Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 16, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

Spearheading the Assault!

Stalin Gives "Reply" **On Deals With Hitler**

Radio Moscow has finally spoken! Its alleged answer to the documents contained in the State Department report, "Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941," available for \$1.00 from the State Department in Washington, D. C., has been published. Purporting to answer this book, some extracts of which are given below, Radio Moscow has actually admitted the authenticity of these revelations. See editorial on page 3 of this issue of LABOR ACTION.

"Peace and **Collaboration**"

Text of Stalin's reply: "Aug. 21, 1939. To the Chancellor of the German Reich, A. Hitler. I thank you for the letter. I hope that the German-Soviet nonaggression pact will mark a decided turn for the better in the political relations between our countries.

"The people of our countries need peaceful relations with each other. The assent of the German government to the conclusion of a non-aggression pact provides the foundation for eliminating the political tension and for the establishment of peace and collaboration between our countries."

"He Knew Them Well"

Stalin's answers are given as follows:

1. The Soviet government was, of course, very much interested in present events in Europe, but he (Stalin) did not see any danger of the hegemony of any one country in Europe and still less any danger that Europe might be engulfed by Germany. Stalin observed the policy of Germany and knew several leading German statesmen well. He had not discovered any desire on their part to engulf European countries. Stalin was not of the opinion that German military successes menaced the Soviet Union and her friendly relations with Germany. These relations were not based on transient circumstances, but on the basic national interests of both countries. The so-called European balance of power had hitherto oppressed not only Germany, but also the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Soviet Union would take all measures to prevent the re-establishment of the old balance of power in Europe.

personally. . . .

The departure of Matsuoka was delayed for an hour and then took place with extraordinary ceremony. Apparently completely unexpectedly for both the Japanese and the Russians, both Stalin and Molotov appeared and greeted Matsuoka and the Japanese who were present in a remarkably friendly manner and wished them a pleasant journey. Then Stalin publicly asked for me, and when he found me he came up to me and threw is arm around my shoulders: "We must remain friends and you must now do everything to that end!"

Sometime later Stalin turned to the German acting military atta-Colonel Krebs, first made ché sure that he was a German, and then said to him: "We will remain friends with you - in any event [auf jeden Fall]!" Stalin doubtless brought about this greeting of Colonel Krebs and myself intentionally, and thereby he consciously attracted the general attention of the numerous persons who were present.

Schulenburg.

Cabinet Resignation Stirs Crisis In Japan

"In Any Event"

For the Reich Foreign Minister



The collapse of the Chicago grain and commodity markets last week sent any icy blast of fear throughout the country that these events heralded a coming "bust to the boom" and the beginning of the long-dreaded depression. As the prices of corn, wheat, oats and meat dropped their legal limit day after day, a wave of speculation on the meaning of this drop ran through the press. "Bust or continued boom", was the theme of this speculation. Pointing out that the economic power of the United States, both absolutely and relative to the rest of the world, has made of this country "the decisive factor in the whole world situation," the New York Times editorially stated the issue as follows:

"The question that has been raised in all minds, not only in the United States but throughout the world, is whether the developments of the past week are merely a necessary and healthy correction of speculatively inflated commodity prices, or whether they foreshadow a graver all-round decline which could

Mass Layoff **Hits Detroit Auto Center**

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT-The biggest mass layoffs since the great depression of the 1930s continued in this auto center this week, as two big corporations fought for monopoly control of the artificial gas supply to the city. The timing of the "gas shortage" and layoffs came somewhat suspiciously just before the UAW-CIO began its negotiations with the auto corporations for higher wages! Especially hard hit by the shutdown are Chrysler workers, over 50,000 of whom have worked only two days in two weeks! And the Chrysler union wage conference comes this week!

Except for Ford, which has its own gas plants, most of the auto industry gets its gas from the Michigan Consolidated Gas Company, one of the many subsidiaries of the Morgan-Mellon Wall Street crowd, Michigan Consolidated gets the gas it sells to the auto industry from the Panhandle Eastern Pipeline Corporation, which today has a monopoly because of its lead to a new economic depression." Does the slump in the stock, grain and commodity markets mark the end of the boom that has been going on? While it would be highly premature to say that a depression is upon us, or even that it is very close at hand, it is clear that a new phase in post-war economic development has begun. There are many factors to indicate this, and the American labor movement, now girding for its third post-war wage rise, must take these factors into account in planning its battles.

FIVE CENTS

The precarious and easily upset nature of the so-called boom has never been more clearly shown than in last week's vevents. American capitalism, planless and chaotic, reacts to pressures and events without rhyme or reason, throwing fear and disorder among the entire population. Last week President Truman announced that prices were at an all-time high in America's history. In January, food prices were 103 per cent above those of 1939, with the balance of consumers' goods at a rate of 6 per cent above the 1939 average. In the costof-living budget, only rent was within range of the 1939 rates, and this too was being steadily threatened by Congress inaction. Truman warned that a continuation of the price spiral, part of the inflationary trend,

would precipitate depression condi-

tions. He demanded enactment of his

control program. But, as Republican

rival Taft shrewdly pointed out, the

moment the markets in Chicago be-

gan their downslide, Secretary of Ag-

riculture Anderson announced the

government's intention to purchase

50,000,000 bushels of wheat, obviously

hoping to halt the slide by this step.

The truth is that Truman, for elec-

tion reasons, fears a real drop in

prices sincé - under existing condi-

tions-this could precipitate a gen-

eral panic! For capitalist Truman,

prosperity means a steadying of all

present levels-prices included. An

end to the existing bull market, he

Capitalism offers the peaks of in-

flation or the sloughs of depression

-that is the real significance behind

these events. The immediate causes

of the drop in retail prices are many:

government buying, for export pur-

poses, is petering out; farmers, over-

stocked and guilty of the greatest

hoarding in their history, are now

beginning to dump their produce on

the market, recognizing that the end

of \$3.00 a bushel wheat is at hand;

world crop conditions, for a variety

of reasons, have suddenly improved.

above all in Europe, which is expe-

riencing its mildest winter since 1921

and, finally, the element of panic

(Continued on page 2)

thinks, spells disaster.

PEAK OF INFLATION

By JACK BRAD

With the announced resignation of the Socialist coalition cabinet, a political crisis of serious dimensions impends in Japan. Immediate events must bring the crisis to a head soon. The dominant characteristic of the crisis is a powerful swing toward the right and even the beginnings of an open reactionary formation. This reverses the trend that has dominated Japanese politics since the end of the war.

The Social-Democratic, Cooperative and Democratic Parties-the three parties in the present coalition regime - have each had splits, with their more conservative elements leaving. These splits have not left these parties in their old positions, however. They, too, have been forced to the right by the growing political strength of reaction.

After conducting a vigorous faction fight inside the SDP since its reformation, in its farmers' unions, and the public press as well as in Parliament, R. Hirano led a split in the party on January 6. Hirano took with him 16 members of Parliament, thus seriously weakening the SDP's parliamentary bloc. He also split the Socialist Peasant Union and formed his

own. Hirano is an old reactionary agrarian politician who has split the SDP several times. He staunchly supported the war and was a leader of the Imperial Way Society, a semifascist grouping.

The conservative right wing leadership of the party, led by Premier Katayama, had capitulated on every serious question before Hirano's attacks, including his demand for the exclusion of the left wing from the government. This leadership is timid and completely subservient to Mac-Arthur's headquarters. During its six months in office it has attempted only one serious reconstruction measurecoal mine nationalization. But even on this issue it so compromised and retreated before the attacks of the capitalist parties that the "nationalization" program which finally emerged was actually that of these parties. In order to get support, for its coalition the SDP leadership abandoned the social-democratic pro-

gram for which it campaigned. The Katayama leadership had one apparent desire and that was for governmental office. At the national convention of the

SDP several weeks ago the left wing succeeded in obtaining a slim major-(Continued on page 2)

SWP Members Resign; Form New WP San Diego Unit

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—The undersigned sthree sympathizers of the movement were members of the minority of the who have now joined us.

Socialist Workers Party for three years. Under the belief that we could still function in that organization, despite the fact that our group, after for a year, but not a minority supthe SWP Leader Cannon had ren- "porter, only in recent weeks have I dered unity with the Workers Party impossible, decided to join the WP -we had elected to remain behind levelled at Cannon and the SWP leadin the vain hope of presenting our political differences.

We were bluntly faced with Cannon's ultimatum: capitulate to him or get out. While we had hoped to remain in the SWP and continue to function as disciplined members, built on principles that reject the Cannon, Weiss & Co. would have Leninist and Trotskyist concept of the none of it. Consequently, we were compelled to recognize the correctness of our group's policy in joining the Workers Party and we are following suit. The result of this decision is the formation of the San Die- differences without recrimination or go Branch of the Workers Party, an action accomplished with the aid of

A. Williams, L. Williams. Although a member of the SWP become fully aware of the justification for the charge of bureaucracy ership. With the two minority comrades, I went through the experience of learning the impossibility of maintaining a political opposition to the SWP leadership. It proved to me that the SWP is a monolithic organization

party. Although I have certain political differences with the WP, I have joined it for I feel it is an organization that will permit me or any other member, to discuss such subjective attacks.

D. Steelquist.

Report Reveals Jim-Crow

AGE DEMANDS

President's Civil Rights Committee Reveals Widespread Discrimination

By E R MCKINNEY

703-1PFU

This article will deal with what is called "civil rights" in the United States: specifically with the question of civil rights for Negroes as posed in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and President Truman's recent message to Congress on civil rights. These are important and signifi-

cant documents not only for what they say and recommend but primarily because they come from the head of the federal government. We also have to remember that Mr. Truman is the head of the Democratic Party. It is necessary to emphasize again, too, that the Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, is a party of the capitalist ruling class and the pronouncements of these parties are therefore not always irrelevant to an understanding of what the capitalist ruling class in the U.S. is thinking today on the question of civil rights for Negroes.

