**INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE** \$14,000 FUND DRIVE-GIVE NOW!

#### MAY 9, 1949

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

# **ADA Senator Is** Weak on Jim Crow

#### By R. L. FERGUSON

CHICAGO - When Senator Paul Douglas (Dem., Ill.) took the lead on the floor of the Senate in Washington recently to defeat the amendment calling for no segregation in federal public housing under the new bill which will provide almost \$3 billion aid for state and city projects in the next six years, his stand clearly indicated once again the hopeless position that the "liberal-labor" supporters of the Democratic Party are taking in current politics.

Not two weeks previously, Douglas was one of the darlings of the second convention of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) held in this city. One of the heated disputes of that convention centered around a proposal, subsequently passed, on civil rights which stated:

"As we press for enactment of specific civil-rights measures, we must take every opportunity to lessen discriminatory practices by wise administration of programs for public housing, health and education. We believe. therefore, that legislation providing for these programs should contain provisions prohibiting segregation and other discrimination."

It would appear that nothing could be clearer. But not so fast! Merely because this was the opinion of the convention is hardly enough to make a "statesman" like Douglas uphold it when the chips were down.

#### HONEST LIBERAL

In a classic statement of its type -that is, APPEASEMENT-Douglas said: "I do not believe in segregation, but I do know the Southern states are firmly committed to it. I don't want to disrupt the country in a critical period to force [anti-segregation] on them.'

Senator Douglas is an honest liberal. That is, he will state his convictions but vote against them in the interests of some "higher" convictions.

He realizes full well that the North Atlantic Pact, which he voted for enthusiastically along with the same Dixiecrats whom he aided in defeating ... the ... housing ... anti-segregation amendment, will have to be implemented by the help of the Southern bourbons. Consequently, he feels that he CANNOT fight Jim Crow in housing consistently since to do that would mean "disrupting the country in a critical period."

Although he eagerly assists in forcing U.S. imperialist policy onto millions abroad through the North Atlantic Pact he won't do any "forcing" against the rotten social system of his reactionary Dixie allies on foreign policy.

Yet another aspect of this whole question was the fact that the antisegregation amendment was sponsored by Senator Bricker (Rep., Ohio). Everyone understands perfectly well that Bricker's strategy was to secure the defeat of the whole housing program in the interests of the real-estate lobby, of which he is a virulent representative. Bricker and Senator Cain have as unsavory a record against the popular interests of the people as can be found. They hoped that by passing

the amendment the Southern senators would be obliged to vote down the whole program. In the defeat of the amendment is

represented a "real triumph" for the Truman "Fair Deal" program: HOUS-ING-BUT SEGREGATED. It is in such manner as this that the recommendations of the president's Commission on Civil Rights have been, are, and will be further scuttled, provided the leaders of labor and the minority peoples continue in their ruinous policy of "not rocking the boat too much" and clinging to capitalist politics.

At the ADA convention there was a substantial minority of delegates who wanted their resolution on civil-(Continued on page 3)

# Martin Abern House Passes Wood

By MAX SHACHTMAN There is burning grief in our

hearts. Last Thursday, April 28, 1949, Martin Abern died. He was riding to work that morning in a Brooklyn bus when he slumped over quietly. His teeth bit into his lips against the last pain from the weakened heart that failed him.

It is still hard to realize that Marty is dead and no longer with us in the movement. He was in it as far back as any of us remembered, and farther back than that. He was so much and so long a part of the movement that we just felt he would still be in it when most of us were already gone.

He had just turned fifty. He was born on December 25, 1898, to

a working-class family. His young life was lived in Minneapolis, where he became known to every militant and radical in the movement or around it. He worked his way through school as a newsboy, the best in the Twin Cities (he always recalled that with quiet pride). As a student, he made a brilliant record, and great successes as a business man of tomorrow were foretold for him.

But all of Marty's interests lay elsewhere. He had the rebel in him and it never left him. At the age of 15, just when the First World War broke out in Europe, he joined both the IWW and the Young People's Socialist League, but, inclined toward political action, he bent his energies to the YPSL and to the Socialist Party which he joined

subsequently. Entering the University of Minnesota, he soon won the sobriquet of the "campus radical." If he was tolerated, it was due, perhaps, to the fact that, conquering all political and racial prejudices, he became a star member of the university's championship football team. Sturdy of frame, square-shouldered, broad in the chest and with a bullneck, he had a character to match. He could

buck the line on a football field and he showed the same unbending tenacity whenever it was needed most in the difficult days of the movement.

#### FOUGHT WORLD WAR I

When the United States entered the war, Marty shared the position of all the left-wing socialists against it. In those days, many of the best left-wingers manifested their opposition to the imperialist war by refusing military service on political grounds. Marty refused to put on the uniform. It brought his university life to an end, after less than three years. Arrested and tried. he served six months in a Minnesota prison.

He came out of it to devote himself exclusively to the fight for socialism. It was natural and inevitable for Marty to become a partisan of the great Russian Revolution of 1917, and to the end he never abandoned it. Marty never abandoned a cause he believed in, and if it became unpopular among philistines or cowards, he simply hunched his shoulders higher and kept going.

In the big fight between the left and right wings of the Socialist Party that opened up after the Russian Revolution and reached its peak after the founding of the Communist International, Marty took his stand prominently with the militants. Along with Abe Sugarman, then secretary of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, and Jack Carney, the left-wing leader in Duluth, Marty helped swing the Minnesota party and youth organizations into the left-wing column. The party split into three parts at its September 1919 convention in Chicago, and Marty went with the Communists.

A few months later, the Communist movement was cut to pieces and outlawed by the notorious (Continued on page 4)

### Landlords' 'Fair Deal": **Raw Deal for Tenants**

The landlords got their "Fair Deal" last Monday, on the same day that the Fair Deal Party's leaders in Congress decided to retain the union-

LABOR ACTION

Putting teeth into the rent law passed by Congress, Tighe Woods, Housing Expediter, has announced that rents are to be upped wherever necessary to give landlords a "fair" return. In the case of smaller properties (up to four units), after paying all operating expenses and depreciation allowances, they keep 30 per cent of the gross income (total rents paid). In the case of larger properties-even the very largest-they keep 25 per cent.

And if rents are not high enough to put this money into their pocket, the government will permit them to raise rents even if tenants are already paying the 15 per cent raise which landlords won conditionally a while back, as soon as the leases are up.

It was not even the reactionary 81st Congress which decided on these pocket-gouging figures. It was Tru-

ence from the war programs of both

war camps-from this we start. The

job is to restore the Marxist move-

ment in the light of the task today.

Whether this greatest and most ur-

gent task of our time can be per-

formed depends on the way in which

(Continued on page 3)

Kutcher Defense

Loses New Appeal

NEW YORK-The Loyalty Review

Board of the U.S. Civil Service Com-

mission has denied the appeal of the

legless veteran. James Kutcher, for

reinstatement to his clerk's job in the

Newark Veterans Administration

from which he was fired last October

because of membership in the Social-

'A three-man panel of the board

heard Kutcher's appeal in this city on

In his letter notifying Kutcher of

the decision to uphold his discharge.

Seth Richardson, chairman of the

Loyalty Review Board, stated that

Kutcher was ineligible for govern-

ment employment because his admis-

sion to the board that he "had been

and continues to be an active mem-.

ber of the Socialist Workers Party"

violates the Hatch Act. "In accordance

with the Regulations and Directives

of the Loyalty Review Board, the

Socialist Workers Party is an organ-

ization within the purview of Section

9A of the Hatch Act and Mr. Kutch-

er's removal is mandatory," Richard-

George Novack, national secretary

of the Kutcher Civil Rights Commit-

tee, announced that Kutcher's case

will now be taken into the Federal

Courts and up to the U.S. Supreme

Court if necessary.

ist Workers Party.

March 31.

ardson wrote.

we carry out this task."

man's housing agency. And Woods has announced that he's going to need 1500 extra employees just to handle the expected "flood" of petitions for rent hikes. It is no longer necessary for a landlord to prove that he is a "hardship" case. In New York City alone, 10,000 application forms were distributed the same day. The question immediately comes up: HOW did Truman's agency decide that 25-30 per cent was the "fair" take for the real-estate boys? Woods' announcement is specific on that. They made a survey of the country and found that this was indeed the median figure on real-estate

Bill, Then Kills It;

**Taft-Hartley Stays** 

#### GUARANTEED PROFIT

makes it "fair"!

Does this mean a general rise in rents? "Mr. Woods," the newspapers report, "told newsmen that he did not expect all the petitions to result in increases, SINCE MANY AL-READY HAD BEEN GRANTED UNDER THE 1947 ACT."

profits for the years 1939-46. That

Unlike the voluntary 15 per cent raise granted landlords previously, the present rent-gouge is not calculated on how much the tenant pays but how much profit the landlord is allowed. In a real sense, the new basis (while it temporarily conceals exactly what the effect will be on our pocketbook) is especially revealing of the government's standards of judgMAY 4—In spite of fundamental concessions already made by the Democratic leadership of Congress, a slim majority of the House passed the Wood labor bill yesterday. This is the bill which is Taft-Hartley under anothër name-almost literally.

#### BULLETIN

As we go to press, the House-in a last-minute effort of the Democratic leadership to save face-has voted to send the Wood bill back to committee. This leaves the Taft-Hartley Law on the books, and bids fair to shelve any change at all fo rthis session.

The day before, the Democratic speaker of the House, Rayburn, had already announced that his party was ready to accept that feature of T-H which is among its most reactionary: the injunction strikebreaking process. Most illuminating was his next comment: "This is what I thought should have been in it in the first place."

511.

Tom with

This acceptance of Taft-Hartley ism, said Rayburn, was no reluctant concession for him! No wonder these masked Democratic Taft-Hartlevites would have no burning desire to stop the more extreme version represented by the Wood bill

The Dem-Republican coalition in the House has won out again. While it is still uncertain whether something as monstrous as the Wood bill can get through Congress as a whole, there is no doubt that labor once again has its back to the wall, in spite of its election "success." When will the labor leadership decide that they cannot depend on this party of capitalism which they enthusiastically

voted into power last November?

Isn't it time for every union militant

to raise his voice loudly and confi-

dently and demand the building of a



busting injunction provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law.

# ISL Starts Rolling on May Day

### Left Socialists **Greet New League**

Messages of greetings and solidarity received by the Independent Socialist League from abroad were read last Sunday to the New York May Day rally reported in this issue.

