

**WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD;
JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!**

LABOR ACTION

JUNE 21, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

British Win on Preventing Embargo End as Uneasy Truce Begins in Palestine

By AL FINDLEY

An uneasy truce has been achieved in Palestine. Despite local violations, Count Bernadotte's truce is in effect. Though scheduled to last four weeks while peace talks take place in the Greek island of Rhodes, few observers expect it to produce a lasting peace. The truce is to be enforced by 21 military observers from each of the Truce Commission countries—Belgium, France and the U. S. In addition there will be planes and ships to blockade the coast and enforce the truce. Russia's bid for observers has been ignored.

In addition to a military standstill, the truce conditions contain dangerous limitations on immigration, despite an explicit and special amendment by France that excluded limitation on immigration.

Should the truce last only four weeks and then fighting resume, it will have given little advantage to either side. Whatever advantage will have accrued, will have been gained by the Israelis, as time is on their side. The longer the state of Israel is in existence, the more difficult it will be to negotiate it out of existence. In addition, Israel will have gained time to uncrate cargo and for the purchase and assembly of new heavy armament.

Should the four weeks truce end in a just settlement, it will of course be of benefit to all. This, however, is the LEAST probable outcome of the truce. A few optimists point to the Republic of Indonesia to prove that once a cease fire is arranged, it leads to ultimate peace. A fine example and a warning of what can be expected from the UN! If the truce does not break down, the most probable outcome will not be a peace, but an extension of the truce for an indefinite period, or a series of extensions which would continue to limit immigration and sovereignty in the hope of whittling away the independence of the Jewish state in the same way that the independence of the Republic of Indonesia was whittled away, so that now it is little more than a semi-colony of Holland.

BRITISH ACHIEVE AIM

England, sponsor of this truce, has achieved her main aim—preventing the lifting of the embargo by the U. S. According to the CBS London correspondent, British intelligence is convinced that the only way to preserve the present military stalemate and prevent a Jewish military victory is by preventing the lifting of the embargo. British intelligence does not expect any peace to result and is concentrating its efforts to convince the U. S. to maintain the embargo. As usual, they are using the known Russian expansionist ambitions as the bogey.

British intelligence has been correctly pointing out that the pro-British rulers of the Arab states are shaky and that a defeat would easily topple many a regime. They then bring up the possibility of those re-

gimes being replaced by Stalinists or by extreme nationalists who would play the Kremlin game. They are trying to convince the U. S. not to lift the embargo and to use its power to force a solution favorable to the Arabs, or at least giving them enough to save face. Most of official Washington is inclined to listen favorably to such talk.

In the meantime the political schemers have sharpened their pencils and are drawing up any number of elaborate solutions. Many of their schemes NOW begin by recognizing the existence of Israel and devising ways to bribe the Arab rulers into accepting this fact. One such proposal envisages partitioning the Arab portions of Palestine between Egypt, Transjordan and Syria. However, the main speculation revolves around Abdullah. Walter Lippman writes that there are only two military powers in Palestine—Israel and Abdullah. He therefore proposes that all of non-Jewish Palestine be given to this autocratic monarch of Transjordan without consulting the population. The Jewish state and enlarged Transjordan are then to be joined in a political confederation and an economic union.

Washington undoubtedly hopes for such a solution, provided that Abdullah will guarantee American interests. From an imperialist point of view and from short-term Zionist real-politik, this would undoubtedly be the best solution. It is, however, totally unacceptable to Jews and to all anti-imperialists and to Arab progressives. For Jews, it would only strengthen the hand of ambitious Abdullah, who will not and cannot be satisfied with Arab Palestine. Once having digested Arab Palestine and assumed leadership of the Moslem world, he would find as his immediate political and strategic need—the sea coast. For Arab progressives it can mean only delay in the essential need for the democratization of Arab political life by arbitrarily submitting Palestine to the despotism of an absolute monarch. To anti-imperialists it means helping Great Britain in building up its prime tool for influence in the Near East.

ISSUE OF EMBARGO

While the American politicians talk compromise, the Arab rulers caught in the web of their lying propaganda about victories in Palestine and under the pressure of the extreme nationalists, have refused to recognize or negotiate on the basis of the existence of the state of Israel. They have gone so far as to refuse to sit down at one table with Jewish representatives. They hope that with the aid of the British they can once again change "intransigent" Harry's mind on Palestine. If worse comes to worse, they can rely on middleheads like Henry Wallace to prevent lifting of the embargo.

It is clear that even from an imperialist point of view, the only way

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The Wallace Voters—What's Their Makeup?

By JACK BRAD

There are two reasons why the recent Roper polls on Wallace's strength deserve attention. First, the Daily Worker and the Wallace party heralded the results of this poll in advance, albeit they anticipated a bit too much. Secondly, the Roper poll has a reputation for high accuracy in the field.

Roper estimates Wallace's national voting strength at between 2 to 4 million votes, depending upon his opponents. His sector of the 60 million voters of the nation is gauged at 6.3 per cent. However, only 3.5 per cent of the national total would support him against any candidate of either capitalist party.

Another test of the intensity of his support is seen in the results of the question: "If Wallace changed his mind and decided not to run, whom do you think you would be likely to favor—Truman or Dewey, Stassen, Taft, etc.?" 38.2 per cent would vote for Truman, and 31.2 per cent would vote for any Republican candidate, and only 18.7 per cent of all of Wallace's potential voters would vote for neither party. It is significant that Wallace seems to be drawing as many votes from the Republican as from the Democratic Party. This may be due to his undoubted drawing power among Negroes, although the poll did not investigate this.

The magnitude of Wallace's support is considerably lower than that of La Follette's third party in 1924, which received 17 per cent of the votes. Although it is not yet November, and allowing for the poll's inaccuracy, a 250 per cent increase in support is unlikely, and in any case, this present estimate is a far cry indeed from the official estimates of the Daily Worker—which at various times gave Wallace 11 to 15 million votes—not to mention the deliberately circulated rumors in Stalinist European circles actually claiming a Wallace election victory.

However, it is the quality of the support that is of greatest interest. It is apparent that only a small fraction, 18.7 per cent of his 4 million maximum voting strength, is so zealous and ardent in its support that it would reject all other candidates even if Wallace were out of the picture.

This seems to be in striking contrast to other known facts. For example, in a poll of degree of support made in March, Roper repeated: "Without doubt, whatever minority support Mr. Wallace has acquired represents the most wholehearted backing of any candidate." Also, Wallace's meetings are usually well attended, and are certainly well contributed to. On his most recent trip he garnered \$250,000. While a

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Government Swings T-H Ax on Sea Strike!

Detroit Roused As Cop Kills Negro Youth

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, June 12—The shocking and brutal killing of a 15-year-old Negro youth—the fourth such case in the past year—at the hands of Detroit cops last week has raised tempers to an explosive pitch in this industrial center, and sharpened an already acute political crisis.

Over 3,000 Negroes and many whites attended the funeral of Lebu Mosely, the youth killed by the cops, in protest over the "legal lynchings" that continue here. Not very long ago, a 13-year-old Negro boy was shot and killed by Detroit cops.

The burning indignation, especially in the Negro community, over this latest police outrage came from the fact that many witnesses testified that the two cops beat the youth terribly, after dragging him from a car (subsequently reported as stolen) and then shot him as he staggered away from their murderous slugging.

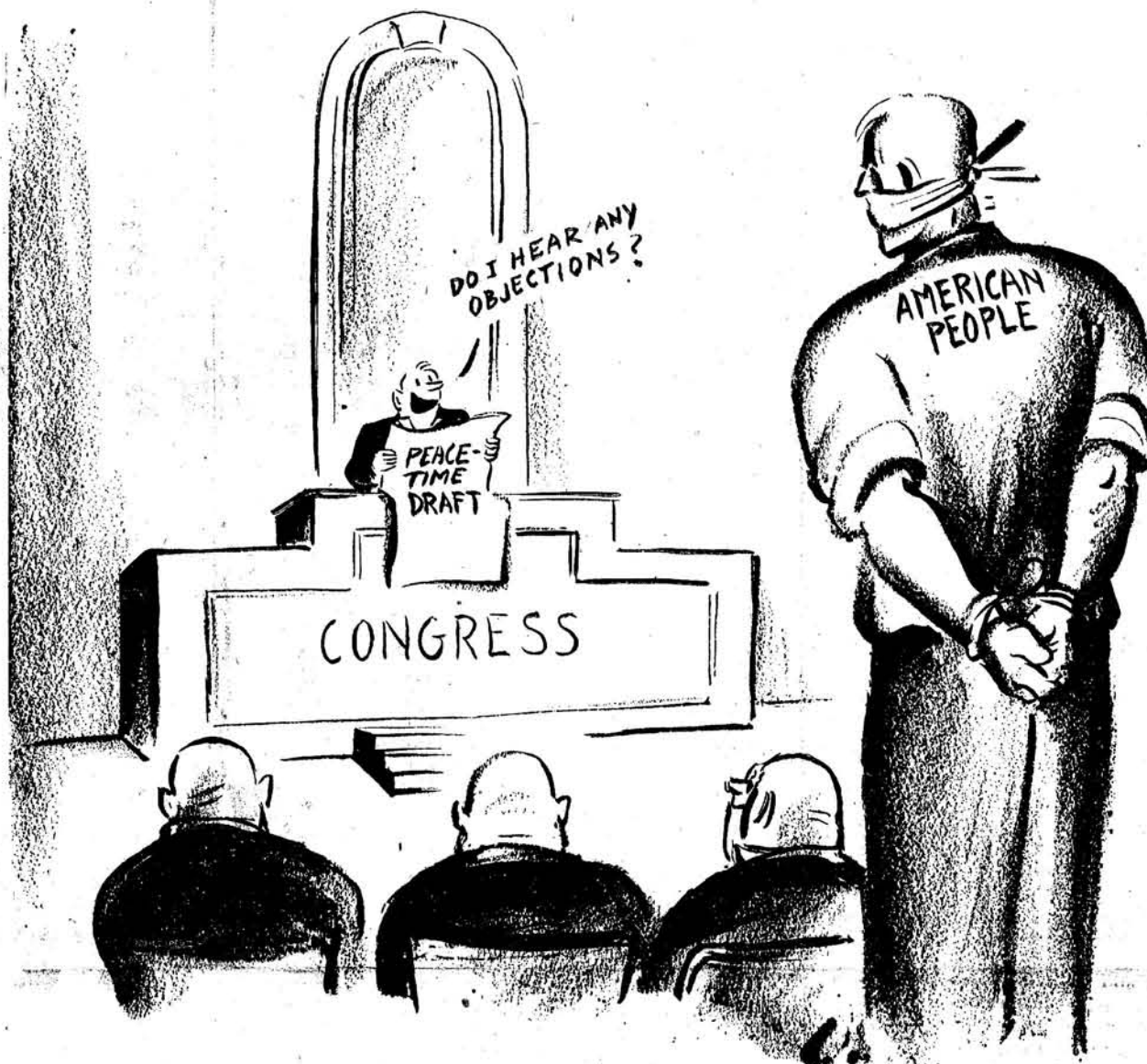
INVESTIGATION DEMANDED

The reaction to this killing was spontaneous. No one organized the funeral protest. Hundreds of Mosely's fellow students at Miller school came to the church where the services were held. Over 2,000 persons were unable to get into the church. Afterward a large part of this crowd marched to City Hall and demanded that the police be brought to trial.

