WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD; JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

LABOR ACTION A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

JUNE 28, 1948

N.Y. Workers Party Names Editor of "Labor Action" RECORD OF 80TH CONGRESS As Congressional Candidate

NEW YORK, June 21 - Local New York of the Workers Party announced today the launching of its congressional election campaign in New York. Emanuel Geltman, editor of LABOR ACTION, will be candidate for Congress in the 19th District.

This district covers the lower East Side of New York, its main streets being Second Ave., Ave. B. and Delancy St. and it runs as far north as 40th Street east of Third Avenue. The area is almost completely working class of many national origins and has a long tradition of struggle. It was this district which was the center of the New York Socialist movement in the Twenties and Thirties, electing Socialist congressmen, assemblymen and judges. It now contains a strong Communist Party.

Emanuel Geltman, who has used the pen-name of Emanuel Garrett, is known to readers of LABOR AC-TION as an able fighter in the socialist movement. He is a member of the National Committee of the Workers Party and for many years editor of LABOR ACTION.



By JACK BRAD

The Taylor - Langer filibuster against the Draft Bill marks the first occasion since the war that a serious attempt was made in Congress to halt, or at least slow up, the militarization of the country. It is also the first occasion in many long years that the undemocratic Senate rules, which give a minority great powers for delay, were used for any purpose other than by Southern reactionaries to stop anti-Jim Crow legislation. With keenest interest, the people, and especially youth and Negroes, watched the great debate which held in balance the fate of so many millions. Senator Taylor, who led the filibuster, became a symbol of hope that the draft might be stopped. The failure of the filibuster to stop the draft cannot be blamed on Taylor, but on the hell-bent-for-war militarists who control the Congress. Senator Glen Taylor is the vicepresidential candidate of the Wallace-Stalinist Party. His fight against the draft was a good one, within senatorial limits. But there could be no greater error than to accept this fight at its face value and to give the Wallace-Stalinist Party the support of that profound desire for peace which possesses the masses of people. It is necessary to ask why Taylor opposed the draft and, above all, we must inquire what is the Wallace-Taylor program on war and peace and international relations. For it is clear The statement announcing the nomination follows:

JUNE 21-A nominating convention of the Workers Party, New York County branches, today nominated Emanuel (Garrett) Geltman as the party's candidate for Congress in the 19th Congressional District. He will oppose Arthur G. Klein, the present Democratic incumbent.

Comrade Geltman is editor of the weekly newspaper LABOR ACTION and a member of the National Committee of the Workers Party. He is a veteran of World War II and a member of the American Veterans Committee. E. Geltman has been active in the labor and socialist movements for over 20 years, having served as editor of numerous socialist publications. He was one of the earliest members of the Trotskyist movement.

CALLS FOR LABOR PARTY

The candidate made the following statement:

"The decision made in the 1948 election will determine whether America takes the road to war or of social change to a future of peace and security for the people. That is the issue.

"The profound desire of the peoples of all countries for peace and security is caught in a vise between the imperialism of Wall St. and the imperialism of the Kremlin. Neither of these forces offers anything beyond mass destruction and probable descent into barbarism. The masses of people must fashion their own des-

tiny in struggle against these powers by building a Third Camp of independent labor. The key to peace lies in rejection of the policies of both Washington and Moscow, not the appeasement of Henry Wallace but the socialist struggle against war through international solidarity of the work-

ing class. "The greatest step in this direction would be the formation of an independent labor party, not the fake party of Wallace and his Stalinist machine, but a party based on the 18 million organized workingmen (Continued on page 2).

The "People's" Choice! Murdered Negro **Brutally Beaten** By Detroit Cop

DETROIT - The preliminary report of the coroner's office at the inquest of Leon Mosely's death at the hands of police (reported in last week's LABOR ACTION) admitted the following: three head injuries, a bruised check, fractured skull and cerebral hemorrhage, none of which could have been caused by a gunshot wound!

Furthermore, blood was on the gun of the patrolman who killed the 15-year-old Negro high school youth, the police scientific laboratory expert testified at the inquest.

One of Mosely's fellow students at Miller High told the inquest that he saw four or five policemen beat Mosely, then shoot him in the back from about ten feet away, as he staggered away from the blows!

As for the stolen car angle of the case, the car owner testified that he didn't notify police until 11:40 p.m. June 4, of his car being missing. Mosely was killed at 11:15. A jury of three Negroes and three

white men is hearing the case. One of the Negroes is Willis Ward, longtime associate and friend of Police. Commissioner Harry S. Toy, the man responsible for the "shoot to kill" and "get tough" policy of the Detroit police department. Ward was an important cog in the old Ford Motor Company machine dominated by Harry Bennett, whose job was to keep Negroes hostile to unions, and pro-Republican.



SPELLS LABOR PARTY NEED GOP, Democrats Two Sides of **Capitalist** Coin

FIVE CENTS

By SUSAN GREEN

Perhaps the Taft - Hartley anti-labor law is sufficient indictment against the Republican-controlled Congress which has just adjourned, to make any other charges against it almost unimportant. However, this **Congress was elected because** "the people wanted a change." But by flipping the political coin from the Democratic to the Republican side the people have not bettered themselves. The record of the Congress which adjourned so that the Republican politicians could hasten to Philadelphia demonstrates the futility for the workingpeople of the two-capitalist-party system.

On the domestic scene what has caused the people most anxiety is the cost of living, with meat (for example) now at an all-time high. Congress re-established the policy of laissez faire, and profits and prices have climbed accordingly. The only control still partially in effect is over rent, and here too changes have been made that favor the landlords.

The next pressing domestic problem is undoubtedly housing. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill which, if enacted into law, might make a beginning, though inadequate, toward supplying homes for the millions who need them-that bill has been kicked from pillar to post and back again. It had been watered down and cleansed of its "socialistic" features and stripped of essential provisions by substitutes, but not even a substitute bill was passed by Congress.

(Continued on page 4)

By WYATT LEE By the time this paper is printed the Republican convention will have nominated its candidate for Presi-

dent. Peace and the cleaning squad will have descended upon Convention Hall and the Quaker City innkeepers will be toting up their profits. If the overwhelming majority of political soothsayers are right, the next President of the United States will have been named and the result of the election in November is a foregone conclusion

Precedent is with the prophets. Sixteen years of Roosevelt-Truman was preceded by the 12 of Hoover-Coolidge-Harding. Wilson's eight years followed a dozen years of Taft-Roosevelt-McKinley. The score for the past 60 years, the flower of the two-party

leading by one term. A fair, impartial 'division of spoils over six dec-

ades! With the rich scent of patronage in their nostrils, the Republican delegates above all want to make sure of their place on the bandwagon of the winning candidate. While they whistle and stomp for their avowed favorites, each one keeps an eye peeled for a stampede and his ear cocked for the latest rumor from the "smoke-filled room." Programs, platforms and principles are the idle words of official orators. Voting for the right man at the right time is the real payoff at the convention of

a major American political party. Three men, Dewey, Taft and Stassen, came to the convention with

system, reads 28-32, with the GOP sizable blocs of delegates pledged to them. All three have one thing in common: they have arduously sought the nomination over a period of

Republican Bosses Scent Rich Pork Barrell

years. Taft openly admits to conservatism, while Stassen poses as a liberal (his anti-labor record as governor of Minnesota includes the sponsorship and enforcement of a state law that served as a model for the Taft-Hartley Act. More recently, he advocates the Mundt-Nixon Bill as a guard to civil rights). Dewey is cagily all things to all Republicans.

A deadlock between these three will bring to the fore a long list of party hopefuls. Senator Vandenberg, whose legislative support of the bipartisan program of American imperialism has won the favor of certain far-sighted sections of the Re-

publican leadership, may very well Marine Firemen officials who were become a compromise candidate. An sent to San Quentin by Warren. A isolationist up until World War II, Vandenberg epitomizes the growing awareness, even of Republicans, that American politics in the future must be played on the world stage.

703 TPEU

DEWEY

STATISTIAFT

NBERG

TRUMAN

More remote are the chances of California's Governor Earl Warren.

All Things to All Republicans

few years later, these same Stalinists used their forces within the Calfornia Democratic Party to enable Warren to run for governor with the endorsement of both major parties! If the expected deadlock ensues and these five are passed over, the lists will be open to a host of "dark horses." Clutching their party credentials like a holder of a 25-cent chance on the raffle of a 1949 Ford, the Brickers and the Martins and (Continued on page 2)

BILLIONS FOR WAR

On the other hand, without too much argument. Congress agreed to the building up of the air force from the present fifty-five groups to seventy-even more than the brass hats had actually demanded. The billions required for war preparation were voted as a matter of course, as was the contracting authority to start building planes-while on the stock market the shares of airplane companies started upward in anticipation of better profits. Such big affairs of American im-

(Continued on page 4)

UAW Workers Boo Ford Offer; Michigan CIO Convention Meets

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT-The first reaction to the Ford Motor Company offer of 11 cents an hour for those workers making less than \$1.50 now, and 14 cents for those whose hourly rate was higher than \$1.50 was recorded at the state CIO convention by delegates attending from Local 600. They booed the announcement of the Ford offer.

Also in the Ford offer was a proposal that the union and company set up a joint committee to study the incentive wage system with the idea of putting it into practice everywhere in the Ford plants!

Of course, this entire proposal is quite a reversal of Ford's recent announcement that he would demand a wage cut from the UAW-CIO negotiators.