They came from Juan Andrade, head of the Spanish POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity), from George Stone, editor of the British ILP's newspaper "Socialist Leader," and from a group of Irish Marxists. Following are the three messages.

and Star

#### Andrade:

#### Dear Shachtman:

On the occasion of this May 1, I am happy to send my greetings of solidarity and most fraternal comradeship to the comrades of the new Independent Socialist League. For four years, that is, since my emergence from the French prisons, I have followed very closely and with the greatest of interest all your activity, and have read all your publications. Because of this, I have been

able to see how our political conclusions approach one another more

(Continued from page 1)

#### **WP** Conclave Greeted Natalia Trotsky, and **Kutcher Defense Fight**

The convention of the Workers Party, at which the Independent Socialist League was founded, also sent the following two telegrams of solidarity:

To Natalia Trotsky-

"The fifth national convention of the Workers Party sends you its warmest comradely greetings of solidarity in our common struggle against capitalism and Stalinist barbarism and for socialist emancipation."

To the Kutcher Defense Committee: "The fifth national convention of the Workers Party expresses its solidarity in the fight of James Kutcher for full reinstatement to his job and joins you in condemning the onslaught of the government against civil liberties."



### Fund Drive Reaches Quarter Mark In 2nd Report As N.Y. Takes Lead

meeting.

the excellent New York May Day

(Continued on page 4)

#### By YETTA BARSH **Fund Drive Director**

The comrades in charge of the Fund As of May 2, this week's collections Drive in New York have been working show a jump of 14 per cent. The pace hard and steadily-and they have set last week is being maintained! A been getting wonderful results. Hats total of \$2,060.86 has been received off to New York! Our comrades there during the past week! appreciate the weight of their por-

tion of the national quota and are not These gratifying results are the only fulfilling their responsibility but outcome primarily of the excellent are also setting the pace for the rest efforts of our New York League. New of the League. York has done better than fulfill its last week's promise. It turned in a total of \$1,228.75, raising its collections to 56 per cent of its quota-6 per cent above its 50 per cent goal

for this week. Brooklyn SYL is second on our list While most of this sum represents -having achieved 80 per cent of its contributions received from League quota with its \$40.25 contribution this past week. Two other SYL comrades, we have been informed units, Manhattan and Bronx, have that a substantial portion of the total was received from friends and also entered the race with their ressympathizers of the League who repective \$18 contributions. That places sponded even better than had been all New York City SYL units high up on the list-and we venture to expected to the appeals of the New York comrades prior to and during

**Overflow Audience Hears Speakers** On Goals and Ideas of New Group

NEW YORK, May 1-Before an audi- movement independent of both camps ence of 250 that overflowed the hall, - (capitalism and Stalinism), the most the newly formed Independent Socialdestructive war is inevitable. The reist League was formally launched in sult will be an indescribable barbarthis city simultaneously with the celism." ebration of the international day of "A program of complete independ-

working-class solidarity, May Day. With latecomers standing for lack of seating room, the organization held what was without doubt one of its most successful meetings, from all points of view, in the recent period. Offsetting the spirit of the crowd was the stunning news of the death of Comrade Martin Abern, which many in the audience heard for the first time from the platform. [See story

on this page-Ed.] Seated on the platform beneath the huge circular sign proclaiming the name of the ISL were the speakers: Max Shachtman, national chairman of the League, who spoke on "The Independent Socialist League-A New Beginning"; Nathan Gould, who spoke on Comrade Abern; Emanuel Garrett, on the ISL and the international socialist movement; and Justin Graham

of the Socialist Youth League. It was Comrade Garrett who officiated at the fund - drive collection held at the rally, and the audience responded magnificently. A total of \$425 was collected on the floor; several branches made announcements that they had passed the half-way mark in the attainment of their quotas. Many of those present had already contributed heavily.

#### SPEECHES STRESS GOALS

Comrade Shachtman's speech emphasized that "This May Day is another witness of the fact that the socialist movement is in a state of crisis. The crisis is due to our failure to solve the crisis of society today. the road to peace." And "unless there is established a working-class

#### **Other Rallies**

Reports on ISL May Day rallies held in a number of cities besides New York will be carried in LABOR ACTION next week.

ment.

An apartment-house owner, for example, who collects \$5000 a month in rents, is GUARANTEED a monthly income of \$1000-no less. (Interest payments would come out of this. but as even the Housing Expediter says, that can't be counted as operating expenses).

The 81st Congress gave the realestate lobby what it wanted, and now Truman's agency completes their Fair Deal.

**By SUSAN GREEN** The House of Representatives, before which labor legislation is now being debated, is

LABOR PARTY?

(Continued on page 2)

## ISL Fights to Take WP **Off 'Subversive List'**

Attorney General Tom C. Clark was called upon to remove the name of the Workers Party, left-wing socialist organization, from the "subversive list" issued by the office of the attorney general, in a letter sent to Mr. Clark by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League.

In the letter, Shachtman, former chairman of the Workers Party, protested against the inclusion of that group in a list of fascist, totalitarian and Communist organizations with which, he declares, the Workers Party has never had anything in common.

The letter points out that the recent national convention of the Workers Party voted to dissolve that organization and to establish the Independent Socialist League. The letter states that while this change of the organization was not made because the Workers Party had been listed by the attorney general, it did not mean an abandonment of previous efforts to have the name of the Workers Party removed from the subversive list.

The text of the letter to the attorney general follows:

#### ISL Letter to Attorney General

Tom C. Clark, Attorney General **Department** of Justice Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I have been instructed to inform you that the Fifth National Convention

of the Workers Party, which has just concluded its sessions, adopted a resolution declaring that the Workers Party is dissolved and no longer exists. The primary reason for this decision, as set forth in the resolution, was that the Workers Party, in spite of its name, is not a political party in the full sense of the term but a group whose purpose is to popularize the ideas of socialism, including the idea of the formation by the American trade unions of a national Labor Party. Accordingly, the resolution provided for the immediate establishment of an organization to be known as the Independent Socialist League, in the capacity of National Chairman of which am addressing this letter to you.

As Attorney General of the United States, you saw fit to include the Workers Party on the list of "subversive organizations" made public by your office. Following the publication of this list, I addressed a letter to your office protesting the inclusion of the name of the Workers Party and requesting that arrangements be made by you for a hearing at which we would propose the removal of the Workers Party from the list after we had been supplied with the exact nature of the charges levelled against the Workers Party and the nature of the evidence adduced to sustain the charges. In reply, your office informed me that this information could not be supplied. It was obvious that there could be no point in holding a hearing without making this information available.

Now, although the convention of the Workers Party has voted to dissolve (Continued on page 4)

#### YOUTH LEAGUE AT BAT However, the Socialist Youth League continues to hold its original lead in the percentage line-up. The

#### LABOR ACTION

Concluding Section: The Truth About a Scandal of Concern to All Labor Left-Wingers

May 9, 1949

# UE Singer Strike On; Key Fight Unites Men

ELIZABETH, N. J. - Six thousand now are attacking the incentive plan, workers at the Singer plant here went on strike Monday, May 2 after an overwhelming 10-1 strike vote at a jam-packed meeting in the Elizabeth armory, which voted the action if a satisfactory contract were not secured.

Page 2

The workers are affiliated to Local 401 of the CIO's United Electrical Workers. This action culminated a whole series of fruitless negotiations in which the company not only refused all demands of the union but they also refused to renew the present contract. They have obviously based themselves on the supposition that the rising layoffs have dimmed the militancy of the workers and on the belief that now is the time to crack down and take away some of the hard-earned condition of the Singer workers.

Pledged to support the Elizabeth strikers are the workers in the rest of the Singer national chain. This consists of plants in Bridgeport, Conn.; South Bend, Indiana; Truman, Arkansas; St. John, Canada. Principal contract demands are: a substantial wage increase, a 35-hour week at 40-hour pay, the right of departments to vote for the elimination of the incentive plans, a better seniority clause, a welfare plan financed completely by the company, and a pension plan.

The Singer workers were now feeling the results of the incentive plan installed under Stalinist leadership. Some layoffs have already taken place with huge ones looming on the horizon. This has resulted in militant demands to eliminate the speedup. The Stalinists

Philip Ganner's article exposing the conveniently forgetting that they had permitted its introduction in the first place.

been set by auto or steel, but this

year no national pattern has as yet

been set and this has enboldened

In key UE plants at Westinghouse

and GE, contract negotiations have

been recessed because of the Stalin-

ist fear of leading a national pattern-

setting struggle. They evidently have

All indications point to a long

hard struggle. Evidence is already

in that in the present struggle a

whole new militant layer is emerg-

ing which will make it more diffi-

cult for the inevitable Stalinist be-

trayal to assert itself. It will be very

difficult for the Stalinists to accuse

this future opposition of being "com-

pany stooges" as is their custom in

treating their opponents, because of

the militant record these workers

the Singer management.

decided on district action.

scandalous policies of the Socialist Workers Party (Cannonites) in the Buffalo Local 424 of the United Auto The strike has all the aspects of Workers. An exchange of accusatory a key struggle in District 4, consistarticles has recently taken place on ing of 80,000 workers. The Stalinist this situation between the SWP's leadership constantly refers to the newspaper, The Militant, and the Sofight as a pacesetter in this largest cialist Party's Socialist Call. Refer-UE district. They have even dropped ences to The Militant article are to charges against the Rank and File the disingenuous job by Cannonite

opposition which had at first threat-Bert Cochran in the April 11 issue of ened to lop off the heads of leading The Militant. Last week Comrade oppositionists. A united front now Ganner discussed Cochran's alibi for exists around the contract demands. the smashing defeat which the SWPsupported Rank and File Group sus-The. passivity of the workers which existed at first has given way tained in the union election, and his to a militant surge since it has become defense of that group as more miliapparent to all that the company is tant and progressive.-Ed. out for blood. In previous contract negotiations a pattern had already

#### By PHILIP GANNER The Militant's article denies the

charge made by the Socialist Call that the Rank and File Group used anti-Negro propaganda against Negro supporters of the administration. And The Militant is perfectly correct in stating that "there is not a shred of substance to this charge." The Call is definitely mistaken.

The Negro question in the union is involved in this case in a quite different way. It concerns the attempt by the Rank and File Group to form an all-Negro caucus in the local.

