WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD! JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 20, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

JET INVENTOR SAYS WAR WOULD END CIVILISATION

EBY

ift and P

ed Contem

Denies Vio

S ON PRO

Hartley 'Peace

By RUBEN LEVE

wn Board Ha

New Pamphlet on Labor Party Issue **Presents Strong Plea for Action**

The Workers Party this week announced publication of its newest pamphlet, "Next-a Labor Party" by Jack Ranger, the cover of which appears alongside.

The sixty-four compactly and simply written pages of Ranger's pamphlet argue the need for and demonstrate the road to a labor party. No working class household should be without its copy. No person who is interested in promoting independent political action should be without his copy—or several copies, to allow for distribution to friends.

. Parts of the pamphlet originally appeared in LABOR ACTION. In addition to completing the text, an introduction has been added to the pamphlet which summarizes the results of the recent national elections in terms of the argument for a labor party.

onsidered in the rof such we spulace. eport expressional contr-minate the attack, if itional sec he Nations neral situr g down hi

ourses were China wit Iddle-of-th e are purs Interpret "give Chu ch; we wa it we do n ret"; or, "

of the Un: um asserte oes not fo Communist

it is to our ndon Chins.

HELD

The national elections, in fact, especially make the pamphlet essential reading. With the labor movement contributing significantly to the Truman victory, a tendency has been noted in the labor movement, even in those sections which had in one way or another committed themselves to independent political action, to shy away from any new political formations. But, as the introduction states:

"The question of a labor party will not be downed, now less than ever. Everyone knows that labor is in politics to stay. By 1950 the labor leaders will again have to look around and take inventory of the results of their policy of tagging along after the old parties, and few of the old excuses will have a spark of life left. That year will see congressional and local elections: there is the next mark to shoot at. Local labor-party organizations and independent labor candidates in key parts of the country in 1950: there is the next goal for trade union militants and progressives."

NATIONAL BANKS Negro Families in "Restricted" SHOW PROFIT GALL rea Besieged by Jim Crow Mob S. Price Woes Blamed on War Jittersmiss of MR. WALLACE'S TRASEDY

POLICE VIOLENCE: On record Chas. Pfizer turing chei-ported a ne after all de nine monthe The resul a share on J TON, Noi bN, Nos defense j National "assume atomic by emy" and s would to poo injured over a den

S CONCERN OPENSA ruman Calls a Halt To Giving 'en Hell' lome Building **Drops Sharply** Stay in Politics cation' Plan NEGRO EDUCATORS 1 SITE HOUSING NEED I. T. U. FIL Congress Action for STRIKEBA 1 fally for si decia f and so in fallty f in t Big Strikes; Ruling by N. L. SLUM CLEARANCE LABOR DRAFT' W 7 IN ST. LOU SOON COME UP : BUSINESS TAKES Boss Crump Beaten With ELECTION IN STRIDE 1 \$16.0 Ready for Congre ATOM POWER HELD Labor's Aid Klan Crosses TEALTH SERVICES AND TO ROCKET WAR Flare Warning INADEQUATE Called & Step to Pushbut 1 Florida TAINTY DISSIPATED RICES RAISED 87 Cotton Firm Up. Program Speed-Up Looms One Year of T.H Forrestal Draft Rules Fines Are Used NARROWLY SAVED JACK RANGER

U.S. Hints at Plan **To Make Deal With Chinese Stalinists** By JACK BRAD

Blast at Jim Crow in D.C. Puts Democrats on a Spot

A harsh light has been thrown on Jim Crow right in the nation's capital.

The fact of its existence in Washing is not news-everybody knows that the federal governments own bailiwick is among the worst plague spots in the country, so far as race discrimination is concerned, outside of the deep South.

But the disgusting details have been made public by no less than a committee composed of eighty-seven nationally prominent figures, in a report given last week to President Truman. The "Washington Memo" column of the December 11 New York Post retails the highlights.

Judging by the excerpts there quoted, the report's sponsors not only expose the conditions but also point the finger. We will have to await the complete report itself, however, in order to see whether, in addition to pointing at the "interests," the finger is also pointed at the federal government itself.

Here are some of the accusations backed up by the committee's blast: •Real-estate and financial interests deliberately maintain and foster racism.

• Race friction does not arise "naturally" from intercourse between whites and Negroes.

· Negro home owners and tenants are deliberately and systematically exploited and cheated, as compared with whites.

• The policy of the "community leaders" is to force the Negroes into slums and ghettos.

tions is not to "keep property values from falling" but to inflate them at the expense of the Negro victims. Thirty per cent of Washington's

population is made up by Negroes. This near-third of the people are crowded into the unrestricted slums. Any Negro who wants to break out is made to pay through the nose. Says the committee: "The same real-estate interests that

make money by excluding colored people from new subdivisions are able to collect inflated rentals from the slums into which they are driven. A profit is made on the Negro coming and going."

Who are the criminals? The committee points the finger at the "groups (which) hold a position of unchallenged leadership in the economic life of the community." Among the active members of the Washington Real Estate Board and exponents of its "code of ethics" are twenty-five leading banks, insurance and title companies and building and loan associations. The banks figure in the picture doubly. "The Negro home owner is forced to assume exorbitant financing costs," says the committee's

IT'S À TEST CASE!

report.

It should be remembered that these are the same respectable pillars of society who, when pressed, will protest that they are as much against racism as anyone but that they are reluctantly forced to go along with it because of "public sentiment," since business is business. The contribution of the report is its proof that the "public sentiment" involved is that of themselves and that of their friends, and is not enforced upon them by the sentiments of the masses of white people. The latter, it is perfectly true, are often streaked with prejudice, but the responsibility for the actual conditions that exist and are fostered belongs to the "in-

While the armies of Chinese Stalinism continued the grinding up of the last masses of trapped Nanking forces, the real decisions were being made in the political centers. The frigid treatment given to Mme. Chiang in Washington is clarified by the remarkable statement made in Shanghai by Paul G. Hoffman, Marshall Plan Administrator and World Economic Plenipotentiary of the United States.

FIVE CENTS

The Hoffman statement indicated that the U.S. would be willing to deal with a Stalinist "coalition government" in China, though

not with a completely CP regime. [As we go to press, the N. Y. Times reports that "the State Department sought to make it clear" that "Hoffman spoke for himself alone." It seems reasonable to interpret this as being only a formal disclaimer behind which Hoffman's trial balloon can be observed for results. Thus also, the current issue of U.S. News & World Report confirms the acceptance in Washington of Hoffman's approach.-Ed.]

Hoffman's statement makes clear the implications in the reception to Mme. Chiang. It is probable that the policy he announced in Shanghai reflects what was decided in Washington before her arrival. It is certain that American military and business circles in China conducted preparatory meetings last week, before and since Hoffman's arrival, at which the policy Hoffman brought from Washington was discussed and largely af-

A mere reading of the chapter headings indicates the wealth of material to be found in the pamphlet:

1. What We Want Out of Life-and What We Get.

- 2. What Has Happened?
- 3. What Are Political Parties?
- 4. Labor Parties in the U.S.
- 5. Union Leadership and Politics.
- 6. Who Opposes a Labor Party?

7. What Will a Labor Party Look

Like?

N. C. was saved-lot the time, mint to or 2n over uvers evens. Oursave goods scourses is are bree hillitary department of a subject to y and lessific constances will continue to access the subject to a department of a fine up to a department of a fine up to a department of a size up to a department of a si

8. Why Old Union Leaders Oppose a Labor Party.

9. New Answers to Well-Worn Arguments.

- 10. Henry Wallace and Labor.
- 11. How Labor Can Win the Support of the Majority of the People.
- 12. What Program for a Labor Party?
- 13. How Long Will It Take?

14. What If a Labor Party Is Not Built?

15. Socialists and the Labor Party. A full, detailed review of the pamphlet will appear in next week's issue of LA-BOR ACTION. In the meantime we urge readers to send in their orders. Handsomely printed, the pamphlet is priced to sell for only 25 cents a copy despite the high cost of printing; 20 cents each in bundles of ten to fifty; 18 cents each in bundles over 50.

Individual houses are offered to Negro buyers for 30 per cent more than is asked of white customers. A \$4,000 house gets a \$5,200 tag when a Negro family comes inquiring.

TWO-WAY PROFIT

How they get away with it was cynically explained in a 1944 pamphlet published by the National Association of Real Estate Boards: "Negroes in the same economic groups are better pay because the demand for housing is so much keener." This needs a little footnote. The "keenness" of the Negroes' demands for housing is ensured by the very people who profit by it. This is the function of the restrictive covenants.