At the present writing, full details of the Ford proposals are not available, and the UAW-CIO has refrained from any official statement, pending study of the Ford offer. But the boos of the 80 delegates from Ford Local 600 indicate the UAW-CIO isn't going to accept this first proposal.

The Michigan state CIO convention is being held this week at Grand Rapids. It serves each year to reflect King, Conners and Ramsey, the three tendencies, and big caucuses in the report on this convention next week.

UAW-CIO. The incumbent administration, headed by Gus Scholle and Barney Hopkins, is strictly pro-Reuther, and has been that way since the big fight in the 1946 convention. There is little doubt that this leadership will be re-elected by a bigger margin this year than in 1947. In 1946, to refresh some memories, the vote between the two main forces, the Scholle-Reuther bloc and the Addes-Stalinist bloc, was very close.

This year the Stalinist bloc, united mainly on the Wallace for president issue, and general opposition to Scholle, will probably receive no more than 'one third of the votes.

The big question at this convention will be political action. Although Walter Reuther as yet has not taken public responsibility for the action, the fact is that his followers are supporting Mennen Williams, the ADA and AVC liberal, for governor on the Democratic Party ballot. Gus Scholle is openly taking the lead in this maneuver. His political policy, which is meeting with opposition from within the Reuther camp, as well as the opposition, is to capture the Democratic Party of Michigan. It remains to be seen how much Labor Party sentiment is expressed, and is evident at this convention. the strength of the various political LABOR ACTION will carry a full

Draft Bill Voted; 21 Year Olds to Get It First War Preparations Get a Lift as Congress Votes Fourteen Billions to Build Armed Services

By P. HOFFMAN

The United States is one again in full preparation for war, less than three years after the end of World War II, "the war to end war." Congress last week passed what it called a "compromise" draft bill which once more places the country on a pre-war footing.

The bill which was passed calls for the registration and drafting of men from 19 to 25. Instead of a goldfish bowl drawing, President Truman, Pendergast's gift to the White House, is given the authority to push the draft button and swing the draft into action with the calling up, 90 days later, of twenty-one-year-olds. With the typical generosity the representatives of Wall Street always display in matters of destruction, they have appropriated \$14,000,000,-000 for the building up of the armed forces. This move, we are told by both the Democrats and Republicans, will guarantee world peace.

through sad experience that the army well. But we are aware, also, that

is not built for show, but for the American capitalism is no less igbrutal and practical purpose of war. Jockeying for position in the imperialist struggle with Russia, America is already preparing for armed conflict. The draft spells, not peace, as the representatives of Big Business would have us believe, but war.

As is usual in the imperialist game, both bandits try to blame war moves and preparation on each other. Russia has been busy with her propaganda machine telling the world that war will come only if America starts it, while America plays the same tune, substituting Russia's

Asked by reporters about the chances of war, Omar N. Bradley, army chief of staff, said: "We're faced with the possibility anything might happen. No one knows-unless it would be 14 men in the Kremlin."

LABOR ACTION is well aware of the fact that Stalin and his 13 henchmen who ride the backs of the Rus-The American people have learned sian people know the answer very have enough time to pass even so

name.

Wagner housing bill) and tremennorant or innocent. Both America, dous threats to civil liberties. But and Russian are getting ready to the greatest fear of all is the fear of war, and with the passage of the play the war game for world condraft bill that fear becomes even trol. Each wants to dominate the globe and each is preparing to do more real. it by using the people as pawns in

this bloody game. Just as people everywhere, the American people are dispossessed and disinherited. Having suffered through the nightmare of World War II, we are being sent on the road to World War III without so much as a by your leave.

We have had time to see that World War II was not fought for the aims proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter. We have not been given the freedom from fear and want so loudly touted by the American apologists for the war, Wallace among them. Instead, today, we have greater fear and insecurity than ever before. We are faced with higher prices, a gigantic inflation, no housing (Congress didn't

We must not allow ourselves to be dragged to war again. The American people who fight and die must decide. Congress has passed the draft bill with the permission of Wall Street. We must demand our right to speak last. LET THE PEOPLE

Our voice has not been heard yet, but we must raise a hue and cry for the right to make ourselves heard. Everywhere, in the trade unions, in community organizations, in veterans' groups, we must pass resolutions demanding that right.

VOTE ON THE DRAFT.

Let us speak loudly enough to stop the Republican and Democratic farces in Philadelphia with the cry that will put fear into the hearts of the "representatives of the people." LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON THE small a sop as the Taft-Ellender- DRAFT!

obscure county prosecutor in the San Francisco Bay area. He earned his spurs as a Republican when he tried and convicted three maritime union officials on murder charges that were denounced by the whole West Coast labor movement as a frame-up. The Stalinists were among the most vociferous defenders of

DEWEY



He started his political climb as an

LABOR ACTION

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Miners Face New Injunction Threat

By GERRY MCDERMOTT

Page 2

The entire health and welfare setup of the UMWA will cease to pay benefits to crippled and destitute miners within a few weeks. That is the defeat facing the miners as the coal' barons and their scab government prepare a fourth injunction against the United Mine Workers of America

We are not talking here about the failure to win retirement pensions. The union is not only being denied that gain, but it is in danger of losing a gain won two whole years ago. That gain is the welfare fund of the

BULLETIN: As we go to press, it is reported that the UMW won a substantial victory when the United States District Court rejected a suit brought by the coal operators and approved payment of \$100-a-month pensions.

1946 contract, which has been used to pay death benefits to miners' widows and to give aid to miners unemployed because of injury or sickness. The money in this fund, raised by a five cents a ton royalty during the 1946 contract, will probably run out by the time this article is published. This will mean that the widows of Centralia, miners waiting to die of silicosis, and men paralyzed with broken backs will be cut off from support except miserably inadequate state aid and common charity.

Such is the result of the refusal of the operators to activate the forty million dollar 1947 welfare fund, and the injunction of Judge Goldsborough

NEW YORK, June 18-The bitter

knockdown battle which has been

raging in the National Maritime Un-

ion (CIO) for several months, en-

tered its final stages last[®] Monday

night. June 14. at a membership

meeting in Manhattan Center. At this

meeting the Stalinists were roundly

trounced by their opponents on every

issue, from the election of chairman

The darling of the Stalinists, Fer-

dinand Smith, NMU secretary, was

defeated by an overwhelming major-

ity when he ran for chairman against

John Moriarity, a Rank and File group

By CLIF FORD

to adjournment.

in wrecking the strike aimed at unloosing the fund. This fund was to continue welfare payments, as well of provide pensions.

JUDGE AIDS OPERATORS

about pensions and a new contract. While Lewis is fighting in court LABOR ACTION has often said to have the 1947 fund released, Fedthat these problems must be solved eral Mediator Ching is busy ramming by replacing the present political through another injunction to keep parties with a Labor Party. This canthe miners chained to the pit face not be done by writing articles, or

when the present contract runs out. This injunction follows on the heels of the latest Goldsborough dictate forcing the union to admit the representative of the Southern Coal Producers Association to the present contract conference. The union had opposed this because the representative of this group is not authorized to sign for the companies he represents. The tyrannical "Southern" operators (they really come from Wall Street) are trying to re-establish lower wage scales in the South. They want a representative at the conference to beat down the winers, without committing themselves to anything in return. The scab government thought

this was a good idea-hence the injunction. The miners are ready to strike again: there is no question about that. Before the Taft-Hartley law and the return of government by injunction, that was enough. Today, however, the problem is tougher. The miners have got to do a little thinking about this. The meat packing workers were ready to strike, too. They wanted a living wage, and they got their heads cracked and their strike broken, instead. We don't mean that the bosses are able-vetto break a coal strike with clubs and

these days.

Stalinists Trounced at NMU

most two-to-one.

INTENSE CAMPAIGN

guns. We mention the meat strike as an example of how the bosses feel Membership Meeting in N.Y. lockers, stairways and check boards.

opposed the position of Curran and indulged in several minutes of mudslinging. What he said can be summed up in a few words: Curran is no good, the rank and file of the NMU are stupid, and he (Palazzi) advises the the membership to defy the injunction and go on strike. Whether or not the union could win the strike was shift-end. of secondary importance. It was the

principle of the thing that mattered. For a man who is utterly devoid of principle his speech was, to say the Charles Kieth, a prominent Rank and Filer, then took the floor. Accusing Palazzi of finking on the SS Dixiny Stalinist trickery.

But the bosses ARE ready to break in people's heads. It must be done a coal strike with a yellow-dog inthrough local unions passing resolutions and through individual miners junction. They've done it twice and spreading the idea far and wide. they intend to do it again. That is There is a convention of the UMW why they have been so arrogant coming up before long. The best way it can strike back at the coal barons is to launch a Labor Party movement. We cannot sit by and lose our union

Rank and File Opposition Wins UE Local 1581 Vote

BUFFALO, N. Y .-- Westinghouse UE-CIO Local 1581 workers went to the polls on Thursday, May 20, and voted a startling protest against the manner problem even after the Stalinists are in which Communist Party policy has dominated union affairs over the past year and a half.

They elected to office the entire Rank and File opposition slate which has been fighting against the Stalinist union program since the local's inception. There were 17 executive board and three negotiating committee posts open.