#### 4. The Negro Question

The Militant whitewash by Bert Cochran has two things to say on this. First, he (quite correctly) points out that under definite and specific circumstance it MAY be necessary for Negro members in a union to form their own group. But since obviously nothing remotely resembling such conceivable conditions existed in Local 424, he is forced to conclude his irrelevant argument with: "I am taking particular pains to make this point clear even though it has no

specific bearing on the Buffalo Chevrolet local elections." In the ACTUALLY existing condi-

tions-not the theoretical possibility which Cochran finds it pleasanter to spend his space on-the attempt of the Rank and File Group to form an all-Negro caucus meant merely that they wanted to USE the Negro brothers as a factional instrument, to senarate them from, and set them up against, the white members. This is something like Jim-Crow-in-reverse,

And so, in two sentences, Cochran categorically denies that such was the plan of the Rank and File Group, and says not another word about what is now public knowledge in the union.

At first the Rank and File Group also simply issued a flat denial, at a local union meeting where a Reuther

Following is the concluding half of this year's Rank and File presidential candidates); unlike all other of the group's meetings, this one had as its sole and exclusive subject matter the question of Negro discrimination: the group's most prominent Negro member was the chairman, etc. In short, the Rank and File Group had laid its plans but they could not survive in the light of the publicity.

#### 5. Anti-Semitism

But where the Negro question involved here is a kind of Jim-Crow-in-

reverse, the other charge of racism made by the Socialist Call is plain anti-Semitism, employed by the Rank and File Group particularly against the Reuther candidate for recording secretary. And it is true.

SWP Squirms on Buffalo UAW Vote

Not only that, but to all intents and purposes Cochran admits it! He quotes the Call charge that the group used anti-Semitic epithets against the Reuther candidate-"New York Jew" and "Jew Communist"-and says:

"This charge, unlike the previous ones, is not simply woven out of thin air.'

by GEORGE STONE, Editor, Socialist Leader-

#### The Labor Party Defeat in the County Elections

It would not be fair to blame the defeat of the Labor Party in the recent County Council elections entirely on the budget, for the probability of a slight swing away from Labor has long been manifest. But it is certain that the budget seriously aggravated Labor's position and that its provisions are calculated to sow doubts in the minds of some sections of the electorate at forthcoming elections.

The people fell for the banner headlines of the Tory press which made the most of the slight increases in prices of certain rationed foods. In actual fact, while these increases are to be deplored, the additional cost of these foods is only 4d (8 cents) per person per week. Bad enough, but not nearly so bad as the press tried to make the people believe.

And for weeks before the budget, the press had 'continually hinted, without any basis for doing so, that certain taxes were to be eased and, in particular, that there was likely to be a reduction in the tax on cigarettes. The people were undoubtedly disappointed when the budget revealed no changes in the tax position (except one penny per pint off beer) and their immediate reaction was to administer a rebuff to Labor Party candidates.

Furthermore, the signs indicate that before autumn there will be further rises in the cost of living. It is this trend which is causing Labor Party leaders some anxiety, for they are well aware of its possible repercussions.

#### TORIES NO WAY OUT

However, what some of the people have apparently so soon forgotten is that the Tory party is not a heaven-sent savior but a party representing the interests of the bankers, the generals, the industrialists, and the property-owning class in general.

'One can understand the people's desire for a brave new world but to reject Labor, whatever its shortcomings, for this self-seeking gang is a large-scale retreat from the position taken up in 1945. Whether the Tory feast at the recent polls was the result of a temporary distraction or the sober judgment of the people, the local municipal elections due to be held in the first week of May will show.

One thing is certain. The Tory party is anxiously awaiting the opportunity to throw the people back into the abyss from which they emerged in 1945. While, therefore, it is right to be impatient with the slow and arduous process of social democracy, it would be the height of criminal folly to reject reformism for reaction.

I believe that the majority of the people fully understand this fact and that they will show in no uncertain manner at future polls, that the support given to the Tories in the county elections in April was merely a temporary aberration. graphical origin!

#### Sectarian Wing of ILP Wins on Election Policy

The Easter weekend saw a spate of conferences in Britain, not the least important of which was the Annual Conference of the Independent Labor

Party at Blackpool. The most important issue before this conference was the question of whether or not the party should contest elections. Last year's conference

es into what (to our ears) sounds like a left-handed justification. It's not the Rank and File anti-Semites who are to blame; it is (honestly!) the Reutherites themselves. Because they're so reactionary, dang 'em, that "under the circumstances, it is SCARCELY SURPRISING that he himself has become the victim of his own handiwork."

The Reutherites brought this anti-Semitism on themselves-this is Cochran's line of whitewash. Why did they do so? What brought on this "scarcely surprising" anti-Semitism (from a militant progressive group supported by the SWP)? Because the Reuther candidate (who, Cochran goes out of his way to note. "is known as generally sympathetic to the Shachtmanite Workers Party") "decided to line up with the new bureaucracy"; because he "is busy thinking up wiseguy arguments against the militants [i.e., Cochran's friends] in his own shop," because he is not inhibited "from indulging in a bit of red-baiting on his own.'

There it is: the reason why the anti-Semitism of Cochran's friends is "scarcely surprising"!

#### **OPEN JEW-BAITING**

Cochran further denies (on the "solemn assurance of outstanding Buffalo unionists" otherwise anonymous) that any leaders of the Rank and File Group are besmirched by all this, but "it is entirely possible that some rank and file workers" are. Now the fact is that there was nothing concealed about the anti-Semitism under discussion. IT WAS IN THE OPEN.

Its most vociferous propagandist was none other than the vice-presidential candidate of the Rank and File Group.

Even more admired by The Militant is the presidential candidate of this group. And this individual has fathered a line of justification along the following lines: What's wrong with telling the truth about the Reuther candidate-namely, the fact that he is Jewish and originally from New York City? Don't the Reutherites insist that it is legitimate for them to tell the members that the Thomas-Addes caucus was ideologically and organizationally under the influence of the Stalinists? Isn't one truth as pertinent as the other? -- Cochran's beloved presidential candidate actually sees no difference between discussing and labeling Stalinism, as a union consideration, and discussing and labeling Jewish birth and geo-

#### Pro-Stalinism

It is noted above that, in "answering" the charge of anti-Semitism, Cochran dragged in the accusation of red - baiting against the Reutherites and particularly against their candidate for recording secretary. What was this red-baiting? In a Reutherite leaflet, one of the many points made was that the Rank and File Group was supporting a candidate who "distributed leaflets at our plant gates for the Addes-Thomas-Communist Party caucus before he was a member of our local union or even working at our plant." There it is-red-baiting! To people whose stock in trade today is to act as left-wing apologists for Stalinism, it is red-baiting to point out that the CP was an integral component of the Addes-

And then-he immediately launchport the Rank and File Group, and this group red-baits a Reuther candidate as "Trotskvite"! How come? It is to the shame of the SWP and a direct result of its political line that the organizational leaders of the group it supports in Local 424 were widely regarded not as Trotskyists but as Stalinists and Stalinist fellowtravelers.

#### THE RECORD SPEAKS

This attitude was by no manner of means the result of any name-calling but a conclusion drawn from a series of political and trade-union actions of the Rank and File Group and its leaders:

(1) It actively supported the Addes-Thomas-CP caucus.

(2) Its presidential candidate this year and last were original signatories of the local welcoming committee for Henry Wallace.

(3) Its candidate for trustee stated in the union paper that there was no need for Reuther's new party since labor already had its own party, the Wallace party.

(4) This group actively supported the CP-inspired UAW - FE merger scheme in 1947. (Even the SWP did not.)

We have referred to the article in the SP's Socialist Call. Although the SP does not have a member or sympathizer within a bus ride distance of Local 424, its account was substantially correct as far as it went, with the exceptions noted. However, its author indicates in not a line that he is talking specifically about the Socialist Workers Party (the only description he uses is "Trotskyites"). He would have done greater service to accuracy and truth if, in the 19 times he used this description, he had once substituted SWP or Cannonite.

(5) Its presidential candidate of last year ran for state office in the last election on the American Labor Party ticket. Even the SWP now says the ALP is a Stalinist creature.

(6) Members of this group have openly supported the leadership of the **CP-run United Electrical Workers in** its current difficulties within the CIO. (7) This group vociferously repeats

the standard Daily Worker attack against the Reuther administration as 'dictatorship."

(8) This group distributed in Local 424 copies of the Fisher Body Local 45 paper, the Eye-Opener. Even the SWP's Militant has publicly labeled this local as Stalinist-dominated.

Thus in Local 424 as in other places the SWP's friends are not differentiated from the Stalinists in the minds of many alert workers.

WHITEWASHING A DEBACLE

# **Wood Bill Voted-**

-a

are now making.

#### (Continued from page 1)

treating the country to a spectacle which would be most amusing if it were not so serious for the working people.

The two bills before the House are the Wood bill supported by the Dixiecrats and Republicans, designated as the hard labor bill, and the Lesinski bill sponsored by the administration Democrats and approved by labor leaders. What is happening is that the advocates of the Wood bill are softening it down, while those for the Lesinski bill are busy hardening that

The result is that the difference between the two bills narrows. Whichever bill is passed, there will still be on the books many of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law under a new name. And workers will again have been shown that there isn't too much difference between what the Democratic Party and the Republican Party hand out to labor. PAYING THE PRICE

up the labor-legislation issue again on Tuesday, Democratic leaders will offer five amendments to the Lesinski bill. These are all anti-labor amendments and run counter to what labor leaders have wanted.

They are as follows: (1) would permit the government to seize struck plants in what is called national emergency strikes while an emergency board studies the dispute well-known strike - breaking technique; (2) would require loyalty and in any case thoroughly reactionoaths of employers and union officers-of course the inclusion of employers is a farce; (3) would compel

unions to give financial reports if they want the services of the NLRB -unions protest against this compulsion to make public their financial strength; (4) would give the poor. gagged employers more explicit freespeech guarantees; (5) would resupporter openly denounced two

#### DENATURED WOOD BILL

The process of softening up the Wood bill was effected by the passage of three amendments to it. This was done in an effort to gain the support of the fifteen or twenty members of the House who waver between the two bills and whose vote will determine the issue.

The first of the amendments, all of which are supposed to make the bill more favorable to labor, preserves the voting rights of striking employes in elections on union endorsement for six months, even though the strikers have been permanently replaced in their jobs, The original Wood bill provides only ninety days' grace, while the Taft-Hartley Act gives none at all.

The second amendment would liberalize the provision of the Wood bill which limits sympathetic strike action to members of the same local union.

The third amendment provides for four conditions before the NLRB can ask for strike injunctions, namely, an investigation, issuance of a complaint, the threat of irreparable injury, and so-called public interest. Any babe in the woods can see that these conditions do not much alter the anti-labor injunction weapon.

