

Work for a Workers World
By Joining Workers Party

LABOR ACTION

MAY 5, 1947

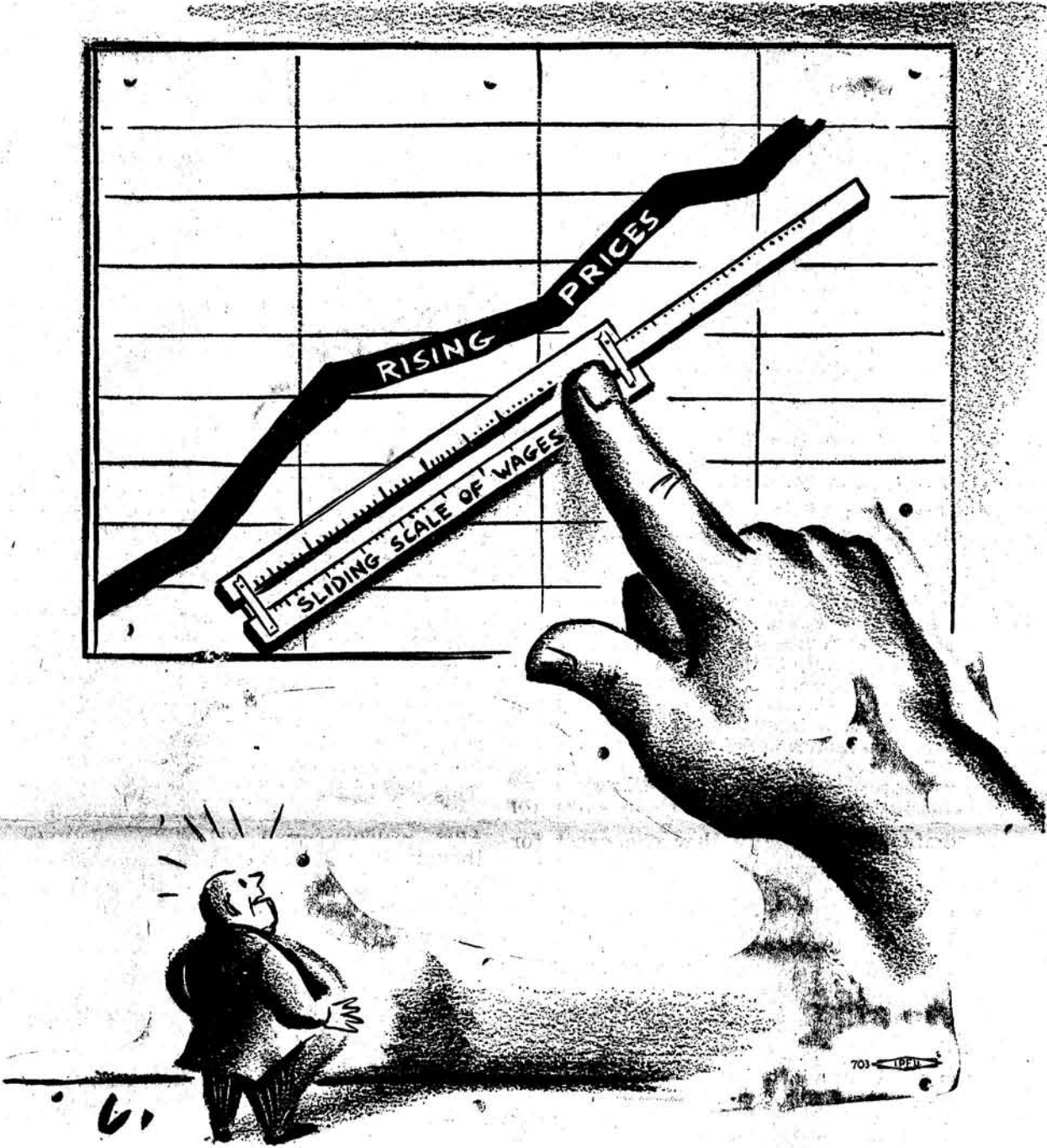
A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

"Truman Plan" Will Not Halt Price Rise

MOBILIZE TO CUT PRICES!