The margin of victory over the CP-dominated slate was small in many cases, but this was due to the fact that another anti-CP slate was in the field. The total vote of the two anti-CP slates showed the workers rejecting Stalinist unionism al-

The campaign itself reached an intensity which had foremen throwing up their hands as campaigners and counter-campaigners swept through their sections day after day on the trail of votes. Over a hundred thousand leaflects were poured into the plant. It will be weeks before all the stickers, chalked slogans and posters disappear from the washrooms, machines, walls, overhead cranes, girders, trucks, floors, phone booths,

Voting took place in a tent on the parking lot just outside the rear entrance where the largest number of workers entered and left. At the height of the heavy voting the three slates had about fifteen campaigners each shouting slogans as workers poured out at lunch hour and at

Regular New York State voting machines were used to ensure an honest and unchallengeable election. The election committee, won by the Rank and File Caucus at the previevery "t" and dotted every "i" to

gains chunk by chunk.

unite to mop up on the remaining Stalinist tendency, but the local will still be faced with an internal union completely eliminated. TENDENCIES DEVELOP

> The third anti-communism slate in the election, calling itself "Aggressive Members," expressed its resentment against Stalinism with an "I-Am-an-

> > the workers to throw out all Stalinists and Trotskyists. Angry at the tactics and political By EUGENE KELLER axes being ground by all of the Stalinists and some so-called "Trotskyists" in the plant, the "Aggressive" tendency turned to simple red-baiting. None of the leaders of this tendency have had any experience with

American" campaign and called upon

the consequences of red baiting. Within the Rank and File there are two tendencies which can be expected to sharpen on issues which will face the local in the coming year. The division smoldered below the surface for many months and finally broke out into the open before election over a motion to put the Rank and File on record "against the Communist Party and against red baiting." The motion carried and with it a majority of candidates were nominated on the slate who favored taking a public position against the CP.

However, some of those in the majority position favor the "Aggressive" slate position on the CP and "Trotskyism" and thus are used by the minority to "prove" that public attacks on the CP only pave the way for "red baiting."

The Rank and File division, however, can be expected to clarify itself in coming months over such issues as the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavits, over two different conceptions of local union democracy, ous membership meeting, crossed over what attitudes to present to the company on grievances and contract

JASON ANALYZES UAW AGREEMENTS FOR BUFFALO WP

BUFFALO, June 18-Walter Jason, Detroit correspondent for LABOR ACTION, tonight spoke before approximately fifty members and friends of the local branch of the Workers Party on "The Significance of the GM and Chrysler Settlements with the UAW-CIO."

Drawing on his years of experience in the labor movement and his intimate knowledge of personalities and events in the UAW center, Comrade Jason most effectively illustrated the lessons learned and the gains made in this most recent UAW struggle. Audience reaction to his comments regarding the sorry actions of most of the CIO bureaucracy, and the Stalinist and Socialist Workers Parties in the strike picture was exceptionally good . . . and loud.

A goodly amount of literature was sold at the conclusion of the meeting and Marge Tyler, branch literature director, reports that every person in the hall that evening is a subscriber to LABOR ACTION. That is a record of wich the Buffalo branch is indeed proud.

Successful Tri-Branch WP **Conference in Philadelphia**

PHILADELPHIA - The Baltimore, or June 12, completed the first day Reading and Philadelphia Branches of the conference. of the Workers Party held a Tri-Branch Educational Conference on Politics in 1948," was addressed by June 12 and 13. About 25 members Comrades Craig and Cohan of Philand sympathizers attended the four adelphia, the latter taking the specific sessions.

During the opening session Comrade Ernest Erber discussed "Nationalization, Statification and Stalinism." Various opinions were offered on Comrade Erber's view that thet German capitalist class, during the latter days of the Hitler dictatorship, was becoming more and more of a parasitic group without real function or power, its lack of authority being evidenced by its intability to end the war while something remained of its industrial machine.

SURVEY LABOR SCENE

A survey of American politics from pre-depression days to the present, also conducted by Comrade Erber, occupied the second session. Most emphasis was laid upon the New Deal.

> A social held at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Avenue, the evening

Fare Issue Raised Again

NEW YORK-With a higher transit fare becoming effective on July 1, the American Labor Party (ALP), a Stalinist-dominated minority party of some importance in this city, has announced that it will circulate petitions to place on the November 2 ballot a proposal to amend the City Charter so as to make, in effect, a five-cent fare on all city transit lines mandatory, and to make any future changes in the fare subject to popular referendum.

Before going into the reasons for this move on the part of the ALP at this time, it must be stated without qualification that it should have the full support of New York's workingpeople. The idea of having a referendum on whether or not the fare should be increased did not, of course, originate with the ALP. The N. Y. State Rapid Transit Law (to which the city's rapid transit system is subject) until recently provided that, if the transit fare was to be raised, the Board of Estimate, highest executive body of the city, had to institute a motion to that effect, but that this motion was subject to popular referendum provided the City Council

UAW CALLS FOR AMNESTY

Renewing the action of its convention in urging amnesty for war objectors, the Veterans Department tem at 5c a ride (unless a higher fare is approved by referendum). The ALP is not, to be sure, motivated by a sincere interest for New York's workingpeople. Its proposals come at a time when the internal conflicts of the city's Democratic Party are attaining a new pitch, with powerful cliques, mindful of their party's growing weakness, favoring an alignment with the Wallace-ALP forces. The injection of the fare issue into this situation would force many R.A.T. of T-H Democratic politicians into backing the ALP's proposal, with the benefit of favorable publicity going to the ALP. However, the fare rise now has the force of law and the proposal is certain to be challenged in the courts. The courts are not on the side of New York's workers and they are not likely to be swayed by the popular pressures the ALP is willing or able to rally.

initiated such a referendum within 30 days of the Board's motion.

This clause constituted the legal barrier to a fare increase. While the real estate and banking interests of this city consistently advocated a higher fare which would relieve them considerably of taxes, they rarely came out in open opposition to a referendum on the issue. Nor did, for obvious reasons, O'Dwyer or any of his associates come out for its revision. On the contrary, when he officially changed his position by advocating a fare increase, after the defeat at the polls of Proportional Representation in November 1947 seriously weakened the ALP and Liberal Party, he still left the impression that only a popular referendum could finally decide the issue. More devious ways of depriving the people of their* right to a voice in municipal affairs had to be found.

LAW AMENDED

With the cooperation of a Republican State Legislature, O'Dwyer had the Rapid Transit Law amended so that a fare rise making up for operating expenses would be at the discretion of the city authorities rather than be subject to a referendum which most certainly would find a vast majority opposed to it.

The proposal put forward by the ALP would make a referendum on the fare issue part of an amendment to the City Charter under which a Department of Transportation would be set up to operate the transit sys-

O'Dwyer had come out in favor of an increase.

For O'Dwyer had always related the wage raise, of which the transit workers were in desperate need, to a fare rise (when, as has been explained in LABOR ACTION before, the two are independent of each other). Thus he confronted Quill with the alternative of either fighting City Hall, that is calling a strike for higher wages without raising the price of the fare (which would truly have been in labor's interest), or breaking with the CIO Council and the ALP to accept a deal on O'Dwyer's terms. He chose the latter, supported by O'Dwyer's labor lackeys in the CIO State Council, the so-called "rightwingers.'

O'Dwyer thus won a very clever. game which, in terms of machine politics, cost the ALP heavily. It cannot be overemphasized that the latest move of the ALP on the fare issue is prompted by reasons solely related to regaining its position as a bureaucratic machine and as the Stalinist finger in the city's bureaucratic nie.

For the rest it is as incapable and as unwilling to be representative of the popular will as its Democratic or Republican counterparts.



(Continued from page 1)

June 28, 1948

The third session, entitled "Labor

question of Wallace. Among other

issues, the question of Workers Party

support to Norman Thomas for Presi-

ticket, was advocated by one mem-

ber, and discussed by the group.

OBJECTIVES OF NEGRO

society.

dent in 1948, on the Socialist Party

"Negro Organizations in the United

States" was the subject of the final

session of the Conference. Comrade

Kate Leonard, the speaker, summar-

ized the efforts of all significant Ne-

gro organizations as being directed

objectively toward full social, politi-

cal and economic equality with white ;

This view, she stated, is not held

by the Communist (Stalinist) Party,

which believes that fundamentally

Negroes are interested in separate

national existence, rather than in

equality and integration.

supporter. This was repeated in the election of recording secretary when another Stalinist, Bill McCarthy, was defeated by a Rank and Filer with the same majority.

Joseph Curran, NMU president, in making his report stated that although he was bitterly opposed to the injunction imposed by Truman. the union was not in a position at this time to defy it. He accused the Communist (Stalinist) Party members and officials within the union of being in large part responsible for placing the union in that position. And he added that some of these members and officials have the gall to propose that we defy the injunction. Attempting to stampede the membership into a strike at this time. he said, could very well mean the destruction of the union. Curran for his part would not lead the membership to suicide.

SPEAKERS DEBATE ISSUES

At the special membership meeting called for the purpose of ratifying the proposed tanker agreement on the previous Monday, the Stalinists had succeeded in preventing the vote from being taken by blocking the front of the hall and throwing pennies at the president. They were unable to prevent a secret ballot a few days later, however, and the membership in the Port of New York voted to ratify the agreement with an overwhelming yes vote. This, coupled with the almost unanimous -yes vote from the outports, doomed the Stalinist hopes of a rejection vote to failure.

