WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD; JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

# LABOR ACTION

**NOVEMBER 1, 1948** 

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

**CP Exploits Workers' Grievances for Own Ends** 



#### By HENRY JUDD

The present strike of France's 400,000 coal miners not only has created a deep political and social crisis in that chronically crisis-ridden land, but poses again for socialists-and this time perhaps in its clearest form to date -many difficult and delicate questions concerning Stalinism, etc. These problems are neither easy to answer nor simple to meet and we hardly pretend an ability to solve them with total satisfaction to all those interested. Yet, obviously, they cannot be ignored since they return to constantly plague us.

But, first, let us recapitulate the facts of the situation. For three weeks, 400,000 miners in France's coal industry have been on strike. The Stalinist-led, controlled and dominated CGT (General Confederation of Labor)-and it must be realized that this control is exercized with typical Stalinist "firmness"-launched the strike ostensibly as a militant trade union action to better the miner's condi-

tions of life. France's coal miners are not only hounded by the same inflationary wage - price spiral which affects the entire French working class, but they also live under far more miserable conditions than, for example, do the miners of America and England. Wages average about \$60 per MONTH and the miners' small towns are pitiful sights.

At the beginning of the strike, the anti-Stalinist CGT Workers Force and the Catholic miners' unions went along, but soon withdrew their support when other political factors became dominant in the situation. About 60 per cent of the miners belong to the Stalinist-led CGT, about 30 per cent (mostly Italian and Polish immigrant miners) belong to the Catholic unions and a negligible portion to the newly formed Workers Force of Leon Jouhaux.

#### STALINIST AIMS

The call of the two non-Stalinist unions to return to work meant little or nothing in practice since the bulk of the miners

are in the Stalinist CGT organization and, in any case, the others are hardly likely to attempt strike - breaking action against their fellow workers. Nor are they likely to buck aggressive Stalinist picket souads at the mine heads at the side of the police and troops. Thus the strike is, in effect, general and effective to the tune of three million tons of coal needed by France's basic industries.

The strike rapidly assumed its true and dominant character — a clear-cut political attack and adventure launched by French Stalinism at the orders of the Moscow ruling clique, with the openly avowed aim of striking a heavy blow at the Marshall Plan and French economic recovery. All this, of course, under the guise of satisfying the obviously legitimate needs and demands of the French miners.

For once the Stalinist leaders have not bothered to attempt to conceal their aims in a mass strike action but have openly an-(Cont. on p. 3 in World Pol. col.)

# **Green Says AFL Slated** To Act on Political Party

Time to Stand Up!



# **AFL** President **Pledges** Vote At Convention

**FIVE CENTS** 

Speaking to the press in Cincinnati on October 25, William Green, president of the AFL, declared that the AFL "definitely will do something about starting a third major United States political party in its national convention here November 15."

Going beyond any similar pledge made in recent months by a major union leader, Green said that "a resolution covering establishment of a national organized political structure will be submitted to delegates representing 8,000,000 AFL union members."

Green's statement will undoubtedly be read by workers everywhere in the country with enthusiastic interest. The frequent references by labor leaders to a new political party are evidence of universal rank and file pressure for an end to the alliance with the two big parties of capitalism.

Whether Green is fully aware of the significance of his pledge, or whether this is more than a lastminute "clever" campaign appeal for Truman, remains to be seen. If the AFL convention, after the elections, votes a resolution that bears little resemblance to the published versions of Green's promise, it will not be the first time that the AFL leadership has pulled back from its declarations. Workers are mindful, or should be, of Green's denunciations of Truman which have been followed by . . . an "unofficial" endorsement of Truman. Thus Green's current statement, which on its face value deserves to be acclaimed, carries with it more than a slight suspicion that it was framed to bolster the Truman campaign in its last desperate days. It may be nothing more than fantalizing bait held out in payment for a vote for Truman now. If so, it is criminal tinkering with the rising sentiment in the ranks of the people for a break with the Democratic and **Republican** Parties. But even if that be true, the statement is nevertheless highly important and decidedly symptomatic. Coming from such a one as Greenwho has always shied clear of any kind of independent political pronouncement, and whose normal attachments to the capitalist party system are deeply ingrained-it is clear sign of the times. An independent political party which can speak for labor is definitely in the air, and even those labor leaders who are ideologically most backward have been made sensitive to it.

# **U. S. Imperialist Diplomats Launch Offensive Against Spanish People**

#### **By WILEBALDO SOLANO**

PARIS, Oct. 15-General Marshall, American Secretary of State, after having conferred with President Truman, declared that the resolution adopted by the UNO in 1946 condemning the Franco regime . "no longer corresponds to the present situation. . . .

Marshall's cautious declaration is very eloquent in the current international and Spanish conjuncture. It is but one link in a chain of events, It comes after the recent interviews between Chan Gurney, head of the Senate Military Committee, and James Farley, one-time head of the Democratic Party, with General Franco. It comes as a continuation of the attempts by the American delegate to the UN, Lowet, to review once more the Spanish question before the General Assembly, And finally-and this is most significant-it comes after the announcement, released through the British Foreign Office, of the conclusion of an agreement between the Spanish Socialists and Monarchists. In the light of Marshall's words, the meaning of the cynical declarations made by Farley and Gurney, and the maneuvers of the South American delegations, grouped around Peron's

#### WILEBALDO SOLANO Active in the Spanish Civil War;

fought on several fronts; forced to flee to France after the victory of Franco; interned by the French when the war broke out and then imprisoned by Petain during the war; life threatened by the Stalinists in prison; succeeded in escaping from prison and helped organize and lead one of the most militant groups in the revolutionary underground movement against the Nazis; one of the leaders of the left wing of the POUM (Spanish Workers Party of Marxian Unity) which triumphed over the conservative faction at the recent congress of the POUM; secretary of the POUM.

War. This new conflagration would bring about the destruction of the human and material bases of society and the triumph of misery and totalitarian barbarism.

Millions of people in Europe and throughout the world want to escape a Third World War. For this very reason it is imperative to prevent the transformation of Spain into a bridgehead for American imperialism, to prevent Franco-yesterday Hitler's and Mussolini's supporter-from becoming one of the generals in the Western bloc. To prevent the consolidation of the Franco regime is to win a battle in the great struggle against the war whilh threatens us.

### Facts the Same, **But Line Changes**



representatives, in the corridors of the UN are clear. It is equally clear how meaningless are the denials of the State Department concerning the pressure applied by the American Secretary of State on Bevin and Schumann to obtain a modification of the French and English attitude toward the Spanish question.

### PART OF GRAND STRATEGY

Taking as their pretext the international tension created in large part by themselves, the American imperialists are ready to include Franco Spain in that strategic disposition of forces which has received the name of Western Europe. Both the American General Staff and the govern-

ment think the question calls for quick action. For both Spain is, above all, a bridgehead, an army of 700,000 men, an excellent combination of aerial and naval bases; a dictatorship which inflexibly maintains the capitalist order and knows how to neutralize with fire and blood, when it is necessary, all movements of opposition.

This policy is not precisely new. It is an open secret that considerable American capital has been pouring into Spain in the last four years, that American capitalists have technically and financially aided in the construction of airfields and the widening and improvements of those ports having military importance. It would be absurd to think that all this could have been carried out outside the framework of a well conceived plan. And it is scarcely adventurous to presume that this plan is the fruit of collaboration between the general staffs of the United States and Spain.

It was but a few months ago that: the House of Representatives voted to include Franco Spain in the Marshall Plan, despite the preoccupation of the State Department with maintaining correct appearances for fear of exciting a vigorous reaction from the popular masses and liberal opinion in Europe. In April of this year the protest of these masses and those of this opinion compelled Washington to make a quick retreat. Under direct pressure from Truman himself, the Senate excluded Franco Spain from the Marshall Plan. Now the American imperialists are trying to frighten the peoples of Europe and America with the threat of war and have returned to the attack with renewed resolution and energy.

#### MUST BE OPPOSED

Does a sentiment of resistance similar to that which existed and which met such an attack exist today? Will the workers' movement and the popular masses of Europe and America raise a barrier to the pro-Franco policy of Washington? This is the main question.

Millions of people in Europe and the rest of the world understand with anguish that the imperialist rivalries, concretized in the Russia-American duel, can carry us to a Third World

For its part, the Spanish people will never accept the fact that "the last bastion of fascism" is to be converted into a fortress of American imperialism.

(Translated by Abe Stein)

Wallace Proposes Occupation Swap

Fresh Twist in Foreign Policy by Progressive Party Candidate Holds New Horrors for Germans

#### By JACK BRAD

In the last minute torrent of election speeches some new pronouncements by Henry Wallace are getting lost, though they deserve some attention. In some respects Wallace has given

new slants to his foreign policy. In Paterson, N. J., last Monday, he gave a new twist to his previous proposal that, since the U.S. has already surrendered all rights to the area around Berlin, it now simply hand Berlin over to the Russian army. He has now developed a program

for all of Germany. Wallace proposes that all "interested" powers evacuate Germany and that those contigu-

ous nations such as Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and France as well as Czechoslovakia and Poland replace the troops of the U.S., Britain and Russia.

Wallace has often been falsely accused of being a dreamer-falsely because few things he has said or done have had any idealistic or ethereal qualities. And confusion is not dreamlike. But this proposal of a solution to the German question could only occur in a nightmare. It is difficult to determine the motivation involved.

