

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Miners Face New Injunction Threat

By GERRY McDERMOTT

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

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

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

JUDGE AIDS OPERATORS

While Lewis is fighting in court to have the 1947 fund released, Federal Mediator Ching is busy ramming through another injunction to keep the miners chained to the pit face when the present contract runs out. This injunction follows on the heels of the latest Goldsborough dictate forcing the union to admit the representative of the Southern Coal Producers Association to the present contract conference. The union had opposed this because the representative of this group is not authorized to sign for the companies he represents. The tyrannical "Southern" operators (they really come from Wall Street) are trying to re-establish lower wage scales in the South. They want a representative at the conference to beat down the miners, without committing themselves to anything in return. The scab government thought this was a good idea—hence the injunction.

The miners are ready to strike again; there is no question about that. Before the Taft-Hartley law and the return of government by injunction, that was enough. Today, however, the problem is tougher. The miners have got to do a little thinking about this. The meat packing workers were ready to strike, too. They wanted a living wage, and they got their heads cracked and their strike broken, instead. We don't mean that the bosses are able—yet—to break a coal strike with clubs and guns. We mention the meat strike as an example of how the bosses feel these days.

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

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

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

But the bosses ARE ready to break a coal strike with a yellow-dog injunction. They've done it twice and they intend to do it again. That is why they have been so arrogant about pensions and a new contract.

LABOR ACTION has often said that these problems must be solved by replacing the present political parties with a Labor Party. This cannot be done by writing articles, or

in people's heads. It must be done through local unions passing resolutions and through individual miners spreading the idea far and wide.

There is a convention of the UMW coming up before long. The best way it can strike back at the coal barons is to launch a Labor Party movement. We cannot sit by and lose our union gains chunk by chunk.

Rank and File Opposition Wins UE Local 1581 Vote

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

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

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

INTENSE CAMPAIGN

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

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

Regular New York State voting machines were used to ensure an honest and unchallengeable election. The election committee, won by the Rank and File Caucus at the previous membership meeting, crossed every "4" and dotted every "1" to block any Stalinist trickery.

With the Stalinists suffering a smashing defeat, the local now has three union tendencies in its membership ranks. All will continue to

unite to mop up on the remaining Stalinist tendency, but the local will still be faced with an internal union problem even after the Stalinists are completely eliminated.

TENDENCIES DEVELOP

The third anti-communist slate in the election, calling itself "Aggressive Members," expressed its resentment against Stalinism with an "I-Am-an-American" campaign and called upon the workers to throw out all Stalinists and Trotskyists.

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

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

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

The Rank and File division, however, can be expected to clarify itself in coming months over such issues as the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavits, over two different conceptions of local union democracy, over what attitudes to present to the company on grievances and contract demands, over methods of minimizing factionalism in the local and over many political issues facing the UE and the CIO as a whole.

Stalinists Trounced at NMU Membership Meeting in N. Y.

By CLIF FORD

NEW YORK, June 18—The bitter knockdown battle which has been raging in the National Maritime Union (CIO) for several months, entered its final stages last Monday night, June 14, at a membership meeting in Manhattan Center. At this meeting the Stalinists were roundly trounced by their opponents on every issue, from the election of chairman to adjournment.

The darling of the Stalinists, Ferdinand Smith, NMU secretary, was defeated by an overwhelming majority when he ran for chairman against John Moriarity, a Rank and File group supporter. This was repeated in the election of recording secretary when another Stalinist, Bill McCarthy, was defeated by a Rank and File with the same majority.

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

SPEAKERS DEBATE ISSUES

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

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

Paul Palazzi, NMU port agent and a notorious Stalinist, then took the floor. Ranting and raving, he bitterly

opposed the position of Curran and indulged in several minutes of mudslinging. What he said can be summed up in a few words: Curran is no good, the rank and file of the NMU are stupid, and he (Palazzi) advises the membership to defy the injunction and go on strike. Whether or not the union could win the strike was of secondary importance. It was the principle of the thing that mattered. For a man who is utterly devoid of principle his speech was, to say the least, hypocritical.