These amendments to the Wood bill were passed by the House, which means that some of the Democratic opponents of the Wood bill voted for these amendments. Democratic leaders of course want to defeat the Wood bill, not amend it. However, so little faith and fight is there in the Democratic Party as a whole that Democrats who will not vote for the Wood bill, did support amendments on the theory that it has a good chance to pass and might as well be as soft as possible.

#### HARDENING LESINSKI

The amending strategy of the Dixiegops was countered in kind by the administration Democrats. A conference was rapidly held by Secretary of Labor Tobin, AFL President Green, AFL Railway Clerks President Harrison, CIO Counsel Goldberg, Assistant Secretary of Labor Gibson, and the solicitor of Department of Labor, Tyson.

It was reported by Joseph A. Loftus. New York Times Washington correspondent, that when the House takes feated.

quire unions to bargain in good faith-a general provision which could be put to many anti-labor uses.

While CIO President Murray denied that the "CIO has altered its stand on the type of legislation that should be enacted to repeal the T-H Act," it is very improbable that CIO Counsel Goldberg would agree to such amendments to the Lesinski bill on his own responsibility. So the labor leaders are paying the price of relying on capitalist politiciansnamely, they are submitting to the squeeze.

Three other developments on labor legislation in the past week are worthy of note.

Without batting an eyelash, Mr. Truman, in his inimitable bull-inthe-China-closet way, declared that he wouldn't hand out any political melons to those who do not "support the Democratic platform." He added that he would regard representatives' votes on the labor bill as a test of "party loyalty." As a result the Dixiecrats led off in the House with a virtuous protest against "any patronage bribe," proclaiming that "their votes could not be bought."

Another high spot of the week was when Representative Anthony Cavalcante, Democrat of Pennsylvania, introduced an amendment to the Wood bill making it an unfair labor practice for an employer to refuse employment because of race, color or religion, or for a union to refuse membership for any of these reasons. Absolute silence greeted this progressive amendment when the "ayes" were called for. Then jeers went up from the Republican side of the House; probably the Republicans took the amendment as a try at splitting Dixiecrat support for the Wood bill.

The last noteworthy incident of the week was when Representative Arthur K. Klein, Democrat of New York, came out with "a hair-raising

144 pages, 35 cents. idea." He suggested that organized labor engage in a country-wide oneday work stoppage to demonstrate its united opposition to the T-H Law. Quite an idea, coming from a Democrat! Needless to say, both sides of the House "repudiated" the idea in no uncertain terms. Labor leaders

gave the idea silent repudiation. However, the rank and file of labor could give the matter thought. The way things are going, labor's demand to repeal the T-H Law and reinstate the Wagner Act will be badly deand the second second

white leaders of the group for organizing a meeting looking in this direction. They said it was a lie.

#### **ON SECOND THOUGHT**

But the fact that such a meeting had really taken place soon became fairly common knowledge through the plant. The Reuther candidate for guide, a Negro brother, openly blasted this all-Negro caucus scheme. He said he had been present (uninvited) at the meeting itself: he gave the date. time and place of the meeting, where he had pointed out its meaning to the Negroes present.

The Rank and File candidate for president at this meeting no longer called the charge a lie. He had another explanation: it seems Negroes are reluctant to attend meetings held in white neighborhoods; therefore the group called its meeting in a Negro neighborhood in order to attract more Negroes.

This second thought was pretty thin, as can be seen from the following facts: Unlike other meetings of the group, of the 18-20 people present only two were white (last year's and

#### **Books Received**

The following books were published on April 29 by the New American Library, publishers of the pocketsized Mentor and Signet Books: THE AGE OF JACKSON, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., 192 pages. Special abridged edition of the Pulitzer Prize historical work, 35 cents. THE FALL OF VALOR, by Charles Jackson, a novel by the author of The Lost Weekend, 192 pages, 25 cents. HOW TO KNOW AND ENJOY NEW YORK, by Carl Maas, a guide to the city. Original, not a reprint,

New York **CITY CONVENTION** DANCE for **ISL FUND DRIVE** Sat. Eve., May 21 at 114 West 14 Street reached a decision renouncing electoral activity as a party and placed the organization on an educational and propaganda basis. It was known, however, that many branches were dissatisfied with this decision and were anxious to reverse it at the earliest opportunity.

In the debate on the issue, those who supported the retention of last year's decision took the honors. They argued that to contest elections, particularly where Labor Party candidates were standing, would in many cases lead to the success of Tory candidates, and that this would be tantamount to a stab in the back for the working class. They argued that merely attacking the Labor Party could not be seriously accepted as a basis of policy, that it was the task of the ILP to work for the acceptance of a more militant program on the part of the wider movement.

#### AGAINST POLITICAL ROMANTICISM

Don Bateman, one of the speakers who took this viewpoint, declared: "Our differences with those who want the ILP to fight elections is one of strategy and tactics. We recognize the fundamental differences between the policy of our party and that which the present government is pursuing, but we believe that the primary task of the party at the present time is to prepare the people of Britain for the vast social changes which are pending. The ILP can best use its resources in propagating the message of socialism to the wider labor movement rather than in the fruitless endeavors of fighting elections."

Those who maintained that last year's decision should be reversed were of the opinion that the Labor Government had not only neglected its opportunities but had deliberately forsaken many of the fundamental principles upon which it was founded, and insisted that it must be opposed together with the Tory party. This viewpoint was carried by conference by the narrow margin of 54 votes to 51.

In my opinion, this is sheer political romanticism. It will not only divide the workers at times of elections but will undoubtedly create great hostility towards the ILP from sections of the working-class movement who believe, quite rightly, the main enemy is the party of private enterprise-the Tory Party-and that it is essential to ensure its defeat as the first step towards social revolution.

#### ILP Pro-Stalinists Routed at Conference

But the debate on this issue had nothing like the excitement of the debate on Russia. On this occasion the pro-Stalinists were hopelessly routed. They sought to defeat an amendment which opened:

"The ILP regrets that it cannot regard the present Russian government as socialist, libertarian, or genuinely internationalist."

In their anxiety to achieve their ends, they excused the repugnant features of Stalinism and sought to blame the Western powers alone for the current war preparations.

Two powerful speeches against the pro-Stalinist line were made by Bob Edwards, general secretary of the Chemical Workers' Union. He declared:

"Only the Third Force can prevent the horrors of another war. Russia has envically disregarded the people and has pursued a policy of blatant nationalism. No one can condone what the Stalinists have done. They have betrayed the workers throughout the world and have violated those very principles so dear to international socialists.

"We should never forget that there is an American working class as well as a Russian one, and it should never be forgotten that it is the duty of socialists to defend the workers everywhere. It is true that America is preparing for war but so is Russia!

'At this very moment, hundreds of rocket guns on sites in the Baltic area are trained on the industrial towns of Britain. These are intended to destroy these towns and annihilate their inhabitants even if Britain remains neutral in the next war.

"We are the custodian of international socialism and we have reached a pretty low level if we desert the workers and peasants of Europe and leave them to their fate. Our mission should be to unite the workers of the world into a mighty bastion against the two rival blocs; we can only do this by showing the people that we have something better to offer them than persecution and tyranny"

The pro-Stalinists were routed both in debate and in the subsequent vote. Thus another ILP conference concluded.

Thomas caucus! The next point is going to sound confusing, but it's not our fault. It concerns the actual red-baiting carried on by the Rank and File Group against the Reuther candidate for recording secretary. This Reuther candidate was repeatedly denounced by Rank and Filers (supported, remember, by the "orthodox Trotskyist" SWP) with the epithet-Trotskyite! Peculiar, isn't it? The "orthodox Trotskyists" (Cochran and Co.) sup-

Here is in fact the starting point for understanding the SWP scandal in Buffalo. This group and its followers have been tail-ending the Stalinists, partly because of its own tendencies toward a left-wing Stalinism. partly out of purely opportunist (stupidly opportunist) considerations.

The debacle of their policy in the UAW has been so catastrophic for the bureaucracy of the SWP (and this groups shows how a pint-sized bureaucratism is as possible as a larger one) that some kind of whitewash. some kind of alibi, was necessary if only for their own people-even if no one else believed a word. They have to show that their mounting defeats are not due to their policy, but to "conspiracies," or "red-baiting," or something.

No one here looks forward with any relish to a return visit by Bert Cochran for another "full investigation." Probably the wisest thing for the SWP to do is to stop squirming in printer's ink and to hope that people's memories will be short.

### SWP's "Militants" and Political Action

Last week we discussed the claim of the Buffalo "Rank and File Group" to "militancy"-a claim insisted upon by the SWP's Bert Cochran. One other point in this regard remains: the labor party question.

Local 424 has been on record for the establishment of an independent labor party for about two years, longer in fact than those individuals. most highly touted by the Militant have been in the plant. Representatives of the Reuther administration of the local have been prominent in pushing this viewpoint at the Buffalo CIO Council and various PAC conferences.

During the presidential election, in the absence of an independent labor candidate a majority of the Executive Board followed national UAW policy and supported Truman. Even so, in the September issue of the local's newspaper the Executive Board had printed an editorial which hailed Reuther's call for a new political party, ending as follows: "The UAW's present support of Truman is the last, the dying gasp of the miserable 'lesser of two evils' policy. In years to come, in looking backward, the UAW's call for the formation of a new political party will be seen to have been the most important aspect of the 1948 election."

In the October issue, the editor of the paper was permitted to publish the following note: "Page 1 of this issue [continuing the endorsement of Truman] has been compiled by the PAC Committee under the direction of the Executive Board. It does not represent the viewpoint of either the Education Committee or the Editor:"

#### And how about the "Rank and File Group"? During the entire 1948 political campaign no member of the group uttered a word at a meeting or issued one leaflet on political action.

The reason? Quite simple. Within this group were Truman followers, Wallaceites and (it is rumored) also labor-party supporters. A diplomatic political truce of silence was maintained by these various conflicting tendencies. After all, one doesn't risk losing something tangible (like votes) for something as intangible as an independent labor party!

#### May 9, 1949

#### LABOR ACTION

What relief can be expected from

Neither of them, sweetly reasonable

and scientific as they may be, can or

will see the "lack of economy" of a

system that must spend \$3.00 out of

\$4.00 of its government's income for

past, present and future wars.

#### Atlantic Pact to Add Billions to War Budget-

# The Price of 'Peace' Is Going Up Too WORLD\_ROLLTICS

#### By V. JENSEN

Some prices may be falling. That's what we read on the financial pages. But there is no question but that the price of "peace" is going up.

In the fiscal year of 1949-50, the cold war is going to cost the United States about \$15 billion, if the president's proposed budget goes through.