#### WANTS NEW OCCUPATION

There is, of course, not a spark of

weigh down recovery and doom Germany to more years of hunger. Not for Wallace. He is for a new occupation with all the attendant horrors of evacuation and the entry of

> new troops of oppression. What could possibly be achieved by the painful involvement of new tens of thousands of Europeans in oppressing Germany? The Benelux countries are part of the Western Union which is at present negotiating a new

posal for Germany would have to be-

gin with the demand for an end to Western Union. The only possibility of the Benelux all occupation, with its destruction of rights and its oppressive costs which countries and France raising sufficient armies for such an occupation would be through their access to

> American and British armaments. And has not Wallace himself accused Washington of dominating and "buying" the foreign policy of these countries? Would they not then follow the dictates of London and Washington? There would be no change in policy then and no possible advantage gained by anyone - on the surface,

U.S. Britain is already a part of the

that is. But this proposal does make sense on closer examination in the light of Russian policy. No other explanation casts any light on it.

#### AIDS RUSSIAN POLICY

First, France is the weakest link in the Marshall Plan chain. The Communist Party of France has over one million members and is a powerful social force. Also French policy favors continued dismantling of German factories; it favors a harsh military occupation and continued extensive reparations. .

With the pressure the French CP could bring and the general inclinations of French foreign policy, especially its reactionary de Gaullist protagonists, the Russian program for Germany would have an easier road. Russia too favors continued dismantling and reparations. This would split the Western bloc on the German question and strengthen the Russian

Of course, the creation of large Benelux armies would divert labor from economic activities to armaments and throw a monkey wrench into the industrial plans of those countries, nullifying the effects of the Marshall Plan. In fact, it would have the same effect as the present trend of the Marshall Plan itself which is

(Continued on page 3)

#### PROPOSES LABOR BASE

In fact, Green's statement goes textually further than the statement made last summer by Walter Reuther, president of the CIO Auto Workers Union. It is more explicit in its reference to a new political party. Reuther's statement was broad and vague enough to be interpreted by him to mean the creation of a new alliance in the Democratic Party or "capturing" the (Continued on page 3 in edit. col.)

The Boss's Dictionary



idealism present. A democratic prolend-lease arms alliance with the

# Wallaceite Ducks Draper Debate

## Progressive Party Spokesmen Back Out at University of Chicago

CHICAGO, Oct. 22-Hal Draper, editor of The New International, spoke to an audience of over 100 people at the University of Chicago last night. Draper was originally scheduled to debate the question, "Should Progressives Support Wallace?" But his opponent, Curtis MacDougall, Progressive Party candidate for U. S. Senate from Illinois, withdrew at the last minute due to an "important campaign obligation."

The circumstances which surround the withdrawal by MacDougall are particularly suspicious inasmuch as student Wallaceites knew of his action before a telegram to that effect was received by the secretary of the Politics Club, the campus group which sponsored the meeting. When arrangements for the debate had been made MacDougall promised to supply a substitute if for some reason he were called away. He failed to do this,

An attempt was made by the Politics Club to secure a substitute not only through the Progressive Party itself but also by direct contact with leading Wallaceites in the city: At length, Rod Holmgren, campaign manager for the 9th Congressional District of the Progressive Party, agreed to take MacDougall's place. He backed out two hours later. Richard Watt, a former law profes-

sor at the University of Chicago and now a leading figure in the Wallace party in Chicago, told the Politics Club that if they were unable to find a Wallace speaker by dinner time last night he would at that time undertake to debate Draper. After no one else was found he was called, but promptly told his enquirer that he was "too busy" to speak.

A last-minute check with the Progressive Party found that they had not attempted to find a speaker and tensive question and discussion pe-Mrs. Wright, head of their speakers riod.

bureau, said that they would not do so unless they received half of the proceeds. Even after Politics Club acquiescence on this point the PP failed to produce a speaker.

Draper in his talk on the Wallace movement pointed out that its essential feature is its "peace" program. But neace for Wallace means essentially a division of the world between thereby apologize for Russia's behavior in her vard. Draper characterized Wallace's "just" proposal as another form of the biblical adage "Do unto others as you would have others do unto yourself."

the giant imperialist nations, Russia and the United States. It is through justification of American domination over her neighbors that Wallace can hand. demand that American imperialism stay in her own backyard and can

After the meeting there was an ex-

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### L'ABOR ACTION

"other" and the company must (i. e.,

will) deny you "access" to your job.

Let us assume for example that you

November 1, 1948

# Spread Army Witch Hunt in Private Industry

### Do You Have a "Basic Weakness of Character"? Do You Have a Red Aunt? If So, You, too, Can Be Canned

#### By STAN GREY

With a rude indifference to the convictions of liberals and their political relatives that democracy in America, come what may, is fundamentally inviolable, the American ruling class is proceeding rapidly and efficiently to cover ever wider sectors of life with its rule of intimidation and terror. Not the terror of the truncheon and the concentration camp, as in Europe. That is not necessary. But the terror of losing one's livelihood, the terror of guilt by purely innocent association, the terror of the blacklist for reasons completely unknown to the convicted.

Thus far, this campaign against the "subversives" has been largely confined to government agencies. The loyalty oaths, the Thomas committees have received nationwide headlines. Less advertised but vastly more pernicious and symptomatic is the extension of this process to PRI-VATE INDUSTRY. Now it is no longer necessary to be a government worker to receive the new democratic dispensation-one can be a machinist, an engineer or even a laborer to earn the concentrated attention of the army's elaborate loyalty tests.

By PAUL NEWMAN

of the campaign.

CHICAGO-In the October 19 issue

of The Maroon, University of Chicago

student newspaper, the Krueger for

Congress Committee published a full-

page ad entitled "You Have Heard

the Rumors-Here Are the Facts."

The "facts" concerned a proposition

put to the Krueger committee to have

Maynard Krueger withdraw from the

race for Congress in the Second Dis-

trict. Unfortunately, the "facts" do

not reflect to the credit of Krueger

Krueger Congress Campaign

Not only has the loyalty quiz now stepped into private industry, but in addition, the army has made it infinitely easier for a man to be disloyal. Previously, it was necessary to prove -that is, by the new canons of justice, to accuse-someone of being a subversive and he was as good as a finished victim of the preparations for the war for democracy. But in private industry it is not even necessary to be subversive: in fact it is not even necessary to be anything at all and the democratic axe will fall nevertheless.

#### TWO CATEGORIES OF GUILT

A report in the October 22 issue of the N. Y. Star reveals the details and functioning of an army directive of April 2, 1948 setting up Personnel Review boards. These boards will have the power of withdrawing contracts from companies which permit persons whose loyalty is suspect any access to the materials and information produced for the war. It should be noticed here how democratic this is. One cannot accuse the army of compelling a company to fire any man on flimsy or non-existent evidence. One cannot accuse the army of preventing the man from getting

is that the main task is to mobilize

the vote behind a man who can de-

was NOT the main basis on which

the campaign was organized as un-

derstood by all Krueger supporters

and as hammered home in all the

a job. The company is allowed the completest freedom. Either it fires the man accused by the board or it loses the contract. While it is wholly unpredictable how the companies will behave it is interesting that thus far no company has had any difficulty in making its choice. Also interesting is the fact that contracts have thus far not been withdrawn for this reason. There are two categories, according

to this April 2 "memorandum" as it is democratically called, of guiit. The first is the category of "subversives." This is now familiar to us by the advertisements of Attorney 'General Clark. But what is NEW is the addition of the second category which in the memorandum is specifically and scientifically labelled as "other." The designation of this group as "other" is obviously for the purpose of so narrowing and delimiting the kind of people who wall into it as to preclude the possibility of false accusations. The "other" category is described

as follows; a person is considered unemployable if there is "reasonable belief that the individual involved might be induced to act against the interests of the United States based upon an examination of one or more of the following: "1) An established history of seri-

Shady Episode Mars Chicago ous mental or emotional instability. "2)' An authenticated criminal record. . . .

"3) Record of unauthorized disclosure to any person under any circumstances or documents, material or information of a classified or nonpublic nature to the detriment of the United

States. feat the reactionary Vail. In line with ."4) Other established facts indicatthis reasoning the ad declares enthuing such a basic weakness of characsiastically: "We welcome the drater or lack of degree of judgment as matic possibilities of the entry of the to warrant a conclusion that the inatomic scientists, and the group (who dividual would be unsuited for the ever they are-P. N.) associated with particular access proposed." them, into the fight to unseat . .-Here we have the magic formula Vail." However, the defeat of Vail

which can make an "other" out of almost anybody. Do you have any basic weakness of character? You may not, but let us suppose the army

or the steering committee in charge gatherings of these supporters. This campaign was organized for On October 9, a group "representthe purpose of INDEPENDENT POing the atomic scientists and their LITICAL ACTION-INDEPENDENT associates" made a proposition to the OF THE TWO OLD PARTIES. IT Krueger committee that the Demo-WAS CONSIDERED TO BE A cratic nominee (O'Hara) withdraw DOWN PAYMENT ON A NEW INfrom the race and that the Demo-DEPENDENT PARTY BASED ON cratic organization put in his place THE UNIONS, COOPERATIVES a "nationally-known atomic scientist AND PROGRESSIVE ANTI-STALINfrom the University of Chicago"; that ISTS. AND IN LINE WITH REUthe independent candidacy of Krue-THER'S PROPOSAL OF A FEW ger be withdrawn and that "a very MONTHS AGO. To paraphrase part. ample sum of money be made availof a speech made by Krueger, this able immediately to conduct a camcampaign had as one of its purposes paign to defeat the reactionary Vail to put ideals and program into poli-(Republican incumbent - P. N.) - a tics in order to educate voters to the part of the fund to be used to activate the Democratic organization" in need for independent political action and break their reliance on the Rethe Second District. To this proposigo on strike or favor a strike in a war industry because the company refuses to act on grievances, or is trying to speed up production, or is not paying enough to support you and your family. Is it not obviously a "basic weakness of character" to even think of strike when the country is at war? And if you permit yourself to be persuaded by a strike leader or "agitator," is it not a basic weakness of character to have so little will of your own as to follow the strike leader? Does this not betray a serious "lack of judgment"? ALREADY IN PRACTICE Who will say that it does not? You?