Charles Kieth, a prominent Rank and File, then took the floor. Accusing Palazzi of flunking on the SS Dixiana in 1936, he said that the Stalinists were following their rule-or-ruin policy and knew the membership would not allow them to rule the union. Therefore they were determined to ruin it. One of the main reasons why the CP officials wanted to strike was to get their claws on the \$500,000 strike fund, which is the only fund into which they have not been able to dip their greasy fingers to date.

RIFT IN STALINISTS

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

The next speaker was Hedley Stone, the treasurer of the union. He stated that the milking of union funds by the Stalinists had been halted. Any attempts by these people to sign checks, etc., would result in their being arrested and subjected to the full rigor of the law. As for the Stalinists getting their fingers into the strike fund—they liked about pre-strike expenses but it would get them nowhere. The strike fund would remain closed until the membership actually went on strike.

More attempts by the Stalinists to disrupt the meeting followed; but seeming to sense the grim mood of the membership, they soon sat down. The motion to end discussion despite the Stalinist attempts to disrupt it was passed almost unanimously. Likewise the motion to accept Curran's report.

Soon after this, the motion was made to adjourn. The membership started to file slowly out amid the screams of the Stalinist faction that their democratic rights had been infringed. It was obvious to all that the Stalinist sun had set. This was the beginning of the end for them. The Stalinist grip had been broken, and the membership of the National Maritime Union controlled its own destiny for the first time in a decade.

GOP Scents Pork Barrell—

(Continued from page 1)

The Greens will pray for a back-room deal that will place one of them at the head of the ticket. It will be a field day for "practical" politicians and American democracy will shine through the murk of horse-trades, log-rolling and general corruption.

THIS IS NOT 1920

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

He Didn't Say No



VANDENBERG

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

Now there is no peace, no security,

no stability on the horizon. Democrats and Republicans alike must vote staggering sums for armaments. Holler and buck as they will, Republicans must vote billions for the partial resuscitation of Western Europe. It is as simple and as urgent as the instinct for self-preservation. World-wide crisis and the ominous threat of Russian imperialism confront Republicans as well as Democrats.

"Republican" spells conservatism and reaction in the minds of most Americans, just as "Democrat" vaguely implies a more liberal political trend, except perhaps below the Mason-Dixon line. Room for any such differentiation, however illusory and specious in fact, is rapidly being narrowed by political and economic events. Roosevelt himself could not revive today the New Deal he abandoned in 1938. Social reform of the most meager kind must make way in the battle for capitalist survival.

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

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

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

JASON ANALYZES UAW AGREEMENTS FOR BUFFALO WP

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

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

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

Fare Issue Raised Again

By EUGENE KELLER

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

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

UAW CALLS FOR AMNESTY

Renewing the action of its convention in urging amnesty for war objectors, the Veterans Department of the UAW has expressed to President Truman, on behalf of the union, its desire for no further delay in the granting of amnesty.

R.A.T. of T-H



TAFT

start be made toward the construction of a society that can bring genuine peace and security to its members.

Hits Treatment Of Negro GIs

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

Successful Tri-Branch WP Conference in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA — The Baltimore, Reading and Philadelphia Branches of the Workers Party held a Tri-Branch Educational Conference on June 12 and 13. About 25 members and sympathizers attended the four sessions.

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

SURVEY LABOR SCENE

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

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

or June 12, completed the first day of the conference.

The third session, entitled "Labor Politics in 1948," was addressed by Comrades Craig and Cohan of Philadelphia, the latter taking the specific question of Wallace. Among other issues, the question of Workers Party support to Norman Thomas for President in 1948, on the Socialist Party ticket, was advocated by one member, and discussed by the group.

OBJECTIVES OF NEGRO

"Negro Organizations in the United States" was the subject of the final session of the Conference. Comrade Kate Leonard, the speaker, summarized the efforts of all significant Negro organizations as being directed objectively toward full social, political and economic equality with white society.

This view, she stated, is not held by the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which believes that fundamentally Negroes are interested in separate national existence, rather than in equality and integration.

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

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

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

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

WP Candidate—

(Continued from page 1)

and women of this country. Such a new political party of labor would eliminate the threat of Stalinism in labor politics as organized in the Wallace-Communist Party. At the same time, a labor party would proclaim its independence from the twin parties of Wall Street, Republican and Democratic.

"American workers have learned to safeguard their wage standards through their economic organizations and their picket lines. But until they have also formed a powerful political party, these economic gains will always be stolen from them in Washington. The Taft-Hartley law, the Mundt Bill, the scrapping of OPA, are all part of this steal.