But that isn't all. That just includes new outlays for expanded armed forces, Marshall Plan aid, the Berlin "air lift" and military appropriations to Greece and Turkey. There are a couple of other military projects not included in the budget proposals for which Congress will have to break into the government piggy bank.

• Item: General Omar Bradley, U. S. chief of staff, with State Department backing, is proposing that a line be established for the "defense of the borders of Western Europe." When the experts translate that from diplomatic-military doubletalk into English, it means the probable maintenance of large U.S. armed forces in Germany for an indefinite period of time.

• Item: It now turns out that the North Atlantic Alliance is going to cost something more than the price of the handsome leather book in which the pact was bound. After the pact is approved by the Senate and ratified by other nations, Congress is going to be presented with a second section of the alliance. This will call for the U.S. to provide arms to her allies under an arrangement similar to wartime lend-lease And that expected to cost about \$1,200,000,000 a year to begin with and to rise sharply in later years.

• Item: The air forces have good friends in Congress who are trying to get for them an extra billion or so more than the budget calls for.

#### A PRETTY PENNY

As even the boys in the Budget Division (and they're used to throwing the numbers around) will admit: that adds up to a pretty penny. As a matter of fact, it means that by the middle of 1950 the three-year "cold war" will have cost the United States about \$24 billion. And next year alone, just on the basis of the president's budget proposals, without any of the other extras still in the offing, military expenses will reach the astronomical figure of \$300 million a WEEK!

For those readers of LABOR AC-TION who aren't used to handling more than a million or two a year, we can bring all these figures a little closer to earth.

They mean that in the years of "peace," 1947-50, the U.S. will spend \$1 for military purposes for every \$14 it spent during the four years of active fighting in World War II. They mean that for the year starting next July 1, direct spending for school systems are in disrepair and the cold war will take \$1.00 of every \$4.00 in the national budget.

They mean that \$3.00 out of every \$4.00 the federal government spends goes to pay for past wars and preparation for the next war.

They mean that to maintain U.S. armed forces alone, according to the Hoover Commission, costs every man, woman and child in the United States \$100 a year, as contrasted with \$2.25 a year before the war!

#### **CAN YOU AFFORD IT?**

The impact of this colossal military budget on the country's economy is so tremendous that it's even beginning to worry some military figures, government experts and some of the more astute capitalists-all of whom in the past have not been noted for meticulous care of your tax dollar. Right now, for instance, that old efficiency expert, Herbert Hoover, is heading a commission to find out where the government can pinch a few pennies. And since only nine billions of the \$42 billion budget for next year is devoted to civilian or normal peacetime functions, it's not surprising that Hoover finds that savings, if they are to be made at all, will have to be made, in large

part, from the military budget. A few weeks ago, at a hush meeting in the lush Pentagon. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's **Council of Economic Advisers, spoke** to an audience of industrialists, publishers, labor leaders and other "prominent" persons. Among other things, Dr. Nourse said: "A defense program which is guided exclusively by the most perfect military considerations may impair economic and financial preparedness or give fuel to the development of a fifth column." In less polite terms, what the professor was saying was this: "I know we have to arm ourselves-but we've got to be careful about those billions. After all, economically speaking, every cent we spend on the military is money thrown down the drain-it doesn't add to the goods or wealth we produce, it gives the country nothing (economically) for its money. And it has to be paid for-through increased taxes or increased prices, or both, and at the expense of social improvement. And if we lower John Q. Citizen's standard of living too drastically with these high military costs, he's not going to be too enthu-

siastic about fighting the next war to preserve the American way of life. So for heaven's sake, let's save a buck where we can.'

#### WHAT YOU'RE NOT GETTING

In the course of his speech, Dr. Nourse also pointed out what you are NOT getting for the high taxes you're paying. For example, public

should be expanded to care for the the efforts of the Hoover commission, increased number of children. One Dr. Nourse and his committee, and official estimate puts the need for their supporters? Not much, at best, new school buildings alone at \$101/2 Essentially both are for penny-pinchbillion. Yet the budget for next year proposes to spend a total of only \$300 ing operations. Hoover wants to cut million for federal education (less out some of the more expensive red than a week's military expenditures); tape, and cut down on a useless unit about three-fourths of that for slum here or there. Nourse wants to take clearance, low-rent housing and farm the extra billion that the North Athousing; a little less than \$300 millantic Pact will cost out of the \$15 lion for public health and only a litbillion war budget already allotted, tle more for rural electrification. instead of adding it to our budget. And so it goes down the line. The things that you and your children and

your community need must be "postponed" (presumably till after the atomic war) while billions are being poured down the giant maw of the war machine.

### **ADA** Senator --

(Continued from page 1)

rights legislation to read: "must contain provisions prohibiting segregation" instead of the weaker "should." They brought forth many cogent arguments for this view. One delegate indicated that the heat was on for the weaker formulation in order not to "embarass" ADA leaders in Congress, but that he really wanted ADA to condemn segregation unequivocally so as not to "run out on our 1948 platform.

#### CONSERVATIVE LIBERALISM

Another delegate, a Negro, demanded that ADA take a "forthright liberal position without quivering . . . Why should there be a difference in ideology between Northern and Southern liberals on this? . . . Negroes are standing on the sidelines watching what ADA will do."

Another minority delegate spoke for 'no compromise. If compromises must be made, let them be made not in our resolution but by our Senators, who should be guided by minority-group spokesmen if they want to compromise. We should cauterize this infection not apply a poultice."

Southern delegates spearheaded the majority demand for the weaker formulation, crying "We will strengthen Bricker's hand . . . we live in good homes, and must consider the real housing need . . . if we put this too strongly, ADA will lose whatever support it has in the South, where 50% of housing goes to Negroes [sic!]," Senator Frank Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina, had previously cautioned against demanding "all or

nothing, because then we will get nothing."

This conservatism operating under

the banner of "liberalism" is what runs through the entire politics of ADA and will eventually bring its dismemberment, or provoke a split if the minority ever attains a majority status.

We fully agree with the minority amendment's statements: "Yet a housing program administered in discriminatory fashion furthers and cements ghettoization: likewise, segregated schools educate more citizens into the habits of bigotry, and discriminatory health services give literal strength to our enemies while increasing the suffering of those we wish to help. More than a moral issue is involved: Enactment of such programs without democratic guarantees would constitute actual steps backward in terms of our concrete goals. Housing, health and education 'for whites only' must not be tolerated." This amendment was defeated by the close vote of

Further illustrative of the conflict over this whole question in ADA is the recent blast against Senator Douglas made by ADA National Board member Lillian Smith, the novelist, in her column in the Chicago Defender, after Douglas had made appeasing remarks on the Senate floor to Dixiecrat Filibusterer Russel.

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#### WITH A YANKEE ACCENT

Miss Smith wrote in part: "The old familiar phrase: 'We are not proposing to abolish segregation in the South, we just want-' sounds evil enough at home in Georgia, but when said with a Yankee accent it makes one feel sick all over . . . Many liberals who sincerely think they are for civil rights have not thought their way skin-deep into the problem. They are too concerned with the noise, the violence: it is the pus running out of the sore that offends and not the sore itself . . . The age-old problem of the and his bargains is hard to solve. Men can wisely and sanely compromise on small differences that rise up to the surface from a deep concord of belief. But there is no concord of belief between Dixiecrat and liberal. These differences are fundamental. You are either for or against killing the human spirit. There is no common meeting place on this question."

Can the Pact Defend Europe Against the Russian Stalinist Steamroller?

Sufficient time and discussion has elapsed since the original presentation of the North Atlantic Security Pact for us to attempt to draw some more fundamental conclusions as to its significance. Like any other document, after all, the pact which has so engrossed public opinion for several weeks, is a skeletal statement. of objectives and principles upon whose bones only political reality can place some flesh.

It is all the more difficult to evaluate this pact since it is doubtful if any such document has ever been followed by such a formidable barrage of deceitful propaganda, misrepresentation and general chicanery. On the one hand, its proponents have sought to cover it with shining innocence and nobility, all in the blessed spirit of Easter. Not only does it fit into the spirit and framework of the UN and its charter (in fact, it is nothing but a measure to bolster the UN!), but its purely "defensive" purposes could only be misunderstood by evil-doers whose minds are bent on "aggression." Russia and its satellite powers, of course, have described the pact as open preparations for war, "military plans against the Soviet Union are being drawn up" (Gromyko), the heights of insolent imperialist aggressiveness, etc.

At the present point, the only subject on which all analysts of the pact (right, center and left) can find unanimous agreement is that it has delivered a death blow to the already rapidly expiring UN. That body, whose prestige has declined at a pace infinitely more rapid than that of the League of Nations, has become simply a center of public propagandistic announcement for the two warring camps which divide our world. The contempt and disdain with which the top rep-

resentatives of all foreign governments now treat it (they are content to send their lesser spokesmen to its gatherings) is matched by the tone of the discussions which go on. It is only necessary to listen to radio broadcasts of UN meetings-a welter of abuse, charges, accusations, slander, etc .- to realize that this body is effectively dead from any point of view. Three years sufficed to murder it.

We must reject with equal emphasis both interpretative views on the pact itself. It is neither an innocent document of "defense," as its reactionary endorsers would like us to believe, nor is it a violent "aggressive military alliance" preluding the launching of World War III against Russia, as its Stalinist opponents and other analysts tell us. Both points of view are gross oversimplifications made with malicious propagandistic intent.

#### PACT IS OBSOLETE

That the pact is a totally reactionary document, based upon a reactionary conception of world politics, goes without saying. But its reactionary nature rests not simply upon its militaristic tendencies, its drive to further harden and split the world into antagonistic sectors, but rather upon a more fundamental fact.

This has been suggested by David Rousset, writing in the Nation of two weeks past. The pact is an "anachronism," suggests Rousset, and rests upon an outmoded (and therefore both reactionary and impossible) conception of territorial security belonging to a pre-war period. Yet it is the only kind of conception which American imperialism, the organizer of the pact, is capable of developing. Why is it outmoded and antiquated? Simply be-

cause its "defensive" military doctrine conceives of a military world of large mass armies which the atom bomb and the jet plane have bypassed? Or because that part of the pact which contains military implications is an absurdity which deceives no one since, unlike true military alliances of previous periods which consisted of understandings between two actual military powers. this particular alliance is between one mighty military power (America) and a set of nations which are, at

best, only potential military forces?

military aspects, the remaining political content: is entirely status quo in nature. That is, it presumes the continuation and hopes for the stabilization of both American and Western European capitalism. There is no conception of any political or social struggle against Stalinism or Russian influence in progressive terms; no idea of winning Europe's masses to the side of this new "Grand Alliance" by a superior and attractive program of social progress.