It is necessary to record some of the happenings in the field of civil. rights for Negroes. First, there is the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Then there is President Truman's message to Congress. Third, there are various and sundry decisions of the Supreme Court. Next, there are the civil rights activities and plans of the Army and Navy Departments. This is on the side of the government. In order to complete the picture and to integrate civil rights trends properly it will be necessary to discuss what is taking place in the states and in the ranks of "private enterprise."

A REVEALING REPORT

An examination of the report of the Committee on Civil Rights reveals that this committee, after due investigation and deliberation, has come to the conclusion that not only should full constitutional equality be accorded the Negro in practice, but also that the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution should be invoked in dealing with the socalled Negro problem. This report recommends the elimination of Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination throughout the nation. The report

tears away the hocus-pocus about "equal but separate accommodation" not being discriminatory." The report destroys the nonsense and sophistry put forward by advocates of Jim Crowism, which attempts to distinguish between segregation and discrimination. This particular piece of Jim Crow has become the last trench ardently held by the defenders of Jim Crow everywhere. The argument runs that if Negro travelers are given a coach identically like the white coach and each group is compelled to ride in its own coach, then no discrimination has been practiced, only segregation. If the Negro school system is just like the white school system (same curriculum, identical buildings and equipment, salaries, etc.), that is segregation, but it is not discrimination.

This, of course, is the reasoning of the social philosophy of the Supreme Court at present. You must treat them all alike, says the Supreme Court to the state of Oklahoma. If the state has law instruction for white people, like instruction must be provided for black people. In the Oklahoma case the court went so far

The Two-Party System

JERSEY CITY-Former Mayor Frank Hague, Democratic Party leader and boss, and Alfred E. Driscoll, state Republican boss and governor, simultaneously announced the selection of millionaire-industrialist Robert W. Johnson, owner of Johnson & Johnson Drug Corp., as their respective nominee for senator.

Both parties offered Johnson the nomination and each guaranteed his election. The people of New Jersey could have the free and democratic choice of voting for their millionaire senator on a Democratic or a Republican ticket.

However, the much sought - after millionaire announced his declination because of ill health. The two parties will probably now engage in a vigorous campaign against each other with rival candidates.

(Continued on page 2)

Parties.

want the "artificial barriers" removed

so that "conflict" can be replaced by

"cooperative effort." Three such in-

and the Republican and Democratic

Rights Report we quote one preg-

nant passage: "One of the principal

civil rights can thrive."

as to tell the state that it must sup-

not operate a law school for white

gation but no discrimination.

not enough to substantiate the argu-

Since there were only about two

people.

control of the pipelines through which the supply comes here.

Michigan Consolidated shut down its industrial supply, saying there was a shortage during the cold wave due to excessive use. It wants to whip up the public to back it in getting the right to build a pipeline, and drive Panhandle from business. Panhandle facilities are inadequate for long emergencies. While this fight ply law instruction for Negroes by for monopoly control continues, over the opening of the school year or 200.000 industrial workers sit home, unable to work and cutting into their rock - bottom financial reserves, if they have any.

weeks between this decision and the Under the new unemployment. scheduled date of the opening of compensation law which went into school, Oklahoma was hard pressed. effect on January 1, partial payments In order to comply, however, with are excluded, so that the thousands the letter of the decision, the state of workers who worked only two decided to open a law school for Nedays from January 21 to 31 received groes somewhere in the state capitol nothing in partial unemployment building. Texas has already planned benefits. For the week of February 1 some such makeshift. Not to be caught to 8 they receive their primary benin the meshes of Supreme Court efit rate, or must establish a new logic. Arkansas has decided to admit claim. Negroes to the graduate school of its

Plans to reopen the plants on Febuniversity but they will be placed in ruary 9 were cancelled by auto comseparate classes. There will be segrepanies when, for some "mysterious" reason, the gas shortage was not re-On this "separate but equal" prolieved, although the weather was not cedure the Civil Rights Report says: anywhere nearly as cold as predicted. "In the committee's opinion this is In fact, it looks more every day as one of the outstanding myths of though the auto companies decided American history, for it is almost this was a good excuse for a kind of always true that while indeed sepaunofficial lockout to cool off the rated, these facilities are far from unionists who are determined to fight equal. . . . If reason and history were for a living wage.

ment against segregation, recent ex-**German Meetings Protest Allied Hunger Policy**

> demonstrations against hunger and starvation on the part of millions of than in the American press.

"The central fact in Germany today is that under the absolute rule stitutions are the federal government of the victors Germany has been reduced to a slum and a penal colony." This declaration, appearing in a New Because we are concerned with York Times editorial of a few days the motivations behind the Civil ago, expresses with amazing frankness the crime of occupying imperialism in the country which once was the most highly industrialized.

The distribution of food in the Anglo-American zone, according to this same editorial, has experienced an almost complete collapse. The editorial continues that "while most European countries have recovered nearly to their pre-war production level, and sometimes beyond it, production in the Anglo-American zones is only about 40 per cent of 1936. This is not because the Germans do not want to work but because of the Allied policy of economic strangulation, which has crippled both industry and agriculture.

"The standard ration has been around 1,500 calories a day, which is less than two-thirds of the minimum necessary to maintain the health of a person not engaged in heavy physi-

periences further strengthen it. For these experiences demonstrate that segregation is an obstacle to establishing harmonious relationships among groups. They prove that where the artificial barriers which divide people and groups from 'one another are broken, tension and conflict be-By ARTHUR STEIN gin to be replaced by cooperative ef-Last week again witnessed mass fort and an environment in which

(Continued on page 2)) he are still own

It is not the function of the committee, of course, to point out that this conclusion has been known for several decades at least and also that there are individuals, groups and institutions in the nation who do not

and Sacks

Germany's population, headed by workers organized into the revived trade unions of the British and American occupation zones. The motive behind these angry demonstrations has nowhere been stated more clearly

LABOR ACTION

Part I of a Series on Civil Rights in the U.S.

Analyzing Truman Report on Jim-Crow --

(Continued from page 1)

Page 2

economic problems facing us and the rest of the world is achieving maximum production and continued prosperity. The loss of a huge, potential market for goods is a direct result of the economic discrimination which is practiced against many of our minority groups. . . . Discrimination depresses the wages and income of minority groups. As a result, their purchasing power is curtailed and markets are reduced. Reduced markets result in reduced production."

The report then quotes a statement by Eric Johnston: "Intolerance is a species of boycott and any business or job boycott is a cancer in the economic body of the nation. I repeat, intolerance is destructive; prejudice produces no wealth; discrimination is a fool's economy."

We will discuss later what we believe to be at the bottom of these new and radical civil rights proposals. We believe that the quotations above are the real key to the situation. However, we say right now that it would be foolish to come to the conclusion that these economic considerations are the SOLE motivation. Such an analysis would be entirely inadequate and therefore incorrect. The committee was concerned with the international situation, and how the U. S. looks to Europe, Asia and Africa. "Our foreign policy is designed to make the U.S. an enormous positive influence for peace and progress throughout the world. We have tried to let nothing, not even extreme political differences between ourselves and foreign nations, stand in the way of this goal. But our domestic civil rights shortcomings are a serious obstacle. . . . We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights has been an issue in world politics. . . . The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."

The Civil Rights Committee was made up of Negroes and white people. It was not, however, one of those flim-flam goodwill outfits. The committee did not discuss and then agree to come back and discuss some more because it was not possible to agree on anything else. There was a report made containing recommendations, practical and concrete recommendations. The committee did not take a "gradualist" position on the question of civil rights but said: "We believe that the time for action is now."

There are six major recommendations, each subdivided into numerous sections. These recommendations have to do with the procedure for making Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination, because of race, creed or color, illegal. This is to apply to political, economic and civil rights. If the recommendations of the committee were enacted into law by the ing to report the FEPC bill out, Hill federal government and the state

Aside from the content of the recommendations, the oustanding feature is that the committee does not propose to wait for the working of some long-time educational procedure. The committee recommends that the legislative and judicial branches of the federal and state governments deal with this question by the enactment of laws which establish civil liberties and provide penalties for their violation or abridgement. The committee makes no distinction between the North and the South, except to emphasize that it is the South which is the chief offender and the section whose offenses make federal action imperative. The committee rejects the old sophistry about "states' rights." There are no platitudes on the "decent" for the "right-thinking" white people of the South. The committee knows what it is talking about and decided to say in a forthright manner what it is talking about. The insistence of the committee on statutory action and legal action in cases where the statutes are violated is interesting. We have been exhorted, lectured and preached to for decades that such procedure is exactly what should not be done. This argument always ignored the fact that it was only in the case of the Negro's civil rights that the discovery was made that statutory and legal procedure "would do more harm than good." No one objected to laws against murder, only against laws to penalize those who murdered Negroes by lynching. The South is not against Negroes voting, but against their voting in primaries of the Democratic Party. In Mississippi, for the present, this party would not object to Negroes participating in the Republican primaries or in their own primaries. Mississippi and South Carolina Negroes are discriminated against by the Democratic Party in these states -they are only segregated.

TRUMAN'S MESSAGE The civil rights message of President Truman follows the lines of the Report of the Committee on Civil Rights. In relation to Negroes, the message makes the following recommendations to the Congress: (1) Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. If the Civil Rights Commission should do nothing more than continue the exposure of the facts in connection with the violation of civil rights in the manner of the President's committee, it will serve a useful purpose. The joint Congressional committee should include in its membership such scoundrels and demagogues as Rankin, Ellender and Maybank. Also such "liberals" and "friends of labor" as Pepper and Lister Hill. When the Senate Labor Committee was in session votvoted against and Pepper was absent.

to the usual practices of reading into statutes the personal social viewpoint of the judges or reading out of the statutes, provisions opposed by the judges, which are only implied but not expressly stated in the statute. This is what happened to the federal civil rights law of 1875 and also to numerous state civil rights acts. For example, the Superior Court of Pennsylvania, in giving its interpretation of an early civil rights law, that a theater proprietor was not violating the then existing statute if he confined Negro patrons to the gallery of his theater. He was a violator of the act only if he excluded Negroes altogether! The court said that the law did not specify that Negroes should be given any and all accommodations

"THE LAW. SIR . . ."