But you don't count since it is you who "lack judgment." The company? It won't even try for its contract is more serious than injustice. The army? The army cannot because from its point of view it is perfectly "reasonable" to eliminate strikers, "troublemakers" and other people of weak character. This category of "others" can include no less than anybody and everybody working in a war plant. The chosen ones will therefore be those workers whom the government wishes to get rid of for reasons entirely other than psychiatric considerations of emotional instability or personality. structure.

Nor is all of this pure theory. Already an executive engineer has lost his job for being so unstable as to have married a woman who invited Negroes to their home. Already, a man was fired for having an aunt who was a communist and whom he had last seen three years ago when he had had a violent argument with her (maybe about why she shouldn't be a Communist). Already a man was fired for being a member of the Book Find Club which distributes Dreiser, Feuchtwanger and Howard Fast. Already, an active union member was labeled disloyal for being seen going



The most private details of a person's private life, the books he reads, the guests he has to his home, the movies he sees, the opinions of his relatives are now grounds for the "reasonable belief" by the army and the government that he no longer can work on war contracts. This is now the fact in American life, not the theory. If it is not yet all-pervasive it is only because war work and war preparations at home have only just begun. There is "reasonable" grounds for belief that the future will make the present look like a democratic fantasy.

#### PATTERN OF FUTURE

A few weeks ago we wrote in LA-BOR ACTION that the very nature of the next war, a war between a reactionary capitalist and a reactionary anti-capitalist system, dictated and increasing totalitarianization of life in the U.S.

That it will not mechanically follow the pattern of European fascism is probably true. But its totalitarianism will be limited not by any abstract democratic considerations, such as are the hopes of liberals and critical social patriots, but will be as "total" as necessary to win the war. That means that there must be the completest suppression of any working class militancy and independence. The fact that the war is against an anti-capitalist enemy makes it doubly necessary and much easier to clamp down on genuine militancy and anticapitalism in the labor movement.

Those people whose regret over the undemocratic practices of a Thomas committee was more than compensated for by its success in exposing Stalinists can now reap the harvest of their naivete. They may, be the first to be found with a "basic weakness of character" and a "lack of a degree of judgment."



#### Buffalo

tion and activities.

Dear Comrades:

A group of students from the Uni-

versity of Buffalo, State Teachers

College at Buffalo, and several young

workers from local shops have organ-

ized the Buffalo Unit of the Socialist

Youth League. The principal goal of

the SYL will be to spread the ideas

of socialism to the young people of

Buffalo through education and activ-

was projected last summer with the

formation of a Committee for an SYL

formal establishment of a Unit. The

newly redecorated Labor Action

Clubroom has served as an ideal gath-

ering place for the Friday night meet-

ings of the group-political discus-

sions being combined with social

gatherings at these sessions. Discus-

sions in the past have included such

subjects as "Socialism and War." "The

Role of the Revolutionary Party,"

"The Workers Party Program," and

the "Nature of the Russian State."

The response to the appeal to attend

meetings made by the local chairman

of the SYL at the Shachtman meeting,

where large numbers of students

Members of the SYL at UB are cur-

rently engaged in collecting signa-

tures for the petitions of the National

Youth Council for Independent Po-

litical Action. The political line of the

SYL has been presented at such cam-

pus organizations as the non-partisan

Political Issues Club. At a recent

meeting of a projected "Anti-Totali-

tarian Society," a member of the SYL

University to demonstrate the reac-

tionary character of a club whose

sole program was "Down with the

Reds!" The society was not formed.

Members of the SYL have supported

the picket lines of the Goldblatt

strikers, most of whom are young

girls waging one of the most militant

strikes the city has seen in many

The ever-growing interest in the

MARTY YOUNG, Organizer,

joined with other liberal forces on the

were present, has been excellent.

-and has recently culminated in the

campuses in Illinois, Ohio and Michigan to support the Olivet students. The following is a letter from the Money was collected and letters of organizer of the newly formed Bufsolidarity were sent to the Student' falo SYL Unit describing its forma-Action Committee of Olivet.

> In the University of Chicago a permanent Committee to Defend Academic Freedom has been organized. This committee is initiating a call to other colleges in the area to send delegations to Olivet, to protest against the firing of liberal faculty members and other attacks on the rights of student and faculty. So far, delegations will be sent from Michigan State, U. of Michigan, U. of Chicago, Illinois, Roosevelt College, Oberlin, Antioch, and Kalamazoo colleges.

#### a the ship we dealers a Chicago -----The idea of forming an SYL unit

An example of Progressive Party cowardice was clearly demonstrated in Chicago last week. The Wallaceite candidate for the Senate in Illinois, Prof. MacDougall, had accepted the invitation of the Politics Club of the University of Chicago to debate Hal Draper, editor of the Marxist monthly. The New International.

Though extensive preparations for the meeting had been made and both. speakers had committed themselves weeks in advance, the Wallaceite candidate pulled out of the debate 24 hours before it was scheduled to take place.

It is obviously too much to expect of the Progressive Party hero that he would stand up and defend his politics under attack from the left. This shameful retreat is only a gross example of the national Wallaceite policy not to debate left-wing opponents.

More details of the Chicago incident are given in another part of this week's LABOR ACTION.

#### **New York**

Despite the wind and rain, approximately one hundred youth and students turned out to hear Max Shachtman speak at a New York SYL meeting on "Should Socialists Support America in a Third World War?" Shachtman, in a two and a half hour speech, gave a detailed analysis of the socialist opposition to supporting America as a "lesser evil" in a third world war.

This meeting was the first in a series of three for Comrade Shachtman The next meeting, to be held jointly with the Workers Party, will be or Bolshevism and Democracy. The date is November 7 and the place is Labor Temple.

The third youth meeting with the P national chairman will be more



York, 1948; 278 pp. One could read magazine articles

ČRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY, a novel by Alan Paton, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New black people come from the land, readers, seem to find his own pat their own tribal customs and moral rand pretty solution. In the end the guides irretrievably shattered by poor father of Kumalo, the young European "civilization." In a city like Johannesburg, the vis, the murdered liberal, out of the

murderer, and the rich father of Jar-

Jarvis, influenced by his son's ideas,

becomes the patron saint of Kumalo's

SYL is testimony to the fact that the youth of this country are getting fed up with the status quo-and the only left-wing socialist youth organization in Buffalo is showing them an an-With Socialist Greetings,

#### tion, the Krueger committee reacted with "sympathetic interest."

At the same time, the proposition was being put to O'Hara and Cook County Democratic Boss Jacob Avery. O'Hara flatly rejected the deal. Avery did not turn it down immediately but "deferred action." On Friday, the 15th, the Krueger committee was informed by the negotiators that Arvey had still not acted. The Krueger committee responded to this by agreeing to attend a conference of the "three principals which Colonel Arvey might call on Saturday, with authority to make a decision on the spot." However, as Arvey did not show the "sympathetic interest" manifested by the Krueger committee and did not act, the atomic scientist group declared the deal dead on Saturday.

#### CAMPAIGNERS UNINFORMED

It is fairly obvious that had Arvey agreed to the proposition of the atomic scientist people, the Krueger committee would have dumped its independent political campaign. As The Maroon ad of the Krueger committee righteously proclaims concerning its role in the deal, ". . , WE DID NOT KILL IT." We are sorry to have to report that they didn't kill it; sorry they didn't scorn it at the beginning. How did Krueger and the Krueger campaign workers and supporters figure in all this? All during the negotiations the Krueger campaign workers knew nothing of the deal. Most of them learned of it only after the appearance of The Maroon ad. Had they been consulted, it is highly improbable that they would have agreed to such negotiations. And while the Krueger committee says it published the ad because it wants the "... story straight and public rather than halfstraight and semi-public," it was kept absolutely secret until the deal fizzled. To this day no one (except perhaps the steering committee) knows who the atomic scientist is or what are his politics.

As for Krueger, while he officially leaves everything to the steering committee, there is little doubt that the matter could not have been seriously considered without his, consent. It was, after all, his desire and availability to run that made the campaign possible. At any rate, there is no evidence that Krueger was stubbornly reluctant to withdraw himself in favor of an unnamed atomic scientist.