Demands for an inquest forced action, and a coroner's report is sup-

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Let the People Vote on the Draft!



CP Disruption Weakens NMU; Walkout Halted

NEW YORK, June 15—Harry S. Truman's strikebreaking machine went into full gear yesterday against 100,000 seamen seeking to maintain their hiring halls and better their working conditions. Truman's Justice Department agents sought and obtained in the federal courts a restraining order preventing the seamen from backing their demands with a strike. The injunction, under the Taft-Hartley Act, bars the seamen from striking for at least 10 days, and with the likely extension, for a total of eighty days.

Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, the most important of the seven unions involved, sent telegrams to the various ports involved, advising compliance with the court order. In doing so, he was undoubtedly motivated, in large part, by the internal situation in the NMU, in which the Stalinist faction, by its "rule or ruin" tactics, has undermined the union's ability to carry on an all-out fight against the government-shipowner coalition.

His telegram noted that the injunction "serves the shipowners who have refused to bargain in good faith" and called upon the membership to maintain the union's strike apparatus in order to show "that this strikebreaking order will not be permitted to interfere with our union."

RANKS BACK CURRAN

The Stalinists attempted to continue their disruption when the "hack" (a term used by the union's ranks to designate Stalinists or Stalinist fellow travelers) New York port agent, Paul Palazzi, attempted to undermine the unity of the NMU by sending a wire to the ships in port advocating a strike unless the contract was signed. But the last vote of the union ranks on the question showed them backing Curran by a two-to-one majority.

According to the terms of the injunction, the customary hiring procedures, that is, the hiring hall, will remain in full effect during the period of the court order.

The telegram to the ports was signed by all six members of the NMU's national office, including the three Stalinist members. Evidently the pressure of the rank and file had been sufficient to force them back into line after their union-busting efforts.

The telegram went on to state that "our compliance with this restraining order does not nullify our strike vote" and that "its application is delayed only until the union is free to move."

The telegram makes it clear that the overwhelming majority of the NMU membership is prepared to carry on the struggle against the shipowners on one hand, and to eliminate the Stalinist disrupters and union-busters on the other.

Congress Speeds Enactment of Draft Legislation

Must Raise Demand for People's Referendum on Draft to Halt Militarization of U. S.

Do you remember when, ages ago, the Selective Service Act was passed in Congress by the huge majority of ONE vote? Ages ago? No, it was only yesterday, so to speak, when men were conscripted for World War II.

Today we have another Selective Service Act which has just passed the Senate by a vote of 78 to 10.

Between yesterday and today a few things have happened: a war was fought between the peace-lovers and the war-lovers, and the war-lovers were crushed, their land reduced to rubble, their economies sustained feebly by intravenous injections of aid.

There have been three years of "peace."

Now, AFTER all of this, a new draft bill has passed the Senate, THIS time by a majority of 68 votes! THIS time the bill is being voted in peacetime with no major war going on.

WAGING "PEACE"

It's obvious, isn't it? You win a war to end war by exterminating the war-lovers!

You then proceed to "wage peace."

And how do you "wage peace?" By huge appropriations for the well-known weapons of peace: atomic bombs, planes, war machinery, etc.

By conscripting men into uniforms so that they can carry the weapons of peace all over the world and deposit them where they will do the most "good."

As a result of this latest peace measure which the Senate has just

passed and which will no doubt be passed, possibly with some modifications, by the House, the following will take place:

(a) men between 19 and 25 years old inclusive will be subject to two years of military service

(b) 18-year-olds will be induced to enlist for one year training in order to avoid the two-year draft

(c) exemptions for veterans with eighteen months of service or with ninety days of service between Pearl Harbor and V-J Day PROVIDING THEY JOIN THE RESERVES; other classes of exemptions are specified as well.

What does the passage of the draft mean?

GROWTH OF MILITARISM

Nobody, except possibly all hermits over 25, was surprised by its passage.

If you build an air force, you must seek the men to fly it. If you manufacture guns, you must seek the men to use them. The proposal to re-enact the draft was as inevitable as the war itself is unavoidable if the masters of the world have their way. (It is worth noting that a bill for peacetime conscription was passed even before all the dead of the last war have been transported home for bur-

ial, was passed so easily in the Congress and accepted so readily by the press.)

Militarism is here to stay. The Senate's action, a risky one in view of the elections this year, was spurred on by the warnings from military men that America's armed strength must be built up for possible war with Russia.

With the psychology of a war with Russia, conscription becomes as normal as it was inconceivable in the U. S. only ten years ago. The victory over Nazi militarism in the last (that is, latest) war is leading to the victory of militarism at home. It is not yet on the Nazi model, by no means as complete, but the times are not YET ripe for that.

It is argued: to have peace you must be strong and therefore prepare for war.

But even if this transparent and absurd argument were true, what do we have? A "peace" which requires a permanent militarization of American life, a perpetual readiness for war. The conscription of men is only the latest step in this process.

Billion (BILLIONS, not millions) have already been appropriated for wartime purposes. Plans are already complete for the mobilization of in-

dustry when war breaks out. And now the plans are being filled out with the flesh-and-blood factor, the conscription of men.

PEOPLE'S VOICE UNHEARD

The bill has gone through the Senate and will no doubt pass through the House as well (with some amendments designed to catch votes). An amendment offered by Senator Langer to eliminate segregation in the armed forces was defeated.

Naturally, in a bill which is preparing for another war for democracy, it would be unwise to be too democratic. The military men, among others, would not like it. And so this Jim Crow war bill is on its way through.

It is time to raise the demand to let the people vote on conscription. What do the people think? It is they who are to be conscripted. Let it be their vote which will decide it.

A referendum on conscription; a referendum on the war measures. Not a referendum of Forrestal and his war-preparing colleague! But a referendum of the people! What do they think of the draft, of war preparations, of another war? Let that voice be heard!

Lay-Offs Top Problems Facing Auto Workers

Steeply Rising Cost of Living Proves Need of Escalator Clause in All UAW Contracts

DETROIT, June 14—The auto industry here resembled a storm-tossed sea this week as a succession of events hurled their impact on the seldom peaceful lives of the auto workers.

No sooner did the men in General Motors and Chrysler begin to catch their breaths from the recent strike crisis than GM announced a ten-day layoff of 200,000, followed in a few days by a two-day shutdown at Chrysler. And Ford sent home over 50,000 workers for a day apiece, all because of parts shortages. The GM layoff was attributed to a steel shortage.

On another front, the UAW-CIO mopped up its contract negotiations with Briggs, Kaiser-Frazer, Packard, Motor Products and other corporations to obtain around a 13-cent pattern. At Briggs, the union negotiators obtained a change from six paid holi-

days to a 3½ cent hourly wage increase. This helps considerably because the technicalities under which holidays are paid usually result in hundreds of thousands of dollars of wage losses for those days. Chrysler workers, for example, got cheated out of Memorial Day holiday pay, allegedly due under the contract.

RAISE PRICES
Over 5,000 tool and die workers in the many independent shops here went on strike today to squeeze more than the pattern from the jobbers who are busy with dies for 1949 models for GM and Chrysler. A brief strike at Budd Wheel for a union shop ended inconclusively, with negotiations resumed.

As everyone expected, the auto barons wasted no time in passing along the wage increases to the consumers. Ford, Packard, Hudson are

just a few of the companies that have increased car prices; in each case to keep up the rate of fantastic profits they made in 1947. In each case the UAW-CIO proved that the companies could pay higher wages, lower prices, and still make big profits. But the idea of higher wages without price increases will never be carried out until the private ownership and control of the auto industry is replaced by nationalization with workers' control.

The negotiations with the last of the Big Three, Ford, begin this week and the UAW-CIO expects to make short shrift of Ford's recent statement demanding wage cuts.

ESCALATOR CLAUSE

Meanwhile, the cost of living continues to soar in this area, with milk and meat prices going to new highs. Even the cheapest grade of meat,

hamburger, went from 47 cents a pound to 59 cents. Other meats hit the dollar mark.

These indications of a further inflationary trend serve as a reminder that only the escalator clause in contracts can begin to protect the wage increases won. Because of the failure of the UAW-CIO leadership to educate the membership to the value of the escalator clause and its last-minute switch in the GM negotiations on this point, there isn't any real enthusiasm yet for this idea. So none of the contracts negotiated besides GM has this safeguard.

Incidentally, contrary to the stupid arguments of the Stalinist press, management in auto and elsewhere has not been anxious to give workers a cost-of-living bonus clause in wage agreements. The GM settlement remains unique.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Seamen Face Government-Employer Offensive

By GORDON HASKELL
SAN FRANCISCO — By the time this copy of LABOR ACTION reaches the West Coast, the struggle of the maritime workers to retain their hiring halls and to improve their conditions will have come to a head. On June 15 the waterfront will either be tied up by a strike, or a "compromise" will have been reached between the unions and the employers, or the workers will have bowed their necks before a strike-breaking government injunction.