Page 3

Since none of the pact's signers dare admit the increasingly apparent fact that Europe's social order is structurally an exhausted one and that, at best, it can regain a limited stability if America continues its loans and outright grants, it naturally follows that they cannot meet the Stalinist challenge (which is primarily social and political; only military as a final resort) by a social challenge of their own. It is in this, of course. that the pact's impossibility of success really lies.

Let us put it in another way. The pact belongs to the over-all Marshall Plan strategy of American imperialism. Like the economic-aid program, it is a part of the broad plan. By an outward show of force and strength. it is believed that Russian expansionism will be brought further to a halt. At the same time, the undoubted economic recovery in Western Europe together with American military and continued economic aid is supposed to permit the rebuilding of large military forces in Europe-100 divisions, huge jet air forces, etc. Within 5 to 10 years. Western Europe will be militarily powerful enough (so the most optimistic proponents of the plan believe) to halt the Russian armies. The whole conception treats Russia and its problem as if it were nothing but a revived Nazi Germany which only superior military forces can halt.

Even this conception is absurd, and raises an infinity of problems. Shall, for example, the Maginot Line be reconstructed? Shall France and England rebuild their huge land armies of millions of men? Shall America send token divisions to Europe? And what is to happen to today's economic recovery, still so shaky and convalescent? Shall there be a new turning away from production of consumers' goods and towards military production? But how could this possibly be done without another and more thorough reversal of current German policy which would not only permit, but demand full, unhampered production of each and every machine in that area and foremost of all in the Ruhr?

#### DOOMED TO FAILURE

The great dilemma of even a powerful producer like America-guns or butter-surely cannot be solved by the weak ERP nations. If they are called upon to divert their recovery into war channels now (and this would have to be full-scale, or it would be meaningless), we shall rapidly see the collapse of even the recovery that has occurred. And this tendency carries within it an even greater danger-unquestionably the major, danger of all-since it would involve the life and standards of the workers of Europe, those who are to be called upon to do the war production work and the fighting which lies at its ultimate end.

There is the heart of the problem. Can the masses of Western Europe be mobilized by (a) America, or (b) America's representatives in the ERP nations for a violent struggle against Russia? A highly dubious matter, in our opinion. Arms, cannon, jet planes, etc., are not enough. There must be the political, social and ideological will to fight. The story of France's collapse in 1940 is a familiar one and no one believes any longer in the theory of overwhelming German technical superiority. The French masses had no desire or willingness to fight in 1940; the European masses have even less desire or will to fight in 1949.

· Who seriously contends that their apathy to America versus Russia will have lessened by 1950, or 1955? If their national governments engage in all-out war production, at the expense of cons standards, is it not clear that the national Stalinist movements will at the very least hold their present mass strength? Thus, when and if the war comes, it will not be with a Hitler with hundreds of Nazi agents in France, but a Stalin with millions of supporters in Italy, Germany, France, etc. The more one examines the pact in its concreteness, the more impossible it becomes. It will meet with the passive resistance, in Rousset's words, of the European masses who simply cannot be mobilized to fight for American or any other kind of capitalism. The fulfillment of this pact would guarantee the overrunning of Western Europe by Russia. And America? Would Truman then proceed to the systematic atomic destruction of each and every major European city? We conclude then: the North Atlantic Pact is a gesture doomed in advance to failure. In content, it is reactionary; in outlook, it is antiquated; in perspective, it is illusory; in doctrine, it is hopeless. Its European political supporters join the ranks of generals without armies. Yet, as we know, it is the best our capitalist statesmen are capable of producing. To our general indictment of bankruptcy against them we must now add the charge of being incapable of defending Western Europe, or any part thereof, from the threat and menace of Stalinism. It is precisely because socialists are so concerned about halting the spread of Stalinism throughout the world that they reject any support to such pacts, or those who originate them.



### **Centralized Germany?**

#### Why Capitalists Want a Loose Constitution-**Christian-Democrats Fight for Federalization**

The conflict which up to a week ago prevented the establishment of a government in Western Germany is the result of the opposition, led by the Social-Democrats, to the loosely federated state structure which is demanded by the occupying Western powers and supported by the Christian-Democrats and their bloc. The latter represent a conglomeration of contradictory interests, such as the bureaucratic officialdom, the Catholic hierarchy, the better-off peasants, and the commercial and industrial interests.

It is not surprising that the Catholic hierarchy, in alliance with the Catholic peasants of Southern Germany, especially Bavaria, as well as with the French occupant (the French military has traditionally strong ties with the Catholic Church) should favor strong provincial governments. For example, a major tug-ofwar was fought at the sessions of the Bonn assembly between the Social-Democrats and the spokesman of "denominational" education, with the latter demanding separate parochial schools, state-supported, of course; he Social-Democrats stood for the "mixed" student body, which is the one way by which the influence of contending hierarchies can at least be mitigated.

The Catholic priests are opposed to a centrally financed school system as likely to put serious obstacles in their way of realizing the Catholic-dominated educational system envisioned by them.

Nor is it without a sort of grotesque significance that the assembly has been presided over by Kurt Adenauer, one time mayor of the Catholic city of Cologne. Adenauer, who was, to be sure, an anti-Fascist, is said to be a proponent of a modern Burgundy, i.e., a state combining the Greater Rhineland with France, and closely associated with the Vatican. That this is a reactionary and unrealizable pipe dream goes with-out saying, but it is indicative of the forces on which America expects to rely in Germany.

#### BOURGEOISIE WANTS FEDERATION

No less glittering appear to be the dreams of the wel-to-do-peasants of Southern Germany in supporting a "federated" Germany. A weak federal government, greatly restricted in its taxing powers and dependent in its foreign undertakings upon a Federal Council appointed by the provincial parliaments, would put (the peasants hope) the cities at their mercy. They, not the cities, would determine.

Far more shrewd in their reasoning are the capitalist interests who favor a "federal", i.e., weak central government. Aware of their bankruptcy as a social force, they prefer the readily controllable particularism of provincial governments to a central power which, in the hands of the Social-Democrats, could be of grave detriment to them.

In addition to this consideration, there remains the possibility of a compromise between the U. S. and Russia on the whole German question which would confront the German bourgeoisie, (as well as the German

workers, of course) with the difficult problem of finding a modus vivendi for the eastern zone within the framework of the German socio-economic structure.

It is impossible to unify-that is, centralize-Germany along traditional lines given the profoundly changed economic strutcure of the eastern zone. A restoration of the pre-1945 status may not be excluded; but until such a restoration can take place-and there are formidable obstacles making this very difficult-it is but natural that the German bourgeoisie prefers relatively stable provincial governments with as many autonomous powers as possible to what would otherwise be an extremely unstable central government, probably lacking even the minimum strength necessary in international bargaining.

#### CHANGES IN EASTERN ZONE

In the eastern zone all major industries have been expropriated and are in the hands of the state; that is, they are controlled by a central planning agency, the German Economic Commission. Twenty per cent of the eastern zone's key industries are owned by Russian corporations, financed by Russian capital and managed by Russian personnel; these industries are not necessarily integrated with other zonal industries. In addition, the Russian military "partially" controls other industrial establishments through the device of jointstock companies; the extent of this "partial" ownership is unknown.

The breaking up of large and medium holdings in agriculture is well-known. The parcelized land has been settled by land laborers, refugees, veterans, etc. The inefficiency of extreme parcelization seems to have been designed to make early collectivization more acceptable. Already several thousands of machine and breeding stations are operated by the "Peasants Mutual Aid," a state agency.

All this should make it quite obvious that Germany cannot be united along traditional bourgeois-nationalist lines and partly explains the German capitalists' support of a "federal" government.

Of course, there has not been a bourgeoisie in history which has not in general preferred a centralized government and that includes the German bourgeoisie which a hundred years ago hoped to achieve unification -i.e., centralization-of Germany by compromising with the feudal aristocracy. If the German bourgeoisie today retrogresses politically to its pre-1848 position. this for one thing bespeaks its own decline. It also reveals in full the reactionary character of American policy: Washington bases itself on those very elements and forces which had to be defeated in the late 18th and 19th century by the liberal bourgeoisie and the indignant masses of Western Europe before a progressive step forward could be taken.

(Next week: the role of the Social-Democrats and the recent agreement announced at Bonn.)

EUGENE KELLER



#### (Continued from page 1)

The second part of the task was carried out at the Fifth Convention of the Workers Party. "We understood that by calling ourselves a party, it was not a statement of a reality, but of the intention of a workingclass socialist organization to BE-COME a party of the working class. Today no socialist group in the United States is a political party. We cannot speak for the working class and we are determined to stop the pretense of speaking for the working class. These thoughts we announce publicly; we release the name of which we are so proud, the Workers Party, and adopt the name of the Independent Socialist 'League."

The opening speaker, Nathan Gould, outlined the life of Martin Abern: "Comrade Abern will be remembered not only for his work but as friend and comrade. He spared his comrades but not himself . . ." The audience rose to pay a tribute of one minute of silence in memory of "one of the finest revolutionists of our day."

Comrade Garrett discussed the relations between the ISL and the international socialist movement, particularly left-socialist groups abroad, and read off the greetings which the League has received from European comrades. (Published in this issue-

Justin Graham, member of the National Bureau of the Socialist Youth League, brought greetings from the youth organization to the ISL.

No, the military absurdity of the pact is not sufficient to warrant our description of "anachronistic," particularly since the pact is far more a political document, attempting to create a political force in opposition to Stalinist Russia, than a military one. Its military clauses, as we shall see again, rest on extremely shaky grounds.

Its reactionary nature is primarily political in character, and this in more than one way:

(1) It is not an alliance between equals, but between a powerful supernation and nations which, badly weakened by the war, are dependent to one or another degree upon America. This means the inner operation of the pact will be determined by minority forces determined to retain the existing relationships and with no concern for the masses of people involved.

#### LOOKS TO STATUS QUO

(2) It conceives of the defense against Russia and Stalinism in static terms, with the ultimate decision to be based on military superiority. While it is not true that military force is to be applied today or that immediate preparations for war mobilization are placed on the urgent order of the day (we agree with Rousset's viewpoint which defines the immediate tactical aim of the pact as an effort to wring concessions from Russia by a show of strength short of immediate war), it is perfectly clear that each clause and line in the pact leads in but one direction-an eventual showdown with Russia by force and violence.