NOT MERELY "ANTI-VAIL" The officially implied reason for entering into this regotiations publicans and Democrats.

for taking on this particular campaign was-given the infirmities of O'Hara and his lack of support from his own Democratic organizationthat it was considered that Krueger might pile up a significant vote and might even have a chance of winning. But the campaign was not designed as an "anti-Vail" movement. All of the Krueger supporters to

whom this reporter has talked since the "facts" became known have evinced the reactions of disgust, disapproval and condemnation of the idea of abandoning independent. political action for support of an unnamed atomic scientist on the Democratic ticket - whose politics, program and principles remain unknown. The proposition and negotiations were also roundly denounced by Norman Thomas, speaking at a UC Krueger rally last Wednesday on the same program with Frank Zeidler, socialist mayor of Milwaukee; David Lewis, secretary of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation; and Maynard Krueger. Thomas said that the deal was preposterous and unthinkable. He said. "we want socialist candidates," and that the Krueger committee should have nothing to do with atomic scientists whose politics

are unknown. We are indeed sorry that this unpalatable episode occurred in the midst of an enthusiastically supported campaign for independent political action. The Krueger steering committee can only be granted a vote of censure by those of us in the campaign who are faithfully working for a new political realignment based on the working people and the trade



galore and still not get the feeling It is true that one of the reasons

of the tragedy of South Africa as one does from this deeply stirring novel by Alan Paton-deeply stirring in spite of some outstanding faults. Into the story of a native Christian parson on a quest for his sister and son in the bewildering city of Johannesburg, Mr. Paton has skillfully and with passionate protest woven an exposé of the economic, social and emotional chaos that European imperialism has brought to the South African

> natives. Briefly, the story is this. Rev. Stephen Kumalo, in his small, povertystricken town of Ndorsheni, Natal, receives a letter from "his brother in Christ," Theophilus Msimangu of Johannesburg, that the sister of the former is sick and should be taken care of. Not only has this sister Gertrude disappeared into the all-engulfing Johannesburg, but son Absalom, sent to find Gertrude, never returned. So the elder Kumalo and his wife decide that now the old man himself must make the journey to Johannesburg. Arrived there, with the help of Msimangu, he easily finds his sister, who is sick only in the sense of having sunk into crime and prostitu-

tion. Tracing his son is harder. He follows the trail from place to place, through miserable slums and a flimsy shanty town, into a reform school from which the son has been released, to a young girl pregnant with the son's baby and finally into jail and the courtroom where Absalom, betraved by his more hardened accomplices, is tried and convicted of the

#### murder of a white man. "WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"

Briefly, the economic, social and emotional picture portrayed is this. The white man has come and acquired some of the best farm land. The natives have been crowded into land difficult to cultivate, without irrigation, without help of scientific farming. As the native land has to be divided with the rising generations, the holdings become smaller, more difficult to farm economically and stark poverty results. The lure of the city is then irresistible. There the gold mines that are the main industry and that have enriched the Europeans, provide jobs to the natives, who come without their families. Since the natives do all the work, Johannesburg provides many jobs-but not enough pay, miserable housing, no social status, no family life, no moral norms to guide the

underscored contrast between the status of the native exploited and the European exploiters acts as a goad to crime. And fear stalks the land. There is the fear of the white person for his safety. There is the fear of the white people of what will happen to their "civilization" if the natives rise against them as an organized mass-rumblings of which can be heard in strikes at the mines, on buses-rumblings already tainted with Stalinism.

Mr. Paton also merges into his panoramic whole the picture of the urgent, variegated and confused activities of all kinds of people to do something about their problems. On the lowest level are the whites trembling for their safety, position and wealth, demanding more police protection, more laws and severer punishment for "native lawbreakers." The missionaries, priests and religious reformers work along, different lines. The white man, Jarvis, killed by young Kumalo, is presented as a militant liberal, pulling the robes of hypocrisy off Christian "civilization" and championing the rights of the natives.

Mr. Paton also has a word of condemnation for native politiciansrepresented by Pastor Kumalo's younger brother-who arouse the natives to the point where action is called for, but lead them nowhere. Finally, in the course of the story, we see the natives themselves, engaged in a bus strike, backed solidly by bus users, all natives, women and old men trudging miles and miles from work and to work.

The weakness of the book is that Mr. Paton, in spite of this great, confused, unresolved milieu that he has so beautifully portrayed for the

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poverty-stricken community. He provides milk so babies can live, hires an agricultural expert to teach and organize the farmers to cultivate their land better, influences the authorities to construct an irrigation system. Old Jarvis even sends his charming little grandson to give additional happiness to the old native. So the book closes on this happy personal note and presents also the unrealistic "happy solution" for the social problems.

In further criticism of Mr. Paton's work one might say that his characters are not people but types: the native parson, his Christian brethren who help him, the woman Gertrude lured to prostitution, the bewildered young Kumalo so obviously the victim of circumstances, the rich white farmer Jarvis, his liberal son, and so on. They are indeed types used for the story Mr. Paton has to tell. However, something in Mr. Paton and in his style saves his characters from being wooden images. He seems to feel and convey the essence of the type as something special, and in his style there is a poetry and a passion that embellish his people. In fact, Cry, the Beloved Country is something of an epic prose poem. Susan GREEN

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> > APT

ZONE \_\_\_\_ STATE

depths of their grief and their understanding of the country's misfor-October 25, 1948. tunes, develop a friendship. The elder

years.

### Olivet

In the last issue of LABOR AC-TION a letter was printed in this column from a striking student in Olivet College, Michigan, describing the background and present status of the campus strike against the reactionary policies of the administration. In answer to a call for assistance

from the Olivet strikers, students in a number of nearby colleges and universities displayed an inspiring example of student solidarity. Committees and meetings were organized by many political and non-political (AVC) student groups in at least eight

of an internal nature dealing with the perspectives of the socialist movement in the United States and the specific tasks of a socialist youth organization.

.

In the last issue of LABOR AC-TION an open letter was printed, challenging John McCartney, national field representative of the YPSL. to debate an SYL representative on "Is Bolshevism Totalitarian?" / This challenge was provoked by a YPSL document written by McCartney on "The Nature of Trotskyism." As yet there is no answer from McCartney. But there is every reason to believe that this self-styled student of "ethics" will fulfill his moral obligation to debate his point of view.



All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings All featers of DABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lec-tures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1; N. Y.

AKRON: Write to Box 221. BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St ... 2nd floor. Public forums every sec-ond Friday of each month. Discussion group on remaining Friday evenings.

BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours, 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings inday evenings. Discussion groups Thursday evenings.

CHICAGO: 800 West North Ave. Tel.: MIChigan 9003. Office hours: Wed-nesdays after 4:00 p.m. Meetings: Every Wednesday at 8:30 p.m. CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8:00 p.m., in the Croatian Home Association( 6314 St. Clair Ave. Write to Bernard Douglas, Box 1130, Cleveland 3, Ohio. DETROIT: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Tel-

ephone: PLaza 5559. Open on Tues-days and Fridays, 1 to 5 p.m. LOS ANGELES: 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7. Tel.: Richmond 7-3230 (if

- no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours, 2 to 5 p.m. daily. NEWARK: 248 Market St., Newark 2.
- Open house Friday evenings. NEW YORK CITY: CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd
- foor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Wednesday and Thursday until 10:30 p.m. Tel.,: WAtkins 4-4222
- HARLEM BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at Workers Party Headquar-ters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.); Room 9.
- CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor.

CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor.

B'KLYN - BROWNSVILLE BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the De Luxe Palace, 538 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).

#### SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

MANHATTAN UNIT: Open forums, Friday nights, 8:15, at WP City Center, 114 West 14th St.

BROOKLYN UNIT: Open forums, Sun-day nights, 8:15, at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin). For more information, write to Socialist Youth League, 4 Court Square, 4th floor, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

PHILADELPHIA: 1139 West Girard Ave., 3rd floor. Meetings Wednes-days at 8:00 p.m. Open House, Sundays 7:30-10.

PITTSBURGH: Write to P. O. Box 752, READING: Write to P. O. Box 1671.

ST. LOUIS: Write to Douglas Bridge, P. O. Box 3414, Maplewood Branch, Maplewood, Mo.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA: Write to Labor Action, 466 Tenth St., Room

212, Oakland 7, Calif. SAN PEDRO: Write to Labor Action,

P. O. Box 1246. SEATTLE: Write to P. O. Box 28,

- University Post Office, Seattle 5. ST. LOUIS: Write to Douglas Bridge,
- P. O. Box 3414, Maplewood Branch, Maplewood, Mo.

YOUNGSTOWN: Write to J. P. Walters, Box 605.

November 1, 1948



# AFL to Act --

(Continued from page 1) Democratic Party as he did in the very unimportant Michigan section of the party, etc.

Though the Reuther statement, under the pressure of the auto worker militants, may prove to have more substance and though the AFL convention resolution may be reduced to the creation of some kind of political lobbying machine, the fact still remains that Green spoke of a "third major United States political party."

More than that, Green set forth what could be the only base of such a party. Perhaps it is what some so-called smart labor politicos would call his lack of political "sophistication" (which is all to the good in this case!)-whatever it is, Green apparently understands that a new political party must be labor's.

"Whether the AFL will assume the entire burden of launching the third party organization," said Green, "or will propose a combination of all labor groups in the move still is to be determined."

. That is a statement that makes good labor sense, infinitely to be preferred to the gibberish common to most labor leaders who venture to speak of a new political formation, about uniting the best elements in the Democratic and Republican Parties with the labor movement. At least, Green seems to recognize where the base of the movement must be, and can only be.