The key to the whole struggle in maritime is the unity of all waterfront and seafaring unions. If these unions were united behind a policy of struggle, and if they had some assurance of support from the rest of the labor movement, they could face the employers and even the government with confidence in their ability to win.

EVASION FATAL

These days the danger of strike-breaking by injunction hangs over the heads of workers in all major industries. The miners and the railroad workers have both experienced the heavy hand of the notorious Judge Goldsborough, whose injunctions are nothing but the voice of the employers speaking in deadly legal phrases. Both John L. Lewis and the railroad labor chiefs have cowered before the majesty of the employers masquerading as "the law," and have retreated. Will the maritime workers do the same?

If the answer is "yes," then a dark future opens up before every longshoreman on the West Coast and every seaman shipping out of a union hiring hall, whether he belongs to the NMU (National Maritime Union), Seafarers International Union (SIU), Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP), Marine, Cooks

and Stewards (MC&S) or Marine, Firemen and Oilers (MFOV). For one thing is certain, the employers and their government regard the hiring halls as the chief bulwarks of union strength, and they are determined to undermine or tear down these bulwarks.

If the answer is "no" . . . that is, if waterfront workers of all the unions involved stand solidly together and refuse to be blackjacked to work by a government injunction there will be a long, hard fight the result of which no one can guarantee. But it is only through this kind of a fight that the hiring halls can be kept under union control, and that the unions themselves can be preserved as organizations which are capable of defending and advancing the interests of their memberships.

If the leaders of the maritime unions really intend to save the hiring halls, they must know that in all probability this can be achieved only by striking, regardless of what the employers or their government may do. Every intelligent worker knew this weeks ago, and so did Harry Bridges, Bryson, Malone, Curran and Lundberg. Knowing this, it was the clear duty of these men to decide some time ago exactly what they would do, to sound out the rest of the labor movement for support, and to keep their memberships fully informed on all developments. Any attempt on their part to evade the issue of the probable injunction, or to act as if this were not the chief threat to the unions in their struggle with the employers meant that the unions would come to the June 15 deadline unprepared and unarmed for the struggle.

REAL UNITY ESSENTIAL

Yet it is a well known fact that until two weeks before the strike deadline these men had not unified their strategy. Coming up to the eve of the strike, the unions were disunited. And the responsibility for this can be clearly laid, first of all, on the shoulders of the cliques in the leadership of the ILWU (Longshore Workers), MC&S and NMU (National Maritime Union) (Stalinists). For years these men (Bridges, Bryson, the "hacks" of the "progressive caucus" in the NMU, and their cohorts), have played a rule or ruin game in the maritime unions. They have followed every twist and turn in the Stalinist party line as dictated not by the interests of the maritime workers but rather by the interests of the rulers in the Kremlin. This has resulted in confusion and division within the ranks of each union, and in constant friction and animosity among the various unions.

Bridges and his gang in the ILWU; Bryson and his in the MC&S and the Stalinists in the NMU always have the word "unity" on their lips. But for years every practical proposal for unity which has come from them has simply concealed a scheme to establish Stalinist domination over all waterfront and seagoing unions.

Harry Lundberg's name was included in the above list not because his union is directly involved in this beef, but because it should be. He has used the disgust of maritime workers at the antics of the Stalinist cliques in the ILWU, NMU and MC&S to strengthen the hold of his own machine on the SIU-SUP, and to keep these unions isolated from the rest of maritime labor. The seamen in these unions have been lulled into a false sense of security by the contracts they have negotiated which seem to insure their retention of the hiring hall. But they are living in a fool's paradise. If the unions whose contracts are terminating now lose control over their hiring halls either through a broken strike, or through yielding to a government injunction, the SIU-SUP will be dragged down in the general catastrophe, and that's for sure!

Disunity is the great weakness of the waterfront. But it is a weakness which can and must be healed! LABOR ACTION hopes sincerely that by June 15 the pressure of the memberships of all the unions involved will have forced their leaderships to close ranks, to plan a common strategy, and to initiate an all-out struggle which will strike the first and death-dealing blow to strikebreaking by injunction. If unity in this struggle is achieved by maritime labor, we are certain that workers in allied industries, that all good union men in all industries, will rally to the active support of their seafaring and waterfront brothers.

New York Workers Party Links Mundt-Nixon Bill With T-H Act

The following resolution was sent by the Workers Party of New York to the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives:

Gentlemen:

The Workers Party, Local New York, representing working men and women in all of the major industries in this city, roundly condemns the Mundt-Nixon Bill as a violation of the basic rights of free thought and freedom of association. We consider this bill a reactionary measure designed to strengthen the power of the financiers and industrialists in their vicious anti-labor campaign. The Mundt-Nixon Bill is the other side of the same coin as the infamous Taft-Hartley Act. We join with the labor movement in condemning it.

The Workers Party is opposed to the politics, methods and program of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Even while the American government and its bi-partisan war policy made its wartime peace with Stalin, our party continued to fight Stalinism. However, we are opposed to government repressions in no matter what name, when such repressions can be utilized against the labor movement.

Stalinism will and can be fought by the working people themselves, inside their unions and other organizations. Reactionary Congressmen cannot be allies in this fight.

Very truly yours,

Jack BRAD, Chairman New York Local Workers Party

AFL Declares Its Opposition To Mundt Bill

The American Federation of Labor has gone on record against enactment of the Mundt-Nixon bill.

Lewis G. Hines, national legislative representative for the AFL, in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, declared the AFL believes "there are serious implications in the Mundt-Nixon bill that would infringe upon our civil liberties and might conceivably be detrimental to our labor unions."

In lieu of the proposed legislation to control communists, Mr. Hines recommended enactment of a vigorous social-justice program and repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

Voicing the objections of the AFL to the proposed bill, Hines said:

"The bill as a whole is objectionable. For one thing, the definitions are so broad and loosely worded that it would be almost impossible for any organization, such as, for instance, the American Civil Liberties Union, to know whether or not it might be adjudged a communist organization and thus subject to the calumnies and restrictions of the act. . . ."

"The attorney general is given unprecedented powers to outlaw organizations and to require production of records, membership lists and documents in support of his administrative hearing."

"The principle of guilt by association is, for the first time, brought into existence in the American way of life, a principle which heretofore has been considered one advocated only by the very totalitarian dictatorships which it is the purported purpose of the bill to proscribe."

"Furthermore, the entire principle of requiring registration as a condition to the exercise of civil liberties would seem to be contrary to the principles announced by the Supreme Court."

As a means of combating the Communist Party, Mr. Hines urged action by Congress to enact legislation "to improve the conditions of the common men and women of America."

Senate Committee Urged to Oppose Mundt-Nixon Bill

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—The Workers Defense League has called upon Senator Alexander Wiley's Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee to oppose the Mundt-Nixon bill.

"This bill denies basic rights to persons solely because of their opinions and associations," Rowland Watts, national WDL secretary, wrote Senator Wiley. "The WDL, a non-communist labor defense agency, is of the viewpoint that democracy cannot be maintained if a totalitarian measure such as the Mundt bill is adopted."

Editorial in "719 News" Is Lead to Other Locals

The following appeared as an editorial in the newspaper of the UAW's Electro-Motive Local. It is, in our opinion, an excellent summation of what the union's agreement with GM means, and we are, accordingly, reprinting it.

The agreement signed on May 25 between the GM Corporation and the Top Bargaining Committee of our union makes for certain observations that must be brought home to all our thinking members.

First, the agreement was a victory, let no one put a damper on that. The negotiations took place while the Steel Union had not even picked up one cent in wage increases, when the Packinghouse workers had lost their strike, and were fighting for their very existence. When union after union faced stiff opposition and more stringent counter demands from companies than had heretofore been seen since the inception of the CIO.

To add grief to this already tough situation, three big locals—Pontiac's Yellow Coach and Truck, Lansing's Oldsmobile, and Flint's Buick locals voted against strike authorization. There are some people who have said that was not so bad, it proved to the company that the vote was serious and democratic. However, the top committee has testified that the reports of these locals' vote, took the wind out of the union sails, and the conduct of those locals who spoke against the desire of the GM conference should be, and has been, condemned.

In the face of the above, plus the fact that Chrysler was out on the streets, the union produced a wage proposal that very few people had expected without a battle. The 11 cents to be sure will not cut much into GM's terrific \$90 million take in the first three months of this year, or to make us GM workers keep abreast with the high cost of living, but the increase is tied up with the "Escalator clause" something that we at Local 719 can be proud of, because we have advocated that for years.

The Escalator clause will allow us at least to keep up with the rising cost of living. Even if the cost of living drops our real wages will mean more in what we can actually purchase. Right now the BLS index reads 169.2, the highest in the history of the country. All the workers in the shop can see the value of the "sliding scale."

One of the dangerous developments since the recent settlement has been a conscious attempt by the daily papers to be it in Detroit, Flint, or Chicago to build up the company as a model of virtue. An editorial in the Chicago Sun-Times of May 28 which practically drooled about the company characterized this sort of thinking. We on our part know that the company agreed to the contract only because of our union's show of strength (the strike vote) plus the fact that the company could not justify its huge profits in the face of a strike. We cannot overlook the months of fruitless negotiations that preceded the settlement.

Yes, the contract was a victory! The workers in the shop are glad that a strike was not necessary. The rising cost of living had eaten up our savings, we had no reserve to last out a long strike. The union itself did not have sufficient financial reserves for a long battle. The viciousness of the Taft-Hartley Law was beginning to be felt. We were in this position because we had had engines running on only one side of a double track. What we had won on the picket lines in 1946 had been taken away from us in Washington. What we need now is to get political action started. The only political action that means anything is the FORMATION OF AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. We have obtained the Escalator clause—Local 719 now looks forward to the completing of the rest of our program for Labor in the United States.—From "The 719 News," published by Electro-Motor Diesel Workers Local of the UAW.