Thus the current (1948) "Code of Ethics" of the Washington Real Estate Board says: "No property in a white section should ever be sold, rented, advertised, or offered to colored people. In case of doubt, advice from the public affairs committee should be obtained." Whenever restrictive covenants are

attacked, the hypocritical real-estate gougers blandly explain that they are necessary in order to "keep property values from falling" as soon as Negroes move into a neighborhood. While this myth has been factually and statistically exposed many times, the committee's report makes clear that the aim of Jim-Crow restric-

terests.' The unique interest of this exposé of Jim Crow in Washington is not that it paints a picture much different from that which befouls many other cities. Its interest is that the conditions in the District of Columbia, unlike any other city in the land. are determined by and subject to the

action of the federal government, of Congress and the administration. Truman and his Democratic Party have just won an election in which civil rights figured as one of the leading issues. Truman received the

overwhelming majority of the Negro votes. Washington Jim Crow is a national scandal. It ought to be made a test case to see whether the Democrats are going to carry out their campaign pledges. The Dixiecrats cannot even yell about "states' rights." There are no excuses possible such as are thought up when reform of the armed forces is brought up. The

Already last week's N. Y. Times dispatches from Shanghai were saying about Hoffman's arrival: "Since most American businessmen here want to stay, they favor a continuation of the aid program. For the same reasons these Americans, who normally are of Rightist inclination, are now hoping that Washington will soft-pedal any aid to Nanking." Hoffman's announcement fits in closely with these sentiments.

BRUTALLY FRANK

What is remarkable is the brutal frankness with which Hoffman has announced the abandonment of the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek. In a statement filled with hedges and ambiguities this is made unmistakably clear. Hoffman says: "The principal purpose of ECA is to help the people." The fact that this altruistic aim has been formalized in specific treaty with Chiang; that the U.S. is bound to recognition of this dictatorial, corrupt and unpopular regime by scores of agreements; or that up to eighteen months ago the U.S. was actively sending arms to Chiang; or even that in the past three years the U.S. has granted aid totaling 41/2 billions-all these considerations are dissolved in the Realpolitik of the moment. There will be

(Continued on page 4)

Socialist Vote Rose This Year, Returns Show

Thomas Polled Two-Thirds More Than in 1944; Socialist Labor Party Declined Sharply

The tabulation of election returns on the presidential vote for the minority parties shows that the socialist vote cast on November 2 represented an increase of well over a third as compared with the previous election

To be exact, the increase is 37 per cent. This includes the votes for all three socialist candidates; Norman Thomas (Socialist Party), Edward Teichert (Socialist Labor Party), and Farrell Dobbs (Socialist Workers Party). The last named group had no candidates in the 1944 race.

The rise in the vote for Thomas was much greater, however. In the case of the SP's candidate, the total vote cast this year was up by almost twothirds as compared with 1944, or 132,-138 as compared with 80,515.

BREAKDOWN OF FIGURES

This increase in the socialist protest vote came in spite of two important factors tending to turn independent voters elsewhere. One was the appeal of the Wallace movement for a protest vote against the two old parties, and the other was the tenseness of the race between Truman and Deweymuch tenser, as it turned out, than had been expected. The latter in particular, no doubt, accounts for the fact that the socialist protest vote was not as sizeable as had been expected.

For the benefit of those interested in the way the 1948 socialist vote

breaks down, we present an analysis Teichert of some aspects of the figures. Following is the vote for the social-Total ist candidates this year: 132,138 Thomas ... 27,921 Teichert 13,007 Dobbs . 173,066 Total In 1944, the socialist vote was cast

for the first two named: 80,515 Thomas

How Three Socialist Candidates Fared

Following is the vote for the three socialist candidates in the nine states where all three were on the ballot:

	Thomas	Teichert	Dobbs	
New York	40,879	2,729	2,675	
New Jersey	10,521	3,354	5,825	
Colorado	1,678	214	228	
Iowa	1,829	4,274	256	÷.,
Minnesota	4,646	2,525	606	
Michigan	6,063	1,263	672	÷.,
Pennsylvania	11,325	1,461	2,133	
Washington	3,534	1,133	103	
Wisconsin	12,547	399	303	
Total	93,022	17,352	12,801*	

* In California where the SWP was able to get only two local candidates on the ballot (one of whom polled approximately 3,500 votes in San Francisco, and the other approximately 1,000 votes in Los Angeles) 132 write-in votes were recorded for the party's presidential candidates. It is the only state where a write-in was reported.

It can be seen that whereas the IN INDUSTRIAL STATES Thomas vote increased by about twothirds, the decline in the Teichert-For the purpose of comparison be-SLP tally was fairly sharp. The latter (in their paper, the Weekly People) adduce as partial alibi the similarity in name between themselves and the SWP, at least in several states. However, it should be noted that this cuts

46,000

126.515

tween the socialist groups, we box separately the votes in those nine states where all three were on the ballot. These are also preponderantly the industrial states. In these states, Thomas received 93.022: Teichert received 17,352; and Dobbs got 12,801.

vote of 1944.

both ways, and the SLP-SWP vote

put together is still less than the SLP

Taking the Thomas-SP vote alone, a survey of the more industrial states shows that the increase in the Socialist Party vote was by and large higher than elsewhere. In New York State, Thomas jumped from 10.553 in 1944 to 40,879 in 1948. This was the biggest leap in any one state. In New Jersey his vote increased from 3,358 to 10,521. These two states alone also accounted for two-thirds of the Dobbs-SWP total: 2,675 in New York, and 5,825 in New Jersey. The SWP's Militant comments on the New Jersey figure with the remark that "it (the SWP) was favored in a few counties by its place on the ballot."

The SP's Socialist Call has an interesting comment on the size of the Wallace vote as compared with the vote for Norman Thomas back in 1932, when Thomas got his highest figure: "In that year, with a total vote of seven million smaller than in 1948,

(Continued on page 2)

United Opposition Fights Stalinists

Crow.

issue is simply: for or against Jim

Offer Serious Threat Against CP Hold on UE Westinghouse Local 601

By STAN LAUREN

EAST PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 15-Voting for officers for the coming year has been taking place all this week in the important Westinghouse Local 601, biggest single shop in the United Electrical Workers (CIO), where a record turnout of its 17,000 are casting ballots.

Local 601 has long been under the domination of the Stalinists and because of its size and strength it has been a plum in the CP-controlled UE pudding. There are but a few CP members in the local itself, but by managing for years to keep its opposition divided and by discouraging membership participation in local affairs, it has succeeded in retaining control of the local by keeping a majority of CP members and open fel-

low travelers on the executive board.

The present president of the local, Tom Fitzpatrick, is a known Stalinist who has recently been active in posing as the labor "front" for Wallace in Pennsylvania. He is running for re-election, heading the "Progressive" group slate whose roster is likewise studded with fellow traveling bureaucrats who have dominated the local for years.

UNITED OPPOSITION SLATE

This year, however, the anti-Stalinists have consolidated their forces and put up a united slate against the Stalinist "Progressive Group." There is a great possibility that the opposition may sweep the Fitzpatrick-CP forces from control once and for all. In past elections, the Stalinists have

been able to squeeze into their posts by maneuvering the opposition to run anywhere from three to five anti-Stalinist candidates for each office against them. While the total anti-Stalinist vote was always many times greater than the votes of the "Progressives," the Stalinists were able to win an executive board majority since the opposition let itself be divided mainly because of personal differences.

Several months ago the various anti-Stalinist oppositions came togegether and, realizing that their differences were primarily personal, decided to combine forces in one group. The greatest difficulty they faced was to overcome the effect of years of CP bureaucratic control over the

(Continued on page 2)

Page 2

AN OTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE OWNER NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Notes on Illinois Labor . .

By KEN HILLYER

CHICAGO - The Illinois CIO convention held in Chicago, December 11 and 12 closely mirrored the national convention held in Portland in November. It is a funny setup when the state conventions meet after the National Oragnization has laid down "official policy." The convention was plagued with National CIO politicians, and plain Democratic Party politicians. The delegates were "speeched" to death.

The usual line about the tremendous victory on November 2, and the horrible Communist Party (most of these people playing tootsie with the Stalinists about two years ago) were the main themes. Allan Haywood, National Organizational Director of CIO reached full oratorical glory in attacking the CP. He accused them of being totalitarians, not believing in the rights of free speech, assemblage, the right to disagree, and criticize, and trying to palm off a Messiah (Wallace) on the labor movement. Not many delegates could disagree with this characterization. Unfortunately (and with the Stalinists on the run,



(Continued from page 1)

Thomas polled 885,000 votes and exceeded the present Wallace vote in 28 states while running close to it in eleven others. Only in nine states was the Wallace vote measurably better than the 1932 Thomas vote - most notably in California and New York."

As far as local contests are concerned; in Chicago Maynard Krueger, a Socialist running as an independent against a reactionary Republican and Democratic wardheeler, polled 4,416 votes in the 2nd District (or 21/2 per cent of the total). In New York Citys East Side, congressional district 19, Emanuel Geltman, Workers Party candidate, polled 73 votes against Arthur Klein, a liberal Democrat endorsed by both the Stalinist ALP and the anti-Stalinist ADA. In a number of local elections, according to figures presented by the Militant, candidates of the SWP ran ahead of their presidential ticket by several thousand

votes. ** - 53 · · · · · ·

this is of considerably concern to us now) many of these specific accusations regarding democratic rights can be directed against the union leadership, however much their bureaucratic acts differ in source from those of the Stalinists. (Philip Murray is hailed as nothing short of a Messiah.) Thus a headline in the Illinois Labor-Convention issue: "Phil Murray Re-Elected 'God's Gift to America.''

of the Stalin oligarchy. More on this The convention did pass the usual progressive resolutions, some of which later. will be acted upon, others of which will probably be filed for safe keeping. A resolution calling upon the The United Packinghouse Workers labor movement to convene a Conwho suffered a defeat last spring in gress of Labor to draft a legislative a nationwide strike have participated in twenty five NLRB elections in program, and set the second week in which the AFL Meat Cutters (You January for demonstration to make know, Patrick Gorman, the man who the elected officials live up to their campaign promises was carried. One salves his conscience with Socialist speaker spoke for the Labor Party Call ads, and delivers fine nationalization speeches . . . in England) and idea, and was fairly well received. Independent Unions have participated. The workers may be excited over the November 2 victory, but they realize Results 25 victories for CIO. the shortcomings of official CIO-PAC far better than the leaders of CIO.