In reference to this meeting, Curran made the following observation. He said that the membership by overriding the Stalinists' hysterial opposition had placed the union in a much better bargaining position than heretofore. The officials could now go to the government and the freighterpassenger operators with the position that if the tanker and collier operators were willing to agree with the union on the hiring-hall question it would leave the freighter-passenger operators without a valid argument against the hiring hall. During the period of the injunction the present contract would continue in effect. But the president added that any moves by the government or the shipowners against the hiring hall would be answered by a strike, injunction or no injunction.

Paul Palazzi, NMU port agent and a notorious Stalinist, then took the Maritime Union controlled its own floor. Ranting and raving, he bitterly destiny for the first time in a decade.

ana in 1936, he said that the Stalinists were following their rule-or-ruin poliy and knew the membership would not allow them to rule the union. Therefore they were determined to ruin it. One of the main reasons why the CP officials wanted to strike was to get their claws on the \$500,000 strike fund, which is the only fund into which they have not been able to dip their greasy fingers

RIFT IN STALINISTS

surprising indeed.

report.

the Stalinists had been halted. Any

to date.

least, hypocritical.

The next speaker was Vice-President Howard McKenzie. His speech denoted a rift in Stalinist policy. Strangely enough, McKenzie and Smith, both Stalinist big guns, had been moderately quiet of late. Both had ratified the collier agreement ruption. on the negotiating committee' in direct opposition to the Stalinist policy. When McKenzie spoke, he delivered a very weak and confusing speech. Half the time he said the men should strike immediately; in the other half he recommended obeying the injunction. This kind of delivery from a

Stalinist who is regarded as one of the best orators in the union was

The next speaker was Hedley Stone, the treasurer of the union. He stated that the milking of union funds by





disrupt the meeting followed; but seeming to sense the grim mood of the membership, they soon sat down. The motion to end discussion despite the Stalinist attempts to disrupt it was passed almost unanimously. Likewise the motion to accept Curran't

Soon after this, the motion was made to adjourn. The membership started to file slowly out amid the screams of the Stalinist faction that their democratic rights had been infringed. It was obvious to all that the Stalinist' sun had set. This was the beginning of the end for them. The Stalinist grip had been broken, and the membership of the National

With the Stalinists suffering a smashing defeat, the local now has three union tendencies in its mem- many political issues facing the UE bership ranks. All will continue to and the CIO as a whole.

demands, over methods of minimizing factionalism in the local and over

dent Truman, on behalf of the union. its desire for no further delay in the granting of amnesty.

GOP Scents Pork Barrell

(Continued from page 1)

the Greens will pray for a backroom deal that will place one of them at the head of the ticket. It will be a field day for "practical" politicians and American democracy will shine through the murk of horsetrades, log-rolling and general cor-

THIS IS NOT 1920

For the past few weeks the press has been filled with stories that compare this convention with the Chicago gathering that followed World War I. In many ways the parallel is apt and Philadelphia may yet spawn its Harding. Yet the similarity is largely superficial. There is a fundamental difference between the world of 1920 and the world of 1948.

He Didn't Say No



VANDENBERG

At the end of the First World War American capitalism could look forward to a period of comparative stability. The rush back to "normalcy" (the word was coined during the campaign) seemed both desirable and possible, even though the fabric of capitalist society had been irreparably rent by the imperialist holocaust just concluded.

Now there is no peace, no security,

of the UAW has expressed to Presi-

no stability on the horizon. Demo-

crats and Republicans alike must vote staggering sums for armaments. Holler and buck as they will, Republicans must vote billions for the partial resuscitation of Western Europe. It is as simple and as urgent as the instinct for self-preservation. World-wide crisis and the ominous threat of Russian imperialism con-

front Republicans as well as Democrats. "Republican" spells conservatism and reaction in the minds of most Americans, just as "Democrat" vaguely implies a more liberal political trend, except perhaps below the Mason-Dixon line. Room for any such differentiation, however illustory and specious in fact, is rapidly being narrowed by political and economic events. Roosevelt himself could not

revive today the New Deal he abandoned in 1938. Social reform of the most meager kind must make way in the battle for capitalist survival.

Nor can the Republicans return to the halcyon years of high tariffs, low taxes and "private" charities. The economy gestures of the last Congress will be forgotten as new appropriations are voted; tax cuts will be swallowed up as the military machine calls for more and more expenditures. An American worker with a robust

sense of humor may have had a certain cynical pleasure in watching the gyrations of the Republicans last week. If he did he still has the Democratic and Wallace conventions to look forward to. But no worker could do anything but watch with shame the spectacle of the union leaders who approached the Republican convention, hat in hand, to beg for a few favors.

The road to achievement of labor's political rights does not lead to Philadelphia, whether Convention Hall be filled with shouting Republican delegates or shouting Democratic delegates, or even more frenzied Wallace supporters. Only when labor strikes out on its own, leaving the thankless task of capitalist redemption to the capitalist parties, will a Negro GIs.

ALP ANTICS EXPLAINED

The ALP could have made its proposal long before the Board of Estimate ordered the fare rise. Its failure to do so, its failure to undertake any effective measures to implement its verbal opposition to a fare increase, was due to its fear of a break with Michael Quill and his Transport Workers Union (TWU).

It was this fear-a fear not remotely associated with the public interest that the ALP, like the other "political" machines, pretends to have at heart-which accounts for the fact that the ALP - Stalinist - dominated Greater New York CIO Council failed to even take a position, much less action, on the fare issue after

and women of this country. Such a new political party of labor would eliminate the threat of Stalinism in labor politics as organized in the Wallace-Communist Party. At the

same time, a labor party would proclaim its independence from the twin parties of Wall Street, Republican and Democratic. "American workers have learned to safeguard their wage standards through their economic organizations and their picket lines. But until they

have also formed a powerful political party, these economic gains will always be stolen from them in Washington. The Taft-Hartley law, the Mundt Bill, the scrapping of OPA, are all part of this steal.

"Our object in this campaign is to educate and organize for labor's political independence as against the Wall Street parties and the Wallace-Stalinists.'

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Hits Treatment

Discrimination against Negroes in every part of the conscription system was extended to include discrimination against Negro war objectors and even in the granting of pardons after completion of sentence, the Committee for Amnesty testified in Washington on May 8. Oliver Stone represented the committee in an appearance before the Commission of Inquiry into Wartime Treatment of

TAFT start be made toward the construc-

tion of a society that can bring genuine peace and security to its members.

Of Negro Gls

June 28, 1948



The Unions and Political Action

The nine justices of the Supreme Court pondered a serious question for months, and decided to duck it. In passing, they tossed a small victory the CIO's way. We would hardly dare suggest it ourselves, the Supreme Court being the august body it is, but we are reminded of the immortal Mr. Dooley's observation about the Supreme Court following the election returns. And the elections do not take place until November.

Our readers will remember that last fall CIO President Philip Murray deliberately courted a test of the Taft-Hartley Law by having published in the CIO News an endorsement of Edward Garmatz as Democratic candidate for Congress. In time, the government indicted Murray for violation of the law which, in the opinion of its, makers, banned publications financed by unions from entering a political campaign. The case was rushed through to the Supreme Court with the help of the CIO which sought a test of the constitutionality of the act. The court, however, in a June 21 decision, avoided the question of the act's constitutionality, and avowed that the CIO and its president had not violated the law: that is, it affirmed that the Taft-Hartley Law did not bar union publications from endorsing candidates.

The decision is something of a victory for the union movement. Something of a victory, and no more. Union publications will presumably be able to endorse candidates (especially if they are Democrats or Republicans), but the Taft-Hartley Law still hangs over the heads of the unions. The constitutionality of the act is left intact for the present. And by avoiding the issue of the law's constitutionality, the Supreme Court leaves undecided how far unions may go in political campaigning without violating the law.

There is only one way for labor to find outand that is to engage in all the political campaigning it wishes to without regard to the act. This will not only make clear what the Supreme Court thinks the law contains, but far more important it will, if properly used, be the best possible way to invalidate the act completely.

A number of things are immediately suggested by the Supreme Court's cautious verdict. For one thing it indicates the limitations of a court fight against the Taft-Hartley Law. We have written a hundred times that the unions are right, in our opinion, to challenge the act in court whenever and wherever possible, but that this can only be one part, and not the most important part, of the fight against it. Anything that will tie the government agencies seeking to enforce the act into a million knots, anything that will hamstring operation of the act is good. Good-but not sufficient.

What is basically required is that kind of essential counterattack which will pierce the law at its heart. Broadly, that counterattack consists of a union offensive which faces the law makers and law enforcers with a solid front of union men and women, AFL, CIO and independent, who refuse to knuckle under before the repression of the Taft-Hartley Law.

Specifically, with respect to the limitations on political action, there is in our opinion only one genuinely effective and lastingly valuable counterattack; namely, the organization of a political party of labor which launches an aggressive assault on the political institutions of its enemies.

The Taft-Hartley Law, it has been noted over and over again, arises out of a given politicaleconomic setup. Specifically it arises out of a conviction on the part of the capitalist lawmakers, in the Congress of the capitalist class, that the labor movement is not in a position to fight back and that its strength can therefore be sapped by

weren't so gruesome, it would be hilarious! Murray himself has, we believe, half a vote at the convention which will decide whether injunctionist Truman, or some other capitalist candidate, is to be the party's standard bearer.

1948 is the payoff on the years of politics that our leadership has foisted on the labor movement. It bears interesting comparison with 1936, when the "labor men" made their first big splash at a Democratic Party convention, then headed by Roosevelt, and 1944 when they were influential enough almost to get Wallace nominated for the vice-presidency, when "clear it with Sidney" (Sidney Hillman, late president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union) was a convention by-word.