Detroit Cop Kills Negro

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posed to be made public next Wednesday. Meanwhile, the atrocity has been given such wide attention that Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy announced today the suspension of the two policemen involved. They are Patrolmen Louis Melasi and John Boland.

Of course, the Communist Party was quick to exploit this situation. They issued a leaflet blasting Detroit's killer cops and they were prominent at the funeral services.

As a result, the daily newspapers are trying to divert the whole situation into a "red scare" and thus avoid the real problem, which is the policy and conduct of the Detroit police department under the direction of Harry S. Toy, the police commissioner.

In this despicable attempt to avoid police responsibility, the newspapers are being aided by some reactionaries and other people who should know better.

Police Commissioner Toy long ago gave "shoot to kill" orders, and Detroit cops are very quick-triggered. The Negro press is filled constantly with stories of police brutality to Negro prisoners. The Detroit police department demonstrated its vicious Jim Crow feelings in the race riots in 1943.

Commissioner Toy repeatedly has made irresponsible statements against "reds," has made anti-Semitic state-

ments and even declared publicly that Henry Wallace supporters should be shot. He amended the last statement, after criticism arose, that he meant after a trial!

The political responsibility for the death of this Negro youth rests in the first place on Toy. His removal should be demanded, and obtained. As a matter of fact, however, Toy's suspension of the two cops is an attempt on his part to avoid any such move, and make the two policemen alone the "scapegoats" for his policies.

The task of cleaning up this scandalous situation belongs not to the agitation of the Communist Party, but to the powerful United Automobile Workers, CIO. All the FEPC work of the UAW-CIO becomes a mockery if the union avoids plunging into this fight against police brutality. Until the union movement becomes the most active and aggressive fighter against Jim Crow in every phase of Detroit life, the Communist Party is going to utilize these tragedies, and wailing and gnashing of teeth by opponents of the Communist Party are just so much hypocritical hog-wash. The Negro people have every right to demand that the UAW-CIO take the leadership in this fight, and if the union movement doesn't, again gains the Communist Party makes are the responsibility of the union movement.

CHALLENGE TO UAW

The kind of indignation which swept the unions over the attempted murder of Walter Reuther should be aroused over every killing of a human being, no matter what his race, creed or color, when injustice and lynch law are involved.

The union movement should have nothing but contempt for the kind of statements issued by Oscar Cohen, executive secretary of the Jewish Community Council, in connection with the Moseley killing. Cohen said: "We have a feeling the Communists are going to provoke a riot, and if the situation does not arise spontaneously—which it might because of the feeling in that neighborhood—the Communists will attempt to pro-

Judge Times His Decision for Opening of Jim Crow Pool

EAST RUTHERFORD, N. J. (WDL)—District Judge Dominick Marconi waited two and a half months until the day before the opening of Palisades Pool to dismiss a case in which Melba Valle, a Negro, charged she had been refused admission last summer in violation of the state law. He had heard the case early in February. Then, contrary to customary procedure, Judge Marconi refused to give a copy of his 10-page decision to Hiram Eifenbein, Workers Defense League attorney who handled Miss Valle's case. He told Eifenbein that he would have to send over a stenographer to copy it, since he had given all copies to the press. Eifenbein is confident of a reversal on appeal.

On the day the pool opened, interracial groups from the Committee of Racial Equality found that the pool's Jim Crow policy still prevails. The whites were admitted but the Negroes were barred. Following the establishment of these cases, which will be taken to court by Eifenbein, James Peck, WDL news editor, and Irving Ravin picketed unmolested the Cliffside Park entrance to Palisades Park where last summer Police Chief Frank Borrell maintained an ironclad ban on picketing.

Want a House?

"Development of small but exclusive country estates on the 'club plan' seems to be catching on. The latest colony of this type to be announced is Windmill Farm, planned for 500 families, near Armonk, in Westchester County. Carlos M. Paterno is sponsoring this project. For the first few fortunate "club members" at Windmill Farm, Mr. Paterno already has 10 fine homes well under way, to be finished this summer. Prices will range from \$35,000 to \$45,000 for these dwellings."—N. Y. World-Telegram, June 14, 1948.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

SWP Line on UAW Too Much for Him

Dear Editor: I believe some of your readers will be interested in a rather hair-raising experience I had last night at a public meeting of the Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party, whose views are reflected in The Militant. The main presentation, a speech on current developments in the American labor scene, was not given by any ordinary rank and file party member, but rather by the branch organizer and leader, Sam Marcy. In discussing the latest events within the UAW, he said that the UAW-GM settlement was only a "crumb" given to the workers under "fortuitous circumstances" through the "good graces" of General Motors. His source for this self-professed Marxist analysis was none other than that Pegler of the labor movement, Victor Riesel! No other reason whatsoever, be-

yond the above-mentioned, "fortuitous circumstances" and "good graces" was given in explanation of the UAW-GM settlement. Had a strike taken place at Chrysler by the UAW? No mention whatsoever; and this in spite of a speech, slightly over an hour in length, in which strike after strike, big ones and small ones, that have occurred in recent months, was analyzed by the speaker. Had a strike vote been taken in GM? Not a word. Had the UAW leaders told GM that the workers would not trespass on company property after May 28? Completely ignored. Why hadn't GM offered its "good graces" to the UAW BEFORE the Chrysler strike and the GM strike vote? Complete silence.

Let one be deceived, these omissions were not oversights. The speaker simply ignored the facts when they did not fit a political line, and the political line of the Socialist Workers Party is that the leadership of the UAW is among the most reactionary and class collaborationist in the American labor movement. How

therefore could such a leadership conduct a militant coordinated fight and break through big business's no-wage-increase policy?

Through still another omission, the speaker did his own party a disservice, for he even failed to mention that the UAW had secured an escalator clause from GM. Again, how could a "reactionary" leadership achieve a demand which the SWP, among others, have considered to be among the most progressive steps the labor movement can take?

Only after being prodded by a questioner did the speaker mention that the UAW had secured the escalator clause, but he immediately denounced it as being totally inadequate and practically valueless. This gem from a spokesman of a party which hailed the Sinclair Oil workers' escalator clause which, unlike the GM escalator clause, had no floor under which wages could not fall, and unlike the GM agreement had no increases added to the basic wage structure. Incidentally, the inferior oil

workers' escalator clause was achieved during a time of labor militancy, unlike the present period.

The writer of this letter can appreciate the wonderment that this episode creates in his readers. It is difficult to comprehend that it could take place. The cold, brutal fact is—it did. A political line not based on living facts can only lead to petty, factional sniping.

Comradely,

M., Buffalo, June 13

P.S.—Is it any wonder that under such leadership the Buffalo branch of the SWP recently lost both mem-

Take Home Pay

"Hunt Foods gave each employee with six months or more service a subscription to Life so its workers could see Hunt's weekly ads."—Advertising Age, May, 1948.

bers and sympathizers to the Workers Party? P.P.S.—Is it any wonder that, having such a line, the Buffalo branch of the SWP refused to accept the challenge of the Workers Party to a public debate on the UAW policies of each organization?

Check your NAME—ADDRESS—CITY—ZONE—STATE appearing on the upper left-hand corner of page one. If there are any mistakes or if anything is left out of the address, especially the ZONE NUMBER, cut out your name and address and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed.

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BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Public forums every second Friday of each month. Discussion group on remaining Friday evenings.
BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours, 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion groups Thursday evenings.
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Editorials

Civil Rights

In Detroit, cops killed a Negro youth. In Glendale, New Jersey, a cross was burned outside the living room window of Leroy Hutson, Negro radio engineer attached to the Army Signal Corps civilian laboratories at Camp Evans, who lives with his wife and child in what the New York Times describes as an "area of small, modest rural homes which some twenty years ago was the location of the Eastern regional headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan. He recently purchased the house from a white physician. The twelve foot burning cross brought a group of 25 armed Negroes from nearby townships to his defense. (The Hutson home is in Wall Township.) The Hutsons do not intend to move.

In Alabama, a hooded mob entered a Negro Girl Scout camp and ordered two white women who were serving as instructors to get out of town. In every state of the Union, there is an incident to match the above—beatings, killings, warnings. Not always does a group assemble rapidly enough to protect the intended victim as in New Jersey.

And in the Congress of the United States, pledged to uphold the principle that "all men are created free and equal," capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties have talked the promises of legislation to extend and enforce civil rights to death.

President Truman has done virtually nothing to promote the recommendations of the Civil Rights Report. Except talk—and with decreasing vigor at that. The Civil Rights Report is now a campaign item, not a legislative item.

The Republicans, having derided the President's conversion to civil rights, and promised real legislation of an anti-poll tax bill, an anti-lynching bill, and similar bills, have achieved exactly nothing. Except to pass, in the Senate, with the help of Southern democrats, a draft bill that upholds army Jim Crow. Various anti-Jim Crow amendments offered by Senator Langer were rejected.

For the umpteenth time, proposals for an FEPC, for anti-lynch legislation, etc., have been laid to rest into the Congressional hopper. Nothing was done. But the promises will still come thick and fast when the election campaign gets into full swing. Each side will spill buckets of oratory proving that it made more and better promises than the other.

"All men are created equal—but some are more equal than others." The Congress of the United States continues to enforce that view.

Police Mind

As a sidelight on the above, we cite a case that titillated New York City newspaper readers for days. For days the police and the press were in full cry after an "Ape Man." The "Ape Man" had indeed committed a horrible crime. He had robbed and strangled a woman. The police had a full description of the man from various women who had also been victimized by the criminal. The criminal was a slight, mild-mannered, good-looking young man, a music student who desired to be a conductor of a symphony orchestra. How then an "Ape Man"? The young man was a Negro. And Negroes, the police reckon, are apes. There is a lot more to the story. The young man was mentally ill. He had committed a similar crime while serving in the army in France. He had been paroled from a twenty-year sentence without psychiatric treatment. The police did not catch him. His father brought the police to the house, troubled by his son's strange behavior. The young man immediately confessed to the murder.