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

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

12-26

If this number appears at the bottom of your address, your subscription expires with this issue.

**RENEW NOW
EXTEND YOUR SUB**

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE

LABOR ACTION
A Paper in the Interest of Socialism
4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription: NEW RENEWAL
 Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents.
 One year (52 issues) at \$1.00.

NAME _____ (Please print)
ADDRESS _____ APT. _____
CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

Bill me Payment enclosed (Stamps, currency or Postal Note)

Editorials

The Unions and Political Action

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conventions—

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

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

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

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

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

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

Something to Remember

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

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

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

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

Labor Party—

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

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

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

The BOOK SERVICE

Now Has These
Hard To Get Items:

- by Leon Trotsky
- TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST DECAY 25c
 - THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 10c
 - I STAKE MY LIFE 10c
 - WHITHER FRANCE (Chapter I) 10c
 - THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO TODAY 10c
 - WHAT IS AN INSURRECTION 15c
- A speech delivered to the Czarist Court in 1906
Six for 60 Cents

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, New York

Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member.

Name.....
Address.....

WORLD POLITICS

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

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

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

THRUST TOWARDS WESTERN EUROPE

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

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

In France, where government policy has failed to drive back the inflated price levels (there has actually been a 2 to 5 per cent increase since the formation of

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

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

STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY NEARS CLIMAX

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

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

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

HENRY JUDD



TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC, by James A. Michener. Pocket Books. 312 pages, 25 cents.

This is a Pulitzer Prize winner—not the great novel of World War II whose appearance is still being awaited.

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

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

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

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

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

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

els of World War I did—debunk the glory. Yet "The Landing on Koralei," the climax of these tales, is crude patriotism, amateurishly evoked. The characters should be authentic. Yet Michener (like the far subtler Stephen Spender in "European Witness") treats enlisted men like Shakespearean rustics—as comedy relief. Nor does the author achieve the specific atmosphere of war: loneliness, hopelessness, fear, death.

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

a suggestive chord: the unvoiced fear and the inner gratefulness for those who voice it, the transmission of courage by example, the "inner caves" men fled to, the chain of causation ending at the attack on the pillbox, the chain of consequences which follow, the island loneliness, the primal magnetism exerted by women in combat areas, departures, the jump-off moment, the arbitrariness of death.

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

JAMES M. FENWICK

The Expendable Civilian

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

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

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

The source of this story did not indicate how the figure was arrived at but he was certain it was not fished out of a bowl. According to the War Department 40,000,000 (forty million) civilians will be expendable. It is not clear whether this figure includes infants and children. These are not usually referred to as "civilians." Besides it can almost be taken for granted that babies would be expendable. The killing of a few million babies couldn't possibly have any effect on the war effort. A babe-in-arms can't do any fighting as every general knows.

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

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



MORE INFLATION AHEAD

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

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

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

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

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

PROFITS, PRICES UP

You will note that heavy industry accounts for most of the Marshall Plan spending, and will understand that it is heavy industry that is most firmly committed both to support of the Marshall Plan and to the rearmament program.

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

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

Prices are jumping up again. Almost all automobile manufacturers have raised prices from 5 to 10 per cent in the last 60 days. Lumber prices have bounced back to last year's peak. The prices of wool, both domestic and imported, have hit their highest peaks in 25 years. The clothing industry is estimating it will raise prices sharply on men's and women's suits in the fall. The price of hides has risen 25 per cent since the first of the year. Cottonseed oil rose from 21 cents a pound in February to 35 cents; soybean oil, from 16 1/2 cents to 26 1/2 cents.

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

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

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

The Major Strikes Out

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

LABOR ACTION
A Paper in the Interest of Socialism
Published Weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Co.
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
General Office: 4 Court Square,
Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117

Vol. 12, No. 26 June 28, 1948
Emanuel Garrett, Editor
Editorial Board:
Hal Draper, Henry Judd
Business Manager: Paul Bern

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50¢ for 6 Mos.
\$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada, 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, 1879

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION
by
Leon Trotsky
\$3.50

Order Your Copy From
LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, New York

GOP and Democrats Are Two Sides of Same Counterfeit Coin

Congress Record Spells Labor Party Need—

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

HEALTH IS "SOCIALISTIC"

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

health. A health program is, forsooth, "socialistic."