The years have paid off big—in the war time no-strike pledge, in the restoration of Government by Injunction and Government by Judiciary, in the wage raises stolen through price increases, in the Taft-Hartley Law (blamed on a Republican Congress, of course) . . . and in the muted behavior of the "labor delegates" and the PAC machine at the coming Democratic convention. This year Jack

Something to Remember

"Let us prove that we are truly grateful to Congressman Hartley for the fine service he has rendered us, by returning him to Congress by an overwhelming vote." A letter received on April 26, 1940, by all AFL city central labor bodies and local trades unions in the 10th Congressional District of New Jersey. It was signed by William Green, President of the AFL. Congressman Hartley is, of course, one of the fathers of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law.

Kroll, PAC head who replaced Hillman, will not preside at a busy, central, hotel headquarters. It is reported that the CIO is renting a modest loft somewhere in Philadelphia. It wants, you see, to get the best it can, to offend nobody—nobody, that is, except every working man and woman.

None of this will help us; all of this will only injure us. Yes, a concession may be granted here or there, but even then only if it seems clear that our strength can wrest that concession. We are much too big, our need is too big, to be satisfied with concessions that only mitigate other blows. There is absolutely nothing in common between the interests of the labor movement and the Democratic or Republican conventions. Their business, the business of these two conventions, is the business of the capitalist class. We should view them as we view any activities of our enemies; we should interfere only as we interfere in the life of the enemy camp-to disrupt, to harass, to defeat.

PAC headquarters at a convention called to form a . . .



that makes sense. That is where the labor delegates belong, and that is where the men and women in the shops ought to see that they go. Murray and Kroll like Green or Hutcheson, will not take the initiative for a labor party. They will in fact do everything to block it. Some of them can be made to go along if we apply such pressure as they cannot withstand; the others won't matter.

LABOR ACTION



Has the Stalinist movement begun a new campaign for control and mastery over the Europeán continent? Has the period of lull and retreat that began with the electoral defeat in Italy several months ago come to an end? While it is not yet possible to answer this question with absolute certainty there are many indications that a new phase in the Stalinist program for the conquest of Europe has begun.

We know, of course, that the retreat of Stalinism after its defeat in Italy would only be a temporary matter, in any case. As a social system whose significance spreads far beyond the confines of Russian borders, Stalinism may be temporarily pushed back at given points, but can never be definitively defeated except by a force which would destroy it by means of its social superiority. This force could only be the socialist revolution, a nonexistent force in Europe today. The only serious rival that Stalinism must face at the moment, therefore, is American imperialism which can only contain or check it at this or that point.

But Stalinism has its ups and downs and its road to power in Western Europe is far from easy or sure. In this sense there is a strategy and tempo for attempted European conquest which is largely determined by the Kremlin dictators and the Cominform bureaucrats operating out of Belgrade.

THRUST TOWARDS WESTERN EUROPE

After the Italian elections, a period of reorganziation, retrenchment, hardening of the Stalinist party ranks, consolidation, etc., was ordered from above. This took many forms. The parties in Eastern Europe and Italy, with the Hungarian CP in the lead, were purged of "unreliable elements that had entered en masse since the end of the war," and more rigid membership standards have been introduced. This meant a purge of opportunist, careerist and haven-seeking elements. Important Italian leaders were demoted-that is, punished; Gottwald was kicked upstairs to the presidency of Czechoslovakia and sharp warnings were issued about the abuse of governmental power. Simultaneously, a completion of nationalization and the erection of the new state apparatus in all the conquered countries was carried out, so that they now form substantially one solid bloc, unified elements in the Kremlin pattern. The Kremlin theory, clearly, is that a solid base in eastern Europe, tightly bound together by economic treaties, similarly patterned Stalinist regimes and the cement of GPU terror, will provide the best possible background for thrusts into western Europe.

By western Europe, of course, the Stalinists have primarily France and western Germany in mind. Since their major strategic effort for some time past, and in the future, will be the struggle against the Marshall Plan, It is quite natural that their efforts will be concentrated in those two countries key to the success or failure of this plan. France is to receive the largest share of Marshall Plan aid during 1948, while the revival of the Ruhr's productivity is essential from the viewpoint of American imperialism. Thus, the early indications of a new Stalinist offensive are centered in these countries.

In France, where government policy has failed to drive back the inflated price levels (there has actually been a 2 to 5 per cent increase since the formation of the present Schuman cabinet), the labor movement is demanding revision of minimum wage standards, and both federations of labor have called for a 20 per cent general increase. Despite the fact that productivity in heavy industry is now above the 1938 level (the first country in post-war Europe to attain such a goal!), all the evils of inflation and high prices are still present. There is therefore enormous and justified discontent among the workers, making it possible for the French Stalinists to largely retain their influence among the workers despite their major defeats of last year and the general tendency of political stagnation even in the French Stalinist party.

Thus, in their stronghold of Clermont-Ferrant, the Stalinists were able to lead the rubber workers into aggressive strike action, spread this action into various key cities of France and pull off a one-hour general strike demonstration. All this was probably preliminary to more serious and widespread battles undoubtedly on the Stalinist schedule. It was a form of testing the mood of the French proletariat at this moment, and the response has undoubtedly been encouraging to the Stalinist leaders. While this does not necessarily mean a new wave of strikes similar to those of last winter, it does mean that the French working class is about to resume its class struggle-still under Stalinist leadership-over the issue of who shall benefit from the recovery brought about by the ERP program.

STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY NEARS CLIMAX

Germany, of course, provides the real center for the renewed struggle between Stalinism and American imperialism for control over Europe. There the Stalinists are in the midst of a militant campaign, basing itself on the desires of the German people for national unification, against the Allied occupants of western Germany. The struggle for Berlin rages more violently than ever and is definitely approaching a climax.

The first steps in the formation of a western German state and the currency reform carried out by the Allies as a means of completing, on an economic plane, that splitting of Germany already carried out politically and geographically, has stimulated the Stalinists in Germany to new heights. They will shortly announce formation of their own German state which, henceforth, will wage war for absorption of the balance of Germany by any means conceivable.

Without necessarily adding up to a major effort or gamble on the part of Stalinism-such as an attempt to actually seize power in one of the countries of western Europe-all this seems to indicate active and aggressive days ahead for the Stalinists and their machines. To what lengths they will go is, of course, unpredictable. Stalinism operates on many complex levels -ranging from the organized squads and groups of gangster and criminal elements to the manipulation of great masses involved in social struggles. Its temporary respite and regrouping seems to be drawing to an end and, in view of the incapacity of European capitalism, aided though it is by American capitalism, to solve any of the major economic problems of Europe, the vast and restless Stalinist machine finds more than enough sources to feed its criminal appetite.

HENRY JUDD



Supporting a Garmatz may have the virtue of TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC, by els of World War I did-debunk the a suggestive chord: the unvoiced glory. Yet "The Landing on Kuralei,"



MORE INFLATION AHEAD

The consensus of economists in and out of the government is that Washington's rearmament program will become the dominant economic force as 1948 unrolls, and many observers believe a new wave of "hyper-inflation" is on the way, Martin R. Gainsbrugh, chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board, recently declared that "each dollar spent for rearmament in the months ahead will push us steadily away from the possibility of absorbing the unparalleled inflation of World War II, toward a new sequence of hyper-inflation. . . . We now are embarked upon a new adventure with inflation which may not be so favorably resolved."

Joseph M. Dodge, president of the American Bankers Association, pointed out in Chicago recently that whatever is taken out of present production for military use will have to be taken out of the consumer's interest in present production. That would reduce the deflationary effect of production increases.

"There is none of the universal optimism which has been one of the most important factors in the development of past inflationary cycles," he said. "Everyone is worried and thinking about the problems of either inflation or deflation."

Mr. Gainsbrugh, in his analysis, said that prices would rise, particularly for manufactured goods. He predicted higher direct and indirect taxes, with tighter government control over the economy. "The sapping character of the new rearmament program is not sufficiently stressed," he added. "It comes after the world's costliest war, followed by a period of hyper-full consumption and hyper-full capital replacement. The prolonged character of Rearmament II is also foreboding. Little prospect of reducing its strain exists, unless we engage in the costlier process of war itself."

Parallel with the rearmament program is the Marshall Plan, which in the 12-month period from April 1, 1948, to April 1, 1949, will take the following U. S. materials to Europe: Iron and steel, 2,500,000 tons, up 40 per cent from 1947; machinery and industrial equipment, up about 21/2 times over 1947, to \$1,000,000,000; petroleum equipment, \$250,000,000; steel producing machinery, \$50,000,000; farm machinery, \$120,000,000, about double 1947; coal mining machinery, \$80,-000,000; electric equipment, up 50 per cent over 1947, to \$100,000,000; electric power plant construction equipment, \$120,000,000; lumbering equipment, \$20,000,000; industrial machinery, \$250,000,000; office equipment, \$45,000,000; aircraft, about \$50,000,000; merchant ships, sharply down, to \$50,000,000; freight cars and trucks, \$300,000,000; coal, 33,000,000 tons; petroleum, the same as last year; chemicals, \$350,000,000; non-ferrous metals, \$70,000,000; wheat, down 15 per cent, to 250,000,000 bushels; fats and oils, down to 320,000,000 pounds; other foods, up 25 per cent; raw cotton, up from 1.3 million bales to 2.3 million bales; tobacco, a 20 per cent increase to 440,000,000 pounds; timber, up slightly to 780,000,000 board feet. The above buying estimates are tentative, but serve to give a fair conception of the strain on the U.S. economy represented by the "stop Russia" European Recovery Program.