The police did not believe him, until he finally proved it. But the police report to the press boasted of how the police had tracked down a dangerous criminal, and grilled him for hours until he admitted the crime. The "grilling," in actuality, took the hours that the young man—

who was sick, who had previously asked his mother to take him to a psychiatric clinic—tried to convince the police of his guilt. The police did not catch him. But they had a description of a slight, young Negro. And they described him as an "Ape Man." Later they tried to alibi that the description was invented to lure the criminal into a trap. The criminal, however, fell into no trap. The police, however, did—the trap of their own bigoted, ape-like minds.

No Choice

A lot of newspaper heat is being generated these days about the coming conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties in Philadelphia. There is a lot of hoopla as to which of the tweedledees or dums will get the nomination in their respective parties. As a matter of political curiosity and interest, it is worth following the antics of the conventions. It's always a good thing to know what goes on in the enemy camp. Beyond that, however, we advise our readers to remember that the Republicans drafted and passed the Taft-Hartley Act, and that the Democrats, through their presidential incumbent, Harry (what's he doing out of Missouri?) Truman, restored Government by Injunction. Nothing to choose from there!

Two Purgers

A. A. Berle, chairman of the New York Liberal Party, is an anti-Stalinist liberal. Klement Gottwald, head of the Czech Communist Party and new fuchrer of that unfortunate country, is a Stalinist. What can they possibly have in common? According to Berle, in fact, the struggle for the world is the struggle between American democracy and Russian totalitarianism—two diametrically opposite ideologies locked in a death grapple. So he says.

But we look at a recent speech by Berle and we look at a recent announcement from Czechoslovakia—and we wonder. Understand: we're not coming right out and brashly saying that there isn't any difference between them—the saints forbid that we should be so offensive!—but we'll be darned if we can see what the difference is.

At the recent hatworkers' convention, Berle (clearly labeled "liberal") spoke his piece on the Mundt-Nixon bill, which proposes to suppress a few basic civil liberties under the guise of combating the Communist Party. He said:

"I do not share the general outcry against it. In my judgment Congressman Nixon tried to do a serious job. I feel, too, that the bill is not ripe yet and needs some serious improvements, but I will be everlastingly damned if I don't see why we shouldn't have a pure food and drug bill for politics as we do for food. What goes into people's heads is just as important as what goes into their stomachs." (Our emphasis.)

Now we have a feeling we'd be insulting our readers if we laboriously explained the difference between thought control and drug control, between banning the dissemination of ideas and banning the sale of opium, or between the right to free speech and the right to put poisonous adulterants in soup. Suffice it to suggest this:

If pure Food and Drug Administration decided that trium is a harmful irritant in toothpaste and Berle disagreed, he might seek to adduce evidence and argument to have his own opinion adopted instead of the administration's. But if the Pure Thought Administration controlled not only drugs but opinions themselves, there could never be any possibility of correction. Freedom of opinion and freedom of speech in a real democracy is the regulator which alone makes it permissible to grant the government power of control over ANYTHING ELSE.

Now not only Berle but also the Czech Stalinists disagree with such views on democracy. The New York Times for June 13 reported that the Czech government was instituting a purge of "books devoid of literary worth." They were not going to sit idly by and permit the taste and thought of their people to be corrupted just because some author and publisher take it into their heads to issue a "worthless" discussion of—say—democracy.

"All private, cooperative or other libraries accessible to the public will be suppressed under a new library law now in preparation," says the Times. The model for the new library system will be Russia, said Dr. Jaroslav Frey. Who will determine this delicate question of "literary worth"? The officials, of course.

This is totalitarianism, its heart and soul. Unpleasant excesses (like killing persistently "worthless" litterateurs, or putting impure thought purveyors in concentration camps) are only the inevitable means of enforcing this essence of totalitarianism.

Berle is against the murder of political opponents and concentration camps; in fact, he is horrified by them. All he is advocating is... the essence of totalitarianism.

WORLD POLITICS

The Western Germany Monstrosity

Three years after the end of the war, the formal partition of Germany into eastern and western sectors has become a certainty, an established fact. After three months of secret negotiations, the three occupation powers of the Western zones (America, France and England), as well as the three Benelux nations (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg), have signed a pact on the future of their section. This pact must now be ratified by the Six Powers present at the London Conference.

Although a sharp propaganda struggle will take place in the French National Assembly, with a joining together of the de Gaulist and Stalinist forces to oppose ratification, there is no question but that all powers, including France, will agree to the terms. The London Pact, then, will become the law of the land and a truncated Germany, split between the Allies (45 million German population) and Stalinist Russia (17 million Germans) will result.

TERMS OF THE SIX POWER PACT

What are the essential terms of the pact? (1) Creation of a decentralized Federal German Government by early next year, under over-all Western Powers controls, and brought into being step by step: a conference of top German political figures, a constituent assembly elected by September 1, a constitution written under Allied tutelage to be voted upon, etc.

(2) Continued and indefinite occupation of all zones of Western Germany, even under the so-called independent, self-governing German Federation.

(3) Creation of an international authority, consisting of Americans, French, English and Benelux representatives, with German "advisors," to control the use of the Ruhr's production of coal, coke and steel in accord with the role assigned to Germany under the Marshall Plan. The Big Three have the decisive vote on this international body, and the Big Two (America and England), by controlling votes from their respective zones, actually have a majority of 8 out of 15 possible votes!

(4) Allied and military government control at top levels shall remain in strict force during the entire period of the Pact's operation—that is, the indefinite future. An illustration of what this means is contained in a New York Times dispatch (June 8):

"The first steps in the formation of a Western German state will be taken in Frankfurt on the Main on June 15."

"On that day... the Military Governors of United States, British and French zones of occupation, will meet the State Presidents of the three zones. They will authorize the German leaders to call a constituent Assembly to write a constitution for the state and will outline to them the type of constitution on which the three Western powers agreed at the recent London conference."

Such is the essence of the new Six Power pact. What has been the general reaction to it, particularly among the Germans and also the Russians? Except for the most conservative and provincial German politicians—those, for example, among the corrupt politicians of Bavaria whose real interest lies in an autonomous Bavarian state—the proposals have aroused nothing but dismay, hostility and, at best, reluctant acceptance. The universal reaction was that an alien solution, meaning the definitive division of the German nation, was being shoved down their throats by foreign powers. The most backward forces of provincial autonomy and decentralization are encouraged—actions which can only lead to further disintegration of the German nationality. The control over Germany's richest area, the Ruhr, was being taken out of the hands of the nation and turned over to foreign powers. Even the Social Democratic Party, which has collaborated everywhere with the military governments, labeled the Pact "a one-sided foreign decision which lies beyond any German responsibility." The general attitude, however, is that little or nothing can be done about the matter.

RUSSIANS CREATE OWN SET-UP

The Russians and their Stalinist supporters in the SED party have naturally reacted more sharply and openly. On one level, the Russians have resumed their

sniping warfare to force the Allies from Berlin and redoubled their terrorization of the Berlin population. More important, the Russians have indicated their political and governmental response to the moves of their Allies. The Presidium of the "People's Congress"—organized by the Russians—denounced the Pact as "a final step in the dismemberment of Germany" and then proceeded to add its bit to this final dismemberment by proclaiming itself as "the sole existing all-German (1) and democratic representative of our people."

The next step will be to announce that their People's Congress is the all-German government, thus outbidding the Allied Constituent Assembly in brazenness and contempt for the German people. The Stalinist party will henceforth campaign in western Germany for adherence to this alleged all-German government created and blessed by Moscow. In contrast with western Germany's decentralized regime, Stalinist eastern Germany will be a highly centralized state apparatus, organized along the approved 1948 totalitarian models of the GPU and the Kremlin, and with the perspective of expanding and seizing power over Allied Germany.

The proposed Pact is reactionary, imperialist, undemocratic and vicious in each of its points. Its indignant rejection by the German people is entirely correct and any political movement that accepted it would place itself in an impossible position. The immediate motive for these proposals is the necessity for ending the drift in German politics, and providing some form of state framework for the carrying out of western Germany's economic role in the Marshall Plan. The Ruhr, above all, must provide the steel and coal required by France to rebuild its economic base in Lorraine, northern France and the Saar. If western Europe and France are to be stabilized, and provided once more with sufficient military strength and power to stand up against a possible Russian march, then the economy of western Germany must move once more. Within the framework of this Pact for Germany, new hope is offered to the German capitalist class to participate once more in the life of Europe and the sharing of profits. That all this means a definitive division of Germany is unimportant to both the Russians and the Allies who, after three years of effort, have finally driven to this point. After all, the powers have not only split, Germany—Europe and the world as a whole have been split!

DEMOCRATIC AND NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Yet the fact remains that only in western Germany do real prospects remain for the revival of an independent German labor movement which can be influenced by revolutionary ideas. In Stalinized and terrorized eastern Germany, the GPU is supreme and the air itself strangles the possibility of political life. While maintaining its general position of complete hostility to all the forces of occupation, and demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from German soil; while pressing for a democratic, all-German constituent assembly to crown the regaining of national independence as a political goal, it is also clear that major effort on the part of any German revolutionary elements will have to be concentrated in the soon-to-be-born state of western Germany. There, above all, as an example for Stalinist Germany and as counter-blow to the fake "unity" program of the SED party, a struggle for democracy within western Germany must be conducted.

This means total rejection of the proposed Pact, together with very concrete demands in its place, such as the demand for a freely-elected, democratic Constituent Assembly instead of the entirely reactionary form of Assembly proposed; the demand that this Assembly shall submit its proposed constitution to a popular ratification and that it shall have sovereign power in western Germany, with its decisions not subject to any form of military government veto. Likewise, the proposed "internationalization" of the Ruhr, which is only a formula for robbery of its resources, must be fought under the slogan of retaining this area and its wealth as constituent parts of the German nation and its resources.

The issues with western Germany are clear, and a revolutionary group, no matter how small, can prove it has a practical and possible alternative to imperialism; an alternative bound up with democratic and national aspirations.