One Way to Meet Price Rise!



In an adjoining column we cite some bare facts on prices that are known to every man, woman and child in the United States. They were recognized in a speech delivered last week by Harry S. Truman, President of the United States.

The most charitable thing that can be said of the President's intervention was that it was inept and meaningless. Having had his say, and frightened by the furor his words created, the President hastened to inform the press that he contemplated no further action. He had done his bit, and he proceeded to such important business as vetoing bills he means to sign.

But, justice where justice is due. The President's remarks did at least focus necessary attention on the scandalous price situation. Not that the people needed any reminder of the intolerable situation. But it did put the issue back on the front pages of the newspapers, which had been playing down the robbery of the people by rising prices.

Beyond that simple and perhaps unintentional service, the President's recommendations were essentially insulting. He proposed nothing, he offered nothing. His boldness, his demands for legislation and action are strictly limited to strongarm moves against strikers. The net result to date of his speech in "responsible" and inconsequential business circles is a "10 per cent cut" campaign of incalculable duplicity.

The President may have pulled back, but for the people there is no pulling back. They have GOT to do something about prices!

Perpetrating a New Swindle

There was rhyme and reason behind the excessive publicity given to the utterly miserable "Newburyport Plan." And you know how much of the country is represented by Newburyport! But let us credit the Newburyport merchants with the most noble of intentions. Let us credit them with really wanting to cut prices 10 per cent, though, as they pointed out, they would find it difficult to continue their plan without the agreement of wholesalers, processors and manufacturers.

Let us even assume that their plan goes into effect nationally. Its gain for the people is a 10 per cent cut in prices which have risen several times that in one year! Hardly enough to erase the bitter wage cut represented by these prices!

Actually, this "10 per cent plan" has proved to be a gigantic swindle in the truest spirit of "free enterprise." At least one enterprising merchant has been found marking his prices UP 20 per cent in preparation for a loudly announced 15 per cent cut. The Newburyport merchants have

These Are Facts!

The price of meat last week was 60 per cent higher than a year ago. Milk was up 32 per cent; coffee, 49 per cent; lard, 72 per cent; cotton goods, 39 per cent; lumber, 50 per cent.

In one month alone, from mid-February to mid-March, food prices rose 3.9 per cent; fats and oils, 9 per cent. Since 1939 food prices, by a conservative estimate published in the New York Times, have risen 140 per cent.

complained that others are using the scheme to move unsalable merchandise. And the greater number of business men, those who could genuinely initiate a cut—the steel manufacturers, the food processors, the meat packers—they are avoiding the issue. Newspapermen sent out to question business men report an "indifferent response."

No, the profiteers and price gougers will not initiate a cut, not unless they are COMPELLED to. They haven't the slightest concern with how well the masses of people live. They are interested in profits, and profits alone. These scoundrels will use the very hue and cry over the price situation to perpetrate, by one device or another, a greater swindle. After all, it must be remembered that they are the backbone of "our way of life." And, in their language, that way of life means the comfort and luxuries they can exact for themselves from the toil of others.

An Effective Program Needed

We are here dealing with a basic question. The need for action has been urgently demonstrated. Prices cannot be separated from wages, profits and the anti-labor campaign. The thieves who are guilty of boosting prices beyond the reach of a working class pocketbook are the very same gentlemen who want severe restrictions on unions and who oppose legitimate demands for wage increases. A comprehensive program is therefore necessary to tackle all of these simultaneously. The very same measures that need to be used to effect working class policy on one issue must be applied to other issues. They rest primarily in the hands of labor and of the people generally.

It is necessary to organize people's committees—consumers' committees, tenant committees—operating locally, and coordinated through our unions nationally, involving housewives and union members in common action.

Buyers' strikes were effective last year, though fragmentary and disorganized. Organized on a national scale, with the solid, planned backing of the unions, they can achieve something substantial.

Equally important is resistance against the imposition of a wage formula that limits increases to a puny 15 per cent. It is time to revive, in preparation for the next series of wage negotiations, the GM strike slogan of last year: WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES. That is the key to an effective program.