There is plenty of gibberish and downright misleadership in the Green statement-notably his references to Truman and the implied endorsement of various Democratic and GOP "anti-Taft-Hartley" candidates. However, the very statement itself is a decisive event in the AFL which will be of lasting importance. For many years now the AFL has been shifting away from its traditional political "neutrality," its purely economic trade unionism. Over these years-as government intervention increased, as it became impossible to pretend a separation between politics and economics - the AFL has veered toward greater political activity. The AFL, said Green, is in politics permanently, in presidential and non-presidential years, and so it must be. The ranks of the AFL now have the right to expect that this will mean more than keeping company with "friends of labor."

The motivations behind the Green statement can as yet only be stated speculatively. We have stated two of them above and the two are actually one: an unjustifiable attempt to prop up the Truman campaign in view of the wide apathy toward the compaign which reflects general dissatisfaction with the choice between two brands of capitalist politics (or the Stalinist-engineered Wallace party).

3

Behind these lie other possible considerations. First to be noted is that the current campaign is the end pay-off on years of "practical" politics. Not even a Green can fail to be impressed. The labor leaders who would not go for the impracticality of a labor candidate, but only for a "man who can win," have netted a full return in Harry Truman and the badly sagging Democratic Party. They have succeeded in pumping a little life into the last part of the Truman campaign, but if Truman were to win, the labor leaders—and Truman—would be no less astonished than Dewey.

Further, there are reports current that a new life is being fused into the Democratic Party by the old-line organization men. It is said, with considerable evidence, that with the campaign badly in the red, the real organization men (as distinct from the "idealists" who had sneaked into prominence) have taken over, raised the funds and mapped the plans to rebuild the party for victory in 1952. These plans include recementing the break with the Southern wing and pushing the labor leaders back to a ward-heeling level. The prospect seems to be knocking the props from under the illusory scheme of "taking over" the Democratic Party and converting it into something that would in effect be a third party. Assuming that the AFL goes through with Green's promise, it can be taken for granted that at its inception such a third party would be shot through with inadequacies which can be anticipated in great detail. However, these are, at the moment, relatively unimportant against what would be the meaning of the step once it were taken. It would very likely not be the Labor Party that we consider essential for the development of the American labor movement.' But it would be an enormous stride in that direction, for it could move in no other way.

labor. Green would appear to have recognized that. 

Whether it begins only with the AFL or with a combination of all labor groups, is not decisive. The latter would be preferable, of course, but the 8,000,0000 members of the AFL are sufficient of a base to build on. It would in any case be impossible to halt the fusion of this movement with the equal drive for independent political action in the CIO auto union and elsewhere.

There is, we say, plenty of reason to approach Green's promise with caution and some skepticism on the basis of past performances by Green and his colleagues in AFL leadership. Nevertheless, it is vastly significant, and we hope that the delegates to the AFL convention will translate that significance into the reality of organization.

No one needs to be taken in by the "support Truman" aspect. In fact, AFL members can register their endorsement of Green's proposals by refusing to participate in the fraud of a vote for Truman. And, finally, we hope that there will be a large enough number of delegates at the AFL convention who will insist on a resolution and a course of action that means what Green presumably says.



The following letter came to the Oakland, California, office of LABOR ACTION from the OFFICE OF THE MAYOR (Joseph Edward Smith, Mayor):

Labor Action 466 - 10th Street Oakland, California

#### Dear Sir:

As always at this time of year your paper will receive material from various public relations offices of the Navy for publication prior to and on Navy Day the 27th of October, 1948.

As a civilian and as chairman of the Mayor's Navy Day Committee, I urge you to publish just as much of this material as you possibly can.

While this letter is in your hand, will you check to see that this excellent material and the many available pictures are being used? And with war on the horizon it is excellent material for an editorial.

#### Very truly yours,

#### CLIFFORD D. CRAIL, Chairman Mayor's Navy Day Committee

Though we are not using the "excellent material," we think it is deserving of an editorial, if only a small one.

You will have noted there is little ambiguity in Mr. Crail's letter. "With war on the horizon!" They take it for granted, they are planning for it, and would like a little help in selling it to the American people. That is, selling a little enthusiasm for the terrible prospect of war.

Hand it to them you must. They are not liars, not always anyway. Oh, some lying speeches about peace policy and what they (the Democrats, the Republicans-the capitalist government) are doing to promote peace. And some lying assurances about eternal peace being achieved through cooperation of nations. But it is only your own fault if you take that seriously. What you are really supposed to imbibe is the certainty of "war on the horizon" and get all steamed up to support it by scanning the "many available pictures."



#### (Continued from page 1)

LABOR ACTION

nounced their object of crippling the Marshall Plan, sabotaging French industry and creating as profound a social crisis as they possibly can, in the interests of Moscow's program of European conquest. The very manner in which they have run this and similar strikes is clear enough. Simultaneously with the coal strike, they have organized revolving strikes (that is, the type that move swiftly from one area to another) in steel and on the railroads, knowing that such strikes most effectively upset transportation and heavy industries.

They are conducting a political and economic guerrilla warfare against the French state and its ally, American imperialism. There is no effort to mobilize the French proletariat systematically for effective strike action and to gain organized demands. It is rather a fastmoving system of UTILIZING their influence among the workers for harassing actions and demonstrations that will effectively lower French productivity.

Such are clearly the tactics and strategy Moscow has ordered them to pursue and which, most effectively, one must admit, they are carrying out. That this sabotages and undermines the effectiveness of the legitimate French labor movement at the same time is of no concern to them.

#### DO NOT AIM AT POWER NOW

Since French Stalinism cannot take political power now, it is being utilized by Stalin for the NEXT best purpose: a guerrilla army in his cold war with America. In an interesting article in the current issue of the Fourth International, E. Germaine advances the speculative thesis that since Stalin and the French Stalinist leadership realize that they cannot take power now independently of the Russian army, they have decided to pursue this adventuristic game of sabotage, even if it expends their human capital, and to pursue the general strategy of permitting General de Gaulle to come to power. Under the expected reactionary and antilabor regime of the French Bonapartist they will seek to build up a neo-resistance movement in underground form which, when the Russian troops ultimately complete their march through Europe, will then take power in France behind the Stalinist bayonets. While this speculative thesis cannot be proved, the entire actions of the French party seem to bear it out. In any case, it is clear that this is the trend of events. The French government and the French ruling class as a whole are paving the way at this moment for the taking over of power by de Gaulle and his organization. This is the clear trend in French politics.

Under the Stalinist leadership, the French miners cannot win either their political or even minimum economic demands. They are being used by a criminal gang who will lead them straight to the twin disaster of worsened economic conditions in the country and the advent to power of Europe's outstanding candidate for neo-dictatorship and militarism. This is the essence of Stalinist leadership.

Nothing more reveals the Stalinist intent than their action in withdrawing the mines' safety and maintenance crews, thus allowing many to become flooded and damaged. This is not the action of a leadership preparing to take social power and run the economy in the interests of the nation-it is the action of professional saboteurs.

#### WHAT POLICY FOR SOCIALISTS?

What then must be the attitude of a socialist and revolutionary toward such action? The French government, as to be expected, has responded with troops and organized police action, resulting in much violence against the miners. Their deliberate aim is to smash the strike by force and violence, in the hope that the division of the miners themselves will lead many back to work and a resumption of mining. The leadership

The Socialist Party, part of the government, has issued a statement endorsing this strike-breaking activity of the state. The Stalinists have maneuvered the miners into a situation where, unprepared, they must meet the full force of a brutal assault by the state and its various political and labor supporters. The Socialist Party has brought further disgrace on its already unpopular name, and the CGT-Workers Force has probably forever excluded the possibility of gaining any influence among the miners. Clearly no socialist can do anything but condemn such responses.

On the other hand, it is equally impossible to keep silent on the Stalinist leadership and motivation of the strike, or go along with it in the general name of "working class solidarity." The stupidity of the French Trotskyists reaches downright criminal lengths when the gist and burden of their "criticism" of the Stalinist leadership is that "they don't go far enough"; "they don't want to take power," etc. All this, don't you see, because the Stalinists are, at bottom, agents of the capitalists and "reformists." The meaning of this criticism seems to be that the Stalinists should strive to take power NOW, then they would be good revolutionists! This ignorance and misrepresentation of the situation is every bit as repulsive as the statements and activities of the Socialists and supporters of Jouhaux.

What, then, must be the role of French revolutionaries in the coal fields? Basing themselves on the two fundamental conceptions that a socialist belongs organically to the working class (regardless of his lack of influence; even if he has none), and that only the working class has the historic possibility of leading our world out of its current mess, he must give his support to the French miners against the capitalist state and march along with the miners. But his problem is far greater than that since he has a fight on two fronts to wage: against the government and its strike-breaking machine; against the Stalinist leadership and its sabotage machine. The line of the CGT-Workers Force and the Socialist Party can appear in the eyes of the miners only as a united front with the police and the government and anyone who knows a miner knows that when the cops come into sight he'll fight against them. Such a line is excluded for a socialist.

#### A STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

But this strike and such strikes must and can only lead to defeat. The strike must be ended at the least possible cost to the workers. The role of the socialist can thus be that of attempting to organize the inevitable retreat, of seeking to protect the miners' union as a union against the government and the Stalinists, of preparing an organized retreat. The Stalinists will go as far as they think it is possible to go and still retain control over the miners.