HENRY JUDD

Uneasy Palestine Truce

(Continued from page 1)

that the U. S. can carry out its present policy of securing a compromise acceptable to the moderate and pro-Western Zionists is to lift the embargo and prepare shipments to leave as soon as fighting is resumed.

From a socialist point of view, the raising of the embargo is and remains the most effective and concrete way the American workers can help to defend the exercise of the elementary right of self-determination by the Jews. Lifting the embargo must remain the focal point of all present demands on the U. S. government in relation to Palestine. The second demand must be for the immediate admission of DPs to Palestine. NOTHING must be allowed to interfere with providing a home for these long-suffering people.

Inside the Arab camp the Mufti and the Lebanese and the Syrians are opposed to the truce and are doing their best to break the truce and smear Abdullah's acceptance of the truce as treachery.

ISRAEL'S FACTIONS

In Israel, Social Democratic Premier Ben-Gurion has removed the commander of the Haganah, Israel Galilee, from his post purely for political purposes. Galilee was a member of the United Workers Party (a centrist Marxist and pro-Russian party formed by fusion of the Hashomer Hatzair and the Achduth Avodah). This is part of the general trend in Palestine to give the bourgeois groups much larger representation than they are entitled to according to their actual strength.

The status of the Irgun remains unclear. The Irgun has resisted absorption into the official Jewish Army, but has finally yielded. They now form a separate entity within the Jewish Army. Menahim Beigin, commander of the Irgun, in an order of the day on June 13 took leave of the Irgun in territory of Israel, but simultaneously proclaimed the contin-

ued independence of the Irgun in Jerusalem and "other places" and the creation of a "Freedom Movement" to function politically in the territory of Israel. It is still not completely clear whether the Irgun will be a separate field army in Israel and have a measure of freedom of action or will be forced to be an integral part of the official Jewish Army. The course of the political struggle will probably determine that. But one thing is sure—that the Irgun will maintain its military power and use it as a political force. The nature of the new "movement" is still unknown, but it reminds one of the de Gaulist movement in present-day France. The "fascist" revisionists will use the Irgun and its prestige acquired in resisting Britain as the axis of a political struggle for totalitarian power in Palestine.

In addition to this social struggle, the issue of pro-Russian and pro-Western alliances dominates the political scene. The Sternists are definitely committed to Russia. The Irgun and Revisionists are divided on this question, with the Irgun pro-Russian and the Revisionists undecided. At the last convention of the American Revisionists, this was the main point on the agenda and the convention voted (by a slim majority) for a pro-Western orientation. On the other hand, Dr. Chaim Weitzman, president of the Provisional Council, refused to mention Russia as one of the countries with which Israel hopes to establish friendly relations. When pressed by reporters, in an interview in Paris, he finally mentioned Poland in the East, but not Russia.

RUSSIAN GAME

"Mishmar," publication of the United Workers Party of Palestine, has raised as one of its primary political slogans the demand that Israel exchange diplomatic representation with Russia. This has been taken up by Stalinist fellow-travelers, like B. Z. Goldberg, who are using Irgun

phrasology—such as accusing Ben-Gurion of having a "Diaspora" psychology, that is, cringing in front of Western powers and not properly playing the game of power politics.

For these neo-Stalinist Machiavellians we have little concern. But we are concerned for the sincere militants in the United Workers Party who are being misled by politicians like Moshe Sneh (former Rightist) into support of the Russian imperialist camp. After placing trust in England, and being sadly disappointed, they now turn to Stalinist Russia. Their new imperialist love will be as cynical as John Bull. The available evidence proves that Russia is NOT SENDING heavy equipment to Israel, but allows her Arab Stalinist stooges to support the war against Israel; allows recruitment in Yugoslavia for the Mufti and permits Czechoslovakia to send arms to the Arab League. In addition it places the greatest barriers of ANY country on immigration into Palestine. Only last week a Mizrahi leader was sentenced to fifteen years for aiding Russians to emigrate to Palestine.

If this evidence is insufficient, a study of Stalinist hypocrisy in Ethiopia and its sell-out of the American Negro struggle for freedom during the war should convince any worker that the only hope for Jews lies not in one or another of the imperialist camps but in themselves and in their working class allies all over the world, and in the Arab world too.

But Not One Cent For Public Housing

"Today's action concluded the appropriations by the House for the military establishment, during which slightly more than \$10,000,000,000 was appropriated for defense in a twenty-hour period."—N. Y. Times, June 4, 1948.

SOUTH AFRICA

FORCES AND ISSUES IN RECENT ELECTION

By R. STONE

(Continued from last week)

The Nationalists propose to abolish the three whites who have, since 1936, been the Native Representatives in the House of Assembly. This installation had been Smuts' sly trump card to calm the questioning and critical outer world and to disorient the black masses at home, for thereby he had presented himself in liberal guise.

To smokescreen their offensive against the non-European masses, and to smash all the meager political and industrial organizations and illusory rights which still linger on, the Nationalists intend to begin with the outlawing of the Stalinist party and the relegating of colored voters to a separate roll with a limited membership and the abolition of the dummy Native Representative Council, at best a deceptive and meaningless cipher, created by Smuts only to throw dust in African eyes.

RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Nationalist victory also focuses the multitude of problems arising from the economic control of British finance capital over South Africa. The first reaction of the London Stock Exchange change to Smuts' defeat was a 25,000,000 pound panic slump in South African gold and industrial stocks.

British investors, sure of a Smuts victory which would have conferred greater security on their "safest area" for investments, were greatly perturbed at his unexpected defeat. But the victory of the traditionally anti-British Nationalists will not loosen the grip of British imperialism over South Africa.

The Nationalists are not strong enough, politically or economically, to pursue any independent policy in relation to the concentrated economic and political power of British imperialism and its agents in the country itself. In terms of over-all European support, they are still in a minority. The total votes for the United Party and Labor Party combined was 551,590 and for the Nationalists and Afrikaaner Party, 443,719. The Nationalist victory was gained by the overwhelming support of the *platteland* (rural districts), which have a preference of 30 per cent in the electoral quota, giving the Nationalists a majority of parliamentary seats.

Any moves against British capital would dislocate and reduce to chaos the economic structure of South Africa. As Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, the major gold baron of South Africa, declared: "For the gold mines it will be business as usual with the door still open for genuine British investment." (Sunday Express, London, May 30, 1948.)

The Nationalist victory might kill South Africa's mushroom industrial boom, by frightening away its chief prop, British money, now to come under close government scrutiny.

The strategic position occupied by South Africa in imperial defense will not be drastically affected. South Africa is geographically hemmed in by British possessions. Britain still maintains her protectorates (Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland) which border on the Union, still has her naval base at the southern tip of the continent in Simonstown, and surrounds South Africa from the north with a hump of colonies.

The present government will only be more discreet than was Smuts, who too openly trumpeted South Africa's affiliation to Britain.

The Nationalists will hold themselves a little dearer, bargain more with Britain, secure more concessions in tariff and other commercial matters; use South Africa's gold to maneuver between Britain and America. But they will not break the chain of empire.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VOTE

The elections in South Africa are significant in that they have pushed to the forefront a group of Calvinistic god-fearing lords of the *sjambok* whose ideological antecedents date back to the Voortrekkers of the 19th century, who packed their oxwagons to escape the slogans and practices of a liberalism that filtered half-heartedly through from Europe to the Cape. Aided by British imperialism, they were both later to destroy all signs of this early liberalism.

The election reveals most pungently that South Africa is one of the most abysmally backward and reactionary areas in the world.

But the election might serve to shake the non-white workers, tribalists, teachers, mine laborers and farm toilers, the African, colored and Indian peoples as a whole into a realization of their identity of interests, and might serve as a sharp break into their habitual conditions of existence, to give a new impulse to the speedier growth and consolidation of a united national liberation movement.

To protect themselves, as a whole, against these new attacks, and to regroup and mass themselves from that starting point, the creation of a national liberation movement will provide the means with which to fight on the whole arena for their democratic, national and social emancipation.

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The Wallace Voters—Who Are They And Why Do They Support Him?—

(Continued from page 1)

good deal of this came from Stalinist sources, still most of it represents dollars and cents from people who favor Wallace without other commitments. It is also a fact that Wallace is the only candidate who packs meetings which charge admission.

A recent article in the Sunday Times describes Wallace audiences as "people whose deeper emotions have been stirred, converts to a compelling but exciting faith." There is considerable literary flourish here. Yet as compared to the reactions at Taft or Dewey or Truman meetings, these observations are relatively true.

There appear to be, therefore, a large number of people whose vote for Wallace is a protest vote; with him out of the picture, they would vote for any of the other capitalist parties. These constitute a majority of Wallace's voting supporters. There are also those who are sincerely looking for answers. What is the new party to them? It is predominantly the symbol of Wallace himself.

THE MOVEMENT AND THE PERSONALITY

In his March poll, Roper discovered that the first and dominant reason for support to Wallace was "as a personality." The myth of Wallace as the friend of the common man, as the bringer of peace, as the man to whom even Stalin will listen, and as the man who embodies the fight for social equality—in other words the Wallace mythology—is his main source of support.

This is underscored by a survey which showed that 54 per cent of his general supporters approved the Marshall Plan, which he has made the very essence of opposition to his new party. He is the symbol of formless hopes and of many people's growing feeling of helplessness before the great forces of our time which crush and dominate but do not seem subject to the individual's will.

In this sense, Wallace's support, while it is not simply Stalinist, represents an undemocratic tendency, a desire for a messiah, for a strong man, rather than for a powerful popular movement of action. The remarkable degree to which these

hopes are concentrated in Wallace personally is strikingly illustrated by a meeting in Harlem last week.

This meeting was scheduled to hear Glen Taylor on Jim Crow. Taylor was the man who created a sensation by refusing to use a "White Only" entrance in Alabama. Yet Taylor drew an audience of a mere 500 to a hall seating 3,000. Everywhere it is true, as this writer has many times witnessed, that only where Wallace personally is present is there feverish enthusiasm and great attendance. Where this is not so, there is only the smooth efficiency of the Stalinist machine.