. That the question of merging the FE and UAW is not as easy as may have been expected was shown by the exhibition the Stalinist leaders in FE put on this week in Chicago. They rallied national leaders and local officers to a meeting at the Sherman Hotel in Chicago to repudiate the CIO decision ordering them to merge with the UAW. They have rejected the "ultimatum" of Phil Murray, and have started a drive towards pulling out of CIO. They have instructed their membership that the March conven-.

the question of affiliation. The UAW Harvester Council last week issued a resolution, adopted at a meeting in Indianapolis, which calls upon both organizations to support the merger because of what it means to the workers in the shops. They pledged to have all posts in the Council declared vacant with the merger, and for all FE locals to have all the democratic rights that any Harvester local would have, such as full representation on the national negotiations

tion of the organization will decide

committee. The National Leadership of UAW-is meeting this week to draft a proposal for merger.

L'ABOR ACTION

FOR AN EMERGENCY LABOR CONGRESS TO WIN REPEAL OF TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

The following resolution, submitted by Local 6, UAW-CIO, was passed unanimously at the Illinois State CIO convention.

- WHEREAS, The workers and farmers have spoken politically on November 2, as to their desire for adequate housing, fair taxes, anti-inflation measures, Civil Rights, and repeal of restrictive antilabor legislation, and:
- WHEREAS, The lessons of the PAC victory in the 79th Congress (1944) shows that it does not automatically follow that the 81st Congress because it was elected by the intervention of the Trade Unions and working farmers organizations will carry out the program they ran on, and;
- WHEREAS, It is absolutely imperative to the labor movement that the Taft-Hartley Act and all of its features be repealed outrightly instead of the talk now heard of amending the Act;
- THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in the State of Illinois CIO Convention go on record demanding the outright repeal of the TAFT-HARTLEY ACT and that we endorse the call of the International Typographical Union to "convene a National Emergency Congress of Labor in Washington for the purpose of working out joint plans to combat as well as the converted campaign for the repeal of the vicious TAFT-HARTLEY ACT itself":
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we demand of the 81st Congress that they CARRY OUT THE PROGRAM they were elected on, which is practically identical with the National CIO's program called, "The CIO program for peace and Prosperity." and;
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That all CIO International and Local Unions set aside the second week in January for an intensive campaign of all type of activities and demonstrations to focus the light on the convening of the new Congress and the demand for a solution to the problems facing the worker and farmer.

Submitted by:

L. U. 6, United Automobile Workers-CIO

Oppose Stalinist Hold in Local 601-

(Continued from page 1) membership, resulting in an extreme

disinterestedness of the average member in the shop to the goings-on in the local. The membership responded quickly, however, when they saw that they could "do something," and interest in the elections has had a revitalizing effect on the shop.

National CIO in ordering an Inter-

national Union to dissolve itself, yet

the merger itself would greatly

strengthen the workers of Interna-

tional Harvester and John Deere who

are split (11 FE-7-UAW, Harvester,

7 UAW-5-FE, Deere) into separate

bargaining units. The Stalinists on the

other hand are only interested in

their ironclad control of FE and its

use in furthering the foreign policy

. .

The two largest groups to unite were the Rank and File Group and the UE-CIO Group. The former won prominence this year by whipping the Stalinists on the question of signing the Taft-Hartley affidavits and on the local's refusal to support Wallace. In both cases the Rank and File managed to whip up interest in

the shops, and the victory was won when for the first time in years, tremendous numbers of men and women attended the meetings. The other group -- "the UE - CIO poses. Group"-was composed of many ex-

"Progressive Group" members who have broken with the CPers in the past few years. The united opposition, now known

as the "UE Rank and File CIO" Group, is a hodge-podge of various We must deplore the action of shades of political opinion ranging

united mainly against the bureaucratic control of the CP over their local, the wanton neglect and mismanagement of grievance procedure by the Stalinists, the constant abuse of their local both in name and financially for CP "front" groups; and lastly to restore the local to a healthy trade-union life.

That the differences in the united Rank and File group will eventually take more solid shape is to be expected, but until the opposition can wrest control from the CP "Progressive" group there is little chance that the local will have enough health to flourish. For the entire group knows that a "Progressive" victory means that the membership will resume its apathy and the CP, will use the local for everything but trade-union pur-

VIE In recent weeks the anti-Stalinists in the District 6 area have been heartened by several victories. First came the victory of the anti-Stalinist forces in the Fairmont (W. Va.) local of Westinghouse. That was followed by an overwhelming victory of anti-Sta-

from radical to conservative and is linist forces in Huntington (W. Va.) at a local of the Sylvania Electric Corporation; here the Stalinists became so frantic after their defeat that they brought down six Stalinist District 6 organizers to bureaucratically unseat Mildred Turner, newly elected president, at her very first meeting. This plant has about 1800 members most of whom are women, but they refused to be intimidated even when the Stalinists tried to scare them by provoking a riot. Hundreds of women stood firm by their elected president while the Stalinists discovered they had less than thirty supporters

The voting will end at the Westinghouse plant a few days before Christmas. Results are not expected to be known before the first of the new year.

Both sides have flooded the plant with dozens of leaflets for more than a week now. Workers in the shop are avidly reading all material and the interest in the election has reached its highest pitch. There is high hope that the anti-Stalinists will give the union back to the membership.



All renders of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings. tures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write te 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 second Friday of each month. Discus-

sion group on remaining Friday evenings. BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor.

Office hours, 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion groups

Thursday evenings. **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 Sun-days \$:00 p.m. in the Croatian

days, 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-

DETROIT: 5341 Gratici, 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

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 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.

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.

CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:16 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor.

December 20, 1948

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 6623, Pittsburgh 11. 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 29, 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.



4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y.

ZONE

1.1.1

APT

_ STATE

Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents

(please print)

One year (62 issues) at \$1.00

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor ...

A CO States His Case on the Draft

sought in the creation of a deliberate antagonisation of Russia. 2. Even if not an objector to war,

sition of educators, religious leaders, aggressiveness, militarism and fas- munism, would seriously consider little bit more of it. When the evoluunion groups, and even certain mili- cism. Moreover, I shall urge all whom your position if you defended it at tion of things brings home to the External reasons were I am able to influence to consider one place and fought it at another? masses that reforms are archaic, and

A copy of the following letter, originally sent to General Hershey, was forwarded to us. We think it an interesting statement, though we disagree radically with the writer's act. A news item, incorporating a capsule statement of our view, appears elsewhere in this issue-Ed.

General Hershey, Director of the Selective Service Act of 1948 Washington, D. C. General Hershey:

In the summer of 1948 the Congress of the United States created a peacetime conscription act, ostensibly as a national defense measure, which required every male between 18 and 26 to register and assume a certain classification under this Act. Although this provides deferment for conscientious objectors (of a severely limited group) among others, I find that as a pacifist I cannot comply with the Selective Service Act of 1948 even to the point of registering.

From 1943-1946 I served in Civilian Public Service Camps as a conscientious objector. I registered under that draft act and continued to work within the system until released, in spite of the fact that in many ways the system was abominably bad. My reasons were based upon (1) the thought that if the government had any right to arbitrarily conscript the services of its citizens, that right existed in time of military conflict. and (2) that the sacrifices of military personnel however unintelligent, apathetic, or perverted to ignoble ends they might be, yet demanded equal or greater sacrifice on the part of those who believed in the way of love and reconciliation.

Neither of these reasons obtain at the present time. Furthermore, additional reasons compel me to take the course of civil disobediance in this case.

1. Even if overbearing military power were desirable, conscription would be neither necessary nor desirable. Voluntary enlistment was filling military ranks adequately until deliberately sabotaged by high army officials in the interest of army control of the civilian population. Directly and indirectly controlled military funds were employed to propagandize conscription in spite of the oppo-

I could not register for a Jim Crow army, a condition not alleviated by the recent political maneuvering of President Truman. 3. As a pacifist I oppose not only

participation in war on the part of myself and others, but also those conditions which make war inescapable. This conscription act is an explicit and decisive step to aggravate foreign powers and coerce foreign policies not favorable to American capitalism, to place the United States under military autocracy, and to augment the trend toward fascistic totalitarianism in this country.