This, of course, is the reasoning behind the position of the Supreme Court when it decided that a public carrier must provide Negroes with "equal accommodations" but not the same accommodations as provided for white patrons. Or that a state must provide Negroes with "equal" educational opportunities but not necessarily with the same educational opportunities.

This kind of legalistic nonsense only gives light to the jibe of Dr. Johnson, whom I believe it was who said, "the law, Sir, is an ass." It also underscores the profound observation of Mr. Dooley that "the Supreme Court follows the election returns." That is to say that this type of legal

reasoning reveals the "law" as the handmaiden of the political and sociological viewpoint of the judges.

(3) Providing federal protection against lynching. Here of course is the capstone of the civil liberties struggle. In order to eliminate lynching, all other violations of civil liberties and democratic rights must be eliminated and suppressed. Lynching is only the most extreme form of Jim Crow and discrimination, the application of Jim Crow doctrines by the use of force. The way to deter Negroes from coming to the polls to vote is to charge some Negro with "rape" or with "striking a white man" and then whip up a lynching bee a few weeks before the day of voting. In order to avoid "trouble," Negroes will be expected to remain away from the polls until "normal" conditions are restored in the community.

(4) Protecting more adequately the right to vote. Before the "right to vote" is protected in the South, this right must be established. The Supreme Court has been more forthright on the issue of suffrage than on any other civil rights question. Its forthrightness of course applies only to elections where federal officers are to be selected. There are many reasons for this. Voting is considered a fundamental right of the citizen. In what part of a train or car a citizen sits or eats is, in the opinion of the court, not so fundamental. The Constitution is fairly clear on the voting issue but somewhat foggy on eating and traveling rights. It would

be interesting to speculate on what would be the position of the Supreme Court should South Carolina, for example, decide to admit Negroes to the suffrage but require them to use-separate booths for casting their ballots.

FOR AN FEPC

The fifth and sixth recommendations deal with the establishment of an FEPC and the prohibition of discrimination in interstate transportation. The whole South is opposed to both of these recommendations. A large section of Northern employers is also opposed to "fair employment practice." It is not only in connection with Negroes that this recommendation is opposed. It is in relation to Negroes that the objection is mainly directed, but in the South particularly the employers would be hampered in their opposition to unionization under such an act.

One other point in connection with any FEPC law is that unions are included in the prohibition against "unfair practices." This is a complex and difficult problem. The unions themselves, particularly the AFL unions, are largely responsible for a situation which makes it possible to include the organizations of labor in a law about discrimination against Negroes. The only effective answer of course is to say to the union, "put your own house in order."

(Continued next week: The Reaction of the Dixie Wolf Pack to the Civil Rights Report and the Civil Rights Message.)

Japanese Cabinet Resigns - -

leadership.

tion.

(Continued from page 1)

ity for its chief resolution, which called for a break with the coalition government, the formation of an all-SDP government and the projection of a "socialist" program. While this left wing is now very powerful in the reduced SDP, it is itself an alliance of several cliques, and its politics are extremely vague. Led by the veteran militants, K. Kato and M. Suzuki, this group has a strong base in the union movement, especially in the Congress of Industrial Unions.

ALL FOR OCCUPATION

The Kato-Suzuki faction suffers from great political confusion. It has followed diverse and opportunistic policies toward Stalinism. With the Harano-fascist wing, Kato followed a policy of conciliation and unity at all costs. Above all, this faction has not one word to say about the American occupation which distinguishes it from the other, factions or even the capitalist parties. This test of a correct working class program is absent everywhere in the proletarian movement. Even the Communist

trast to the 60 per cent which the cost of reconstruction on the backs SDP alone enjoyed prior to the last of the workers. elections. The Centrists, however, The conservative Democratic Party were unable to win an organizational suffered a split when it joined the victory. The party apparatus remains

SDP coalition. At that time, former in the hands of the Katayama-Nishio Premier Shidehara left the Democrats, together with a substantial fac-The convention's action of repudition. He is now considering an alliation only hastened the certainty of ance with Yoshida, leader of the Liberal Party, symbol of post-war reacthe fall of the coalition. The working tion and darling of MacArthur, Shiclass will once more be forced onto dehara has connections with the big the road of action for many of its Zaibatsu families and Yoshida is condire needs. The working class must sidered a confidante of the reactionregain the initiative which the coaliary court circles. tion deflected. Its future battles will

With the Liberal Party as its ornot be with a defeated and impotent ganizing center, this alliance would class enemy, but against a revived become the new axis of Japanese polreactionary class which has had its itics. This occurs under the shadow of confidence restored and bolstered by increasing tension in the imperialist the increasingly overt support of Mac-"cold war." Conflict between the Arthur. The probability is that with United States and Russia gives conthe fall of the tri-party government, fidence to the reactionaries that a right-wing, all-capitalist govern-America will find need for them in ment will take office. For the mothe transformation of Japan into the ment the SDP has fulfilled its funcadvanced base of American imperialism in Asia. The disintegration of the SDP and

This program offers nothing to the working class. Faced with increasing

Fisher Body Local **In Wallace Dispute**

By JOE HAUSER

Fisher Body, Cleveland, Local 45, UAW-CIO, met Sunday, January 25, for the first time in two months. The main items covered were organization drives, GM group insurance plan, negotiations and Wallace. Before a normal attendance of slightly over 100, Bert Foster, financial secretary, reported on the need for three organizational drives, involving an ex-. penditure of \$3,000. The first one is to assist in organizing the GM plant in Hamilton, Ohio, This shops does the same type of work as Fisher Body of Cleveland, but, being unorganized, pays lower rates and is taking work away from Cleveland. The second drive will be at the new Euclid Avenue plant, where the body shop and station wagon line are to be moved soon. The third will be a campaign to sign up the men in the shop for the 1948 check-off and for the union shop. On the GM group insurance plan, a communication was read from the International exposing the various provisions of the company plan. Everyone joined in denouncing the new policies, now that most of the workers have been signed up for them. The local executive board had previously failed to make any recommendations to the membership but did agree to blame the international leadership for failing to instruct the

local. It was true that the International should have provided more leadership sooner on this issue. However, the plan (exposed in a recent issue of LABOR ACTION) is so transparently a union-busting scheme that the local executive should have advised against it in time.

WALLACE ISSUE

Finally the Wallace issue was presented, though in a roundabout way. It was the last point on the agenda, with about 50 men present. Leo Fenster, recording secretary, made the motion to send delegates to a Wallace conference in Columbus. Foster attacked this procedure as evading the issue of endorsing Wallace and asked the local to take a position before sending delegates, though Foster explained he wasn't against Wallace. Fenster insisted on sending delegates now and taking up endorsement at a later date. An amendment was made for endorsement and as the hour was late it was voted to

have two speakers for and two against. DeVito spoke for the third party movement, saving he would be. for a Labor Party if we had one, but this is what we got, so let's take it. He also made the remarkable observation that since Wallace is now a millionaire, he has all he needs, has nothing to gain in politics, and so must be an honest candidate! Also for Wallace was Fenster, whose contribution to the discussion was attacking "so-called progressives" who were as much against the third party as the reactionaries, and therefore were the same as them. Izzy Weinstock spoke against Wallace and for a Labor Party, pointing out in particular that DeVito in his councilmanic campaign had boasted of being a LABOR candidate and not merely a FRIEND of labor, and that the same measure should be applied now: for labor candidates and not for friends of labor candidates. Max Schoenfeld concluded, also speaking against Wallace and for the Labor Party, stressing the need for a truly independent party based on the unions and with a program attracting other sections of the population.

The amendment endorsing Wallace passed by a voice vote, with a large minority in opposition. The vote on the main motion was so close that the chairman, Charles Kennedy, vicepresident, had to call for a second vote, when it passed by a narrow margin.

Fenster, a leading Stalinist figure in the pre-convention fight against Reuther, showed his utter contempt for the membership of the local by releasing to the press an account of the meeting which states that several hundred members of the local voted to support Henry Wallace, with only THREE dissenting votes! While no actual count was made at the time of the vote, most of those present agree that this was the largest minority vote cast in the local for a considerable period of time. However, the truth means nothing to Fenster and his gang. They are out to show that labor is for their candidate and anything goes to prove their contention. Still such reporting only serves to open the eyes of union members to the dishonesty of the Stalinists and hastens the day that an aroused membership will rid themselves of these fakers.

Protect Hunger - -

(Continued from page 1)

cal labor, and often these rations have not been fully met. Lately the official rations have been reduced to as low as 1,071 calories, and even these have fallen short in actual distribution." (Our emphasis.)

It is against this life of starvation that the German workers are striking. For though it cannot be doubted that a hypocritical agitation on the part of the Stalinists has played its role in bringing the workers into the streets, the overwhelmingly dominant reason for this, the most impressive series of workers' demonstrations since the pre-Hitler days, has been an unbearable misery. For the workers and common people of Germany, the continuing paralysis of industrial life means that there is no hope for a decent place to live, no hope for a warm suit of clothing, no hope for a satisfying meal for years to come. And though the American press reports that "the protests have been directed against the German administrators," no German worker can, fail to see that the chief culorit is the Anglo-American military machine. They rightfully see in this a blood-sucking machine and they direct their protests against it.

Clay's toleration of the strikes is a shrewdly aimed and serious blow to them. Workers in Eastern Germany, whose condition of life is hardly superior to that in the West, enjoy no such toleration!

Though the misery of their existence forces the German workers to engage in these desperate protests,

February 16, 1948

would, for the first time, have complete civic, political and economic arch-reactionaries, should be comequality legally. We are not here dealing with the question as to whether or not this is possible in the U.S. "under capitalism," or probable. We are only dealing in these articles with the various civil rights activities taking place.

governments, the Negro in the U.S. The Southern demagogues and ignoramuses, as well as the Northern pelled to face the music and have their bombast spread in the record, where it can have the widest possible distribution.