As a political phenomenon in America, this is comparatively new, though it has some connection with Roosevelt. While Roosevelt based his support on a large number of popular organizations as well as a mass personal following, the chief aim for which the labor leadership agitated was to give him a blank check. Instead of self-reliance, workers were taught to rely on Roosevelt, the friend of labor. Not labor for itself, but FDR, would achieve labor's aims in spite of itself; personal adulation substituted for a critical examination of policies. The Murrays, the Reuthers and the Greens assiduously cultivated such dependence instead of labor's will to conduct independent struggle. All the great achievements of the working class in struggles for 15 years were assigned to FDR. The Roosevelt myth dominated all labor policies.

NO SELF-EXPRESSION ONLY MANIPULATION

The Wallace myth is of the same order of politics. It looks toward this one man to accomplish great deeds. It does not invest the people with dignity and power of self-achievement but reduces them to the subjects of manipulation. People do not create the new party but are manipulated by it.

An outstanding example of this is to be found in the nature of the Wallace appeal to minority groups, which groups the Stalinists are adept at exploiting politically in the same manner as the Wallace party. Specific and direct appeal is made to these oppressed groups on the basis of their disabilities—segregation, Jim Crow and discrimination in all its multiform hideousness. And in return these people are asked to give Wallace a free hand in other matters, especially in foreign policy.

This explains the 54 per cent would-be Wallace voters who actually do not accept his foreign policy. Yet they would vote for him, though it means surrendering their opinions on other issues. This in spite of Wallace's constant reiteration that foreign policy is all-decisive. The argument runs: "What do I care about the communists around Wallace, or Russia's aims, so long as Wallace is anti-Jim Crow?" This is the kind of manipulation of peoples that the Stalinists and fascists have widely employed.

This is reflected in the structure of

the new party and of the Wallace movement. The movement is formless, not organized. It does not originate in thousands of organizations across the land, nor does it create new ones. The actual membership of the Wallace Stalinist party is unknown. There is no formal manner of becoming a member. Nor are there any rights of membership—such as the right to examine, discuss and criticize, and elect officers.

Wallace was the candidate of the party before the party was formed. The officials of the party were selected by Wallace and his Stalinist and PCA friends, not by conventions. Local conventions of the party begin with a finished program, candidates, officials and structure. Those who "join" the party are given work to do for Wallace and for the party, but they have no arena for their own expression—tasks without rights.

VASTLY DIFFERENT FROM A LABOR PARTY

The new party rises on a crest of extremely confused popular discontent, as is shown by the figures on the number of its supporters who would vote for a Democratic or Republican alternative to Wallace. Outstandingly absent is a mass dynamism or a consciousness of the power of the people. It does not stem from the struggle in every sphere of popular activity, as a real mass movement does, but from the "united front from below" as the basis of the new party the CP Convention, Daily Worker, (Draft Resolution of May 30, 1948.)

The Stalinists do not want a party formed by a mass wave of discontent which would sweep away old

structures and bring together many local and national movements of the people. The Draft Resolution cited above repeats and repeats the theme of "united front from below" as against the winning of organizations and leaderships. The CP also makes clear that this party is something new and unique. It is not a labor party but a "people's party." It does not have any leadership from any other sphere of national life than the Stalinists and their front organizations.

The CP resolution deliberately excludes "social-democrats" and all other elements of the labor leadership or potential leadership. It bases itself on the progressive and left-wing unions' only, i.e., the Stalinist unions. From the rest it wants only the ranks. It establishes in their own hands a monopoly of the leadership in the new party.

How strikingly different from a labor party which would bring together local militants, experienced shop stewards, local fighters for people's rights, and, in the process of becoming, would forge many new leaderships. No such dynamics are visible here. In its place is complete prarrangement. (In a subsequent article, we will examine the actual leadership of the new party by individuals.)

It is the criminal policy of the official labor leadership which leaves the masses of workers with no place to go politically in 1948. It is this stupidity which permits Wallace to have a large bloc of support in the trade unions—according to the Roper poll, 12.3 per cent of his support. A labor party, in sharp contrast to the Wallace party, would represent a great upsurge and create a new and great axis for working-class politics.

"Socialist Leader" Cites Rising Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Europe

For years, Soviet Russia led the world in freedom from race prejudice and although, since the war, the Soviet regime has occasionally circumscribed Jewish sharing in public affairs, there has been no wholesale change of attitude.

In Poland, Hungary and Rumania, the Communist-led governments have combated anti-Jewish feeling shown at times by various groups within the population, yet, in some satellite states, notorious anti-Semites have been welcomed into Communist ranks, among them General Rola-Zymlerski in Poland.

During the last two years, notably in Czechoslovakia, there has been a growing tendency on the part of prominent Communists to blame Jews, as a supposed racial group, for almost everything.

Under the Republic only a small fraction of 16,000 Jewish-owned properties confiscated by the Nazis have been restored. Such Communists as Vaclav Nosek have taken the view that if Jews are German in origin or have sought to use the German language, they should be treated like Germans.

On March 25, 1947, in a speech at Teplice, the Communist Minister of Information, M. Kopecky—now one of the biggest figures in the present dictatorship—attacked the Jews and used the words, "Jewish rabble."

The Communist Deputy, M. Kapoun, on April 13, 1947, charged that under the Republic "the Jews" ran away for "racial reasons," and that there could be no confidence in them.

On January 15, 1948, the Commu-

nist Party organ in France, *L'Humanite*, published a cartoon showing the Prime Minister with five members of the government singing the "Marseillaise" in the Chamber of Deputies and not being able to recognize the tune. Four of the men were Jews, and in the cartoon their features were emphasized in the old Nazi technique. The cartoon drew protests from other Paris papers.—Reprinted from British Socialist Leader, May 29.

Words and Prices Are Going Up

"Concerned because more than 50 per cent of the American people believed that the meat packers were trying to 'line their own pockets' rather than give the public best value, the American Meat Institute last Friday broke its first continuing public relations advertising drive. . . . To overcome this increasing animosity, the directors of the American Meat Institute instructed the institute, through its agency, to prepare a two-pronged campaign. . . . Scheduled to run indefinitely in some 400 newspapers, the copy stresses the fact that the packer is caught in the middle. . . . The AMI declined an estimate of the 1948 budget, but the 1947 budget of \$2,500,000 included only \$500,000 for the public relations phase."—Page 45, Advertising Age.

Stalinism Launches New Attack on Working Class—Liquidate Polish "Shadow Parties"

By A. RUDZIENSKI

In defending the democratic peasant movement against the terror of the NKVD (Stalin's secret police), we have always maintained the thesis that behind the fighting lines of the peasant trenches stands the line of the anti-Stalinist workers. While the Stalinist secret police were engaged in the destruction of the peasant party, the workers' movement enjoyed a relative "pieredishka" (breathing spell), since the Stalinist bureaucracy was incapable of attacking on all fronts at once. With the liquidation of the independent peasant movement, the Stalinist reaction struck out directly against the remnants of the independent workers' movement. Now we are witnessing a naked frontal attack against both the illegal opposition of the authentic PPS (Polish Socialist Party) and the pseudo-PPS, a shadow-party created by the Stalinists themselves.

When the Lublin Committee was created in 1944 as an instrument of the Russian invasion and occupation of Poland, it had to support itself on usurping groups selected by the NKVD. These groups adopted the names of the traditional parties in Poland, that is to say, of the Communist, Social-Democratic, Populist, and Democratic Parties. Notwithstanding the fact that there existed an authentic resistance movement supported by the main political tendencies in the country, these usurping groups, with the aid of Russian bayonets, imposed the falsified and artificial political structure of shadow-parties with the aim of demoralizing the masses and disorienting and breaking the anti-Nazi resistance movement of Poland.

Thus, in place of the dissolved CPP (Polish Communist Party), whose leaders had been assassinated by the NKVD, there was formed the PPR (Polish Workers Party), led by none other than the head of the NKVD and hangman of the old Communists, the current "President" of Poland, Bierut. Similarly, the pseudo-PPS was formed even while the authentic PPS in Warsaw shed its blood in struggle, even while it continued to issue its traditional organ "Robotnik." This artificial political structure manufactured by the police, this work of provocation brought into being by the Stalinists was imposed on the proletariat and the Polish people as an "ersatz" (substitute) for the authentic political structure elaborated at the end of the last century. This work of the Stalinist "Okhrana" was necessary in order to give a "political" veneer to "popular democracy" in Poland. In reality, we can objectively say that the PPR is not a political party but a police organization. As for the pseudo-PPS, instead of being a real party, it can be more accurately described as a shadow-party by means of which the Stalinist police tried to deceive, demoralize and oppress the Polish proletariat. All of this artificial structure is a gigantic provocation, an enormous Stalinist fraud.

LIQUIDATE SHADOW PARTIES

Nevertheless, in spite of this police fraud, a social phenomenon without precedent in the history of the Stalinist counter-revolution occurred in Poland. The elemental peasant opposition succeeded in breaking the police-fostered peasant organization and forming its own legal party. The old PPS attempted to do the same, trying to form an independent socialist party, but the NKVD forbade it. Nevertheless, the spontaneous opposition of the working-class masses filled the shadow-party of the pseudo-PPS with a spirit of opposition, a spirit of struggle, which threatened the bases

of the regime and the police structure of the shadow-parties. Although in the beginning, this creation of the Russian police served the regime as a means of breaking the underground resistance, with the passing of time, with the growth of a new workers' opposition to the regime, it became a danger to the Stalinist dictatorship. This phenomenon proves that there is no totalitarian terror, Nazi or Stalinist, which cannot be overcome by a workers' opposition, whether spontaneous or organized. Precisely this fact was demonstrated in both Poland and Czechoslovakia, to cite the clearest examples.

For this and other reasons, the NKVD was compelled to liquidate its own work of provocation, to liquidate the artificial structure of the shadow parties, in order to erect on their ruins the absolute rule of Stalinist totalitarianism. If on the one hand this signifies a step further along the road of Stalinist reaction, on the other hand it reveals the weakening, the narrowing of Stalinism's social base as it faces the growing workers and peasants' opposition.