It must be borne in mind also that Stalinist domination over the miners is not purely one of influence and conviction, for the Stalinists have an organized machine for spreading terror among doubting or opposition workers. It is false to believe that the crowds of workers who fight the police and troops are overwhelming rank-and-file miners-more than anything else they are the aggressive cadres of the local Stalinist cells and organizations.

Socialists must fight within these unions for democratic controls, for secret elections in strike ballots and real discussions before strike action. The work for socialists in France is cut out for them—a struggle with the workers on the two fronts of class struggle against the government and political struggle against the Stalinists. Obviously this is an extremely difficult task and can hardly be expected to have quick successes. Yet there seems to us no other possible alternative for one who still wishes to consider himself a socialist, independent of both Stalinism and reactionary capitalism.



Page 3

#### INTERLUDE: HEARTS AND FLOWERS (M-1)

We see by the press that an old army buddy of ours has been sounding off again. According to a dispatch from Germany in the New York Times "Lieut.-Gen. Clarence R. Huebner, in an address to about 15,000 First Division and constabulary. troops who had completed summer maneuvers here, said:

"'I don't need to tell you how tense the world is today. I don't need to tell you how short our ranks are.

"He asked the men to consider a new Army regulation authorizing the extension of enlistments for sixmonth periods.

#### "We need you so much,' he said."

"We need you so much"-how our old First Division heart beats faster when we read that! How different from the old days when our contact with the officers was limited to digging their latrines, dragging them to their quarters when they were drunk, and swallowing their insolence! Believe us when we say that when we read that pathetic appeal we threw down the paper and rushed to the recruiting station!

We rushed to the recruiting station, we say, and picked up some literature just to see what the new army has to offer an aging pfc. We are compelled to report to our constituents that it is not enough-not enough, at any rate, to impel this (for the present) non-radioactive body to get out of its rocking chair and sign up. Callous as it may sound, we prefer to hear old Huebner second-hand via the New York Times. In these matters we prefer Art to Nature any day of the week.

We did find out something interesting, however, concerning the techniques being used to give the gullible public the heave-ho into the armed forces. There's not an ounce of idealism in it. It rests on that materialism of which we socialists are so often accused.

"Would it surprise you," the advertising blurb begins, to learn that the lowest paid man in the U. S. Army or U. S. Air Force actually has more take-home pay at the end of the year than the average civilian in industry?" And here is the table used to show that a civilian would have to earn \$3,587.20 per year to equal the benefits received by a pfc. ("F" stands for "free" and "E" for "exempt.")

YEARLY	EXPENDITURES	
Sing	rmy or Air Ford le, Original Enli rivate First Cla	istee
	<b>18 Years Old</b>	Civilian
Food	F	\$592
Clothing, civilian	\$84	207
Uniform	F	A REAL ST.
Lodging		
Medical Care	washi yan 🗜 a manya	
Job Transportation		50
Laundry	24	26
Movies	10	25
Haircuts	18	36
Incidentals	120	132
Income Tax		455
Insurance		154.80
Annuity (retire after	20	
years)	F	857
Cash left over (inclu		1
ing re-enlistment		5
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Ultimately it could sustain itself on no other base than that of the labor movement and those others-poor farmers, small business men, professionals-who can depend on no other force but

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War is, indeed, on the horizon. Perhaps a distant horizon—some years away—but it is there nevertheless. IF—and that is what matters to us the normal processes of capitalism work their way.

This is a time for going back to fundamentals. One fundamental is that no system of exploitation can eliminate war. Painful and expensive as it may be, the origins of war lie in the tissue of capitalism and cannot be excised without fatal injury. That is one fundamental.

There is another. Wars can be prevented-by those whose interests lie opposed to capitalism, by the people, by the organized millions who have nothing, nothing but death, to gain from war.

The capitalists assert themselves-"war is on the horizon." What is required is a counter-assertion, and action to suit-the people will not permit a new war, the people will not sacrifice themselves to the contest between Washington and Moscow, the people will oppose the war plans of both.

There are concrete issues around which to mobilize such a sentiment and such a movement. The draft is one. The last Congress did not give the people an opportunity to vote on the question. It is not too late to raise the question again: TO REPEAL THE DRAFT, TO LET THE PEO-PLE VOTE.

Beyond that lies the sweeping course of action which we must pursue in comradeship with the peoples all over the world. In the world as it is today, the big contending, dominant powers offer peace, each on their terms: submission to the dictate of United States imperialism, or submission to its totalitarian anti-capitalist rival, the prison which is Russia.

They would have us believe it is the only alternative. They lie. There is another: away with rotting, diseased capitalism; away with tyrannical Stalinism. Neither Washington nor Moscow!

And that is our editorial for Navy Day. Thank you, Mr. Crail.

# **Ranger Pamphlet On Labor Party**

Jack Ranger's pamphlet on the Labor Party, selected chapters of which have been run serially in LABOR ACTION, is scheduled, for publication immediately following the national election. A brief introduction will summarize the meaning of the election for the Labor Party movement. Its publication will coincide with the new wave of activity on labor political action promised by William Green's announcement for a third party, a scheduled conference by the UAW which will take up the same subject, and heightened interest in the question in every section of the trade-union movement. Branches of the Workers Party and readers of LABOR ACTION are asked to get ready for mass sales of the timeliest pamphlet possible today.

of the non-Stalinist unions is tacitly supporting this response and has urged the miners back to work, denouncing the strike as purely political.

# Wallace Has New Line

winter for the Americans.

ist and reactionary overtones.

#### (Continued from page 1)

increasingly to divert to armaments production.)

Wallace does not expand on his fantasy, he simply throws it out as a formula. In almost the same breath he calls for a "return to our pledges of Potsdam," the imperialist formula which led to the present crisis.

#### **REACTIONARY OVERTONES**

Not being one to overlook the domestic implication of foreign policy, Wallace went on to charge the Marshall Plan with responsibility for in-

October 1948 NEW INTERNATIONAL THE ECONOMIC DRIVE by Hal Draper BEHIND TITO THE CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL J: by Max Shachtman What the Wallace Campaign Proves Notes of the Month by a Group of Eastern European Marxists Socialist Policy in East Europe .703 TPEU TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

The whole meaning of these tactics is to attempt to revive the independent thought, activity and consciousness of the working class as such.

creasing housing construction costs by sponsible for the housing crisis. It would be far more correct to state 50 per cent. In another speech on the same day, he declared that the Berlin that the stripping of Germany of scrap steel by the U. S. steel monopairlift was contributing to a likelioly slows the pace of housing and hood of a fuel shortage and a cold reconstruction for all Europe. Nor is

the airlift the cause of a possible There are many evils which the fuel shortage. Such isolationist over-Marshall Plan is bringing to Amertones are increasingly common in the ica. First of all, it strengthens the Stalinist press. Glen Taylor has bortrusts and increases their profits at rowed heavily from this reactionary the expense of the people. But Walarsenal. He attacked the Marshall lace's criticism has decided isolation-Plan for putting Europe on "permanent dole." For it is not true that the export of steel and cement to Europe is re-

Whoever writes Wallace's speeches is keeping his line close to that of Stalinism right up to the last minute before November 2.

## ONCE AGAIN **AVAILABLE!**

ANCIENT SOCIETY by Lewis Henry Morgan..... \$2.50

THE LESSON OF SPAIN, The Last Warning 



### How to Vote

Street

In the 19th Congressional District, on New York's East Side, vote in the following way: Pull the lever OVER the name of EMANUEL GELTMAN on the BOTTOM LINE of the voting machine.

612.40 612.40 Total \$1,010.00 \$3,587.20

The blurb concludes by pointing out that with promotions, increased base pay for foreign service, dependency allowances, etc., a person can work up to a salary equivalent to \$5,000 a year in civilian life.

Without breaking down these statistics, or pointing out some of the not unknown occupational hazards of military life, it is interesting to note that the cost of living has risen to such a point that a plausible case for joining the army can be made on an economic basis.

Still and all, we don't think there will be any mass rush to the recruiting stations. For our part, old Huebner will have to get along as best he can without us.

We've heard that song before.

#### The More Things Change—the More They Remain the Same (Military Model)

"FORT DIX, N. J., Oct. 22-When the first batch of post-war draftees arrives here on November 3 they will find a 'new' Army in which the non-coms say 'please' and 'thank you' . . . 'each man is a self-respecting, sensitive, human being to be treated with dignity."-New York Times, October 23.

"The army caste system is so strict at Camp

Kilmer that privates can't receive incoming longdistance calls."-Washington Merry - Go - Round, October 17.

## **QUESTION TO ALP: WHAT'S** WHAT ON FIVE-CENT FARE?

Whatever happened to the American Labor Party and Wallaceite campaign for the five-cent fare?

The new posters for Wallace on New York bus lines have strips pasted over the statement "For the Five-Cent Fare."

Can it be that the Communist Party fraction in the Transport Workers Union has decided that the call for restoration of the five-cent fare is no longer opportune in its struggle with ex-Stalinist Mike Quill?

Can it be that the change in the line of the CP fraction in the TWU percolates into the publicity division of the ALP and Wallace headquarters?