(2) Strengthening existing civil rights statutes. This is imperative in order that the courts cannot resort

Party supports the occupation The victory of the centrists on their resolution repudiating the coalition was symptomatic of the complete disillusionment of the working class with the three-party regime. In a recent popularity poll this government had the support of 15 per cent of the voters. This is in marked con-

Katayama leadership to make increasingly desperate concessions to the right. Thus the tax, wages and currency policies of the government today are in all respects identical with the policies of the Liberal Party, the party of reaction. The effects of these policies have been to place the entire burden of the defeat and the

unemployment, economic stagnation, black marketing and hunger, the worker will be forced to launch a struggle of self-defense. But one of the keys to working class politics remains the need of ousting the occupying forces. As yet, no section of the political movement has raised this slogan. That is the main weakness.

Movie Depicts Anti-Semitism

that what is needed is direct action

the intensification of the economic

crisis in the country has caused the

Stock Decline - -

(Continued from page 1) among the speculators and sundry scoundrels of the grain pits plays a role in forcing price's down.

These falling prices spell welcome news to consumers, provided they are quickly translated into lower retail prices in the stores and on the shelves. But this is not all that happens. There is every indication that big business will attempt to make use of the price drop as a propaganda lever for refusing and agitating against labor's demand for new wage increases. Prices are dropping, they will say, and that is equivalent to wage increases. Withdraw your demands! Big business will accompany this with threats of retrenchment and depression. United States News-World Report (February 13) claims that "Unemployment is the end product of a big break in commodity prices." The National City Bank of New York, in its monthly economic letter (February) says that "It would also be a good thing if the feeling of uneasiness should lead to revision of some expansion programs and postponement of some capital expenditures." How long before the UAW's be the battle-cry of the labor movement. demand for 30 cents more per hour

is labeled a stimulus to depression and unemployment? Labor must be on guard against this kind of propaganda.

Force prices still lower and continue

to fight for higher wages-this should

It is much too early to see clearly the full meaning of this sudden price decline. The great shortages that still exist, combined with the approaching Marshall Plan to keep up high export trade, preclude the possibility that a full-scale depression is about to begin. Yet, at the same time, the end of the speculative boom, based on gray and black market conditions. is probably at hand. The labor movelife ment can intervene directly in the situation and encourage the downward trend of prices. At the same time, by not relinquishing one bit in its drive for a third round raise in wages, it can bring still closer together the gap between prices and wages. In this way, too, the REAL wage of the American worker can be boosted and the present situation of scandalous, boom prosperity for the few with decreased living standards for the many can also be halted.

By GORDON HASKELL

Darryl F. Zanuck's "Gentlemen's Agreement" comes as close to a serious treatment of anti-semitism as Hollywood is likely to allow under present circumstances. Unlike "Crossfire" which portrayed anti-Semitism in its Nazi extremes as it existss in fascist and near-fascist circles in the United States, "Gentlemen's Agreement" puts its finger on the wide spread anti-Semitism among the most respectable people and institutions in our cultural, business and community

This picture deals with a young writer, Phil Green, who poses as a Jew in order to gather material for a series of articles on anti-Semitism for a liberal magazine. In a few weeks Green finds active anti-Semitism in the hiring policies of the very magazine for which he is writing. He finds anti-Semitism or the toleration of anti-Semitism in the respectable doctor who is treating his mother; in his Jewish secretary who is trying to "pass" as a Gentile and who is fearful that her comfortable position might be disturbed by the hiring of "kikey" Jews in her office; in his betrothed and the respectable middle-class circles in which she moves; in the barriers raised against his admittance to a fashionable resort or a suburban neighborhood: in rejections to applications for jobs or for admission to colleges; in his little boy's playmates who taunt him for being a "dirty Jew"; in the inability of his friend, David Goldman, to take a good job

to be said, and says it well. It even goes so far as to say that writing and talking about it, and protesting against together with those who are most

against it whenever and wherever it rears its head. Yet the kind of action it advocates is the unorganized action of the protesting moral individual. This is the only kind of action the picture could logically propose. For anti-Semitism is portrayed in "Gentlemen's Agreement" not as something which derives its driving force from the way in which our society is organized, but rather as a problem which stems from the ignorance, stupidity, bigotry and viciousness of individuals in our society.

No picture made in Hollywood can probe to the social depths of anti-Semitism or of Jim Crow in America, for to do so means to probe at the rotting heart of American capitalism. It is not just SOME colleges and universities which have racial and religious "quotas" imposed, perhaps, by individually prejudiced boards of trustees. Almost every institution of higher learning in this country which does not bar Jews and Negroes outright has such quotas. The whole government is so shot through with anti-Semitism that Jewish' officials will pass over the names of Jews who stand at the top of civil service registers, in favor of Gentiles with lower gardes or qualifications, for fear that they will be charged with favoritism.

Anti-Semitism is not solely a product of the dog-eat-dog struggle for jobs, for housing, for security and prestige in the professions and industrial and governmental bureaucracies, which is as much a part of capitalism as profits and unemployment. As a psychological fact it is perhaps equally generated by general feelings of insecurity, fear and helplessness in a tottering world which lead men to seek security by banding

guage and religion and to strike out at those who are different.

This psychological fact is well understood by fascists. Thus, their anti-Semitic propaganda does not appeal solely to people's economic needs or greeds. ("Kill the Jews and get their jobs and businesses.") It appeals to the deep need of men whose lives and prospects are hopeless to find someone, or some group, weaker than themselves or their group as 'an object on which to vent their wrath. Thus anti-Semitism and Jim Crow

will last as long as the world is tottering, as long as people are helpless, insecure and afraid, as long as men must live empty lives. Anti-Semitism and Jim Crow will disappear from society only when mankind has so mastered its destiny that security and plenty and a full life are the normal prospects for the least of its members. Though "Gentlemen's Agreement"

can urge those who see it to strike at anti-Semitism, it cannot urge them to smite it with methods adequate to the evil itself. For though anti-Semitism will die only in a society of plenty and security, its growth can be checked and its vigor sapped only by methods which strike at its social, economic and psychological roots. By this is meant: When men band togther because they are determined to abolish a social and political system leading them into a blind alley, they no longer feel hopeless or afraid. People. thus organized, need no racial or religious scapegoats on whom to vent their wrath, for their hatred is directed against the real cause of their misery. For them, anti-Semitism is to be fought not only as an evil in itself, but as a double evil because it seeks to divide their ranks and confuse their objectives. For them human brotherhood is not simply a high ideal, but a method of organization anti-Semitism are not enough, butlike themselves in appearance, lan- and a necessary condition of victory.

CLAY'S "BENEVOLENCE"

The attitude of General Clay, head of the American administration, has been one of a curious benevolence. By pretending to believe in the official myth that "German officials are responsible," Clay has been able to term these demonstrations "democratic acts of protest." Though this attitude by no means absolves the Americans from the criminal responsibility for the hunger regime, it does serve effectively to counter Russian propaganda.

The Stalinists, while sucking their own zone in a manner similar to that used in the West, have used conditions in the Anglo-American one for an end to the blood-sucking occupaa campaign of hypocritical agitation. tion.

the tragedy of the situation at present. lies in the fact that there is no indication that a movement yet exists among them capable of offering a real solution. The traditional working class par-

ties-the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists - can play no such role. We have analyzed the reactionary character of these tendencies on many occasions. In the context of the German situation today, these parties take on an especially reactionary significance: both are actually agents for the foreign imperialism which has made Germany the "slum and penal colony." The Stalinists quite openly represent the oppressor to the East, and the Social-Democrats, less openly but with equal vigor, are representing the oppressor to the West

Germany finds herself today in a state of national subjugation, and the only road to rehabilitation is the road to liberation from the foreign conquerors. If the middle class layers of the population are to be detracted from ultra - nationalist and neo - fascist movements, the working class will have to build a socialist movement whose basis must be a championing of the national liberation of the German people and the reconstruction of German industry in collaboration with the working class of the other European countries.

Only a party which repudiates all connections with the rulers in Moscow, London and Washington can claim, a right to this role. American workers can lend a helping hand to their German brothers by demanding

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because he can't get a place for his family to live. PERSONAL PROBLEM This picture says much that needs

1

Editorials **Radio Moscow Admits All!**

No doubt responding to the taunt hurled at them in last week's LABOR ACTION ("We're still waiting, Radio Moscow"), Radio Moscow has, after weeks of dirge-like silence, given its "answer" to the publication of the secret Russian-German documents by the American State Department. The answer, which could much better be referred to as a confession of guilt, has a significant lesson for all of us.

The 6,000 words of Russia's reply can be divided into two sections: that dealing with the question of the published documents, their meaning, authenticity, etc., and that dealing with other subjects. Part I consists of a few lines; Part II of many thousand words!

The documents published, says the Russian statement, "give only the German side of the picture." This astonishing statement, considering the fact that Moletov's signature was all over the place, and various secret treaties and protocols in which the German AND Russian side are clearly given (that is, Hitler gives a piece of this to Stalin, and Stalin offers that piece in return for the kindness shown him), this statement can only be considered as typical Russian hypocrisy. More important is the fact that the Stalinists in Moscow make not a single denial of the authenticity and genuineness of the documents! They whine, they complain, they call names-but they admit the documents are real, or-what amounts to the same thing-what they reveal is the full and unvarnished truth about the Hitler-Stalin imperialist war alliance. And that's enough for us

But there is more in the statement too-in fact, the bulk of it. Russia, too, has some German documents and is going to publish them. Fine, we say, let's have all of them. And what will these documents reveal? That "Hitlerite aggression became possible firstly because the United States helped Germany to establish within a short period of time a war-economic base for German aggression, and thus provided this aggression with arms." World War II, says Moscow, is really the responsibility of the Western powers. "A golden rain of American dollars" fed Hitler's munitions factories, and Moscow claims it has secret documents, concealed by America, England and France, to prove its point.

Moscow imperialism pretends a mock indignation-we're not scoundrels; you-Washington and London and Paris imperialism - are the real scoundrels! For once we think both camps have a bit of the truth. Which is what? That BOTH actually aided, in different ways, the growth and outburst of Hitlerism; that both attempted to come to terms with it and direct its edge in the other direction. Meanwhile let's have more and more of these documents, secret and otherwise. . The more that are published, the more clearly is our oft-reiterated point proved: both sides are rotten, reactionary and imperialist to the core; neither has a monopoly on hypocrisy and deceit, and honest people will equally reject the phony explanations of both. We thank Radio Moscow for its "answer," and urge it to continue talking, along with the "Voice of America."