However, it is not "socialistic" for the long arm of the military to reach into homes and schools to yank from their normal pursuits young men nineteen to twenty-five for a twenty-one-month period of military service. Whatever the Congress left undone, it saw to it that the peacetime draft was passed and the militarization of the country furthered so alarmingly. Inductions are to begin within ninety days. To stimulate "volunteers" the law allows 161,000 eighteen-year-olds to enlist for one year of service with the regular forces. Thus, incidentally, the meaning of the word "volunteer" is changed. A youth of eighteen faces the dubious choice of taking his medicine for twelve months, or waiting till he is nineteen and then being forced to take it for twenty-one months.

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

cal predict that Congress will never grant the necessary appropriations to make the extensive investigations of DPs that the law calls for.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE AGONY OF EUROPEAN REFORMISM

Social Democrats in Russian Zone Form Bureau

By A. RUDZIENSKI

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

Polish Socialists; Topalovic and Drazkovi, the Yugoslavs; Karol Peyer, the Hungarians; and Yancu Zissu, the Rumanians.

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

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

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

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

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

TENDENCIES REVEALED IN THE RESOLUTION

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

Eastern Europe without setting into motion an independent revolutionary policy of the proletariat. This pro-capitalist tendency appears to us to be reactionary and harmful for the interests of international socialism.

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

This criticism of Stalinism, its economic policy and its totalitarian regime, contains elements that are undeniably new, almost "Trotskyist," which are not subordinated to the pro-capitalist line of the other tendency. Since the Social-Democratic oppositionists are an important workers' force in the Russian Zone of Europe, the Marxist movement, whether it wants to or not, must support them in the struggle against the Stalinist reaction, insofar as this struggle develops within the framework of the struggle of the workers against the bureaucratic regime. We, the revolutionary socialists, support the workers' criticism of Stalinism. We support the workers' struggle against Stalinism to the degree that this serves the interests of the working class, the interests of world socialism, and the socialist revolution; but we oppose the tendency which would subject this workers' struggle to the interests of capitalism, to the tendencies of capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe, to American imperialist penetration.

We understand the difficult situation of the Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Rumanian and Czech Social-Democrats. Every day the proletariat and poor peasantry of these countries increase their hatred of the Stalinist bureaucracy which exploits and oppresses them, reduces their living standards to barbarous levels. The Social-Democratic opposition to Stalinism sees no other real force, no other ally against the Stalinist bureaucracy than the capitalist ally, the United States.

DEFEAT OF ONE WILL DEFEAT THE OTHER

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

We know that the defeat of European socialism conditioned the historical existence of Stalinism as an expression of the post-revolutionary reaction; as the negation of an isolated, interrupted, and betrayed revolution. We know that the existence of capitalism in the rest of the world conditions the existence of the Stalinist reaction in the country of the buried October Revolution. We know that the existence of Stalinism, on the other hand, conditions the growth of capitalist reaction in its fascist and imperialist forms; and that in the last analysis the defeat of Stalinism will weaken capitalist reaction and unleash the revolutionary forces of the working class.

Nothing of this is understood by the Social-Democrats because they are not the products of the revolutionary socialist tendency. They reject the inheritance of the Russian Revolution and remain bound to traditional petty bourgeois reformism. For this reason the only salvation they can find is in alliance with Western capitalism. We are against the alliance with capitalism and shall fight Stalinism under our own banner, the banner of the socialist revolution. We shall continue along the socialist road. We shall support the anti-Stalinist criticisms of the Social-Democrats from the point of view of the aims of revolutionary socialist policy, opposing collaboration with capitalism and forming our own third camp of the socialist revolution. And if today this

camp is weak because of the supremacy of Stalinism in the working class, tomorrow it will be strong when this supremacy is destroyed.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY WAY OUT

The old Social-Democracy suffers the sclerosis of old age, loses its own physiognomy and is divided into two camps: the pro-capitalist camp of Attlee and Blum, and the pro-Stalinist camp of Nenni, Fierlinger and Cyrankiewicz. The pro-Stalinist Social-Democracy is doomed to absorption and irremediable political liquidation. The "Western" Social-Democracy is chained to the chariot of Wall Street, capitalist restoration and the new imperialist war. The Social-Democracy of the Russian Zone, opposed to Stalinism, tries to avoid the fate of both twin sisters; tries to give the new tendency its own expression, but its political declaration contains theoretical contradictions which undermined the political life of the Second International and what remains of it. If this criticism of Stalinism is subjected to a reformist, pro-capitalist policy, then our opposition to bearers of capitalist restoration under the scepter of Wall Street.