4. I strongly object to the narrow definition of "conscientious objector" contained in the bill and based upon archaic religious concepts. Certainly a pacifistic follower of Thomas Aquinas. Hinduism or Hicksite Quakerism would be a "religious" objector; yet under the act none of these would be classified as a conscientious objector. As a social and philosophical objector, although neither a communist nor an anarchist. I also would not

warrant the title of conscientious ob-

jector. The time is too short in an atomic age, even if it were possible, to alter this trend through parliamentary channels. For these reasons I choose to refuse to register for the draft as the strongest protest that I know to these evils. Being neither non-cooperative nor non-conformist by temperament, moreover as being susceptible to possible deferment either as a conscientious objector or by virtue of my approaching 26th birthday, I take this step reluctantly, with full cognizance of the consequences, yet resolute in my conviction. When the government legalizes an immoral act. whether it be slavery, Jim Crow or the killing of a human being, it does not make that act moral. When the government forces intelligent and socially conscious individuals to disobey such an act, the government must assume the responsibility and not those

who break the law. As a teacher of philosophy and in private life, so long as I am physically able, I shall speak the truth as I see it and shall refuse to cooperate with any attempt to foment war and to encourage the seeds of war in private and personal acquisitiveness and linism, which he mistakes for com- linism has preached reform, only a

doing likewise. Sincerely yours. Robert Everett REUMAN. Phila.

Discusses Issue **Of CP Defense**

Will Barton in his letter taking up an issue raised by Erber concerning the policy of non-support for Communists under indictment re-raises my interest on that subject. In a letter, which I never forwarded for publication written on September 17, I took issue with Erber on his position, but decided upon reweighing its contents, that my views coincided with his to such an extent as to be merely a disagreement based on agreement. Barton poses some features of the issue very well, and I should like to emphasize some of the points I made in my letter at that

time. At one point it read: "In proposing an alternative position, I think that the past record of WP is adequate. As he [Erber] says: 'Whereas Marxists never called upon the government to act against fascist organizations and periodicals, it never rallied to the defense of the latter when they were prosecuted.' I can see little advantage in becoming a leftist critic against the CP to the benefit of the State Department. As the WP is on the subversive list, it might well be misunderstood by the State Department as an attempt at buying itself into its (the State Department's) good graces, and conversely totally blind followers of the CP as to the true intentions of the party. Either way, its role would be viewed with utmost cynicism."

Barton makes a good point when he states: "Stalinist legality is something to be strongly pushed under capitalist totalitarianism (fascism) to facilitate the development of legal rights for all." Although I do not subscribe to his characterization of "capitalist totalitarianism" in its present historical sense, I would agree that he poses a legitimate question. But the dilemma arises: How defend Stalinism vis-a-vis the State Department, and expose its reactionary tendencies as they apply to the

working class? What worker, under a sentimental affection toward StaThings are black and white, for or against to the average working man. His trade union to him is against the employer, it is to him all that it is not to socially conscious persons. The varying hues of the spectroscope are all lost in his blinded vision. He wants reforms, and he wants them now, and believes that New Dealism. unionism, and moderate forms of health insurance, increased social security and the like will be enough to solve his living problems to a great extent. His very trade union has taught and is teaching him that all forms of action unless they fall within the prescribed limits of legitimate union demands are acts of .communistic inspired members, and are therefore un-American. In defending the Stalinists as Bar-

ton wants would lead to the most fatuous rationalizations. Differentiating between a half dozen concepts for the enlightenment of the working man would leave him bored, and if not that, cynical of all parties who claim to speak in the name of human progress. Without wanting to assume a didactic attitude. I think it is plain that there is to be no shortcut to social emancipation. Ten years ago, the statement that England would be challenged by her colonies would have appeared to be the ultimate in frivolity. During the depression, any normal working man would have shouted in derision had a farsighted person intimated that there would be an abundance of jobs and that state intervention would be an accepted process in dealing with labor. That these things have happened and shall continue to happen are straws in the wind. Even the arch - reactionary Dewey, speaking as he did for Wall Street, dared not come out flatfootedly against the social reforms instigated by the New Deal. To do so would have meant alienating himself from whatever working class vote he might have hoped for. It is only through the process of evolution that we become accustomed to what yesterday we would have derisively dismissed

To sum up: The so-called martyrdom of the Stalinists is of little consequence to the working class. Everywhere it is its own best discreditor. Mistakenly or not, the working class has associated itself with reform, and that is what they are getting. Sta-

when they will look back some years hence and smile knowingly at their own infantilism in things political, there will be a chance of their willingly grasping a socialist solution. It seems evident that leftist criticism of Stalinism which is still far to the left of the tentatively leaning left of the labor movement would do nothing but isolate and cynicize the less-andmore-aware layers in the labor movement. President Roosevelt said "reform if you would preserve." Reforms like everything else will run their course, and inevitably, without knowing precisely how they came upon it, the masses will begin to think in terms of their sole interests.

Norman JOHNSTONE

1947 BOUND VOLUMES OF LABOR ACTION \$3.00 Order from WORKERS PARTY PUBLICATIONS 4 Court Square Long Island City I, N. Y.



LABOR ACTION

Resolution for the Workers Party Convention

Goal for Europe's Socialists: An Independent Western Union

Political Committee of the Workers Party for presentation to the coming national convention of the party. Discussion on it is invited; discussion articles on this subject (as well as on other documents in the pre-convention discussion) will be printed in LABOR ACTION in accordance with our usual procedure. The Workers Party Bulletin also is open to such discussion.

(We especially invite our readers and comrades abroad to participate in the discussion on this question.

[The present document is to be considered in association with the over-all Resolution on the International Situation which is available in the WP Convention Bulletin No. 4.-Editor.]

The problem of Europe may be summed up in this way: to overcome the ravages of the Second World War by such an economic and political reconstruction of the continent as will assure prosperity and freedom to the people and overcome the growing peril of reactionary dictatorships and involvement in the Third World War.

More clearly than anywhere else in the world. Europe is today bisected in two directions. Horizontally, it is divided by the class struggle in every country. But in most of the European countries, this struggle is heavily overlaid and thereby grossly twisted and deformed by the conflict between American and Russian imperialism and their respective agencies. Vertically, it is divided geographically into an East, comprising those countries dominated by the naked force of Stalinist totalitarianism, and a West, comprising those countries which are economically dependent upon and thereby dominated to one degree or another by American imperialism.

Europe cannot solve its problem under these conditions. They can only lead to such an economic reorganization of the continent as will make the natural resources and productive equipment of each sector serve the war machine of the imperialist camp to which it is attached; as will transform its manpower into cannon fodder: as will convert its lands into military outposts and battlefields of the two belligerents; as will assure such a foreign domination over each that no European nation can any longer work out its own destiny.

All this will only hasten immeasurably the utter ruin of the continent. To find a way out under the present conditions is impossible. The conditions must be changed fundamentally.

The change requires the establishment and consolidation of a power that can counteract and resist domination by either one of the imperialist giants, that can represent a force actively combatting the danger of the Third World War. No country of Europe, taken by itself, can be such a force. But the unification of all the countries of Europe could constitute such a force.

WESTERN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

To speak of the unification of all the countries of Europe is, however, an abstraction at the present time. The prospect of such a unification and the struggle for it can be rendered concrete only by taking for its immediate basis those countries which not only have common problems and needs but which have in common a similar objective situation, a similar relationship of forces, a similar rhythm of development of the class struggle.

A guarter of a century ago, the Marxists called

[The following resolution was adopted by the rallying center for all peoples and countries of Europe who seek to escape domination and involvement in the war by either American or Russian imperialism.

WESTERN UNION AND THE PLANS OF THE IMPERIALISTS

An Independent Western Union, and the struggle for its achievement, is calculated to lead the European countries out of the blind alley to which they are condemened by their dependence upon the economic and therewith the political tutelage of American imperialism. Not a single one of the European countries can exist independently because it cannot exist as an independent economic unit. A unified Western Europe, relying primarily upon its harmoniously integrated econmic resources, can exist and act as an independent unit. Such a Union, therefore, would make possible the independence of these countries from Marshallization by American imperialism and at the same time would constitute a powerful assurance against assualt and domination by Russlan imperialism.

By the same token, the struggle for such a Union would help enormously to restore the confidence of the people, and of the working-class and socialist movements in particular, in their own power, a confidence which the war, the post-war period and the present blind alley of Europe have gravely undermined. The working class of these countries represents precisely the kind of social power which is capable of uniting Western Europe into an economic and political union. It is the only social power capable of uniting it on a democratic and socialist basis, as the first and most important step in the direction of achieving a United States of Europe.

The call for a Western Union is not confined to the socialist movement. Indeed, it has alreadybeen initiated by bourgeois and imperialist forces. prominently including American imperialism itself. The United States seeks to organize Western Europe into a single bloc so that it may be more unitedly and integratedly subjected to the imperialist aims of Washington and most thoroughly and consistently mobilized on the side of American imperialism for the Third World War. Toward this end the United States is ready to subordinate the special aims and interests not only of every European nation but of the bourgeoisie of every nation to the overriding aims and interests of Washington. It is not inconceivable that under certain circumstances the United States would be able to impose such a unification upon Western Europe. But precisely because it is imposed from above by a reactionary power, because it would be compelled to serve reactionary ends, a Western Union thus achieved would have the same kind of retrogressive and calamitous consequences as the "European Union" imposed from above, and by military force, by Hitlerism during the Second World War and for the purpose of promoting the interests of German imperialism in the war.

England, on the one hand through Churchill and on the other through the spokesmen of the Labor government, also seeks to establish a Western Union. But its aim is to establish a union of Europe under British domination for the purpose of restoring the old British hegemony of the continent and, with the aid of this enhanced position, to come closer to a position of equality with its now greatly superior imperialist partner, the United States, in the coming struggle with Russia for world dominion.