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LABOR ACTION

November 1, 1948

Celebrating the Twentieth Anniversary of the U.S. Trotskyist Movement

# 1928 – TWENTY YEARS AFTER – 1948

#### By MAX SHACHTMAN

It does not seem to be so long! Yet we are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

We date back to October 27, 1928. On that day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, sitting in special inquisitorial session, pronounced three of its leading members guilty of the crime of holding and disseminating Trotskyist

#### views and forthwith expelled them from the party. The expelled were Martin Abern, James P. Cannon and myself.

To James P. Cannon belongs the great distinction of founding our movement in this country. He was the representative of our group in the Communist Party's delegation to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in the middle of 1928. We had a small group of our own in the American party. It was held together by loose bonds, mainly by the unclear desire to find some way out of

the unprincipled struggle for power between the two dominant factions, Fosterites and Lovestoneites, which was devitalizing the party. While we, like many other American Communists, were uneasy about the fight against Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the Russian party, we knew very little about it and took even less pains to learn about it. We were overwhelmingly preoccupied with the problem of the American party and we did not begin to understand its relationship to the crisis of the Russian Revolution and the Communist movement as a whole.

#### Smuggle Trotsky Document Out of Russia

At the Congress in Moscow, the essential meaninglessness and futility of our fight in the American party-its superficial character, at least-became clear to Cannon. The bulk of the American delegation, partisans of Foster or Lovestone, was concerned with only one thing: which faction would get the party turned over to it by the Russian leaders. Probably more as a gesture of contempt than anything else, the delegation assigned Cannon as one of its members on the Program Commission. That was our good fortune. In that capacity, Cannon received one of the highly secret and confidential copies of the criticism of the draft program which Trotsky had addressed to the Congress from his exile in Alma-Ata.

It was a revolutionary document in more than one sense. Its tocsin ring was all the more resonant in the hollowness of the official Congress. The annihilation of the new Stalinist dogma—"socialism in a single country"—was shattering, and it had a profound effect upon Cannon. Together with Maurice Spector, the delegate from the Canadian party, who was later to falter and quit, Cannon decided to open up a fight for the revolutionary ideas of Trotsky upon his return home. Trotsky's document had to be brought back to the States as an indispensable weapon in the fight. An idea of what the Communist International was as far back as 1928 may be gained from the fact that a delegate to its Congress found himself forced to purloin a Congress document and to smuggle it out of the country. That is what Cannon and Spector did and, if it may be said without offending highly moral people, their "theft" proved to be a boon.

The atmosphere in the Communist Party at that time was such that upon his return Cannon could not venture at first beyond showing Trotsky's famous criticism to a very few comrades -his closest political and personal friends. It had the same revolutionizing effect upon them, and I can still testify to that personally. This tiny circle of comrades-Martin Abern, Rose Karsner. the late Tom O'Flaherty and I-were not long in rallying to Trotsky's position. We had a few illusions about the consequences of our decision, but not many. That it would not take long for us to be caught by the party's thought-control police and expelled, we knew; but we were firmly resolved to take up the defense of the hounded and defamed men and women whose historic struggle to preserve the Russian Revolution and the ideas of socialist international we had for so long and so inexcusably neglected.

It is always hard to wrench yourself away from a movement to which you are tied by so many threads in order to launch an-

other, and it was not easy for any of us. Of the thousands with whom we had worked and fought to build the communist movement in this country, very few comrades rallied to our side after the expulsion. But they were precious, and what they selflessly contributed to holding together our isolated little movement was irreplaceable and unforgettable.

#### **Communist League of America Is Formed**

The Communist League of America, as the first Trotskyist organization was known, passed through many difficult years, and more than one internal upheaval. The problem of defending our meetings and our militants from the most brutal gangster attacks organized by the Stalinists was saddening but not too difficult and we seldom failed to give as good as we got. The problem of giving clear political shape and firmness to the movement was much more difficult, especially for a group like ours. By its very nature, it attracted militants who could not construe Marxian theory and politics except in a dry, dogmatic way, who suffered from a sort of organic leftism at all costs. Others who came to us were dilettantes, self-expressionists by profession, casual radicals of various kinds who looked upon the Trotskyist movement as a refuge from responsibility in the class struggle and an ideal sounding-board for their favorite nostrums. It required more than one long discussion and more than one sharp inner conflict to clarify the program and establish the political course of the movement-not only with regard to international questions (the Russian question before all) by which we always set great store, but also with regard to American political questions.

Painfully and painstakingly, the movement began to make its way. By its seriousness, its dignity, its tenacious devotion to principle, its ability to combat Stalinism without in any way compromising the struggle against capitalism, it gained the respect of every honest opponent in the labor movement and attracted to its ranks scores and then hundreds of the best militants in the labor movement and the finest representatives of the socialist youth. Many fell away, but more and better ones replaced them. Despite the stringent limitations imposed upon such a group, it showed on more than one occasion—some of them very dramatic, too—that it was no less qualified to set the example in the class struggle, in the field of working-class action, than in the field of theoretical and political discussion.

But without minimizing its other achievements, I think the outstanding one was the assembling of the finest group of politically-educated socialist militants this country had seen for a long, long time. Practically every one of them was so schooled and trained that he was able to perform far greater tasks than were actually offered him. For this achievement, far and away the greatest share of the credit goes to the great revolutionary teacher we had, Leon Trotsky, whose death struck us all such a cruel and heavy blow. His contributions to our education and to the shaping of our movement were not equalled and could not be. A new generation of Marxists was brought up on the rich and sturdy food with which his luminous intellect supplied us so lavishly. His articles, his pamphlets and books, on which we spent so much worthwhile energy to make available in English, were our political mainstay and they remain the classics of the Marxian movement today-classics, not Holy Scriptures, but classics. In addition, our press, the old Militant and The New International, set a new standard for socialist and labor publications, and outside our movement they were rarely equalled and never surpassed. This is an appraisal not held by us alone.

#### **Two Basic Tendencies Emerge**

Midway in its existence the Trotskyist movement underwent its severest crisis. It did not survive it intact. Every organization, even the most radical, develops its own conservatism-in program, in thought, in mode of existence. Within limits, this is as it should be, for without the element of conservatism (strictly understood as conserving what has been confidently acquired) political continuity is rendered impossible and the organization loses its distinctiveness, integrity and therefore its power of attraction because its views are changed every other Sunday. But if the organization is lacking in the element of resiliency, if its steering gear is frozen fast in the accumulated ice of dogma then.

especially in times of abrupt turns and changes such as ours, it runs the risk of driving off unscheduled curves to disaster.

Faced with the outbreak of the Second World War and the outbreak—this one unforeseen—of Stalinist imperialism in the war, the Trotskvist movement, after its bitterest internal struggle, split in two. To this day the split has not only not been healed but has widened, in the United States and almost everywhere else in the world. In the United States it resulted in the formation of our Workers Party. The separation between party comrades of yesterday and especially our break with so deeply respected a teacher as Trotsky was even more painful than is usual in such cases. Evil intentions were not enough to cause the split; good intentions were not enough to prevent it. We had to hold to our revolutionary convictions as our opponents to theirs. It was impossible for us to reconcile the duties of socialist internationalism with the Trotskyist position of defense of Stalinist Russia in the war which the others aintained out of wooden traditionalism. It was likewise impossible for us to remain silent about our views out of purely formal





considerations of discipline, especially when it was not always loyally imposed upon us. The issue in the dispute was too great in importance and in the responsibilities we had to discharge.

With the advantage now given us by hindsight, it is perfectly clear that the war-split of the Trotskyist movement marked a decisive turning point in its history. At this point, two basic tendencies emerged from it and have since moved in divergent directions. One of them is represented by the Socialist Workers Party and the groups like it which are part of the Fourth International -a name maintained as if to make up for an unimposing existence by an imposing title.

What they have done to discredit the good name of Trotskyism is part of the gloomy history of our time. Almost all of them are tiny sects, opportunistic to the core, as petrified in their political king as the most wooden De Leonist, helplessly hewildered in

every new political situation, rigidly ecclesiastical in their worship of a Marx and a Trotsky that never existed, intolerant, vulgarly boastful and bureaucratic, and perfectly sterilized against the possibility of exerting the least political influence upon any movement that seeks a way out of the proletarian dilemma of our time-right-wing socialism or Stalinism.

All of them have this in common: their political course is determined for them, willy-nilly, by the political course of Stalin-ism. They are tied to it by their theory that reactionary, totali-tarian Stalinist Russia is still some kind of workers' state, by their base-policy that this state must be defended in every struggle with a capitalist state, by their theory-policy that the totalitarian Stalinist parties everywhere are workers' parties on a par with other workers' parties. They have been unable to detach themselves from this organic and fatal tie with the new barbarism that Stalinism represents. Once the revolutionary socialist opposition to Stalinism, official Trotskyism is today reduced to a mere democratic critic of Stalinism.

#### In the Tradition of Marx and Lenin

The other tendency is most clearly represented, I think, by our Workers Party. In the more than eight years of its independent existence, it has assembled and trained a group of socialist militants on the basis of principles, a program and a perspective collectively elaborated and clarified in such a way that it is recognized everywhere in the labor and socialist movements of ALL countries as a distinctive revolutionary socialist current. We do not pretend to a strength which we know must first be conquered in struggle. We know only too well our weakness, and the weakness of the Marxian movement throughout the world. But we do lay claim to a program which, while not "finished," has yet to be successfully refuted by any opponent.