After Gandhi's Death

Gandhi has been cremated and his ashes scattered in India's holy rivers. Hardly had this been completed than the struggle and regroupment in India's internal politics, set in motion by his death, began. The first actions of the Indian cabinet, temporarily united over the popular issue of punishing his assassins and striking a blow at communalism and violence, were to arrest various fanatic leaders of the Hindu community who, it is obvious, were involved in a widespread conspiracy and plot to force an extreme anti-Moslem position on the Indian government.

L'ABOR ACTION

The Cabinet outlawed all private organizations which had organized their own armies, and communal organizations (except the most notorious and influential of them, the Hindu Mahasabha, which can be easily understood if we refer to it as the KKK of India) based on religious "hatred and violence." The effectiveness of such a decree is more than questionable, on many grounds. In the first place, the cabinet and government have stepped in to block and halt popular mass demonstrations that began against these communal organizations. When the workers and masses in India's large cities, in their anger and indignation at the reactionary murder of the leading advocate of communal peace, attempted to destroy one of the leading sources of communal hatred, they were met with denunciation by Nehru, India's Prime Minister, and often by police shots and violence when they attempted to take matters in their own hands. This is a now familiar story, particularly with weak and unstable governments attempting to establish themselves in power.

Furthermore, the entire conservative leadership of the Congress Party, known as the High Command, is closely linked up-and always has been-with Hindu communalism in general, and the Hindu Mahasabha in particular. This holds particularly in the case of 72year-old Sardar Patel, the Congress political "boss," whose anti-Moslemism is notorious. The investigation of the crime is being conducted in secrecy and little has actually been revealed, except that the net can easily be cast over men in the top and highest places in Indian life. We predict that only popular pressure and indignation will produce all that has been uncovered. The government will make every effort to calm matters down, proceed in secrecy and not raise too much dust. A popular demand of the hour would undoubtedly be for publication of all that is known.

Finally, behind the thin front of cabinet unity, the storm of conflict is clearly brewing. Gandhi, supremely skilled at reconciling all political tendencies within the Congress (particularly in bringing Nehru to heel at, Patel's feet!) is now gone. Nehru faces the supreme political test of his career-to remain the tool of Patel and his majority in the cabinet, or to proceed on his own! It is an issue of the extreme conservative, capitalist-industrial ruling Hindu class-which more or less knows what it wants and where it is going-versus a liberal, middle class intellectual and radical whose title of India's High Priest of Confusion has been earned by many years of hard effort along such lines. Nehru is a minority in the cabinet, but a very popular face-saver for a collection of outright reactionaries. Will he capitulate and remain, or start a new opposition? No clear answer can be given to this, since much depends upon popular reactions to events, new alignments within the country, and the evolution of the present difficult economic situation. Gandhi's death ended the Gandhi epoch of India's history and began a new period whose characteristics it is much too early to see.

A RUMP GERMANY

Denv it as it will, the action taken last week by the combined British and American military governments in setting up a bizonal economic administration for the two zones is nothing less than the creation of a rump Western Germany, a major step toward the splitting, of Germany as a whole. This action, expected since the

end of the London Conference, creates an administration including an economic council and various other bodies having many economic powers. It will have no formal political powers, but, as the New York Times remarks, "... in a wrecked land where transportation, food distribution and finances are of the most urgent concern, those powers are great. Moreover, the economic administration has the form-if not the nameof a political regime."

This step means that Western Germany (later to include the tiny French zone which will form a Trizonia organization as soon as the French have been sufficiently bribed by economic concessions from the Saar and Ruhr) is now substantially unified, under imperialist control, preparatory to its being fitted into the workings of the Marshall Plan and the economic projects for Western Germany contained in that plan. Forty million Germans are being organized by the Allies against their will, for an Allied version of "unification"-that is, split.

Is this a real step toward a re-united Germany? Both zones still remain under total control of the occupying powers and 6,000,000 Germans in the French zone, together with 20,000,000 in the Russian zone are to remain split off from one another and the new Bizonia. Furthermore, the various powers of the new administration are strictly subject to Allied veto or approval and in no way constitute the powers of a sovereign, independent administration or government. All these bodies, finally, are to be elected indirectly and will function in the shadow of the occupation authorities. This is a "unity" solely to facilitate application of the Marshall Plan, which requires a minimum of organization out of the current economic chaos if any progress is to be made. Even in its rump form, the Allies will find they are beginning a process which, in the future, others - the German people themselves - will remove from their hands and complete with a real unification of the country-that is, a unification that will end the split with the Russian zone and re-establish the sovereignty of the German people.

THE FRANC'S UPS AND DOWNS

The drastic devaluation of the franc of France from a rate of 119 to the dollar to approximately 300 will have other effects than further encouragement of the American tourist trade. Already its stimulation to raise prices still higher (and, incidentally, the increased tourist trade will also be a price stimulus!) is shown by the fact that industrial prices rose 35 per cent in Januuary, and food prices rose 9 per cent during the same month. The reason is obvious. Devaluation enables France to compete more equally in the foreign market, but imports of food and materials now cost more, since it takes so many more francs to buy the foreign currency with which to pay for these imports.

What is the French government aiming at with devaluation? The only solution to France's economic difficulties lies in a greatly expanded productivity. But the government of Schuman and the Socialists does not look at it this way, nor can it. Its devaluation and currency manipulation aim to decrease purchasing power by wiping out a surplus of currency. Productivity for France is tied up with America, now the major supplier of French raw materials, imports of foods, etc. This means French economy is dependent upon the Marshall Plan, a plan not yet in operation nor likely to be for some time. The problem of the French government, then, is to hold on until the effects of the plan can be felt-thus the devaluation, which means increased prices and reduction of an already greatly reduced purchasing power so far as the workers are concerned. The Americans who go to France this year and receive 300 francs for each dollar bill should not be surprised at the undoubted cold and aloof reception they will receive from the French people, struggling between shrunken incomes and rising prices.

For most of them, 300 francs represent almost a full day's work!



Page. 3.

PRICES-NO CEILING SIGHTED

Readers will recall one of my December columns devoted to the pending railroad freight rate increase by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and my not very bold prediction that commodity prices would surely rise further because of the increase. On December 30, 1947, the ICC unanimously gave the railroads another 10 per cent rate boost, on top of the 10 per cent boost granted on October 5, 1947. The recent rate increases, it was estimated by the ICC, represented a gift of \$1,230,000,000 to the nation's railroads. It's nice to be a capitalist, is it not, with a capitalist governmental apparatus ready to do your bidding and hand out billion-dollar gifts for the asking?

Anyway, commodity prices have already begun to rise. Chicago coal prices immediately advanced 10 cents a ton, "reflecting new higher rates, in that amount, granted to the railroads," according to the Chicago Journal of Commerce. ... January 8 the Deep Rock Oil Corporation announced an increase in all tank wagon prices at all points in the mid-west. "These increases will vary from two-tenths to four-tenths cent per gallon, and reflect the higher rail freight charges which are effective January 5," said the company vice-president.... Blatz Brewing Co. announced a plan to raise beer prices, attributing the move in part to higher freight rates. So it will go, in every field.

Commodity prices will go up further before they come down. Wholesale prices-a cue to retail prices of future months-have risen steadily for more than 10 weeks, recently reaching a new post-war high of 165.5 per cent of the 1926 average of 100. This is 17.5 per cent above the like 1947 week, and less than two per cent below the all-time peak in May, 1920. Higher prices for non-agricultural commodities more than offset lower agricultural prices recently.

The new Sears, Roebuck catalog contains prices averaging 2.8 per cent higher than those in the corresponding 1947 catalog Prices of California oranges have risen \$1.38 a box, to \$3.54 in recent days, compared with \$2.23 a box a year ago.... Corn has jumped 18 cents a bushel, oats 12 cents a bushel, bran \$13 a ton. Corn that now brings nearly \$2.80 a bushel in Chicago sold as low as 40 cents in 1939. These higher grain prices today mean higher meat prices this summer and fall.... At the January furniture show in Chicago, furniture buyers found wholesale prices were up 10 per cent to 20 per cent over a year ago, the Wall Street Journal reports. The increase in retail prices will be greater, of course.

... Men's suits will cost about \$5 more each this spring. Men's shirts will increase 25 cents. Women's spring dresses and boys' spring clothes will be up 5 to 7 per cent.... International Shoe Co. has announced wholesale price increases ranging from an average of 35 cents a pair on children's shoes to an average of 95 cents a pair on men's shoes ... and the Housing Expeditor has removed trailer camps from rent control, to the dismay of tens of thousands of unfortunate families....

Pittsburgh bakeries have cut two ounces off their bread loaves, reducing the loaves from 19 to 17 ounces. The price remains the same, 16 cents. All big bakers have ordered smaller baking pans, and in the next few months will be giving you a shorter staff of life for your money.... The daily newspapers have managed to muffle their outrage at these rising prices. They are saving their outburst for the unions, when the latter get down to negotiating a 1948 boost in wages to help the workers' families keep a nodding acquaintance with the grocer, the butcher, the clothier. By the way! Do you remember all the hullaballoo raised by General Electric recently when it announced, with the demureness of a shy maid. that it was cutting prices 3 per cent to 10 per cent "on a wide variety of consumer goods." Do you know what this fourflusher did the very same week? It quietly informed radio distributors and manufacturers of a 12 per cent increase in its prices of radio tubes. No newspaper ads for THIS price change. The more U.S. exports drop, the more Big Business works through Truman's party (ahem, Mr. Murray) to push through its "European relief" program. In November, 1947, exports dipped eight per cent. Imports dropped \$454,900,000 that month, for a seven per cent dip. Exports fell off in ten of the eleven commodity groupings. Capitalism and its wars have so ruined the rest of the world, it appears now to experts in the Department of Commerce, that U.S. exports in 1948 are going to be lower than they were in 1947 even if Congress grants the full appropriation of approximately \$7 billion asked by the administration for the European Recovery Plan. Buy All Your Books Through LABOR ACTION **BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square** Long Island City 1, N.Y. Now In Stock: RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM By R. H. Tawney Penguin Books, 280 pages 35 Cents In French: MOUVEMENTS NATIONAUX ET LUTTE DE CLASSES AU VIET-NAM By Anh-Van et Jacqueline Roussel 83 pages 50 Cents Orders of 10 or more copies: 10 per cent discount ALL ORDERS MUST BE PREPAID WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member. Name Address

How Fngland "Frees" A Colony

President Truman last week sent his congratulations to the government of Cevion on the occasion of final enactment of the Independence Bill by England. The article we are publishing below, originally appearing in New Spark, was written by Comrade Colvin R. de Silva, leader of the Ceylon Trotskylsts and one of its elected spokesmen in the Ceylon Parliament. It analyzes the real character of the fictitious independence attained by the 6,000,000 people of the famed island.—Editor.