(3) Linked with Point 2 is perhaps the more important fact that, if we remove for the moment the pact's

HENRY JUDD



#### LABOR ACTION

#### **Beginning Part III of ISL Convention Resolution on U.S.**

# Why Workers Party Formed the ISL

(1) The prespective for the growth known. To the extent that Stalinism of the socialist movement in the U. S. depends primarily on the rate and strength of the development of a labor-third-party movement in this country and on the success of the Marxist vanguard in sinking its roots in this developing movement and tying itself organically to the mass movement.

Page 4

There is no substitute for this road and without it no means of achieving any substantial change in the presently extremely weak state of American socialism. Indispensable to the fulfillment of this task is a clear understanding of the present position and role of the Marxist movement, in which the Workers Party represents the most advanced, conscious and consistent section...

#### Why Socialist Movement Is Weak in This Country

(2) The main predecessor of our party, and the one with whose tradition and struggle it is most clearly tied, is the Trotskyist movement, enriched and broadened by the inflow of streams with other political origins. In this country, the Trotskyist movement never succeeded in developing beyond the stage of a faction on three different occasions it attempted to organize a political party (WPUS, SWP, WP of today). As in practically all other countries, the attempts made in the U.S. were not crowned with success.

That numerous errors were made in the course of those attempts is now incontestable; it is likewise clear that they were not the primary or principal cause for the failure to establish a genuine independent Marxist political party. The principal causes are to be found outside the Trotskyist movement itself.

The degeneration of the Russian revolution not only weakened and discredited Marxism but produced the most powerful and reactionary pseudo-Marxist movement ever

appeared to be the continuation of the socialist content of the revolution, it diverted to itself and thereby subverted the revolutionary elements who would otherwise build up the genuine Marxist party. It is the strength of Stalinism that has primarily determined the weakness of Marxism. The latter can be restored as a powerful force if Stalinism is decisively defeated. But this holds true only if Stalinism is defeated by a progressive or revolutionary force, that is, one based upon the working class and operating in its interests. This concept of the struggle against

> movement. Secondly: In the United States, the slow growth and at times the standstill of the Marxist movement, determined on an international and historical scale by the rise of Stalinism, have been specifically influenced by the particular circumstances of the growth and the power of the great American working class. The Marxist movement can and must be further advanced than the working class in whose midst it develops, but it cannot acquire a strength in arbitrary independence of the conditions and stage of development of the working class itself. These conditions have militated against the growth of a significant working-class political party in the U.S., either reformist

or revolutionary. In addition, today, the Second World War and its aftermath-its conclusion without successful revolution and with the sstrengthening of Stalinism-has produced a postwar situation in which the workingclass and socialist forces of Europe have been atomized and weakened, and now face the task of rebuilding in the face of great Stalinist strength. This unfavorable international picture, together with the impact of the many new problems thrown up

third, imperialist, atomic world war, has had a deep-going effect upon all socialist cadres even in this country. (3) There are the basic and interdependent causes for the isolation of the Marxist movement in this country, for its continued existence as an essentially propaganda group. On this point the views put forward in our

1946 Convention Resolution on the Tasks of the Party have to be drastically modified. The following should especially be seen now as an illusion: the view that the road ahead for our party (or for any of the other socialist sects in this country) is that of slower or Stalinism is decisive for the Marxian faster growth by accretion from a propaganda group to an agitational group; the view that we were at a point at least approaching the sec-

ond stage and that sufficiently successful recruitment on the basis of our cadres would be enough to advance us further along the line. This is the illusion. We are a propaganda group; we must plan and organize, not under

any impression that our self-transformation into a party depends only or mainly on how well we work, but on the realistic basis of understanding the limitations and narrower tasks to be undertaken as a propaganda group.

#### Aim: Propaganda Group In the Labor Movement

(4) In most of the Western European countries, we have likewise taken a similar view of the present tasks and perspectives of the Marxist vanguard groups. Specifically we have expressed the opinion that these groups would do best by entering the mass social-democratic parties in their countries (England, France, Italy, etc.) as their left wing, not for the purpose of a quick "raid" but in order to work toward developing a substantial Marxist movement. by the development of capitalist This orientation toward the socialbureaucratization and expanding democratic parties does not at all, Stalinism, and by the threat of a however, depend on the fact that but solely and decisively on the fact that they are mass working-class parties.

In the U.S., on the contrary, there is no mass social-democratic party; in fact, the two social-democratic groups that do exist (SP and SDF) are-giving them the maximum credit-as isolated and weak as the Trotskyists, above all in the labor movement. In the U.S., the opportunity for the Marxist vanguard to function as the left wing of a mass political movement of the working class will arrive only with the formation of the coming labor party.

(5) Our aim is to be a propaganda group in the labor movement and in the mass organizations. Far from invalidating or diminishing the importance of our orientation in this direction, it is none other than these movements which should play a more predominant role than ever in our orientation. Where a party of agita-

these parties are social-democratic tion and action, if it is really such, properly seeks to involve itself in all fields where the fight against capitalism can be carried on, from the cultural field to the agricultural, the primary job of a Marxist propaganda group is to bring the basic ideas of socialism and socialist policy to the more advanced and conscious strata of the working class and op-

> pressed minority groups. First and foremost of the fields of activity for such a propaganda group is IN THE TRADE UNIONS, where its main object is not to gain organizational power or influence or to play a leading role in the conduct of affairs, but to bring its ideas to as wide a circle as possible.

It is necessary only to understand that there is nothing mechanical about the application of such a perspective: there is no contradiction between it and the making of action proposals by our press, spokesmen, or comrades in the unions; indeed, propaganda groups have even been known to play a leading role in large strikes (as in the case of the CLA). It is a question of the general orientation and emphasis; not in special cases but in the usual case.

(To be concluded next week)

### 'Subversive List' -

#### (Continued from page 1)

the organization and to establish the Independent Socialist League in its place, I wish to make it clear that this decision in no wise signifies the abandonment of our desire and determination to secure the removal of the name of the Workers Party from the list of "subversive organizations." To continue listing the Workers Party, along with a number of reactionary and totalitarian organizations with which it has and can have nothing in common, is not only a gross injustice and a flagrant infringement upon democratic rights, but also maintains a basis for the persecution and discrimination practiced against political opponents from which real or alleged members and sympathizers of the Workers Party have already suffered.

In the name of the Independent Socialist League, I therefore request you again to take the steps required for removing the name of the Workers Party from the "subversive list." I reiterate my readiness to give more detailed justification of this request at any fair hearing of the case which your office may arrange to hold.

#### Yours truly,

Max Shachtman, National Chairman 101 10 7 2 .. ' 2 .. ' 2 .. ' B Independent Socialist League

Tehn. Str. ofge

April 28, 1949

Reply by Attorney General

Attorney General.

Mr. Max Shachtman.

National Chairman, Independent Socialist League

Dear Mr. Shachtman: This will acknowledge your letter of April 19, 1949, addressed to the

Executive Order No. 9835 contains no warrant or authority for disclosing the bases upon which the designations made pursuant thereto were ormulated. The designations were made after careful consideration of the

collaborate closely with your new organization.

May 9, 1949

With most fraternal greetings from your old comrade, JUAN ANDRADE Paris, April 22, 1949

#### **George Stone:** What identifies me most with you

Left-Wing Socialists -

(Continued from page 1)

closely every day, and I have also

been able to appreciate the great im-

portance of your political and theo-

retical work to clarify and explain

the causes of the profound crisis through which the international so-

is that, taking all past experience as

your point of departure, you have

not limited your approach to repeat-

ing old formulas, and that at every

point you have tried to chart the new

tasks of the independent revolution-

ary socialists, taking into account the

real condition of the workers' move-

ment and speaking frankly of its true

causes. What decided me above all to

demonstrate my solidarity with you

is that all the solutions which you

have offered are based on an abso-

lute belief in socialism, and the de-

sire to continue the struggle for it

taking place in the world today, the

American Independent Socialists

have the principal task to accomplish.

Your latest decisions have demon-

strated to those of us who carry on

the struggle in Europe that the new

Independent Socialist League is

ready to engage in its work of propa-

ganda in precisely this sense. We have

complete confidence in you, and you

can be sure that we European revolu-

tionary socialists have the same con-

cern for the future of socialism that

you have, and that we are ready to

We can say that in the struggle

to the end.

cialist movement passes.

Nothing gives me greater pleasure on this May Day of 1949 than to send greetings to the Independent Socialist League.

Your magnificent work inevitably singles you out for special mention. My job as editor of the SOCIALIST LEADER brings me into contact with many organizations throughout the world and none stands higher in my esteem than yours. Your brilliant journals LABOR ACTION and THE **NEW INTERNATIONAL register the** highest level of socialist propaganda and literary standards, and if your work consisted only of producing these journals it would fully merit your pride of place.

But I know that this is but a small part of your activties in the common struggle for the emancipation of the people. And, knowing the manifold difficulties which confront you in your work, I realize how much devoted effort is undertaken by your members. You are doing a grand job! Keep to comrades!

On this May Day I send you my sincere greetings and I join with you in the time-honored salutation  $\perp$ WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE!

GEORGE STONE Editor, Socialist Leader

#### Irish:

Comrades and sympathizers active in the Republican Labor movements of British Occupied Ireland and of the Republic of Ireland join us in sending fraternal May Day greetings to all members and supporters of the Independent Socialist League, which we know will act always as the truest defender of working class internationalism in the U.S.A. The supreme task of Irish socialists is to revive the programme and traditions of the martyred socialist republican leaders, Connolly and Mellowes, in order that the hour of national freedom and social emancipation may be brought nearer.

Such objectives cannot be attained in Ireland or indeed anywhere else in the world, without the aid which the great American working class must furnish in striving to free itself from exploitation. To infuse the workers of America with socialist consciousness and to play a role in every struggle over rights or conditions is the task of the Independent Socialist League.