Our party, alone among all others, has made a systematic analysis of the social and historical significance of Stalinism—the society of bureaucratic collectivism in Russia, the parties of totalitarian collectivism in the capitalist countries. No other party has pointed out and followed a course of implacable struggle against Stalinism in strict independence of capitalism and capitalist politics. No other party but ours has proved able to combat the capitalist influence of reformism in the labor movement without giving aid and comfort to the Stalinist sappers. The sectarians have divorced socialism from democracy and the reformists have divorced democracy from socialism—with fatal results to both. Our party has distinguished itself, in the great tradition of Marx and Lenin, by the way in which it has restored, for our own times, the inseparable relationship of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism.

Where official Trotskyism still seeks to play the role of a wing of Stalinism, we see the role of the present-day Marxists as that of the loyal left wing of the authentic labor movement, the labor movement as it is, with all its defects and shortcomings. Where the reformist sects and parties see socialism lying beyond . the road of defending American imperialism in the monstrous. conflagration now being prepared, and the Trotskyist sects see socialism lying beyond the road of defending the totalitarian Stalinist state in the next war as in the last one, our party works unremittingly to build a workers' movement that is fully independent of Washington and Moscow, of decaying capitalism and Stalinist barbarism, that raises the banner of democracy and socialism, and fights to victory beneath it.

The twentieth anniversary of the formation of the Trotskyist movement in the United States is a day for us to celebrate. We do it not simply by reiterating now what we said twenty years ago. We pay deserved respects to the militants who did not hold back when it was necessary to lay new foundation stones and launch a new movement, and thereby added their names to the host of other exemplars of socialist idealism, conviction and resolution. Where they erred, where they put forward ideas which did not withstand the severe tests of life, we have not followed them and we need not. But much of what we said, much of what we worked for and fought for in the early days of the Trotskyist movement, did prove to be durable or proved to be the necessary basis on which to build what is durable. It is ours today,

# -TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH RUSSIAN "EVACUATION" OF NORTH: Koreans Revolt Against U. S. Puppet Regime

#### By JACK BRAD

The "Independent" Republic of South Korea was torn by the eruption of civil war last week. The revolt continues, though isolated in the agrarian southern province of Cholla Namdo. For a brief moment the Asiatic spotlight was shifted from the disastrous avalanche which is engulfing China to the barely-known country to the North which was for many years known as the "Hermit Kingdom."

The revolt was timed to coincide with the announcement by the Russians occupying North Korea above the 38th parallel, that Russian troops were beginning evacuation. This is the greatest propaganda political weapon of the Stalinists in Korea for the will to be free of all foreign armies is universal except for a small group of reactionaries at the head of the American-sponsored regime in the South. There can be little doubt that the revolt at least involves the Stalinists, if it was not planned and initiated by them Nevertheless it would be an error to assume that this is exclusively a Stalinist plot. Famine, land hunger, inflation, oppression by usurious landlordism and political tyranny are the daily conditions of life from which this revolt, and others to come, arose .

News from Korea, especially from so remote an area as the Southern provinces, is seldom exact or complete. Aside from the technical difficulties, there is the more important political one. The government of Syngham Rhee is a rightist dictatorship which long ago condemned all opponents as "communists" and under this general, indiscriminate label has instituted police terror against them.

#### HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT

The revolt began in a military garrison in the port town of Yosu. Reports as to the number of troops involved vary from 40 to 13,000. It is clear, however, that the Yosu rebel garrison was strong enough to capture the local arsenal, to win over much of the constabulary and to

speedily extend itself to an area of seventy miles to the North. Also, almost one week after the revolt, the Government attempted to retake Yosu with a marine landing party but was thrown back.

There is little doubt that the rebels have popular support. Reports indicate that the initial band has been augmented considerably by recruits from the countryside. Reports "of large-scale executions of anti-communists in the area recaptured" probably means the execution not only of Government supporters but also of the big landlords and the hated usurers and former Japanese collaborators; that is, these executions are of a social character aimed at winning over the peasantry.

While the rebels are reported to be flying the flag of the Stalinist North Korean Republic, it is unlikely that the northern Stalinists will be able to give much assistance of any kind, but will concentrate instead upon making the maximum political capital out of the revolt and its suppression. For while the revolt contains Stalinist elements it also was given a social character which will be exploited to the hilt by Stalinism. The suppression which is already under way, is instituting a white terror against the entire population of Cholla Namdo which will deepen popular hatred for the government.

#### CAUSES OBSCURE

The rebelling troops, it is reported, were under orders to be shipped to mountain areas to battle Stalinist guerrillas and this was the immediate cause of the revolt. The immediate circumstances will remain obscure for a long time. However, there are guerilla bands of peasants, under Stalinist leadership in the mountains. It is likely that the present revolt will never be completely crushed but will also take to the hills, there to enlarge the growing army of discontent, and probably contribute a rallying point

for Stalinism in South Korea. It is unlikely that the revolt was demonstration to coincide with the Russian declaration of evacuation. It is a warning on the basis of which the Northern regime will assert that its claim of jurisdiction over all Korea

is justified and that the people desire the American evacuation. In this sense, Stalinism has manipulated an armed adventure which is doomed to bloody repression in order to underscore its own propaganda. That non-Stalinist soldiers and po-

lice and peasants joined them should surprise no one. Economic conditions in the American zone are extremely harsh and politically there exists a police dictatorship supported by American bayonets. Soldiers' pay is very small and the new army is still very close to the peasantry socially. Pay of the police is considerably less than what is earned by a servant in the palace of a man of wealth and is normally supplemented by the ubiquitous Oriental graft.

#### RHEE HEADS REACTION

The Rhee government in the American zone took office on August 15, 1948 on the basis of its victory in the UN-sponsored elections. These elections were conducted in an atmosphere of political intimidation. Even the UN supervisory committee was split on the possibility of holding a "free" election and Dr. Menon, the Indian delegate, openly expressed doubt as to the validity of the elections. The report of the UN Committee contains several pages of violations of the set electoral rules. Police,

right terrorists, and the infamous Dai Dong Youth Corps. Rhee's political terrorist group, dominated the election machinery. They forced people to vote, prevented protests from reaching the UN Commission and assured Rhee his ninety-per-cent victory.

Rhee heads the extremely reactionary landlord party. He has been the man of the American State Department and of Chiang Kai-shek. His resistance to any kind of agrarian re-

form forced the U.S. military govever intended as any more than a ernment to intervene in May to promulgate a moderate land-distribution program which has not been carried out, however, since its machinery is under landlord control.

Rhee alone, in Korean politics, took a separatist position even before the elections. All other groups favored continued efforts toward national unification. He alone forced the elections at the time, all other groups opposing them as undemocratic under existing conditions.

Even before the elections one pro-American observer wrote: "The real tragedy in the south is that the middle-roaders have been driven underground with the Communists. I know of many men whose only crime has been criticism of the grafting, dictatorial government who have been denounced as Communists, imprisoned and tortured-or simply assassinated." (UN World, May 1948.)

In a report to the Institute of Pacific Relations in September, 1947, George McCune wrote: ". . . the extreme rightists had entrenched themselves firmly in South Korea, operating within the framework of the American democratic system. Their political parties were well organized, their economic control secure and they had at their backs a moderatesized military force composed of police and constabulary, plus a young men's league."

#### RIPE FOR UPHEAVAL

Since the inauguration of the "elected" Rhee regime, moderates and liberals continued to be silenced by imprisonment and intimidation. Recently "Inspection Committees" were formed directly responsible to President Rhee. These committees are empowered to "investigate the conduct of public officials" and have all the characteristics of a secret political police. An officially-controlled labor organization has been formed which

resembles a "labor front." The cabinet of the Rhee government contains members of his party alone. This is South Korea under the American flag, where hunger, infla-

In this social climate the Stalinists are functioning. From their substantial base in the North, backed by full Russian power, they are able to intervene actively. They have developed a powerful attraction through their program for re-unification and the evacuation of all foreign troops. The American-sponsored regime with its anti-popular policies cannot cope with these forces except, as Rhee openly proclaimed, by the continued occupation which becomes daily less tolerable.

ditions are ripe for social upheaval.

The North is cut off at the 38th parallel and exists in a new "hermitage," sealed, off from all penetration and influence as are all Stalinist areas. The Stalinist regime has a substantial army and secret police of its own. It is a completely puppet regime. It has, however, distributed some land. But this reform has not won it as great support as might have been expected because land acquisition by the peasantry was hedged by all manner of special conditions, such as no right to re-sell.

Refugees from the North report that the August 25 "election" was completely in the hands of the police. Also, there is a rumor, which is probably true, because it fits the Russian pattern elsewhere, that the Russians, before evacuation, are establishing majority control over all the industrial enterprises such as petroleum, transportation, and shipping. Reports have it that there is considerable disillusionment with northern "communism." But the Rhee regime offers no alternative to it.

The whole fate of Korea is now tied to the great conflict between the imperialist giants for Asia. The revolt indicates the inability of the U.S. to cope with Stalinism in Asia. The American occupation and the policy of American imperialism are utter failures. They cannot begin to bring democracy to Asia-China or Korea. They cannot resolve the crucial agrarian crisis because everywhere the U. S. is the ally of landlord-compration and political despotism rule. Condorism

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