Berlin Beats Stalinism

It is doubtful if Russia and Stalism have suffered more consistent and more humiliating defeats since the end of the war than those to which they have been subjected by the workers and people of Berlin. Every effort of Stalinism to bulldoze and beat into submission the over 3,000,000 people of this fantastic city has been, until now, crushingly defeated. There is every reason to believe and hope that Stalinism will be unable to conquer Berlin, barring the unlikely step that the Russian troops simply take over by force of arms and precipitate a world war. This is surely Stalinism's worst and bitterest political defeat in many years, and there cannot be too much praise for the people of Berlin who have defied the world's most powerful totalitarian machine.

Close to 11/2 million people voted, under innumerable threats and provocations inspired by the phony Stalinist government created several weeks ago in the Russian image. "Whoever refrains from voting, has chosen life over death," announced the Berliner Stalinist Zeitung, in demanding an election boycott. Only 14 percent of the eligible voters in the Western districts chose Stalinist "life." The rest of those who failed to vote came from the Stalinist sector of the city where, naturally, there were no polling booths.

The American State Department hypocritically stated its admiration of the "civic courage" of the Berlin people who, it said, "had earned the admiration of the democratic peoples of the world." This, from the same government which gracefully held back its armies a mere three years ago so Stalin could have the honor of occupying Berlin and then set its name to the infamous Potsdam agreement which provided the basis for the present occupation of the city and led to the present crisis. This is the type of watery propaganda which the Berlin people can well afford to ignore. If American imperialism is attempting to horn in and garner credit for this successful struggle against Stalinism it is because it is increasingly nervous about certain developments in the struggle which it does not care to see.

A WORKING-CLASS VICTORY

It is entirely wrong to believe that this victory at the polls was a conservative, rightest, "democratic"in the bourgeois sense of the word - demonstration against Stalinism. The facts are otherwise. This was a working class, pro-socialist and generally leftist victory over Stalinism. The Social Democratic Party of Berlin in the eyes of the people, represents a left-wing and progressive political movement against Stalinism and -in Berlin, at any rate-it has very consistently and sharply combatted the Stalinists. (Whoever heard before of Social Democrats organizing defense squads and throwing Stalinists physically out of meetings?) A vote for the Social Democracy in Berlin was both anti-Stalinist and anti-western occupation in the sense that this Party has, throughout western Germany, become the medium by which general dissatification is expressed. The other parties are most closely bound to and with the occupation authorities, particularly the Christian Democrats. Therefore, a supporter of the occupation would naturally vote for these parties and not for Social Democrats. Look at the results: 1. N. ector)

	(Western	Se
the marther that a share	1948 1946	
Social Democrats	65% 51%	
Christian Democrats	19% 26%	
liberal Democrats	16% 11%	
Stalinists	12%	

The Social Democracy, in other words, literally swamped its opponents two to one and received a clear mandate to continue its struggle against the Stalinists,

Now It's the Transport Workers

but in a socialist manner. Of course, the Social Democratic leadership immediately violated this clear mandate by proposing a continuation of the present city coalition government with those two parties whom the population had just decisively repudiated. Such actions, of course, lie in the very nature of Social Democracy. which resist all efforts to force it into independent action.

SYMBOL FOR ALL OF GERMANY

But those efforts and pressures will continue. The Berlin which resists Stalinism today is not the fear-ridden and trembling Berlin of six months ago. Instead, it has become a symbol for all of Germany and the German people who look toward the city not only for its courageous struggle against the Russians and their German quislings, but also as laying out the road towards independence. This is the important thing.

Berlin has become a mass political movement, with many important political and social implications. A Germany, crushed by the war and the occupation, is fighting its way back and-with the workers in the lead-beginning to organize its former social and political life. This process, particularly in a political sense, has gone furthest in Berlin whose workers have known how to take advantage of antagonism between America and Russia to their own advantage and in their own interests.

Six months ago, an Allied withdrawal could only have resulted in a total Russian occupation of the city and, subsequently, a disastrous effect upon western Germany's people. Now Stalinism is on the defensive and the real impetus of the struggle no longer lies in the hands of the occupation forces and their handful of troops, but in the Berlin population itself. This is the essence of the victory and the meaning of Berlin today.

Just how far this initiative and independence of struggle will develop cannot, of course, be foretold. Today it is strong, because the Berlin people have a new confidence in their power and feel that they have become a center of Germany's entire struggle. Even the Social Democrats demand a doubling of the airlift supplies-a demand which every socialist should support. The most disconcerting factor in the situation is the absence of a revolutionary party in the city, or even of a left-wing, strongly critical of the leadership, within the Berlin Social Democracy.

A socialist wing in this Party would press for increased independence from the military authorities, for a doubling and trebling of the airlift (do we remember how leading Airforce authorities at first said it couldn't be done?), and-most important of all-begin the organization of defense squads, armed and trained, to guarantee the retention of its victory and its freedom. It would demand, of course, dissolution of any coalition government with the bourgeois parties.

It is precisely this tendency for Germany's anti-Stalinist movement to free itself from dependency upon the western Allies which the State Department is aware of, and fears. Can one imagine General Clay giving arms to the anti-Stalinist workers of Berlin? Far easier is it to imagine his arriving at a "deal" with the Russians at the expense of these workers. Yet such is the real movement throughout Germany today where, as economic life and production grows stronger, the workers' movement and all national institutions stand up once more on their own feet. It will still take a long time before all this matures into a force sufficiently powerful to assure the defeat of Stalinism and, at the same time, be a force independent of the Allies. But such is the inevitable tendency, and the Berlin electoral victory is a major step along this line. We are learning valuable lessons about how Stalinism can and will be defeated.

Henry JUDD



Page 3

Sales and Employment Slipping

As the year nears its close, two recent developments in the nation's economy deserve attention. The first is the slight falling off in department-store sales; the second is the growing number of lavoffs in various Eastern industries. Neither has developed to the point where it may be considered a serious threat to the economy. Both are early symptoms of the chronic disease of toohigh prices and too-low wages which have marked the post-war economy but which have been held in check by the unprecedented peacetime scale of

spending for the military and for foreign aid. For the week ending December 4, departmentstore sales in the Chicago district were 4 per cent under 1947 figures for the same period. It was the sixth consecutive week of decline. Similar sales for the same week were off 4 per cent in Detroit, in Milwaukee 1 per cent, in Indianapolis up 1 per cent, and in other cities of the Midwest off 4 per

The regional pattern was exactly reflecting department-store sales throughout the United States. which were also off 4 per cent from a year before. All the Federal Reserve districts reported declines for the first week in December, ranging from 2 per cent for Boston to 6 per cent for New York and 8 per cent for San Francisco.

Several economists have voiced the belief that the drop in sales is largely the result of a widelyheld belief that President Truman and the 81st Congress will "do something" about high pricesthat is, that the people still have money in their pockets but are just holding off to see if prices will be lowered early next year by governmental action

Such an interpretation is improbable, for two reasons: (1) If people do have money to spend, as a rule they will spend it in the holiday season to try to make their family's Christmas a happy one, or to provide at least winter wardrobes for their families; (2) Who but a few god-forsaken Democratic labor bellwethers can really believe that Truman will or can do anything to lower prices?

The president's proposed military budget, his. commitments to Europe and to China, his promises to the farmers, the cheap-money course dictated by the tremendous burden of war debt, preclude any hope that prices will fall because of anything that the administration consciously does.

LAYOFFS GROW

out of work.

industry.

Department statistics.

to go by June 1.

A roundup of statistics reflecting recent layoffs reveals the following:

Republic Steel in Canton, Ohio, has laid off 300 workers in the stainless-steel sheet and strip operations. The Hoover Company in Canton laid off 400 and acknowledged a reduction in sales in recent months and a dwindling order backlog. Diebold, Inc., in Canton, said it had cut its production force by about 165 in the last two months, because of a reduction in the backlog of orders.

In Northampton, Mass., the Propper-McCallum Hosiery Company laid off 125. Officials of the CIO Textile Workers were quoted as saying there was "an apparent buyers' strike" against women's hosiery.

In Cleveland, Jack & Heinz Precision Industries, Inc. (remember-the first that was capitalism's darling during the war) laid off 200 in the fractional horsepower electric department.

Western Electric Company in Chicago has laid off 775 employees and says that operations are still "above normal." In the Pacific Northwest a number of lumber

mills have closed down "because of the recent

break in the price of lumber," throwing thousands

Approximately 47,000 fewer workers were em-

Large layoffs are reported by New England

Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation said

In Cleveland, Apex Electrical & Manufactur-

it had let 600 go in San Diego, Stamford and

Greenwich, Conn., and that 2,000 more might have

ing Co. fired 300 the first week in December, and

said 400 more would be let out January 1. Na-

tional Carbon in Cleveland laid off 100 and said

further cuts were possible. Addressograph-Multi-

graph of Cleveland has dismissed 80 office work-

ers and 200 production workers. Foote-Burt Com-

pany, of the same city, has laid off 50 out of 350

Businessmen in Stamford and Greenwich, Conn.,

have called a meeting to "fight unemployment" in

that industrial area. They say employment is down

8.7 per cent there from last year, with 1,739 per-

sons from the two towns now unemployed and

in recent weeks because of "lack of orders."

ployed in construction in November than in Octo-

ber throughout the country, according to Labor

woolen mills and the California motion-picture

for the "United States of Europe" as a slogan which best met the need of finding a way out of the impasse in which the split-up economic unit known as Europe found itself. The slogan of the "United States of Europe" was not put forward then in opposition to the idea of a World Federation, but because the situation in Europe could not be judged in the same way as the situation in the rest of the world, because the social problem presented itself differently to the peoples of Europe than it did to the peoples of the world as a whole. The slogan which best meets the need of finding a way out of the impasse in which Europe finds itself today, which can become a new point of departure and a new impulsion for a reawakened and reoriented working class and socialist movement, is: An Independent Western Union.