PROFITS, PRICES UP

You will note that heavy industry accounts

legislative measures.

Given the spectacle of the labor leadership, which makes its boldest stroke on behalf of a Democratic Party candidate, and which will go to any lengths to prevent the formation of a labor party, the employers and the employers' Congress have considerable reason for their convictions. In which connection it is worth a look at the pitiable behavior, to put it mildly, of the union leaders at the Democratic and Republican . . .

Conventions-

Little needs to be said of a Hutcheson, carpenters' union boss, who is the big labor figure at the Republic convention. At any rate, the less said about a Hutcheson type, the better. But we also read that the AFL and the CIO sent their representatives, if we are not mistaken, no less than William Green for the AFL and Van Bittner for the CIO, to the Republican convention's committee on labor policy. Oh, they complained about what the Republicans had been doing in Congress, and made a firm request for improved social legislation. But it is hard to understand why they just about avoided all mention or more than brief mention of the Taft-Hartley Law, about which the labor leaders promised to raise so much hell.

And it is harder still to understand what they were doing before this committee in the first place. Hard to understand what they were doing there from the point of view of labor's interest which dictates their presence at the committees of a party that is labor's own; not hard to understand from the point of view of the Greens to whom real labor politics is anathema, who are as loyal to the capitalist system, its parties as well as its economics, as any Taft or Truman.

If the relations of the labor leaderships with the Republican convention evoke a little disgust, what shall we say of their relations with the Democratic convention which is to follow the Republicans in Philadelphia? The measure of these men who serve as our leaders can here be taken. There will be some 200, possibly more, of "labor delegates" at the Democratic convention. "Labor delegates" at the Democratic convention-if it



providing a test for the Supreme Court to play. safe on. It has no other virtue. We have to meet the problem of a capitalist Congress by seeking to place our men in Congress with the ultimate view of creating a workers' government, a government serving the people. Just as we can make no effective test of the Taft-Hartley restrictions on political campaigning except by undertaking a real political campaign of our own, so we cannot make any effective contest against the capitalist political system without a party of our own.

Behold the labor leaderships at the conventions of the two boss parties! The sight itself argues for a Labor Party, for the demand that PAC cease being a tail of the Democratic Party and become a Labor Party. It is an argument that ought to be made at every union meeting.

The BOOK SERVICE Now Has These Hard To Get Items: by Leon Trotsky

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James A. Michener. Pocket Books. 312 pages, 25 cents.

This is a Pulitzer Prize winnernot the great novel of World War II whose appearance is still being awaited.

Tales of the South Pacific is a collection of fourteen short stories (five fewer than in the original edition), given a rough continuity through successively leading up to a story of an assault landing, the account of which forms the climax of the book.

Only two stories have much value. The first is "An Officer and a Gentleman." It is the neatly laid-in story of a Princeton man, woman-hungry on a Pacific island, whose Philadelphia Main Line snobbishness prevents him from taking a pretty nurse. The second is "Fo 'Dolla'," a variation of the East-is-East-and-West--is-West theme involving a marine lieutenant, a beteljuice-stained Tokinese named Bloody Mary, and her vision of a daughter.

These are good because Michener obviously understands the type involved (John O'Hara's country-club set from "Appointment in Samara" who have beaten the draft into the navy) and the problems which confront them.

The other stories are not so good. "Wine for the Mess at Segi" is a banal story of island-hopping by plane all over the jungle circuit searching for Christmas liquor. "A Boar's Tooth" is little more than a lecture in anthropology. "Frisco" is a patronizing description of enlisted men before an assault landing.

What have we the right to demand of a story coming out of World War II?

It would seem that it should, at least, accomplish what the great nov-

by

patriotism, amateurishly evoked. The characters should be authentic. Yet Michener (like the far subtler Stephen Spender in "European Witness") treats enlisted men like Shakespeareast rustics—as comedy relief. Nor does the author achieve the specific atmosphere of war: loneliness, hopelessness, fear, death.

We have the right to expect more, in one respect or another-small things like more realistic dialogue, some understanding of the plight of the enemy, some sort of social insight into the war, an integrating concept-even Ernst Jünger's fiery vision of the war of matériel-suitable to the vast totality of this war. Michener does occasionally strike

The Expendable Civilian

There is a story about, unconfirmed by the usually reliable sources, that the War Department has worked out a brand new concept for the brand new war that is going to take place. The story is so plausible that there is no doubt a great deal of truth in it.

This latest brilliant idea churned out by the much-maligned military mind is the notion of the expendable civilian. There will be no discrimination in the next war on this count. It is even certain that there won't be any segregation. There won't be Negro expendables and white expendables. Everybody, in this third war to end wars, is going to have a good chance at getting killed. A good bomb is an excellent democrat: everybody is eligible for destruction. The bigger the bomb the wider the democracy. In fact, bombs are the real Levellers of our time.

Now this military mind we're talking about, knowing full well that people are going to get killed decided that something should be done about it, So It (the mind) worked up a name, the "expendable civilian," and figured out to the closest million how many civilians will be expendable in the next war.

The source of this story did not indicate how the figure was arrived at but he was certain it was not fished out of a bowl. According to the War Department 40,000,000 (forty million) civilians will be expendable.

It is not clear whether this figure includes infants and children. These are not usually referred to as "civilians." Besides it can almost be taken for granted that babies would be expendable. The killing of a few million babies couldn't possibly have any effect on the war effort. A babe-in-arms can't do any fighting as every general knows.

Forty million expendables! This is a tremendous comfort. Population 140,000,000. Subtract 40,000,000 and you get what is still a tidy little population. One hundred million is still better than most countries in the world. Besides for the greater part of its history, the U. S. has had much less than one hundred million people in it. And what was good enough for our ancestors is certainly good enough for us. It will be a great comfort to 40 million of us to know that though we go under the country will survive.

It's a tricky question who exactly will be expendable and who will not. Forty million is just a little better than one for three and it's almost a flip of the coin whether you or your neighbor will not be the contributor to the depopulation of the country. It will be interesting to hear from the Mind how he approaches the subject. We won't anticipate, sure that nothing we could dream of would rival its ingenuity.

fear and the inner gratefulness for the climax of these tales, is crude those who voice it, the transmission of courage by example, the "inner caves" men fled to, the chain of causation ending at the attack on the pillbox, the chain of consequences which follow, the island loneliness, the primal magnetism exerted by women in combat areas, departures, the jumpoff moment, the arbitrariness of death.

> But these insights are never deepened. What emerges is a marketable collection of gags, alcoholics, the currently fashionble anti-racism, hardboiled patriotism, sexual freedom (with natives), and musings of the Ye Olde Spittoone Philosopher type. Hollywood take it away!

> > JAMES M. FENWICK

for most of the Marshall Plan spending, and will understand that it is heavy industry that is most firmly committed both to support of the Marshall Plan and to the rearmanent program. Estimates of 1948 profits indicate that, after

all-time records in 1946 and 1947, they will be higher than ever in 1948. An analysis of earnings of 111 companies in 15 industries shows that in the first quarter of 1948 these companies had earnings 26 per cent above 1947, "to dispute a widespread belief that profit margins of business generally are shrinking," as the Wall Street Journal put it.

A dozen oil companies almost doubled their profits in the first three months of 1948, compared with the same period a year ago.

Prices are jumping up again. Almost all automobile manufacturers have raised prices from 5 to 10 per cent in the last 60 days. Lumber prices have bounced back to last year's peak. The prices of wool, both domestic and imported, have hit their highest peaks in 25 years. The clothing industry is estimating it will raise prices sharply on men's and women's suits in the fall. The price of hides has risen 25 per cent since the first of the year. Cottonseed oil rose from 21 cents a pound in February to 35 cents; soybean oil, from 161/2 cents to 261/2 cents.

The Commerce Department's Office of Business Economics reported that prices moved upward during April in all major commodity groups. Wholesale commodity prices were uniformly higher in April, indicating that the trend of retail prices will continue upward.

Well, what is the consumer doing during this profit festival? He is going further into debt, of course. According to a recent study by the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, "In the year and a half since prices were decontrolled, the cost of living has risen by one-fourth. At the same time, consumer expenditures have increased and personal savings have decreased at about the same rate as the price rise."

Lower income groups were found to be using "war-accumulated liquid assets" at a rising rate; there was a slowing down in repayment of debts and some rise in new debt, particularly for buying consumer goods and housing. The bank predicted "further heavy dissaving on the part of at least one-fourth of all spending units" in 1948. That's a banker's way of saying that one-quarter of the American people will be worse off at the end of the year than they were at the beginning.

The Major Strikes Out

"There are fourteen papers printed in Athens and all of them deal principally with politics. People buy the papers not to read who won the ball game or the horse race but to read and discuss politics. We talk about last night's fight or ball game; they talk about last night's debate. I say if they had a lot of baseball or football. they'd learn how to work together." Major General William G. Livesay, U. S. military chief in Greece who just returned, quoted in interview in the newspaper PM.

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LABOR ACTION

June 28, 1948

GOP and Democrats Are Two Sides of Same Counterfeit Coin_

Congress Record Spells Labor Party Need-

(Continued from page 1)

perialism the Congress took in stride; but when it come to such a little thing as lifting the tax on oleo so that people who can't afford to buy precious butter may at least afford the substitute, the Congress could not bring itself to do anything. There was, of course, the dairy lobby to consider.