It would be the worst kind of folly to handle the problem of prices merely on a day to day basis. Thus, an essential plank in any price program must include provision for a RISING SCALE OF WAGES or, as it is more frequently known, AN ESCALATOR CLAUSE, to free labor of the constant threat of rising prices. It is manifestly impossible to engage in new negotiations every time the price index jumps. Escalator clauses plus a GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE are prime needs of the American working class.

And the mobilization of labor's forces that is required by the vicious bills that are before Congress to strip labor of its rights, the Hartley bill and so forth, can serve as well to rock the schemes of the price gougers.

Yes, such a MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON, combined with a 24-hour work stoppage, as we propose to halt anti-labor legislation would have repercussions on the price front.

It may seem far-fetched, but it is not. This demonstration of labor's power, though limited to the simple proposition of halting the anti-labor drive, would at the same time serve notice that labor means to make its power felt on all issues that affect it vitally. And the price issue is certainly one of these.

The job of rolling back prices can begin in the neighborhood. It can, however, reach real stature and effectiveness if it is accompanied by a general union campaign and the creation of a democratic strategy board to coordinate and promote the struggles of the American labor movement.

Finally, we must look beyond such immediate demands as are listed above. There has been ample evidence of the rotten inability of the monopolists to produce for the benefit of the people. We of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party believe there is no permanent solution except by building a Workers Government. But in the situation that faces us today and as it is related specifically to prices and wages, we believe that NATIONALIZATION OF THE BASIC INDUSTRIES, of the food industry, for example, UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL is the cornerstone of a program that contains within it the promise of permanent achievement.

Power Politics Dominates UN Palestine Discussion

By AL FINDLEY

The United Nations is meeting in special assembly to discuss the Palestinian problem. Of one result we can be sure—lots of talk.

Palestine is a small country—inhabited by two nations—Jews and Arabs. In addition to the inhabitants of the country, hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout the world—survivors of a ruthless extermination policy conducted against them by the Nazis through gas chambers, crematoriums, etc., look to that country for their hope of rebuilding their lives on a new basis—a free national existence and not a new place of refuge.

The entire Arab world is also interested in Palestine as a part of the general Arab struggle to achieve full independence from imperialist rule.

Britain, the largest imperialist power of modern times, has ruled Palestine for twenty-two years. During its reign it has encouraged the conflict of Arab versus Jew in order to maintain its rule in Palestine and

the Near East. Originally England promised to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine. The politicians of the Colonial Office hoped for a small Jewish immigration into Palestine which would create a small community, dependent on foreign support. But they miscalculated. The decay of capitalist society liberated the most barbaric tendencies. Modern capitalism revived and intensified medieval anti-Semitism. The immigration and industrialization of the country threatened British rule. The British therefore built up, financed and armed the Mufti and his feudal, reactionary nationalist group. The result was the pogroms of 1929, 1936 and 1939.

One of the favorite methods of British rule has been the use of investigating committees. Not less than seventeen different committees and royal commissions have been created to "investigate and solve" the problem.

The last plan of the British Labor Party imperialists, under a fake bi-

national front, attempted a division of the country into small cantons with the British retaining complete rule of the country. Such a plan, of course, did not and could not satisfy either the Jews or the Arabs.

The submission of the Palestine problem to the United Nations is another attempt to delay and procrastinate. The immediate cause of the submission of the problem to the UN is not the "terrorist" acts in Palestine, which have caused the deaths of 168 British soldiers in two years. It is rather the great pressure of the

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Half-Million Detroit Workers Down Tools

UAW-Sponsored Three-Hour Stoppage and Mass Rally in Cadillac Square Protest Hartley Anti-Labor Bill

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, April 17—The profound changes in the labor movement since the great strike wave of 1946 were reflected in the important events that have taken place in this industrial center in the past few weeks. However, the full impact of these events has not yet sunk into the consciousness of the ranks, nor is there a clear understanding of the new situation even among many active union militants.