The slogan of an Independent Western Union is addressed in the first place to such countries as Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Austria and the Scandinavian countries. These countries make up not only a more or less compact geographical unit, but also an economic unit which, while not completely self-sufficient, would be sufficiently powerful to assure a speedy pace in the reconstruction of all the countries and a high degree of independence of action. But most important of all, this slogan is addressed to these countries because, of all the nations of Europe, these alone have working-class economic and political movements with sufficient freedom of action to accomplish the unification of their countries without waiting until the political situation of the other countries (not only of the world in general but of the rest of Europe in particular) is similar to the stage reached by the situation in the countries of Western Europe.

However, a broad movement for such a Union would have a big effect upon the other countries of Europe, above all the countries ruled by facist or Stalinist regimes, where no serious progress is possible without the direct overthrow of totalitarian rule. The formation of an Independent Western Union along democratic and socialist lines would greatly stimulate popular movements to get rid of totalitarianism and would constitute a

1

2

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interest of Socialism Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Co. 114 W. 14th St., New York City 11, N. Y. General Offices: 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117 Vol. 12, No. 51 Dec. 20, 1948 Emanuel Garrett Geltman, Editor Editorial Board: Jack Brad, Hal Draper, Henry Judd. Business Manager: Thompson Conley

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a year; 50¢ for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada and Foreign) Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874

Thus, while the working class is not the only power capable of bringing the countries of Europe into an economic unit, it is the only power capable of doing it in a manner that contributes decisively to the reconstruction, peace and freedom of the peoples.

The position of the Marxists is not and cannot be simply determined by the position taken by the bourgeoise. It must be determined independently by the objective situation and the needs of the working class. It is on this basis that the Marxists put forward the slogan of an Independent Western Union. The slogan represents for them a stage in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

WESTERN UNION AND THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

An Independent Western Union demands a voluntary decision on the part of all the countries entering into it. It excludes any infringement upon the democratic right of a national self-determination of any participating nation by any other. To begin with, its functioning requires no greater self-limitation upon the sovereignty of each nation than this: that placed at the disposal of the Union are all the economic resources of all the participating nations, to be organized, exploited and shared in common. The primary prerequisite for this is the complete abolition of all customs barriers now dividing the Western European countries, and the establishment of a single currency common to all of them, which alone can make possible a harmonious economic reconstruction of these countries on the basis of economic independence from American imperialism.

This economic independence in turn makes possible complete political independence from American imperialism, at home and in the international political arena. At the same time, it consolidates a foundation which cannot be undermined by Stalinist demagogy and reaction. The question of the speed at which the participating nations will abandon the now jealously guarded barriers of national sovereignty and the stages traversed in the achievement of a single federated state, need not be resolved today.

An Independent Western Union is possible, and can be counterposed to all imperialist schemes parading under that name, only on the basis of the boldest and most thoroughgoing application of democratic principles.

This means, first of all, the renunciation by all participants of any imperialist "rights" to dominate colonies and possessions now under their rule. It means, at the same time, the most extreme democratic reforms of the political structure of every one of the countries in question.

It means, in the second place the full ensurance of all democratic rights and unqualified equality especially to such participants as Germany, Italy and Austria, namely, the withdrawal of all occupational troops, the cancellation of all forms of war-tribute and war reparations imposed upon them, the lifting of all forms of political and (Continued on page 4)

CP Trade-Union Influence on Wane IIUUC

By WILLIAM BARTON

The overwhelming annihilation of the Stalinists' representatives at the recent convention of the Transport Workers (CIO) marks the completion of a process that has brought the agents of the Moscow regime to their lowest point of trade-union influence in this country since the early '30s. Only three major CIO unions remain in their orbit. Their smaller domains are in process of being raided, superseded, or forced into mergers. Any locals under their domination must be ever more wary of stepping outside national CIO policy. They are being licked, and what is most significant, they are taking it with only a whimper.

Their inability to fight back in any public fashion that meets the eye of anybody but the studious observer is a further indication of what type has become the core of the American Stalinist movement. They had built up an apparatus of members and fellow travelers inside the CIO and some AFL and independent locals, with little of a base to back them up. These have either decided that their place should now be with the anti-Stalinists (as have Quill of the TWU and Curran of NMU, and as Fitzgerald of the UE may likely do tomorrow), or have concluded or have been teld that their only opportunity for serving the Russian bureaucrats is by maintaining the few bureaucratic strongholds left to them in the American labor movement. From their viewpoint, that is all they could do. This waning of Stalinist influence in the unions should also seriously affect their already much diminished "front" activities. Whatever impressive names may have been added to the letterheads, these front organizations usually had their leading excuse for existence in the national and local unions.

CORRECTION

In the last issue, George Stone, the editor of the Socialist Leader (London) and our correspondent in England, was erroneously listed in one place as "editor of the Socialist Appeal."

We regret the error and trust that the editor of neither publication takes undue offense.

The American CP cannot possibly respond by going "militant" again, as in the early '30s, setting up a new solar system on that basis, even possibly building some dual unions. Many thing, it is doubtful if they could get their followers, outside of strict paranother, it would hardly leave them in a position to accommodate the twists and turns of Russian foreign policy in any effective manner.

This is all very encouraging to gen-The CP of America is fortunately not the obvious haven for leftward movor was, in France and Italy. The rout of the Stalinists, particularly in several CIO unions, has been achieved by opposing an active militancy to the big talk of the Stalinists. Considering the type of neo-Stalinist around, there is little reason why this Their threat in the U.S. labor moveprocess cannot be continued.

PROPER BASIS

But too much of the anti-Stalinist fight in the trade unions and other organizations has been of a largely

BOOKS MAKE THE BEST CHRISTMAS GIFTS! If you order promptly they can reach you in time for the holiday

	C. WRIGHT MILLS-The New Men of Power	3.50	
	YPSILON-Pattern for World Revolution	1.25	
	EUGENE V. DEB5Writings and Speeches	3.00	
	LEON TROTSKY—Permanent Revolution	3,50	5
	RUTH FISCHER—Stalin and German Communism	8.00	
	ANTHONY BIMBA—History of the American Working Class	1.75	
	DAVID ROUSSET-The Other Kingdom	1.00	
No. Come	VICTOR SERGE-The Long Dusk - A Novel	1,00	
	GODFREY BLUNDEN-Room on the Route - A Novel	1.00	
	Order from:	A.	

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y.

organizational character - merely keeping them from office and denying them certain rights. It has even stooped to actual red-baiting. This can only play into the Stalinists' hands, though as yet they have been reasons account for this. For one incapable of making use of their opportunities. Particularly dangerous is the drive to prevent them from exty members, to go along with this. For ercising democratic rights, including the right to membership. At the Transport Workers Union convention so strong a constitutional provision against allowing Stalinists to hold office was presented that Quill uine socialists, or at least could be. tried to intervene to tone it down. But the thing had gotten beyond his control and the strongly worded ing individuals and groups that it is, statement, which Quill feared might be stretched to include himself, was decisively passed.

The dangerous possibility is that the Stalinists may bounce back as good democrats. There is less excuse for permitting this than ever before. ment has been pushed back considerably. Let them continue their whining from the nether regions, with full rights to fail and equal rights for all

others to ignore them or smash them politically.

looking for work. A month or so must pass before it will be clear whether these scattered lavoffs mark a turning point in the economy. Similar situations have developed several times since 1945, and each time the artificial injection of war orders or foreignrelief orders has enabled the economy to recover

TURNING POINT AHEAD?

temporarily. These achievements have led many observers to the belief that the national administration can continue indefinitely to buoy up the economy with similar devices. Such a deduction is false because the United States does not possess inexhaustible wealth.

A year-end economic survey which I am preparing will show how far along the road to exhaustion the economy has come since a similar survey published in LABOR ACTION last Januany.

WORKERS PARTY

of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member, Name



LABOR ACTION

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS HAVE A MANDATE

What Berlin Vote Meant: We Want Self-Rule!

By EUGENE KELLER

Page 4

The political implications of the Social-Democratic victory in the Berlin elections early this month are undoubtedly qualified by the fact that the very freedom of the elections depended upon the presence of the Anglo-American troops. One of the immediate consequences of the election results is a considerable enhancement of the prestige of the Western powers; the appreciation of the U.S. State Department found expression in words of highest praise for the people of Berlin in an unofficial release.

Did the election constitute an endorsement of the continued occupation of Western Germany or of Berlin? The answer to this question is vital to an evaluation of the future of the German working-class movement; for its dependence upon the Western powers will in the long run be as fatal to it as would be its subordination to the Stalinists.