. .

The British government's so-called Independance Bill and the agreements attached to it constitute the final stage in the long intrigue of the imperialist masters with the Senanayake caucus. Through the Soulbury Constitution British imperialism sought to install representatives of the capitalist class in Ceylon permanently in office as against the masses. Now it seeks formally and officially to hand over to that class the monopolistic agency for protecting British imperialism's interest in Ceylon. In a word, British imperialism, consistent with the Labor government's policy of reconstructing imperialist relations, has switched over in Ceylon also from a policy of direct rule to a policy of indirect rule.

The new bill undoubtedly establishes a new status for the Cevlon capitalist class within the British Empire. They received by this bill the only freedom which the servile bourgeoisie begs from its imperialist bosses. The freedom they want is not freedom for the masses, but freedom for themselves to exploit the masses within the framework of continued capitalist exploitation. This the Ceylon bourgeoisie have been given with

responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. But it is only in the defense agreements that the principle is accepted and established that Ceylon has an interest in maintaining and perpetuating the British Empire. Unlike of old when we at least were supposed to resent the imperialist shackles, now Mr. Senanayake has contrived to make it appear that we consider these to be no chains of slavery but only a voluntarily tightened love-knot.

Ceylon is thus not free, but continues to be in chains. Only now our imprisoned nation has a new and locally recruited warder. Ceylon for the Ceylonese is to mean the Ceylonese are to be held down by Ceylonese for and on behalf of British imperialism. Mr. Senanayake is but the head jailor of the British imperialist prison house.

OUR IMMEDIATE TASK

Such being the situation, what is our immediate task? Obviously to develop a powerful struggle for the rejection of the agreements. The British parliamentarian bill is no concern of ours. If the British Parliament wishes to divest itself of any powers in and over Ceylon, who are we to object to it or reject it? But when the condition of the bill itself coming into operation is the acceptance of an agreement imposed by the British government in Ceylon, then we have both a right and the duty to fight the agreement. We say: No agreements with British imperialism while Ceylon remains on a dependent status! Reject the slave agreement, throw out its signatories and down with British imperialism and all its native agencies!

It is important to stress that under the new status the essential features of the Soulbury set-up continue unchanged. We do not here refer to such things as the reserved powers. We refer

the due safeguards in imperialism's interests. This is the real change of status which this bill brings.

CEYLON IS STILL IN CHAINS

Is this new status dominion status? It is clear from the bill itself that it is not. For the bill carefully avoids the term and uses the phrase "fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations." If the bill was intended to confer dominion status there would have been no difficulty in saying so.

However, in our view, the question whether the bill gives dominion status is a sterile one., Dominion status is a dependent status, whereas the demand of the people of Ceylon is for complete independence. What does complete independence mean? Obviously it must mean at least that every vestige of military control of Ceylon by British imperialism should be removed.

Does the new status even fulfill that condition? Clearly not! Even the most cursory perusal of the defense agreements which Mr. D. S. Senanayake has signed without consulting even the Parliament, still less the people, will show that Ceylon continues to be tied to British imperialism's military chariot.

By this agreement the British and Ceylon governments undertake to assist each other militarily. Such is the form and surface meaning of the agreement. In fact, however, the agreement is really an undertaking by the Ceylon government to permit Britain to continue to use Cevlon as its military base and imperialist fortress in the Indian Ocean. We are free to be Britain's military base! And Britain is free to use us as her base. What a travesty of freedom!

The importance of this defense agreement cannot be overestimated. It is the key document of the documents that the Senanayake government has published. When the first new parliamentary bill was announced, we said that its true meaning can never be gathered until the agreements were published. We have proved to be a thousand times right.

It is true that the will itself speaks of fully



rather to the technical manipulations of the Soulbury Constitution directed toward permanently enthroning reaction. The reactionary cabinet system, the obviously reactionary second chamber and the covertly reactionary delimitation system, coupled with the creation of the Public Services Commission and the like remain unchanged. The true representatives of the masses are deprived of real influence in Parliament. A clique regime rules and calls itself a Cabinet.

There can be no possibility of our drafting a constitution of our own freely and without imperialist intervention from influence, so long as single British soldier remains on Ceylon soil. We have therefore to struggle immediately for the withdrawal of all British troops from Ceylon. There can be no possibility of freedom from British influence so long as Britain's stranglehold remains over Ceylon's economy. We must therefore fight to end this stranglehold. Out of such a struggle alone can arise a body or an organ sufficiently independent of British imperialism to be able to summon a genuine constituent. assembly of a free people. The slogan of the day is: For a constituent assembly summoned by a body independent of the present imperialist regime on the basis of a direct, universal, equal and secret suffrage!

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GREECE

LETTER FROM ATHENS

Our party has just been dissolved by the authorities and Comrade Tasson Dimitriou, officially in charge of our printing establishment, has been arrested. We are again in complete illegality: even simple propaganda of our ideas is punishable by death. The government has pronounced the dissolution of our organization

on the ground that it threatened "state security." The government is more and more exclusively a police and military government.

We are sure that every comrade and the whole party will meet this fresh test with firmness and as Bolshevik-Leninists. We are sure that we shall emerge from this trial stronger than before. In reality, we are fighting in illegality or semi-illegality since 1936 and we are, therefore, used to fighting under such conditions.

FRANCE

(IPS) The initiative has been taken by a group of revolutionary trade unionists of various tendencies, among whom we note the names of responsible functionaries of the Parisian Book Trades Union, National Teachers Union, Building Workers Union and the employees of Metallurgical Union, the militants of the Front Ouvrier, the "Ecole Emancipée" tendencies and the independent militants of the CGT. They have issued a manifesto to

all trade unions and to trade unionists standing for working class trade unionism, to the members of the manent population, and we must CGT and CGTFO (General Confederation of Labor Force Ouvriere). that come from cold and lack of food. This appeal convened in Paris, on Our homes and lands, our fisheries February 1, a national conference of and trees, our trap-lines and reindeer, the trade union unity to determine a ' everything we possess is being seized common line for trade union revival. . or threatened by unscrupulous white The revolutionary trade unionists, men, who tell us that what they are while condemning the betrayal of the reformist and Stalinist leaders, stand for trade union unity.

In fact, if it is true that the bureau- vestigate our chests and they report cratic policy of Frachon has favored that our people are dying of tuberthe Force Ouvriere, a minority of culosis ten times as rapidly as other genuine workers in some trades, it people in the United States. We could

would be bad taste to treat Jouhaux have told him that a year ago when and his friends as partisans of trade union democracy. It is sufficient to see how Capocci (leading member of Force Ouvriere) decided the affiliation of the Employees Federation to the Force Ouvrere at the latter's national council. Thus, in a bureaucratic way, an assembly of 50 professionals dared to decide upon the split, without reference to the rank and file, and in the same way, without any democratic decision of the trade unionists, the CCN (National Confederation Council) which just met decided to replace the minority members without convening an extraordinary congress, which would have been necessary. We could show an infinite number of examples to prove that bureaucratism is as strongly entrenched in Force Ouvriere as in the CGT. While being fully conscious of the fact that Jouhaux and Frachon, under different forms conduct a similar policy, revolutionary trade unionists call for trade union

unity. Only unity can teach the work-

ing class the lessons of the policy of Jouhaux and Frachon.

ALASKA

(Reprinted from PM, January 18) Mrs. Ruth Muskrat Bronson, Secretary, National Congress of American Indians, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Bronson:

We natives, 35,000 Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts, are half of Alaska's perwatch our children die of diseases doing to us has been approved in Washington.

Now, Krug sends doctors to in-

he toured Alaska, if he had stopped at our Indian villages instead of spending all his time at towns.

Henry JUDD.

We have gone to schools and learned how to operate sawmills and canneries in the most modern way. Now that we are attempting to do this with our resources, everything is taken from us, and we are thrown into jail.

Why? Why are we suddenly to be made what you call "displaced persons"?

Is this done to us on the ground that we are not citizens? But your Congress passed a law in 1924 making us all citizens, and that law is still alive.

You have asked us not to lose faith in the American people, but to tell our story to those who will listen. With God's help we still hope that what our parents passed on to us we may in turn pass on to our children and our children's children forever.

Respectfully yours, Amy Hollingstad, President, Alaska Native Sisterhood.

Petersburg, Alaska.

Notice to New York Readers: The TIME and PLACE of the **DEBATE** between

> DWIGHT MACDONALD Editor of "Palitics"

> > and

HAL DRAPER Editor of "The New International"



Road to Socialism?

has been changed to SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 29

at LABOR TEMPLE, 14th Street, near Second Avenue, N. Y. C., 7:30 P. M. Auspices: LABOR ACTION FORUM

LABOR ACTION

Stalinism: Anti-Labor in Theory and Practice

On this page of LABOR ACTION we are featuring extracts from a speech delivered in New York by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, on the subject of Stalinism: Its Nature and Future. The speech was delivered in December, 1947, immediately after the strike wave in Italy and France, but we have removed those sections of it dealing with current events, leaving intact the political estimate and analysis it contains of Stalinism, the most important world political phenomena of our time.—Editor.

What Are the Stalinist Parties?