There are at least 750,000 wage earners and their families who will not need too much convincing about. the character of the Congress. They are the salesmen, taxi drivers, pieceworkers and others who Congressmen think are not entitled to social-security coverage. The Supreme Court ruled last year that such workers are covered by social security; Congress passed a bill to exclude them.

An entirely different opinion of Congress is undoubtedly held by the railroads, for the legislative body obligingly passed a law allowing the roads to fix rates without fear of anti-trust prosecution, provided only that their rate-fixing agreements have the sanction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, an agency traditionally sensitive to the wishes of the railroads.

HEALTH IS "SOCIALISTIC"

Congress took no action toward a federally supported health program, though the inability of the majority of the people to pay for adequate doctor's services and for hospitalization results in many unnecessary deaths and in much chronic ill of bigotry." And the extremely cyni-

health. A health program is, for- cal predict that Congress will never sooth, "socialistic."

However, it is not "socialistic" for the long arm of the military to reach into homes and schools to yank from their normal pursuits young men nineteen to twenty-five for a twentyone-month period of military service. Whatever the Congress left undone, it saw to it that the peacetime draft was passed and the militarization of enumeration. the country furthered so alarmingly. Inductions are to begin within ninety days. To stimulate "yolunteers" the law allows 161,000 eighteen-year-olds to enlist for one year of service with the regular forces. Thus, incidentally, the meaning of the word "volun-

teer" is changed. A youth of eighteen faces the dubious choice of taking his medicine for twelve months, or waiting till he is nineteen and then being forced to take it for twentyone months. •

Some may credit the Eightieth Congress with the passage of a DP law admitting 205,000 to this country within the next two years. The humanitarian aspect of this law is subject to question. Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Committee, commented: Jewish "Through ignorance or design, this legislation in effect aims at deliberate exclusion of Jews and to a lesser extent at Catholics now languishing in displaced-persons camps in Europe." The New York Times editorially commented that the bill is "a shameful victory for the school

grant the necessary appropriations to make the extensive investigations of DPs that the law calls for.

The foregoing is not an altogether complete record of the omissions and commissions of the Eightieth Congress, but it suffices. The rest is in the same groove. Perhaps one more point should be added to the above

Congress voted to separate the United States Employment Service, such as it is, from the Department of Labor, such as it is-placing the employment office under the Federal Security Agency. This so slashes the functions of the Department of Labor that the next logical step may well be to abolish the Department of Labor altogether. Of course the

ist government is no agency of work- interests of workingpeople. They ingmen, but the desire of the Congress to emasculate it is symbolic of the Congress's whole attitude to labor.

The bad record of Congress has given President Truman an opportunity to make political hay, especially since some of the worst bills were passed over his veto. However, Department of Labor of the capital- short memories play havoc with the

must not forget that two years ago they were fed up with the inadequacies of the Democratic Congress and the Democratic administration. and for very, very good reasons. Whether they turn up the Democratic side of the coin or the Republican side, it's the same coin. As far as the workingpeople are concerned, the coin itself is counterfeit.

IS THE ONLY WAY OUT

The old Social-Democracy suffers

the sclerósis of old age, loses its own

physiognomy and is divided into two

camps: the pro-capitalist camp of

Attlee and Blum, and the pro-Stalin-

ist camp of Nenni, Fierlinger and

Cyrankiewicz. The pro-Stalinist So-

cial-Democracy is doomed to absorp-

tion and irremediable political liqui-

dation. The "Western" Social-Democ-

racy is chained to the chariot of Wall

Street, capitalist restoration and the

new imperialist war. The Social-De-

mocracy of the Russian Zone, op-

which undermined the political life

remains of it. If this criticism of Sta-

linism is subjected to a reformist,

pro-capitalist policy, then our op-

As never before, conditions call for the formation of an independent labor party projected by organized labor to further the true interests of the workingpeople as a whole. An independent labor party, independent of the capitalist class and the capitalist parties, independent of the Kremlin and its political offshoots, is the answer to the anti-people record of the Eightieth Congress.

_THE AGONY OF EUROPEAN REFORMISM. Social Democrats in Russian Zone Form Bureau

By A. RUDZIENSKI

Despite many laborious international conferences, all attempts to revive the Second (Socialist) International have failed. The principal cause, perhaps, of this failure has been the division of the old European Social-Democracy into a "Western" wing under the leadership of the British Labor Party, and an "Eastern" wing in the countries dominated by the Russian invaders. Until a short time ago, the British Laborites were still trying to maintain relations with the Social-Democratic parties of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and not only invited delegations from the Russian Zone to the international congresses, but refused admission to the representatives of the Social - Democratic Parties in exile from these same countries. Thus, in the last international conference in Belgium, the delegates of the PPS

(Polish Socialist Party) were refused admission. The PPS has a considerable organization among the Polish workers of France, Great Britain and Belgium, leaving aside the illegal workers' organizations in Poland. It is the only organized work-

ing-class force which opposes the Stalinist government in Poland. The Social-Democracy of the Rus-

sian Zone took the road of collaboration with the Stalinist invader, just as the Western Social - Democracy took the road of collaboration with its own and American capitalism. In the first period the Stalinist police permitted the collaborating Socialists a certain autonomy of organization, under the condition of collaboration. But the more the process of disillusionment advanced among the workers and peasants with regard to Stalinism, the wider the scope of political "totalization," the greater grew the political pressure on the Socialists, and with it the danger of obsorption by the Stalinist organiza-

tions. Although in Rumania and Yugoslavia the Socialists did not play a

kovi, the Yugoslavs; Karol Peyer., the Hungarians; and Yancu Zissu, the Rumanians.

The political declaration of the conference attacks Russia's economic policy in the occupied countries, accusing it of extracting goods without any sort of equivalent exchange through economic agreements dictated to the puppet regimes. "In addition, the governments, with their policy directed toward a forced and accelerated industrialization, maintaining armies which are much too large, and fostering the incredible growth of a bureaucracy, exhaust the resources and productive forces of the worker and peasant masses." "The incorporation of these countries into the political orbit of the USSR is an obstacle to peaceful relations and prepares a new war, and is a brake on the economic reconstruction of these countries. . . ." "Consequently we witness the fact that these countries, rich in the sphere of agricultural production, die of hunger, those having an abundance of coal die of cold, because exports to the East devastate the internal market."

The declaration comes out in favor of American aid for Europe and European unity without "limiting the liberty of the peoples." "The current policies of our governments inevitably lead to a lowering of living standards to the Soviet level. The policy of low wages and Stakhanovism constitutes a pronounced expression of this tendency." "We protest against this policy, which, being in the service of foreign interests, rejects the Marshall Plan, putting obstacles in the way of the reconstruction of Western Europe and destroying international collaboration." "Europe is one unit from the economic point of view, and the reconstruction of Western Europe can only be carried out with a maximum of difficulty if Eastern Europe remains isolated, since its economy has a complemen-

tary character, if the products of

Polish Socialists; Topalovic and Draz- Eastern Europe without setting into camp is weak because of the supremmotion an independent revolutionary acy of Stalinism in the working class, tomorrow it will be strong policy of the proletariat. This procapitalist tendency appears to us to when this supremacy is destroyed. be reactionary and harmful for the **REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM** . interests of international socialism.

But the resolution also presents another tendency, that of criticism of the economic policy of Stalinism, criticism of the exploitation of the peoples in the occupied countries, of the lowering of the living standards of the workers and peasants to the Russian level: criticism of the totalitarian persecution of the workers and peasants' opposition, of the police regime, of the reactionary economic autarchy, and the division of Europe into two opposing blocs; criticism of economic imperialism and the existing threat to world peace.

posed to Stalinism, tries to avoid the This criticism of Stalinism, its economic policy and its totalitarian refate of both twin sisters; tries to give the new tendency its own exgime, contains elements that are undeniably new, almost "Trotskyist," pression, but its political declaration contains theoretical contradictions which are not subordinated to the pro-capitalist line of the other tendency. Since the Social-Democratic of the Second International and what oppositionists are an important workers' force in the Russian Zone of Eupro-capialist policy, then our oprope, the Marxist movement, whether it wants to or not, must support them in the struggle against the Stalinist reaction. insofar as this struggle develops within the framework Street. of the struggle of the workers against the bureaucratic regime. We, the revolutionary socialists, support the workers' criticism of Stalinism. We support the workers' struggle against Stalinism to the degree that this serves the interests of the working class, the interests of world socialism, and the socialist revolution; but we oppose the tendency which would subject this workers' struggle to the interests of capitalism, to the tendencies of capitalist restoration in

We understand the difficult situation of the Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Rumanian and Czech Social-Democrats. Every day the proletariat and poor peasantry of these countries increase their hatred of the Sta

Eastern Europe, to American impe-

rialist penetration.

the green and triumphant life. The road to victory is the revolutionary independence of the workers' movement.

No masters for the proletariat and the Marxist intellectuals. Against Moscow and against Wall Street. For the victory of world socialism built on the defeat of both reactionary camps, capitalist reaction and Stalinist cannibalism. For the third independent camp of the triumphant world socialist revolution!