The immediate issue in the Berlin election was not either the withdrawal of the Russian troops or the continued occupation of the city by the Anglo-Americans. It was that of electing a city assembly, the tenure of the previous one having expired. The latter had been elected in October 1946, with the Social-Democrats seating 49 per cent and the Stalinists 19 per cent of the delegates.

When the Stalinists began seizing various key administrative posts last summer after the blockade of the city by the Russians had begun, the Social - Democrats demanded early elections. It was a completely justified demand in view of the Stalinists' usurpations. The latter hedged and then opposed elections on the ground that the presence of the An-

By JOE HAUSER

Executive Board.

Oust Stalinists From Office

glo-Americans would make "free' elections impossible. (It is astonishing that they postponed their coup in the Eastern sector of the city until five days before the elections. They must have had reasons to expect a deal between the U.S. and Russia at the United Nations sessions in Paris -how else explain this incredible political blunder on their part?)

WHAT WORKERS VOTED FOR

The defeat sustained by the Stalinists was administered not by "fascists" and "separatists," as the Stalinists would have it, but by the politically most advanced working class of Europe together with large nonworking-class sections who are very strongly drawn to it. That the latter voted Social-Democratic and not for the conservative Christian Democrats proves that the Berlin working class carried the major brunt, politically as well as organizationally, of the struggle against the Stalinists during the past five months.

Eighty-five per cent of the Berlin electorate-an enormous percentageturned out and gave the Social-Democrats two-thirds of their votes. If they voted for anything, they voted for democracy; and if they meant anything by that, they asserted their will to struggle, to forge their own destinies. This is the essential meaning of the election results; the huge turnout cannot be explained otherwise.

Undoubtedly the Berlin workers have been enabled in the course of the struggle to build their organizations into a real force and to wage a militant struggle against the Stalinists. The full effects of this fact are not as yet visible but they are bound to be of profound importance in reconstituting the international socialist movement.

It is, however, false to ascribe a progressive role to the Western powers on the grounds that their presence in Germany makes the existence and growth of the socialist movement possible. We have on many occasions shown the destructive and reactionary role of the U.S. and Great Britain in Germany. The numberless protest strikes and demonstrations which have taken place over the past three years, ranging from food riots to strikes over the installment in re-

CO Held in Bail For Refusing to Sign for Draft PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 12 - 'Last

Friday, Robert Reuman, a philosophy instructor at Temple University, was held in \$500 bail for the Federal Grand Jury for refusal to register under the 1948 Selective Service Act. The 25 year old Reuman, who had spent nearly three years in a conscientious objector's camp during World War II, refused a last minute offer by Assistant U. S. Attorney Edward A. Kallick to withdraw prosecution in return for immediate registration. Reuman's views on the draft are

contained in a letter to General Lewis B. Hershey (printed in the letter column-Ed.). The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin quotes Attorney Kallick as saying that Reuman was "trying to publicize himself, and thereby gain notice for his political philosophy." For our part we hold that it is an age-old and commendable tradition to try to gain notice for political philosophies.

LABOR ACTION disagrees fundamentally with may of the statements made in the letter. We do not believe that failure to register under the draft is "the strongest protest" that can be made; we advocate political action instead. However the sincerity and determination of Mr. Reuman are to be commended, despite our disagreements with his views, as are his understanding of social and political aspects of the Draft Act and his protests against Jim Crow, a standing army of conscription, and the encroachment of the military upon civilian life.

WP Bulletin

The latest issue of the WP Bulletin contains the Draft Resolution on the International Situation. Order from Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. 15 cents plus postage.

Sub for 10 issues of the bulletin is available for \$1.50. Write to WP National Office.

sponsible positions of former Nazis, ably win in any national election. If are ample evidence of the German a year or two ago a sweeping victory workers' attitude toward the Western powers, and have shown not only the absence of illusions concerning their "democratic" intentions but also the never abating necessity to struggle against their occupation.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS EVADE

Yet it would be misleading to overestimate the degree of opposition which the German workers are able to express. Their political aspirations can be realized only through their organizations; but their organizations are, by and large, bureaucratically controlled by the Social-Democratic Party apparatus. The latter's reaction to the election results was typical of people who above all fear to upset a more or less comfortable status quo: they gave immediate assurances to the Christian - Democrats. who had suffered a signal defeat in the elections, that the coalition in the Berlin administration would not be affected by the results.

One of the Christian - Democratic leaders aptly characterized this piece of cowardice as an evasion of the obvious mandate the people had given the Social-Democrats.

The German Social-Democrats, as a result of the Berlin elections and of the fight they are waging in the Western zones against increasing prices, continued dismantling, etc., have been carried to unprecedented heights of prestige and could prob-

on their part might have brought the threat of economic sanctions by the Anglo-Americans, the latter's military and political aims have more and more committed them to at least tolerate, if not to give some measure of support, to the non-Stalinist workers movements.

This makes it quite unlikely that they could successfully prevent the realization of a demand that national elections be held in which the Social-Democrats would run their own candidates-if the latter would indeed put forward such a demand.

It seems indicated that this would be a definite step forward in the political situation of Germany. A Social-Democratic victory would, in all probability, be more pregnant of political consequences than was the victory of the British Labor Party in England in 1945. No other party in Germany is more firmly committed to socialism: no other party has fought Stalinism more uncompromisingly; no other party is a more fervent advocate of Germany's unity and independence. And no following of any other party has, or even could have, resisted the economic devastations inflicted by the Western powers with greater stubbornness. The historical and honorable task of regrouping the international workers movement may well fall to the German proletariat.

Commission of Inquiry Will Probe Into Forced Labor

NEW YORK (WDL)-Hearings on forced labor throughout the world will be held in New York in February by a commission of outstanding American citizens, it was announced today by Rev. Donald Harrington, national chairman of the Workers Defense League.

The commission of inquiry was organized at a meeting of educators, lawyers, labor leaders and other concerned individuals at Hunter College on December 3, called by the Workers Defense League, initiators of the inquiry.

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, was elected chairman of the commission which includes: Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College; Matthew Woll, third vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers of America (CIO); A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL); John Green, president, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America (CIO): and Ethel Epstein, member of President Truman's Civil Rights Commission.

Other members of the commission are: Morris L. Cooke, George S. Count, Max Delson, John F. Finerty, Francis Heisler, Sidney Hook, Frank McCulloch, Arthur Schlessinger Jr., Max Sherover, and Norman Thomas.

The commission under the secretaryship of Dr. Ralph G. Ross will assemble the testimony of experts, witnesses and victims from all parts of the world. This testimony will be presented at public hearings to be held in February.

In a statement issued by Dr. Gideonse, the commission said: "Slave labor and concentration camps in the Soviet Union and the Balkans have re-established slavery in the heart of the western world. Peonage in South America, the practice in parts of Asia of selling daughters into prostitution, and slavery in Africa and Arabia combine to make an appalling picture. Illegal peonage in the United States and other remnants of forced labor also require our attention."

Asking for an official international investigation, the statement continues: ". . . a report will be published and it is the hope of this commission that this report will stimulate a public opinion and indignation which will inspire the governments within the United Nations to authorize the much-needed official international investigation."

Hint at Deal With China Stalinists

(Continued from page 1) good reason for Nanking to define this new U.S. policy as a stab-inthe-back to Chiang. Thus ends the cold war against the Kuomintang ref gime which began with the failure of Marshall's mission in early 1947.

Hoffman clearly offered the olive branch to the Chinese CP and stated the conditions under which the U.S. will do business: "If a government was set up that gave hope that conditions did exist that would continue free institutions, I think our government would be in a position to continue aid." Thus the first condition is a coalition regime in which some of the political groupings supported by U. S. are included. Rumors are current that, U. S. favors inclusion of General Ho, present defense minister, or of Marshall Li, vice-president, in a Stalinist coalition.

As a downs payment and indication of good will, Hoffman stated that the U. S. will not reroute those ships at present slated for cities in CP hands or about to fall to it. There are about 10,000 tons of wheat and other food at present en route to such cities. This huge food supply is also intended to tempt the CP to accept Hoffman's terms, which include U. S. superv sion of all ECA expenditures in China. When this statement of policy is juxtaposed with the reputed entreaties of Chiang for a declaration in his own favor (for its morale value), the full meaning becomes clearer. The new U.S. policy is not only an abandonment of Chiang and an offer to the CP but a call to all pro-U. S. elements in the Kuomintang, all the vacillators and opportunists, to leave the sinking ship. It is a call to defeatism with reference to Nanking.

litical thinking in Kuomintang China. For the Hoffman policy is a reiteration in new terms of the Marshall policy of 1946. At that time also, the their work. U. S. sought a coalition of the Kuomintang and the CP. Today the balance has shifted in favor of the CP. Yet if the U.S. can bring a conclusion to the civil war, and by ousting Chiang and the CC (right wing) clique of feudalists bring to power in the Kuomintang a pro-American group which will join with the CP in coalition, the U.S. will for the first time have a political group of its own, and therefore a political instrument with which to work out and implement a China policy.