For these reasons, at the last congress of the pseudo-PPS in Wroclaw (Breslau), Stalin's police agent, the secretary-general of the PPR, Gomułka raised the question of the fusion of the PPR and the pseudo-PPS in a "single workers' party." This Stalinist offensive met with open opposition on the part of the delegates. It is noteworthy that these delegates were, of course, carefully chosen before their election. Thus, one of the government parties created by the NKVD transformed itself into an exponent of the spontaneous, silent opposition of the worker masses to the regime of occupation and oppression. So paradoxical was the situation that the Stalinist agent in the pseudo-PPS, Cyrankeiwicz, also puppet-premier of the Warsaw government, was compelled to recognize the fusion of the pseudo-PPS and PPR as being premature in order not to engage in open conflict with the delegates to the congress. After this cynical maneuver, the congress was cynically deceived by the naming of a secretariat composed of Cwik as secretary-general, and Rezek and Rusinek, who gave the NKVD full guarantees of blind obedience.

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QUALIFIED ASSASSIN

This "secretary-general," Cwik, is an old "friend," an old member of the CPP, later an agent of the GPU in the left-PPS, and finally an agent of the same GPU in the London PPS during the war. Now he continues his role as an agent-provocateur in the pseudo-PPS. There are men born to be puppets, and to this class of human instruments belongs the unfortunate Wlodyslaw Cwik. Under his police rule, the pseudo-PPS will soon end in the Stalinist gas-chamber or in front of the "stienka" (wall) as a target for an assassin's bullet. And this police agent, this puppet without brain or heart, has the insolence to write in the organs of the pseudo-PPS that the "development of the party is leading to a careful scrutiny of the activities of diversionist elements recruited from the underground circles of WRN (Freedom, Equality and Independence) which will end in their complete elimination and isolation from the masses." (Robotnik-Warsaw.)

How smooth is the professional jargon of the expert assassins and hangmen, of Stalin's police dogs! Even without personally knowing this "gentleman" bespattered with Stalinist filth, by reading his writings one can at a distance detect the odor of a "technically qualified" and highly expert assassin.

While the miserable dog, Cwik, is assigned the concrete police job, the "theoretician" of the PPR, Zambrowski, member of the Politburo, declares in the official organ that the fusion of the PPR and the pseudo-PPS will constitute a new stage of unification for the workers' movement, indispensable in the march toward "popular democracy." And the other puppet-member, Cyrankeiwicz, against his own position taken at the congress, declares the necessity of a rapid fusion and attacks the authentic leaders of the real PPS, Ciolkosz and Zarembo, as "spies," "fascists" and "right-wing socialists."

MASS ARRESTS

All of this is carried out in the accompaniment of the arrests en masse of the independent socialists, of "Moscow Trials," assassinations and tortures in the prisons. The leader of the Polish trade unions in the pre-war period, Zdanowski, the PPS underground activist, Janina Paydak, wife of one of the 16 resistance leaders condemned in Moscow, Bryja, peasant leaders and many others less well known, have been assassinated by the "security" and their remains returned to their families in sealed coffins.

The physical "liquidation" of the authentic socialists and leaders of the real PPS is a preliminary condition for the "purging" of the shadow-PPS, for the carrying out of the police "scrutiny" decreed by Cwik. Horrible and loathsome is the picture presented by the Stalinist regime in Poland.

With the Stalinist turn "toward the left," which for us is only an even more profound turn toward Stalinist reaction, the Stalinist regimes in the occupied zone of Europe are moving toward a "monolithic" structure, toward an open police dictatorship. The police structure of the shadow-parties, agencies of the NKVD, has been outgrown by the spontaneous opposition of the masses who unmasked the Stalinist deception; has been outgrown by historical development, and now the NKVD is compelled to "liquidate" its own police creation.

SUPPORT OPPOSITION!

Years ago, the Trotskyist and Bukharinist opposition was liquidated without awakening spontaneous opposition among the masses. Now it is different; the liquidation of the pseudo-PPS in Poland, of the Czech Social-Democracy, is provoking an oppositionist reaction among the workers. The authentic PPS continues to struggle as much inside as outside of Poland, and has the spontaneous support of the masses. The Social-Democrats, have constituted an international socialist bureau of the parties in the Soviet zone.

It is the obligation of the revolutionary Marxists to support this movement of opposition and to defend the Social-Democrats against Stalinist persecution. It is our obligation to fight against the liquidation of the pseudo-PPS, which has become dangerous for the Stalinist dictatorship. But it is also our obligation to teach the masses that the resurrection of the old Social-Democracy is impossible, since this political force is being absorbed on the one hand by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and on the other by the pro-capitalist Labor Party, and reduced to an agency of capitalism.

Only the program of the third socialist front, the program of world socialism, can open new roads after the defeat, each day more imminent, of Stalinism.

(Translated by Abe Stein)

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PROS AND CONS: A Discussion Corner

How Shall We Look at ERP?

"Hall is looking at the world through one eye," says Judd, "and this one eye sees ONLY American imperialism." It might be presumptuous for a one-eyed person to question the vision of a man who enjoys the use of two eyes. But I gain courage in the disconcerting discovery that the original diagnostician is himself cross-eyed. It is true that optometrist Judd has two eyes, but having simultaneously moved toward his nose, each sees a different image.

"How interesting, says Judd, that Hall does not mention the danger of Stalinism and least of all of a general strategy for overcoming this danger." In an article in a forthcoming issue of the Bulletin of the Workers Party I say something about this question. Judd unsuccessfully blurs together his position on aid with a vague, shimmery hint of a promised "strategy" for fighting Stalinism under the proverbial formula: "Let not thy right eye know what thy left eye is seeing."

DOUBLE VISION

As Judd squints out of his right eye, this is what he sees: the disorganized state of Europe leads to the growth of Stalinism and Stalinist influence. Unless Europe "recovers," experiences a "revival," the working

class will be defeated by Stalinism. The socialist revolution is far off. Therefore the reconstruction of Europe, essential to the defeat of Stalinism, must come from the existing imperialist government of the United States. Therefore we are for "exacting" "aid," that is, the capitalist reconstruction of Europe, from the American bourgeoisie. What he has here is NOT a strategy for defeating Stalinism. All he is saying is that without the revival of Europe it is impossible to defeat Stalinism; that is, that no strategy is possible under these conditions.

This policy makes the American capitalist class the decisive social force in combatting Stalinism and therefore tends to transform the proletariat in all countries into a critical democratic, although "oppositionist," wing of American imperialism. If the proletariat alone can combat Stalinism, then the American capitalist class alone can strengthen the proletariat! Of course, the bourgeoisie must be prodded a bit!

But again, Judd has two eyes. As he blinks out of his left eye he sees a different world. "Do we accept the alleged humanitarian declarations of the bill or its proud boasts that it will RECONSTRUCT EUROPE AND BRING PEACE AND ORDER? We know that this is cant and hypocrisy. Nor do we have the slightest confidence in the ability of this act to accomplish what it claims it will ac-

complish. Thus we would wish to signify by our vote, no confidence in the government of the American capitalist class, no trust in its proposals, NO FAITH IN ITS ABILITY TO MAINTAIN PEACE OR RESURRECT THE EUROPE IT HELPED DESTROY." (LA statement, May 17, my emphasis.)

But if Europe must be reconstructed by American imperialism lest Stalinism conquer AND if American imperialism CANNOT reconstruct Europe, what has happened to the grand "strategy" for defeating Stalinism? Judd's left eye sees the victory of Stalinism as guaranteed and therefore the impossibility of any program for defeating it. Thus his boast "we say modestly (!) that perhaps no other publication has posed the threatening catastrophe as clearly as LABOR ACTION." Judd simply cannot decide once and for all whether the victory of Stalinism is inevitable or whether it can be stopped by the American capitalist class. He would vote for the Marshall Plan or ERP just like Goldman if his vote were decisive. But we might ask, "Didn't you just say that the existing government cannot restore European economy?"

An inmate of a lunatic asylum was found in his cell stark naked except for a silk top hat. When asked why he had taken off all his clothes he replied: "Nobody ever visits me anymore." But, the questioner continued, why are you wearing the silk top

hat? "You can always hope for the best," he replied as he proceeded to vote for the Marshall Plan.

Ben HALL

Says "Bribe" Will Not Fool Workers

I fail to see how socialists can be against the Marshall Plan. Certainly they can and even have the duty of exposing the reasons why American imperialism is putting the plan forward. We might as well be against the GM settlement with the Auto Workers because it constitutes a bribe and will make them more satisfied with capitalism. The boss press immediately after the settlement began praising "Generous Motors" for its godliness in coming to an agreement with the UAW-CIO.

The GM workers will not be fooled and will know why they received the settlement. They are more aware than ever of their economic power exercised through the UAW under the Reuther-Mazey leadership. Likewise the European workers are not fooled. They cannot fail to see the conflict between American and Soviet imperialism and to measure ERP and consider its meaning accordingly.

I think we can take a lesson from Emil Mazey, the UAW leader. In answer to a question on a radio program as to how to end strikes, he

answered that satisfying the workers' needs was only half the story and that the other half lies in the nationalizing of industry under workers' control.

To the GM workers and the European workers the same answer can be made and I would go further than Mazey and say "Take the bribe but, consider why it is given. The final answer will be given when those who produce the wealth of the world also supervise its distribution. Then we will not have to rely on an inadequate system of inadequate hand-outs."

Frank JOHNSON, Chicago.

It Could Buy a Lot of Groceries

"Publicly reported cash dividend payments by U. S. corporations in April, 1948, amounted to \$456,000,000, an increase of 14 per cent over the \$398,800,000 paid in April, 1947."—Bulletin of Commerce, U. S. Department of Commerce, May 17, 1948.

With the Spendthrifts

"First National Bank in Phoenix has hired a lobby hostess-receptionist who hands out bright new pennies to children of bank patrons."—Advertising Age, May, 1948.