(Translated by Abe Stein)

Important Business

"Mrs. Roscoe C. O'Byrne, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, today presented the principal matter to come before the current 57th Continental Congress, a \$900,000 building project. Planned as an addition to the alreadyimpressive DAR headquarters in Washington, this project would chiefly permit more efficient tracing of geneological lines, the basis for the society."-N. Y. Times, May 21, 1948.

formed into bearers of capitalist restoration under the scepter of Wall ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION The sad spectacle of the remains of BOOK SERVICE. the Second International divided between two bosses reminds us of those 4 Court Square Roman gladiators who marched to Long Island City 1, N. Y. their death shouting, "Ave Caesar. imperator,' morituri te salutant." ("Hail Caesar the emperor, in dying Marxist revolutionary thought does OFFTHE not play the part of gladiator to any emperor, but forges its own future, PRESS the glorious and victorious future of the world proletariat; it does not go toward death as do the sclerotic and outdated movements, but even in the gray days of defeat marches toward 1947 BOUND VOLUMES Limited Number of Copies: OF

LABOR

Taylor's Filibuster-

(Continued from page 1)

to the blindest that the draft is part of a program of imperialism. It does not stand by itself, isolated, as a military step. Armies are intended for use.

Opposition to militarization can also spring from many sources. Until a few months ago Senator Taft, leading Senate isolationist, opposed the draft. It was Senator William Langer of North Dakota, an isolationist, who assisted Taylor's filibuster. And on the final vote in the House, 136 representatives, an even one third of those present, voted against the draft. Among those opposing it were liberals like Klein, Celler and Bloom of New York and Douglas and Holifield of California. Also voting against were outright reactionaries like Rankin and Sabath. The Wallace-Stalinist Party does not support any of these representatives as yet. Nor can socialists who are in principle opposed to imperialism. support any of these politicians just. because they voted "no" on the draft.

World War II . . . who constitute a reserve of trained personnel that will be available for at least 10 years." He later made clear what he meant: "I would have men of World War II as a reserve but I would have a foreign policy that would not make it necessary to call them." A reserve of 10 million would constitute the largest reserve outside of Russia. The designation of veterans for such a reserve would create a huge military apparatus in control of one of the key sections of the population.

POWER DIPLOMACY

Wallace proposed, instead of a draft, that the army increase pay, democratize and in other ways make itself more attractive in order to recruit more volunteers. He distinguished himself at the hearings by being the only anti-draft witness to actually call for a larger army than the militarists were asking.

As a member of Roosevelt's war cabinet and of the Board of Economic Warfare, Wallace was directly responsible for policies which led to the development of the atomic bomb. He was in the Truman cabinet when the decision was made to release the most horrifying weapon of all times. Today, of course, in strict -accord with Stalinist politics, Wallace says he is opposed to "atomic diplomacy." If there is need to fight "atomic diplomacy" today, it is in some measure because Wallace supported it yesterday. As a member of the Roosevelt and Truman cabinets, Wallace did not have a word to say against administration proposals for drafting labor. This is the record. The reason for Wallace and Taylor's opposition to the draft today lies in their foreign policy. They propose to continue the secret diplomacy policy of Big Three rule to divide the world. Peace, through division of the world among the victors, Russia included. It is not as anti-imperialists that they oppose the draft, but for Russian imperialism through a policy of appeasement. The Wallace-Stalinist Party already has a dirty banner on the question of war and militarism. It cannot lead the people against war. This is the larger pattern of which the Taylor filibuster is a part.

THE WALLACE POSITION

It is clear that the vote on the draft does not entitle any politician to lead the people against war. We must find out why he voted "no" and what his whole program is. Of all the various oppositions to militarism, whether they be socialist, pacifist or isolationist, that of the Wallace-Stalinist Party is the most checkered, inconsistent and contradictory.

Appearing before the Senate Armed Forces Committee on March 30 in opposition to this same draft, Henry Wallace presented his own positive program as follows: ". . . That is a matter of having an exceedingly well trained force, we will say, of perhaps a million men." At that time Secretary Forrestal had asked for 782,000 men and claimed he needed the draft to fill that quota. Even the present draft law provides for an army of 850,000. Yet Wallace "took out of the air" the figure of one million men to be militarized.

Was this one of the many "slips" for which Wallace is famous? He continued his testimony, however: "If we need trained reserves, we now have 15,000,000 veterans of

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Zone..... State.

major role, this process was clearly demonstrated in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In Hungary the Social-Democrats were "expropriated" and compelled to accept Stalinist orders. In Czechoslovakia the Socialists were the victims of an internal coup by means of which the anti-Stalinist leadership was deposed and a new leadership under Zdenek Fierlinger, Stalinist collaborator, was installed. In Poland the old PPS, according to the words of A. Cliokosz, "was expropriated from its own organization, press, program and emblems." While the authentic PPS fought heroically in the Warsaw revolution, the agents of the GPU organized a "congress" in Lublin of collaborating elements, who formed the pseudo-PPS, led by Russian agents. The real PPS was exposed to savage persecution, and every attempt to legalize an independent Socialist Party was roundly frustrated by the "popular government." The "independence" of the pseudo-PPS was due to the opposition of Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party. Now, after the liquidation of the peasant movement, the GPU has proclaimed' the necessity of "fusion" between the "two workers parties." In a word, the doom of

INDICT COLLABORATORS WITH STALINISTS The destiny of the Stalinist-collab-

the pseudo-PPS has been sealed.

orating Social - Democracy is deter-AT A REASONABLE PRICE mined by the progress of Stalinist totalitarianism and reaction in Europe. The old workers' organizations are being absorbed and subjected to 25 cents a single command. The formal "independence" of the Social-Democratic 35 cents organizations in Poland as well as in Czechoslovakia was the conse-25 cents 25 cents 25 cents 25 cents

quence of a Stalinist maneuver and their, liquidation is only a matter of time. The elements in opposition to Stalinism must flee into exile, "submit" politically, or be assassinated, as was the case of the Polish Socialists, Zdanowsky, Paydak and others. Given these conditions, the Social Democratic opposition of the Soviet Zone, threatened with physical "liquidation" by the GPU and rejected by their British colleagues, remained without any possibilities and international representation. To find a way out of this blind alley, an international conference of representatives from the opposition Social-Democratic groups in the Russian Zone was recently held in Paris. Ciol-

kosz and Zaremba represented the

Eastern Europe required by Western Europe, are by force directed toward the East instead of finding their traditional outlets in the West."

The declaration asks for international pressure on the satellite governments of the Soviet, to force them to respect those obligations and international agreements according to which "democratic institutions and agreements" were guaranteed. "Only firm and swift action directed toward wiping out police policies, the liberation of political prisoners, and the organization of free elections under international control can bring about the unification of Europe and free the world from the prevailing fear, saving it from ultimate disaster."

The declaration cites the events in Czechoslovakia as an example of the abandonment of democratic policy in Central Europe and the tactic of appeasement followed by the "Communist" governments, and also indicts the Social-Democratic parties for ism as well. having supported groups with are "Socialist" in name only, being in reality subordinated to the dictate of the "Communists."

The conference ended by forming an international 'socialist bureau of the Social-Democratic parties which are in opposition to the Stalinist regimes, "whose main aim is the restoration of national independence and the realization of democracy and socialism, which does not mean a return to the pre-war regimes." Zygmunt Zaremba, the PPS representative, was chosen as secretary-general of the bureau.

TENDENCIES REVEALED IN THE RESOLUTION

Analyzing the resolution of the Social - Democratic opposition parties, we can discern two tendencies: the old Social - Democratic tendency which defends a democracy that rises "above classes," that is, bourgeois democracy; which gives complete support to the Marshall Plan, that is, to the imperialist policies of the United States; which calls for the realization of the Atlantic Charter, whose program was not taken seriously by its own authors, Roosevelt and Churchill; which desires that the UN be an effective force for intervention, that is, desires the revival of the defeated program of the League of Nations; a tendency which for all these reasons gives support to capitalist restoration and the penetration of American imperialism in socialist revolution. And if today this

linist bureaucracy which exploits and oppresses them, reduces their living standards to barbarous levels. The Social-Democratic opposition to Stalinism sees no other real force, no other ally against the Stalinist bureaucracy than the capitalist ally, the

DEFEAT OF ONE WILL DEFEAT THE OTHER

United States.

But we, the heirs of the Russian Revolution, the exponents of Marxist revolutionary thought who have cast off the Stalinist chains, we know that capitalist restoration signifies a historical retrogression, that it also signifies exploitation and oppression; we know that the only solution for the countries of Eastern Europe and for all humanity is an integral world socialism, the permanent socialist revolution which will do away not only with Stalinism but with capital-

We know that the defeat of European socialism conditioned the historic existence of Stalinism as an expression of the post-revolutionary reaction; as the negation of an isolated, interrupted, and betrayed revolution. We know that the existence of capitalism in the rest of the world conditions the existence of the Stalinist reaction in the country of the buried October Revolution. We know that the existence of Stalinism, on the other hand, conditions the growth of capitalist reaction in its fascist and imperialist forms; and that in the last analysis the defeat of Stalinism will weaken capitalist, reaction and unleash the revolutionary forces of the working class. Nothing of this is understood by

the Social-Democrats because they are not the products of the revolutionary socialist tendency. They reject the inheritance of the Russian Revolution and remain bound to traditional petty bourgeois reformism. For this reason the only salvation they can find is in alliance with Western capitalism.

We are against the alliance with capitalism and shall fight Stalinism under our own banner, the banner of the socialist revolution. We shall continue along the socialist road. We shall support the anti-Stalinist criticisms of the Social-Democrats from the point of view of the aims of revolutionary socialist policy, opposing collaboration with capitalism and forming our own third camp of the

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