Page 4

The launching of a series of strikes linist parties which must be removed. in Italy and France, reaching the right at the outset if a correct underpoint of a general strike in France, standing is to be reached. and conducted with aggressiveness and militancy in both countries, has once more raised the question of the character of the political movement which initiated and led the strikes of significant cases that prove the and which was in every way responsible for them, namely, the Stalinist party. The difficulty in answering this question is created in the minds of most people by the extremely wide variety of positions that the Stalinists are capable of taking and do take. They will appear one day as the most ardent champions of all-out production, regardless of its costs to the working class, and the next day as the equally ardent champions of the demands of the workers regardless of what happens to production. One day they are the bitterest opponents of strikes of any kind and on another day nothing less than a general strike will satisfy them. For example, only a few months ago the leader of the French Stalinists, Duclos, declared in an interview that only imbeciles favor a general strike. A short time later he was declaring that only the tools of American imperialism could oppose the general strike. One day they are the loudest drum-beaters for democratic imperialism. On another day they are its most irreconcilable enemies.

If we examine closely the real aims of Stalinism in France and Italy we will come to a basic understanding cides or seems to coincide with the of what Stalinism really represents, what its political and social character really is.

To explain the changes in the Stalinist position on the grounds that that constitutes the real basis of these the Stalinists have taken a left turn is absolutely false and reveals a mis- rule of Stalinism in totalitarian Rusconception of the nature of the Sta- sia.

Workers' Power or Stalinist Power?

By its very nature, this ruling countries the process is faster than class, the collectivist bureaucracy, is in others, but in all of them it is the reactionary and totalitarian. Once same fundamental process. The capithe means of production and ex- talist system is undermined, the capichange are centralized in one hand. you have a TOTAL POWER. If the hand is the hand of the people, in the first place of the working class, you have workers' rule, democracy, the necessary prerequisites for attaining that complete democracy which leads directly to the classless socialist society.

If, however, the hand is the hand of a bureaucracy, separate from the

sense in which they do not exist in a social vacuum but in the midst of the class struggle itself. It is a peculiarity of Stalinism that it seeks to base itself upon the working class, that its most important field of activity is the working class, but this does not change the fundamental character of Stalinism as an antiworking class and a non-working class movement. And by that we mean that its social and political interests are not bound up with the interests of the working class in any sense; by that we mean that the protection of its own interests are in contradiction with the protection of the working class and its movement in any form. If it often appears that the Stalinists are subject to the pressure of the working class and its legitimate demands, or that they are yielding to this pressure, then it is on one condition only: that this pressure coinonly pressure to which the Stalinist parties ARE subject, when it conforms or seems to conform with the political interests of the only force

parties__the Russian state power, the

5 16 mm

parties, including the most reaction-

ary capitalist parties, are subject to

such pressure. That is, only in the

But in order for Stalinism to take greatest advantage of the time left to it before a war, and to reduce the corresponding advantages of its rival. it must strive incessantly to prevent the consolidation of American imperialism in Europe. This dictates A turn to the left implies that the the course of the Stalinist parties in Stalinists are subject to the pressure those countries of Western Europe of the working class. Nothing of the where they cannot and will not take sort is true. There are literally scores power-countries like France and Italy-but where they are determined contrary. The Stalinists are subject to to do everything within their capaworking class pressure only in the city to prevent American imperialism general sense in which all political

before it is ready to engage in it with

reasonable possibility of winning.

Now, this is simply what determines

the course of its agents abroad, name-

But the closer Stalinism comes to

ly, the Stalinist parties.

from consolidating its power. Now, the concrete means whereby American imperialism seeks to consolidate itself in Europe and to contain Stalinist imperialism until the moment when it is ready to launch the war to reduce its rival to atomic war ashes, is the Marshall Plan.

That plan has two interrelated aims, economic and political. Politically, America must have reliable governments in every European state. Reliable governments, from Washington's viewpoint, have a double significance: One, a government which is capable of holding the working class in check, keeping its standard of living at a low ebb, which would in turn make possible the balancing of the budget and the kind of industrial peace which imperialism requires-and two, a government which does not have too many pretensions at playing an independent role in world politics, such as playing off Russia and the USA for its own advantage, but which submits meekly

to the dictates of Washington. Economically, the Marshall Plan proposes an industrial upswing for the countries of Western Europe, the re-establishment of social order, the rationing of Europe on a higher level than now exists, and the preparation, economically and politically, of these countries into first-line bastions and battlefields for the coming war.

The Stalinists, who are following " essentially the same course in Eastern Europe, even if in a different way, find themselves compelled to counteract the Marshall Plan with all the means at their disposal.

Stalinism Rests on Material Base talist class is destroyed, capitalist property is abolished-but the result

is not socialism; the result is the ests of Stalinism? What is its matesame totalitarian collectivism that rial base? Ernest Germain, leading prevails in Russia, accompanied by theoretician of the orthodox Trotskythe same mass enslavement of workist camp, attempted an answer in his phrase describing the Social Demo-The problem of Stalinist imperialcrats as the reformists of capitalism's ism then becomes, concretely: to conrise, and the Stalinists as the reformsolidate its conquests in western Euists of capitalism's decline. We contope, to defend them from all attacks sider Germain wrong, since we retime ject the description of Stalinists as "reformists" in any sense, but he is on the trail leading to our answer. The traditional socialist and union bureaucracy formed a wide and pdwerful social layer of society in the period of capitalism's rise. It depended upon capitalist democracy to gain superior economice positions for its

the most important geographical organs to which this heart pumps its golden blood and from which it gets its own sustenance, the more hesitant Stalinism is and must be.

Two Imperialist Rivals Face to Face

We say that the Stalinists are agents of the Russian state and its ruling class. This is generally acknowledged among politically educated people of varying convictions. But two questions immediately arise from this statement: (1) Reactionary powers, like Nazi Germany, have had agents abroad before serving their interests. But there has never before been an example similar to that of the Stalinists-that is, agents in the labor movement, and with a mass base and support. What is the explanation? (2) Are the Stalinists agents of Russia out of idealism, or out of definite material interests? If so, which?

without an examination of these two questions. Let us consider them in reverse order.

interests, not abstract thoughts about terial interests lie behind Stalinism?

Is it Russian money? Useful and handy as even a deflated ruble may be, such a superficial explanation will hardly touch upon our problem. and relative prestige, occupied by the Stalinist bureaucrats differ from the traditional Social Democratic, respecies of bureaucrats. They serve Russia and they are engaged in struggle with the capitalists. A cursory examination of the role played by the tional bureaucrats in the recent Eushow the qualitative difference between the two brands.

Then what are the material inter- ically. The end of democracy, the democracy concomitant with prosperous capitalism, is clear to them. The possibility of political or economic success in the capitalist world has vanished.

They react in a dual fashion, resisting capitalism and, at the same time, seeking power. The example of Russia under Stalin shows not onl

the heart of the capitalist world, to power, to collectivist power organized ment, under the current conditions along totalitarian social lines. In our of social degeneration, expressed in belief, only such an analysis can acthe political demoralization and discount for the stubbornness and PER-SISTENCE of Stalinism, as a moveclass.

Stalinism as World Movement Can Be Defeated

Can this new strata, the world Stalinist bureaucracy thrown up by regressive capitalism, achieve this sotivist society. cial aim? Abstractly speaking, considered as a purely "theoretical" matter, this is possible. But considered concretely, politically and actually, the weight of evidence is in the other direction. Trotsky said: the organic tendency of society is toward collectivism. Understanding by this a socialist, democratic collectivism, this is also our belief. Historically, only one class can be the bearer and realizer of democratic collectivism-the working class. Why? Because only the working class in power, having est contradiction, in living politics,

we cannot complete our under-standing of Stalinism and its aims without an examination of these two

of the trial.

and the Allies was current at the time

Schacht's present activity may also

be part of the bargain. This notorious

fascist has had previous experience

in keeping the German people in sub-

jugation. He worked with Hitler and

the German capitalist class and now

he will use his talents for the Amer-

Schacht's rise under Hitler was

very fast. In many ways it was the

assurance Hitler was giving the capi-

talists of Germany that fascism was

for the protection of capitalism. As

all-powerful economic dictator of the

Hitler regime. During that early pe-

riod of fascism in Germany there

were some elements that had followed

Hitler because they believed he

would bring in some form of social-

ism., When these elements made de-

mands on the surprised capitalists.

it was this same Dr. Schacht whom

Hitler sent into the situation to re-

assure the capitalists that the new

ican and English capitalist class.

By MIKE STEVENS

Hjalmar Schacht, the "financial wizard" of Hitler's Nazi regime, is working with American officials on a plan of financial reform for Western Germany, according to numerous reports coming from that country. The former Reichsbank president was on trial last year at Nuremberg as a war criminal, but was set free because of his international banking connections. The Germans who had suffered at his hands immediately seized him and sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment, the maximum permitted by the occupying authorities. He was then placed in the German detention camp at Ludwigsburg. near Stuttgart. A few weeks ago he was transferred to the Americanoperated camp at Ober-Ursel, eight miles from Frankfort.

Officials of the Bizonal Finance Council at Bad Homburg who are engaged in drawing up financial reforms were understood to have requested the aid of Schacht. It is definitely know that American army officers in Germany held long discussions a few months ago with Schacht on financial problems.