The sad spectacle of the remains of the Second International divided between two bosses reminds us of those Roman gladiators who marched to their death shouting, "Ave Caesar, imperator; morituri te salutant!" ("Hail Caesar the emperor, in dying we salute you.")

Marxist revolutionary thought does not play the part of gladiator to any emperor, but forges its own future, the glorious and victorious future of the world proletariat; it does not go toward death as do the sclerotic and outdated movements, but even in the gray days of defeat marches toward

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

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

(Translated by Abe Stein)

Important Business

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

ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

OFF THE PRESS!

1947 BOUND VOLUMES OF LABOR ACTION \$3.00

A permanent record of week-by-week Marxist analysis of the year's outstanding events. Fifty-two copies of LABOR ACTION, including the EXCELLENT special features contained in the eight-page issues. ALSO: Some Bound Volumes still in stock of the years 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945 and 1946.

Order from WORKERS PARTY PUBLICATIONS, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Taylor's Filibuster—

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

THE WALLACE POSITION

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

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

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

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

POWER DIPLOMACY

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

As a member of Roosevelt's war cabinet and of the Board of Economic Warfare, Wallace was directly responsible for policies which led to the development of the atomic bomb. He was in the Truman cabinet when the decision was made to release the most horrifying weapon of all times. Today, of course, in strict accord with Stalinist politics, Wallace says he is opposed to "atomic diplomacy." If there is need to fight "atomic diplomacy" today, it is in some measure because Wallace supported it yesterday. As a member of the Roosevelt and Truman cabinets, Wallace did not have a word to say against administration proposals for drafting labor. This is the record.

The reason for Wallace and Taylor's opposition to the draft today lies in their foreign policy. They propose to continue the secret diplomacy policy of Big Three rule to divide the world. Peace, through division of the world among the victors, Russia included. It is not an anti-imperialist that they oppose the draft, but for Russian imperialism through a policy of appeasement. The Wallace-Stalinist Party already has a dirty banner on the question of war and militarism. It cannot lead the people against war. This is the larger pattern of which the Taylor filibuster is a part.

INDICT COLLABORATORS WITH STALINISTS

The destiny of the Stalinist-collaborating Social-Democracy is determined by the progress of Stalinist totalitarianism and reaction in Europe. The old workers' organizations are being absorbed and subjected to a single command. The formal "independence" of the Social-Democratic organizations in Poland as well as in Czechoslovakia was the consequence of a Stalinist maneuver and their liquidation is only a matter of time. The elements in opposition to Stalinism must flee into exile, "submit" politically, or be assassinated, as was the case of the Polish Socialists, Zdanowsky, Paydak and others.

Given these conditions, the Social Democratic opposition of the Soviet Zone, threatened with physical "liquidation" by the GPU and rejected by their British colleagues, remained without any possibilities and international representation. To find a way out of this blind alley, an international conference of representatives from the opposition Social-Democratic groups in the Russian Zone was recently held in Paris. Ciolkosz and Zaremba represented the

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS AT A REASONABLE PRICE

General

ABOUT THE KINSEY REPORT
Edited by Donald P. Geddes & Enid Curie 25 cents

RELIGION AND RISE OF CAPITALISM
by R. H. Tawney 35 cents

Novels

GOOD SOLDIER SCHWEIK
by J. Hasek 25 cents

MARTIN EDEN
by Jack London 25 cents

A PASSAGE TO INDIA
by E. M. Forster 25 cents

YOUNG LONGAN
by James T. Farrell 25 cents

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, New York

Name

Street

City Zone State

NOW OUT!

The NEW INTERNATIONAL July 1948

MARSHALL PLAN: THE AMERICAN WAY OF CONQUEST by Homer Paxson

How to Defend Israel by Hal Draper

Resistance in the Ukraine by A. Rudzienski

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS