wants Britain to make the of-

ficial decisions, leaving the U.S. gov-

ernment free of the onus of decision.

tine. SECRECY IN UN

eral Assembly in

The Labor Action European Relief the children. Believe me, such help estine has not yet committed itself. Service wishes to announce that, ef- is worth a lot to us, for we can buy WHAT CAN UN DO? fective at once, it is abandoning its almost nothing. It is worst of all for separate efforts for European relief the children, since they grow out of Politically, the solution of the Palestinian problem was helped not an inch by the fact that it will be sub-

mitted to the UN. Those Zionist groups like the left Paole Zion and especially Hashomer Hatzair who demanded UN intervention, are now wondering what they have gained. Beigin, leader of the Irgun, also had expressed his support of UN intervention because he was sure of the help of the U.S., France and Russia. One thing is certain: however long

the UN will require to reach a decision, whatever their decision will be, it will not be based on any consideration of the needs or desires of power politics.

Russia's wooing of the Arabs. The Polish government is rumored to

shall is reported in favor of supporting Bevin's policy as an offset to

either the Jewish or Arab people. The UN decision will be arrived at by foul play in the dirty game of Rumors regarding the possible UN decision fly far and fast. Gen. Mar-

N. Y. Union Group To Fight Stalinists

These attempts at "super-realistic"

power politics will bring as much

disappointment as the previous alli-

The only course which can succeed

is a forthright attempt to integrate

the struggle of the Jews in Palestine

against British imperialism, with

the struggle against feudalism which

faces the masses of the Near East.

ance with the British Empire.

By JACK PORTER

NEW YORK - Representatives of a cross section of the non-Stalinist CIO locals in New York at a meeting held March 6, at the Hotel Capitol, decided to enter the Stalinist - controlled New York City CIO Industrial Council provided the Council was "reorganized."

Among the 200 persons present were delegations from auto. textile. steel, utility workers, shipbuilding, retail and wholesale, and unofficial delegations from Stalinist-controlled unions.

The meeting marks the first occasion since 1940 that the non-Stalinist CIO locals of New York have met for the purpose of conducting joint activity against the Stalinist domination of the CIO in New York.

Previous efforts to organize a citywide fight against the Stalinist stranglehold on the New York CIO were constantly rebuffed by many of the same right wing opportunists who are at the head of the present movement, formerly known as the CIO Committee for Democratic Action and now called the Trade Union Committee for Democracy.

During the imperialist war, it was politically convenient for right wing leaders to enter into a bloc with the Stalinists. For nearly four years many of the right wing leaders found it possible to run on the same slate with the Stalinists, vote for the same resolutions and fight jointly against

QUESTION LEADERS

Falling in line with the current anti-Stalinist mood in the CIO, the committee was organized under the leadership of Jack Altman, an official in the United Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Employees Union, and Charles Kerrigan, director of Region 9A of the United Auto Workers Union, who were elected chairman and secretary - treasurer respectively at the meeting.

Although no opposition to the candidacies of Altman and Kerrigan was expressed at the meeting, it is known that delegates questioned the right of Altman and Kerrigan to lead ruggle against Both Altman and Kerrigan as well as a number of other people associated with them in the leadership of the CIO Committee for Democratic ion, take over or whether the group Unionism have collaborated with the Stalinists - particularly during the war. Altman practically alone among the Stalinist influence among 600,000 the non-Stalinist CIO leaders, en- CIO workers in New York.

to convince delegates who felt that the best way of defeating the Stalinthe militancy of the rank and file.

the minds of the delegates as to the programmatic means of combating the Stalinists. On this issue, Altman shed no light. Repetition by Altman that the Stalinists were totalitarian and remarks by some of his aides that the Stalinists were un-American, failed

past.

be leveled.

ists was to provide a solution to the present difficulties facing CIO unionists in New York. Outside of beating the "Communists," no verbal or written program was presented by the spokesmen of the meeting for a vote. The group was high-pressured into existence on the pure and simple basis of "anti-Commie."

Most prominent in denouncing the Stalinists were the individuals from Stalinist - controlled internationalsespecially the UE. The tone of these delegates was set by a representative of UE Local 1237 who denounced the union-wrecking Stalinists as "reactionary" and "dictatorial."

The locals which have suffered most at the hands of the Stalinists are quite skeptical of the present leaders. They are waiting to see whether the red-baiters, the "knownothing" elements of the trade unwill develop a genuine progressive program and movement to eliminate

been employed by Kerrigan as UAW organizers. The leading committee furthermore includes a number of people from the Shipbuilders Union against whom the same charges can **HOW FIGHT STALINISTS?** While the delegates present were correctly for entry into the NYC CIO Council, there was some doubt in commented.

ing middle class residential areas be paid for by means of taxes that will bear heaviest upon those who will benefit almost exclusively by this deusing these roads is when they drive out in their jaloppies to see how the

Germany, Feb. 2, 1947. Dear Friend:

York 3, N. Y.

I was very delighted to receive your package, in which there were two shirts, a blouse and a coat. You can easily imagine how I greeted the arrival of the coat, since my own is light and badly worn. My wife will find very good use of the shirts for

European working class family?

Nazi and labor fighters?

197 Second Avenue New York 3, N. Y.

197 Second Avenue New York 3, N. Y.

ACEWR

Address

Aid European

Hungry Workers

Will you undertake to help us send food and clothing regularly to a

Will you support the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EURO-PEAN WORKERS RELIEF in its campaign to bring help in the

If you can give us this support, please send all contributions (in

Remember! \$10 will enable us to send a 21-pound CARE Food

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months.

-clothing packages

form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-

the form of food, clothing and money donations) to us at the address

given below. We will take care of seeing to it that these contributions

of yours reach those who need them most of all.

Package to a European Working Class Family.

I am sending the following contribution: \$.

-food packages

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF

us in the fight for humanitarianism, truth and justice. To make sure that we don't misunderstand each other, let me add

In this spirit, friends, I thank you and greet you.

W. L.

In placing the entire question before the United Nations, the British government committed itself to accept a decision, but only on condition that it is acceptable to both sides. As Truman has demanded the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, it is believed that the U.S. government will tend to support a general solution acceptable to the liberal Zionists. However, the six Arab States have a tight UN bloc with the Latin American countries (with the excep-

tion of Argentina, where Peron has announced his support of the Zionist Elks Temple, 40th and Central position). This bloc is not a majority, but it can effectively stop any deci-

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS' RELIEF

Presents:

JORIS IVENS'

Sensational Movie

SPANISH EARTH

Commentary by Ernest Hemingway

Friday, March 28

8:00 P. M.

Subscription \$1.00. Tickets Can Be Obtained at the

Workers Party, 114 W. 14th St., or at ACEWR, 197 2nd Ave.

paign workers invaded the western section of the district for the first time with encouraging results. In addition to the pamphlet and the platform folder, they had copies of the special Los Angeles election issue of LABOR ACTION, of which the entire back page was given over to Draper's campaign.



that justice, humanitarianism and truth can be realized only under socialism.