In this sense, while Washington is defeatist toward the Chiang-feudalist section of the Kuomintang which is dominant, it seeks to rally the bourgeoisie and the anti-feudalists into an effective political bloc. The present disaster of Chiang's party may prove the occasion for U.S. implementation of its long-desired program for China in this one sense, while in other ways it shares the disasters. What makes Washington offer Mar-

shall Plan aid, i. e., anti-Stalinist, anti-Russian aid, to a Stalinist-led

in the wind. From the other side came the ubiquitous missionaries with tales of CP protection and continuation of

PROTECT PROPERTY

More important is the protection given to all foreign properties in CPcaptured Mukden. Even U. S. property has been carefully guarded against any molestation and foreign business has been urged to continue. The CP program clearly states: "Trade and industry should be given protection, including those owned by landlords and rich peasants." This is the first point of the industrial policy published by the CP. In addition it has raised, the slogan: "Factories to the owners"-that is, it gives back to the original owners factories taken over by the Kuomintang. This policy has actually been carried out in nu-

merous instances. The China Digest, CP Hong Kong organ, states (October 5, 1948): "While the Kuomintang arrests businessmen and confiscates their properties under its so-called currency reform and emergency economic measures, businessmen in liberated areas are being aided by the democratic governments to revive and develop their private

it has an additional tool to work with and bargain with.

These are some of the tendencies of U. S. policy, but it would be erroheous to accept them at face value as a fixed direction. There are too many "ifs" and conditions involved. What has been described above is not a policy but part of the wait-and-see, trial-and-error fumbling for a policy in which the U.S. is engaged in China. There are other possibilities. For example, rapprochment may not be feasible with the CP or a pro-U.S. group may not develop in time, or a CP conquest may acquire such a tempo as to cut down to zero the power of any group which entered such a coalition. After all, at this moment the Kuomintang still has South China to offer: but what if this falls like an overripe fruit without a struggle?

Hoffman's statement, therefore, is full of hedges against the main line indicated above. For example, aid to local governments is not excluded by his formula. Nor is his statement a pledge to the CP; it is a statement of conditions which need compliance. Nor will U. S. accept just any coalition at all with the CP. Washington is

tional CIO policy and polled a larger CLEVELAND - Local 707 of the vote than was expected. A big issue United Electrical Workers, CIO, in the election was the matter of which includes all the General Elecvoting places. Previous elections were tric plants in Cleveland, went to the held in the plants or in mobile trailer polls last week and decisively revoting booths placed in the plant moved from office the Stalinist parking lots. Apparently afraid of a clique which has long been in conlarge vote, the Stalinist dominated trol there. The "Non-Communist elections committee decided to rent Slate" headed by David Fitzmaurice polling places outside the plants this of the Cleveland Wire plant made a year, even though the locations seclean sweep of the Stalinists, winlected were several miles away from ning every post for which they put the shops in some cases. The fear of up a candidate by a two to one mara large vote proved to be justified, gin, and leaving the old administraas the workers turned out to vote in tion with only three places on the large numbers and kicked the incum-

> bents out. One issue still unresolved concerns the business manager, Haug. This officer is selected by the Executive Board and must be approved by the Stewards' Council. While the com-

In Cleveland GE Local 707 ran on a program of support of na-

It was only recently that the fight on the Stalinist party liners was seriously taken up. As a result, the pro-Murray forces now have control of the CIUC and have removed the CP from leadership in many of their locals.

Cleveland was once a real strong-

hold of the Stalinist Party. The In-

dustrial Union Council and many af-

filiated locals were rigidly under their

control. The Murray force and other

non-CP elements were disorganized.

The elections were held after a hot debate between the 1948 leadership, composed of Stalinists and Wallacesupporters, and the opposition, who based their campaign almost entirely on ousting the Stalinists.

The Stalinist leadership pointed to their allegedly militant struggle for higher wages, equal pay for women workers, better working conditions, and progressive political action. The opposition pledged themselves to adhere to basic CIO policies, to fight for betterment of working conditions, prompt settlement of grievances, an end to the use of union meetings for non-union activities, and "restoration of American-style democracy to the local." These issues were subordinated, however, to the calling of names on both sides and to such questions as to where the elections should be held.

The Local 707 election was considered a serious test in this fight. The local was one of the main sounding boards for the Stalinists, and its business manager, Fred Haug, was one of the main CP spokesmen in Cleveland. The Fitzmaurice group position of the Board has been changed, the Stewards' Council still seems to be in the hands of the old clique. Any attempt to oust Haug will not get by the Council. However, if the Board and Council fail to agree on a candidate, then the selection goes to a membership referendum, and it is expected that the results there would be the same as in this recent vote.

While the CP has by no means been cleaned out of the Cleveland unions, they are now left with some of the UAW-CIO locals as their main base. Local 45, Fisher Body, is their strongest point there, and the Reuther forces are now organizing to challenge the hold on that local.

While the defeat of the Stalinists is in line with the general trend of labor today, and is in general a progressive trend, it remains to be seen whether the new leadership will be active and militant or whether it has swung to the far right. At the present time, there is no way of foreseeing which it will be. However, the awakening of the political consciousness of the rank and file, as demonstrated both by the national and by the local elections, indicates that a close watch will be kept on the activities of the local leadership, and should lead to greater and more militant participation in local and political affairs by the workers.



BASIS OF U. S. HOPES

It is no wonder that peace rumors are beginning to replace all other po-

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED EACH WEEK - IN -THE SOCIALIST LEADER **Britain's Foremost Weekly** Yearly Subscription — Three Dollars Shorter Periods Pro Rata Order from:

> SOCIALIST LEADER **318 Regents Park Road** Finchley, London, N. 3, England

regime is the hope that with time it can develop a political group of some strength which it can extend and control. No other alternative probably exists except to "write China off." If anything is to be salvaged at all, sacrifices must be made. Chiang is the first sacrifice and ECA aid would be the second. There is also the hope of a "Titoist" development in Chinese Stalinism.

This hope rests on definite considerations. The British, for example, have made all sorts of secret and roundabout overtures to the Chinese CP in recent weeks. Lacking the odium which attaches to the U.S. in China, the British have offered to continue and even expand trade and business in Stalinist areas. This is one straw

enterprises." In spite of our own preconceptions this is a fair description of what is happening. The reasons for it and the tendencies it indicates require analysis. Suffice to indicate now that it is not enough to simply describe Stalinism by rote and be done with it.

The U.S. appears convinced that this industrial policy, which fully extends to foreign enterprises, indicates that the Chinese Stalinists recognize the need to trade with the West, to get capital, spare parts for the thousands of U.S. machines, steel, food, etc., and that they are willing to bargain for these necessities. If it can feed these needs and amplify the channels that such relations could open up, it hopes to nurture the seeds of Titoism. Meanwhile, if a group of its own is in coalition with the CP,

not interested in coalition as such; it is vitally interested in having certain groups in a coalition.

The Hoffman policy indicated the low state to which U. S. fortunes have fallen in Asia. Evolution of U. S. policy has forced it to stick to the Marshall formula of 1947 but under infinitely more adverse conditions. The question now is: Will the CP accept? Is its necessity as great as the U.S. judges it to be, and is its freedom of action wide enough? In any case Chinese Stalinism requires the most careful study for Marxists; it does contain many unique features.

There is also the question, of course, whether Congress would support such a policy with appropriations, especially in view of the curren anti-Stalinist hysteria.

New Year's Eve With Your Comrades in New York City

Celebrate a Socialist

FEATURING: The Socialist Chorus and The Youth Players The Time: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31-9 p.m. till the wee hours The Place: IRVING PLAZA, 15th Street and Irving Place

WESTERN UNION AND WORKER'S GOVERNMENTS

subjected.

The slogan for an Independent Western Union necessarily goes hand in hand with the slogan, in all these countries, of the most rapid possible establishment of labor or socialist governments. The revolutionary Marxists in Europe are condemned to sterility outside the ranks of the poular and democratic mass movements of the workers.

(Continued from page 3)

economic disability to which they are now

It means, in the third place, that the proper

functioning of the economic machinery of the

Union shall be ensured by unhesitatingly remov-

ing all obstacles to it constituted by private owner-

ship of industrial or financial monopolies, and by

unhesitatingly imposing the most drastic capital

levies wherever and whenever they are required.

In virtually all the countries of Western Europe, these movements are represented by the Social-Democratic parties. In these parties, the Marxists must become the most articulate, active and consistent champions of the slogans: "Our party must work and fight to take over the government independently! The workers' governments of Europe must unite into an Independent Western Union!" It is only under such governments that an Independent Western Union is realizable.

Resolution on an Independent Western Union -

In putting forward this position and these slogans, the Marxists remain fully aware of the nature and the limitations of Social-Democracy and reformism in general. To the question as to whether or not the Social-Democratic and laborite parties can achieve genuine workers' governments and a Western Union that is genuinely independent of imperialist domination, alliances or policies, they do not give a dogmatic answer that would preclude the mobilization of the workers in a

struggle to achieve such governments and such a Union through the medium of those parties and instruments which have the confidence of the workers themselves.

The revolutionary Marxists retain in full their confidence that the workers can and will learn through their own fighting experiences, in which the Marxists themselves will participate fully and equally and with their own program, all that is required for the earliest and complete realization of the socialist objective. For the workers to learn from their own fighting experience in Europe today requires the most energetic, conscious and consistent advocacy of the inseparably joined slogans: For a socialist government! For an Independent Western Union!

> POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS PARTY

December 1948

Obtain Tickets at 114 West 14th Street

Admission: One Dollar in Advance, Fifty Cents for SYL

\$1.50 at the Door

Auspices: Workers Party, Local New York