Schacht's connections with American and English capitalism have existed for many years. His acquittal at the Nuremberg trials was obviously due to these connections. He was as much a war criminal as the others who were sentenced to death. He was part and parcel of the Hitler machine and one of its leaders. But to declare him guilty would have reflected on many of his class-brothers in England and the United States,

organization of the world working in order to seize and establish this very power! Finally, under capitalism, this Stalinist group forms only the elements, the weak roots of the class it aspires to be. Collectivist power cannot grow no class left which it must socially

organically out of capitalism. This asexploit, can dissolve itself in the propiring class only becomes a ruling cess of building this socialist-collec-" class after it gets power, since power, state power, is equivalent to its class From this standpoint, then, Stalinessence. Likewise (and the entire hisism as a world movement appears as tory of the Eastern European couna product of capitalist decay and distries illustrates this), Stalinism, as a integration. It struggles for power in ruling class, can only become strong our world, but it is laden with inner after it gets power. Bearing in mind contradictions: (1) It is the outright these fundamental characteristics of agent of a foreign power, whose real Stalinism, we see the origin of the nature as a reactionary imperialism

lies in its desire and need for power

versus its inability to control firmly

those masses it must set into motion

thesis upon which the Workers Party is more apparent each day; (2) It is founded and fights: Stalinism can exploits those workers over whom it be defeated; the revolutionary workestablishes power for its own caste ing class, made conscious of its many privileges and purposes; (3) its great-Achilles' heels, can overthrow Stalinism on its road to socialist victory.

and it is also quite possible that regime was working for them. And it Schacht made a "bargain" at the was Schacht who did away with those time of the trial not to implicate any disturbing elements who thought of his international banking cronies. they had rights under fascism. Talk of a "bargain" between Schacht

Schacht granted all sorts of tax exemptions to the industrialists but placed heavy taxes on the common people to pay for the expensive Nazi regime. When some of the Nazi officials insisted that a few public works projects be created to provide work for the unemployed in order to avoid trouble, it was Schacht who decided against the projects. He didn't want any projects that wouldn't give the capitalists a big, steady profit; and as for the unemployed, he knew that fascism was firmly in the saddle by that time and could shoot down anyone who dared protest.

TRUMAN'S NEW WIZARD early as July, 1934, Schacht was the

Schacht was recognized as the representative of the big capitalists in the Hitler regime. He was the man trusted by Hitler to confer with bankers and industrialists in other countries. His entire past has been one of working with those who try to crush the workers in every possible way for the sake of profits. This is Truman's new "financial wizard" in Germany.

Labor Action Editor Addresses WP Philadelphia "Manifesto" Celebration

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 8-A dinner essary step in the prevention of was held last evening at Labor Action Hall in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of scientific socialism. Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, gave the after din-

ner address, entitled, "A Century's

World War III between imperialist United States and bureaucratic Russia.

Toastmaster Jack Brad invited those present to become members of the Workers Party and to help direct the

We cannot complete our under-

Are the Stalinists idealists? In the behavior, methods and tactics of the Stalinist leadership there is not a trace of idealism. They are bureaucrats to the core. Furthermore, Marxism teaches us that social classes and groupings are prompted by material themselves and their role. What ma-

Is it the bureaucratic position per se, with its privileges, power over others Stalinist functionaries? Then how do formist and trade union bureaucrats? Clearly, the Fosters. Thorezes. Pollits, etc., are not of the traditional Stalinist bureaucrats and the tradiropean strike events is enough to

workers and the people in general, the supercentralized means of production becomes an instrument for the suppression and exploitation of the people in the interests and for the benefit of the bureaucracy. This at once establishes both its reactionary and totalitarian character. It cannot share its power with theworking class not only because the working class is the kind of class that cannot share power with any other (it either has the power itself. in which case it rules and moves toward socialism, or it is an exploited and oppressed class) but also because of the particular fact that any degree of democracy which the sharing of power implies means the end of the rule of the totalitarian bureaucracy. Now, what Stalinist imperialism is in the concrete we already know. It

has expanded eastward, in Asia, and westward, in Europe. In those countries where it has taken over control, it has proceeded to establish the same social and political regime that ful that it does nothing to precipiprevails in Russia itself. In some

to prevent the consolidation of its only serious imperialist rival, the United States, in the rest of Europe.

filtration. and at the same

ers and peasants.

or it

Now, in the long run, this aimlike the corresponding but contrary aim of American imperialism-can be achieved in a durable way only by force, by arms, that is, by a third world war. Both big camps are actively engaged in preparing for it, but neither side is ready for it. To be ready requires a considerable economic and political preliminary work which has as yet only started and is not by any means completed.

Both sides are aware of this; both know that they have a measurable period of time at their disposal before a decisive armed conflict is precipitated. Stalinist imperialism, much the weaker and more backward of the two, is especially gratified by the interval at its disposal. It must use it to the best advantage, but at the same time it must be extremely caretate the conflict prematurely, that is,

unions and organizations; and for access to superior political positions, all within the framework of capitalist society. The growth and success of this labor bureaucracy was simultaneous with its more and more complete association with the petty bourgeoisie and its ideology. But the period of capitalist degen-

eration brings utterly different phenomena. The Stalin bureaucracy, together with the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and other middle class strata of society, has grasped that it has no future under capitalism today. At the same time, it has no belief in socialism. Capitalism depresses these groups, both politically and econom-

that it can be done, but how! How? As individuals, they cannot grasp the power and privileged position they seek by becoming capitalists (as, for example, many a shrewd Social Democrat could in bygone days). But they can win control over capital (that is, power) only if capital is considered as a whole, as a collectivity, as a force that can be manipulated and directed through the state. Capital, then, the economic system or the means of production, must be expropriated if power is to be grasped. But how? But these groups. a social hash, do not have sufficient strength to expropriate capital! Only with the aid of the mass working class can they even dream of at-

tempting such an expropriation. Hence this neo-bureaucracy functions, must function, within the working class 'movement. In this respect it is completely unlike the fascist movement. It seeks to convert organized labor and its institutions into a ladder on whose rungs it can rise to



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Validation of the Communist Manifesto. Speaking to Workers Party members and friends, Garrett related the conditions under which the Manifesto was issued, carefully pointing out that here, as in their longer works, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels based themselves on observation of fact, collection of data, deduction and

statement of scientific law. The speaker continued by recounting that these basic socialist documents have been supplemented and expanded by other great socialist leaders. However, for every Marxist writer there has been a dozen anti-Marxist spokesmen.

Editor Garrett regretted the weakness of the socialist movement today and called for the rebirth of a movement distinct both from reformism and Stalinism. Such rebirth is a nec-

course of history in meeting the needs and wapts of mankind. In behalf of the Philadelphia branch, Brad thanked the speaker and the arrangements committee for the evening's successful affair.

Other activities included the singing of socialist songs such as: Joe Hill, Avanti Populo, Kevin Barry and The International. A quartet from the audience also sang several beautiful Negro folk songs. A period of dancing followed the singing.

An invitation was extended to all to attend an FEPC rally in Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Avenue, on Friday, February 20. Numerous guest speakers will be present to discuss local application of the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights and Fair Employment Practices.



Two Weeks Left to Complete WP Fund Drive!

By YETTA BARSH, Campaign Director

Today we find ourselves at the end of the tenth week of our \$15,000 Fund Drive with a total of \$11,075.61, or 74 per cent of our goal fulfilled. Although, from the point of view of the Fund Drive as a whole and the length of time left for completion of the Drive, the pace of the Drive has been normal and there is every likelihood that it will be successfully completed, we have fallen far short of the 85 per cent goal which we set for February 5.

Detroit was the one unit which kept its promise to hit the 85 per cent mark; it sent in \$101 before February 5. Cleveland almost hit the mark with its last \$29 contribution, which raised its total to 83 per cent.

During the past week New York City put on a special drive

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Do your share! Help us hit the 100 per cent mark early. Send us your contribution immediately.

WORKERS PARTY **4 Court Square** Long Island City 1, N.Y.

Enclosed find a \$..... contribution to the \$15,000 fund drive. Date..... Name ... Address City State.

to collect outstanding pledges made by the members of the New York Local. It succeeded in raising the sum of \$458, which represented a 12 per cent increase in its total. The New York Fund Drive Committee has informed us that it will continue to press hard for the collection of all pledges and that it has

set as its aim a substantial oversubscription of its quota. If the New York Local continues to operate as energetically as it has this past week, there is no doubt but that it will accomplish its aim.

Our comrades in West Virginia have sent in another \$25 contribution, raising their total to \$85. Although this is only 57 per cent of their quota and although they find the going tough for many reasons beyond their control, they assure us that they will raise the full amount of their quota before the end of the Drive. Our past experience with out comrades in West Virginia leads us to rely completely upon their word.

Our Pittsburgh comrades sent us \$8.00 this past week, their first contribution in the Drive. They too assure us that they will fulfill their quota before the end of the Drive. Recent excellent developments in their branch work have made it . impossible for them to devote the time and energy necessary to collect money for the Drive. In the next week they hope to be able to send in a substantial additional contribution.

The remainder of this week's receipts were the following contributions: Chicago, \$53; Los Angeles, \$25; San Francisco, \$22.36; Newark, \$11.50; National Office, \$29; Miscellaneous, \$5.00.

We are now in the last lap of the Drive. There is not much time left. We can only repeat what we have been saying for the past two weeks. It is necessary for all units to drive really hard in the short time that remains. Collect all pledges that have been made in the next week! Visit all friends and sympathizers to collect their contributions! Give yourself enough time to plan spe-

cial activities which will help you go over the top before the end

	end of the Drive!	you go	over me mp	
	Branch	Quota	Feb. 9	Pct.
	Manhattan SYL	\$30.00	\$52.00	173
	Buffalo	600.00	745.00	124
	Connecticut	50.00	60.00	120
ļ	Hibbing		6.00	120
	San Pedro	100.00	120.00	120
	Baltimore	100.00	119.00	119
	Streator	20.00	21.00	105
	Boston	60.00	60.00	100
ķ	Indiana	50.00	50.00	100
h	New York Misc.	20.00	20.00	100
	Oregon	50.00	50.00	100
2	Philadelphia	400.00	400.00	100
ć	Detroit		683.00	85
Ę	Cleveland	- 500.00	414.00	83
	Akron	400.00	315.00	. 79
ŝ	New York City		3.077.98	77
2	San Francisco	1.000.00	728.71	73
	Newark	400.00	268.79	67
i.	Chicago		991.63	66
	Los Angeles	500.00	325.50	65
	Reading	75.00	49.00	65
	National Office	3,500.00	2.090.00	60
ì	West Virginia	150.00	85.00	57
•	Miscellaneous	40.00	20.00	50
	Seattle	400.00	200.00	50
	Youngstown	200.00	100.00	50
	St. Louis	35.00	16.00	46
	Pittsburgh	25.00	8.00	32
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	alite 6 \$1	5,000.00	\$11,075.61	74