Today the genuine socialists are in a very small minority. Therefore, let the watchword of Connolly keep courage in our hearts so that, like him, we may prove worthy of our socialist cause and may kindle love of freedom and revolutionary combativeness

**Martin Abern Dies** 

(Continued from page 1 Palmer raids, and only a few thou-sand were left out of the tens of thousands who voted to launch the new movement. Naturally, Marty was one of those who stuck. When the two main Communist groups united into a single party at an underground convention, he was elected as the youngest member of the Central Commit-

tee. He was not yet 23 years old. His first assignment was to reas-

against the Pepperites and Lovestoneites-the opportunist wing of the party-and then, when his group split in two in 1925, he joined with others of us in forming the Cannon group. Marty was never ashamed of his factional allegiances and he never had cause to be. Often in charge of organizing in

side of the Foster-Cannon group

these conflicts-and he was as able and loyal and responsible in fac-

to a large extent for the appearance of The New International, and if it attained a truly international circulation which increased month by month, it was Marty's management we had to thank for it. All over the world, comrades knew Marty's name from the systematic, detailed, always informative correspondence which he extended and maintained in a score of countries.

friendly crowds. He was responsible

know in the movement - almost twenty-seven rich and lean and altogether irreplaceable years-and like others I did nothing but gain from knowing him well. He endured more assaults than anyone I know, and more calumny, but more often they dishonored those who directed them at him. He had an immense personal pride and an astonishing gentleness and shyness with comrades which he most often concealed

Author of "The Age of Jackson'

TRUMAN-HEIR OR EPIGONE OF THE NEW DEAL? Thursday, May 19 DWIGHT MACDONALD Editor of "Politics" GOODBYE TO UTOPIA

**Rand School Auditorium** 7 East 15th Street At 8:30.

Admission 75¢

"Packages Abroad" **Discussion Meetings** For the Benefit of Politics' Thursday, May 12 ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. JR.

semble the dispersed Communist youth movement and he discharged that assignment with remarkable success. When the legal Young Workers' League (later the Young Communist League) was established, he was elected its first national secretary. In that capacity he nursed it through its babyhood and shaped its whole course-he more than any other man.

#### BUILT YOUTH MOVEMENT

There never was a finer, stronger. healthier revolutionary youth movement in this country-before or since -than the Young Workers League of Marty Abern's days, and I am not the only one who can testify to it from personal knowledge. No one more than Marty was responsible for the fact that the league soon counted scores of young miners and steel workers from Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and young farmers from the Northwest among its active membership.

In 1922, he was one of the American delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International and, with John Edwards, a delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist Youth International. to whose Executive Committee he was elected. An intense interest in the world movement remained with him always.

Although we thought him "indispensable" to the youth movement, the requirements of the party organization drew him, as in the case of so many others, further and further from the league and toward the party. In the party, he became known all over the country as one of the ablest organizers and executives in the organization. His exceptional talents, meticulousness, perseverance and reliability were acknowledged on all sides even in the bitterest factional days in the Communist Party.

He served as effective organizer for District Eight of the Party (it was the best in the country, taking in IIlinois and parts of Wisconsin, Indiana and Missouri, with Chicago as headquarters) and, shortly before the International Labor Defense was formed, he became the chief assistant of its secretary, James P. Cannon, in charge of the organizational work. His work in that organization—it was a fine one in those days-especially in connection with the campaigns for Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti. was one of Marty's most memorable contributions to the movement.

In the internal conflicts of the newsstands and selling it on the Communist Party, Marty was on the streets-and not always before

tional organization as he was in organizing for the party or the youth as a whole-he just as often bore the brunt of the many party battles. But he was already too old a hand at fighting tirelessly for his convictions and his comrades to do more than wince at the vicious attacks which unclean opponents hurled at himand then continue his road.

#### A FOUNDER OF TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

Marty was one of the members of the party central committee to take up, along with Cannon and myself, the struggle for the ideas of Leon Trotsky and the Russian Opposition. There were only the three of us to begin with, the three who were expelled from the Communist Party on October 27, 1928, after a farcical trial, only three of us to "begin all over again," without apparently more than a few friends around us and with less than modest prospects of soon getting many more. The recollection of those stark days

of trying to re-found and re-shape the movement, days of anguish and scorn and tears and blows, the perfidy of former comrades, the enforced isolation-it all gives the thought of Marty's death a crueler bite. To withstand the black waves that pounded us then, we kept our arms tight around each other, and Marty's arm was strong and true. It is not true that you find your comrades and your friends only in the light. Sometimes you learn who they really are when it is bleak, when their comradeship is the only warmth and assurance you have.

In the bleakest days of our movement, Marty was like a pillar. He could grumble and fret like the next man, but we always knew he was a pillar. The fly-by-night would fly away and the flash-in-the-pan would die out dully, but Marty would still be there, always reliable. Without his incredible tirelessness, his administrative gift, his magical ability to wheedle money from stones, more than one issue of our precious Militant would never have seen the light

of day. He was no less a "professional" rank-and-filer than he was a "professional" leader. His sleeves were always rolled up for the "menial" work, the "dirty" work: pecking out an endless, positively world-wide stream of correspondence from cold typewriter keys; wrapping bundles of the paper; distributing it on the

WITH WP TO THE END

He was with us, too, as a leader in the fight over the war question, the "Russian question" and other disputes that led to the split in the Socialist Workers Party and the founding of the Workers Party in 1940. But the years were beginning to tell on the vessel. They were years of unrelieved work for the movement such as I have never seen anyone else perform - years which included strains such as few endure for

long. On top of all that came personal difficulties of such overriding nature that Marty found himself compelled to seek a job outside the organization.

It meant he was unable to do as much for us as before, but it did not mean so much as a hair's breadth of difference in the intensity of his political interests, the liveliness of his participation in every party activity that was available to him. Why, only yesterday he was busy at our national convention with old comrades from all over the country, with new ones, discussing problems, exchanging views, insisting above all else that no effort must be spared, no sacrifice spared, to keep our press going, insisting that the formation of the Independent Socialist League was a necessary and a good step toward the re-orientation and reconstruction of the movement.

But as he climbed the long stairs of our rickety building, we could see that it was a painful effort-he kept pressing his hand to his heart. We didn't realize how bad it was. Marty didn't tell us, because he seldom spoke of himself and never made any complaints. And just a few weeks later, that heart was stilled. His wife told us at the funeral that only a couple of months ago he had spoken with her of making the practical arrangements that would enable him to return once more to full-time work for the organization. The arrangements were never completed.

Marty was a comrade of the rarest singleness in his devotion. He was a comrade of amazing but quiet generosity, and no comrade-except. very often, himself-went hungry while he had a dime in his pocket.

He had the most extraordinary loyalty to his comrades, loyalty to a fault sometimes, but loyalty that was fierce and gentle at once, that could not be bought and was not soon relinquished.

He was my friend and comrade of longer standing than anyone else I

behind a thin gruffness, as ashamed to be considered "soft." I never heard him abuse a comrade: I never saw him fail in sympathy for distress. I never knew a comrade of greater courage and less ostentation about it.

#### A STRONG OAK

Oh, all the things I remember about Marty! I saw him once in the '20s in Chicago, when he faced a gang of thugs sent by the right-wing bureaucrats of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union to break up a meeting he had organized, and stood there outstaring a burly gangster who had his cocked revolver shoved deep into Marty's belly until the hoodlum gave the ground that Marty didn't give and didn't know how to give.

-I saw him once in 1929 in front of the Communist Party headquarters in Union Square while Cannon and I were ringed off by a gang of Stalinist gangsters and another gang was tearing away at Marty's back and his stiff unbending bullneck trying to tear the bundle of Militants out of the arms with which he was hugging them to himself, and not succeeding in tearing away. a single copy.

I saw him again as chairman of our second public meeting for Trotskyism in New York (the first one had been successfully dispersed by the Stalinists), standing there at the table, quietly holding a length of pipe with good T-head screwed on to it by one of our plumber's helpers, waiting for the snarling mob of incited Stalinists to rush the platform.

He was an oak of a comrade, an oak of a party man, strong, solid and dignified, close grained and deep in the roots, not easy to bend and a lot harder to break. No one ever did break Marty. If he is not with us now it is only because he worked and worked for the sacred cause of human emancipation until the pump of his life grew too feeble to sustain that good and wonderful life he gave to socialism.

Goodbye, Marty. Dear friend, old comrade, goodbye.

Farewell Marty **Jim Fenwick Bog Ferguson Jack Wilson** 

available information, and in the circumstances your request for removal of the Workers Party from the list of organizations declared to come within the scope of Executive Order No. 9835 must be denied.

#### Respectfully,

For the Attorney General (Signed) Alexander M. Campbell Asst. Attorney General

**Fund Drive -**

among our fellow men: "The Great appear great because we are on our knees: Let us rise!" M. MERRIGAN. Dublin J. McLEAN, Belfast R. ARMSTRONG, London

#### (Continued from page 1)

predict that before long they will be joining the Chicago SYL in the ranks of the 100 percenters.

Cleveland reached the 50 per cent mark with its last \$75 contribution and Buffalo made a substantial jump with its \$240.

Detroit sent us its first contribution of \$113 this past week. An accompanying letter reminds us that at first they doubted whether they could raise \$500; then their quota was raised to \$600; and now that they have succeeded in getting pledges they find "that we have about \$500 pledged and the remaining \$100 should not be too difficult to raise . . ."

Our Detroit comrades have set themselves the goal of raising "twothirds of the quota by the May 7 meeting." We hope they make it and can report their good results in next week's summary.

Chicago, which sent in \$152 during the week, "apologizes" for its failure to send in more: "You don't have to worry about the Chicago Fund Drive money . . . The reason you haven't received much money yet is that we want the comrades to give as much of their pledge as possible at our May 6 meeting." So, again we look forward to next week.

#### GET INTO THE RACE!

The National Office, too, has been doing its part. It collected \$160, \$20 of which was a contribution from a good Minnesota comrade who, despite his personal difficulties, has pledged the sum of \$25.

We'll have no difficulty in raising the \$14,000 if all of our other branches and friends do as well as the abovementioned. Those of you who have not yet sent in contributions or made any real progress, speed up the collection of your pledges and get into the race! If we drive hard now we'll have enough time left to go over the top!

Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent
Chicago SYL		\$100	100
Brooklyn SYL	50	40	80
New York City	4000	2241	56
Cleveland	400	209	50
St. Louis	5,0	24	50
Streator	25	10	40
Bronx SYL	50	18	36
Manhattan SYL	50	18	36
Buffalo	1000	290	29
National Office	1500	415	28
Philadelphia	400	84	21
Chicago	1500	291	19
Detroit	600	113	19
Boston	100	12	12
San Francisco	800	92	12
West Virginia	125	10	8
Akron	200	12	6
abor Action	150	6	4
Baltimore	200	4	2
os Angeles	500	10	2
Newark	300	6	2
Connecticut	50	0	ō
ndiana	100	0	0
Dregon			0
Pittsburgh	50	0	0
Reading	100	0	0
Seattle	300	0	0
foungstown	100	0	0
Buffalo	50	0	0
Berkeley SYL	50	0	0
Aiscellaneous	1050	0	0
	<u> </u>	<b>`</b>	
TOTALS	4.000	\$4006	28