On Thursday, April 24, over 500,000 workers here downed tools for three hours in protest against the Hartley anti-labor bill in a walkout sponsored by the UAW-CIO. Over 200,000 poured into Cadillac Square in a demonstration acknowledged by everyone to be the mightiest in the history of the CIO here.

Here was an event to stir the hearts of every good union man in America. Once again the UAW-CIO was showing its strength. "Just like the good old days," many militants declared proudly. It was a fine demonstra-

tion. Only, it wasn't just like the "good old days." And that's the point.

SOMETHING WRONG

While labor showed at Cadillac Square how mighty it was fundamentally—every important plant was shut down—something else was going on in Detroit. It was what the newspapers called "negotiations between the UAW-CIO and auto manufacturers." But that is wrong. For negotiations usually mean bargaining, a give and take process, in which the corporation and the union participate.

But these weren't negotiations. General Motors announced its offer, 11½ cents an hour increase, plus six paid holidays, and Walter Reuther was told to take it or leave it, and if the UAW-CIO didn't take it by May 1, the offer would be withdrawn.

In another part of Detroit, Chrysler Corporation officials finally said they would give as much as GM. Up to that point they had been demanding virtual wage cuts. To any argument of the union officials, Chrysler

officials replied coldly: "If you don't like it, hit the picket lines."

Does the picture begin to become clear? While 500,000 workers, mainly from auto shops, put on a demonstration of power, the auto companies challenge the UAW-CIO to call a strike!

A final detail, but important to round out the picture: at the GM national delegate conference, after Reuther's report, a delegate called for a strike. He was roundly booed! This was coincident to the mass demonstration.

The truth of the matter is that the threat of congressional action, the wiping out of gains won in 1946, and the economic uncertainty before the entire nation have affected the outlook of the auto workers. The UAW-CIO militants are still militant, the dissatisfaction in the shops is deep, the men want results, but they don't want a strike. More exactly, the overwhelming bulk of the men are against a strike now, be it Chrysler, Ford or GM, above all, GM.

It is necessary here to bring up to date another change, symbolized in the language of the men, that has occurred. In the "good old days," a good rough standard of classifying unionists was to call a man conservative who was against strikes, and a militant was one who advocated strike action.

This rule no longer applies. Today, the vast bulk of auto militants, who have not gone conservative by a long

shot, are against strike action now! This is not because they have fallen for the arguments of bureaucrats who are always against strikes. What is different today is that wider and wider strata of auto workers understand, to one degree or another, the limited character of strike action to solve the problems of the day! Picket lines are necessary, indispensable. Strikes are not "out of date." But

(Continued on page 2)

Natalia Trotsky Demands Trial of GPU Murderers

CHICAGO, April 28—On the basis of revelations made by Louis Budenz, former Daily Worker editor and National Committee member of the American Communist Party, in his recently published autobiography "This is My Story," Natalia Trotsky, widow of the Russian revolutionary leader, today demanded reopening of the court investigation into the assassination of Leon Trotsky by Stalin's secret police in Mexico City on August 20, 1940. She urged that all the participants in the plot be called into court, including the assassin, "Jackson."

She especially stressed the need to bring Stalin, the author of this crime, before the Mexican court. She also asks the arrest of David Alfaro Siqueiros, the Mexican artist who led the armed assault against Trotsky's house on May 24, 1940. She demands that Communist Party leaders Earl Browder and Jack Stachel, as well as Budenz, be placed in the hands of the Mexican judicial authorities.

The text of her statement, released by Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney, appears on page 3 of this issue.

No Comment Necessary!

Fourteen top executives of General Motors Corporation received salaries in 1946 totalling:

\$1,495,225

Chairman of the Board Alfred P. Sloan Jr. received \$196,617. President of the Corporation C. E. Wilson received \$158,600.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Opposition in UE Ordered to Dissolve

NEW YORK—Having failed by its earlier measures to stem the rising tide of opposition to its domination of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO, the Stalinist office-holding machine is about to resort to open repressions. The General Executive Board of the UE has formally ordered the caucus of UE Members for Democratic Action to dissolve.

At a national conference held last week-end in Philadelphia, the caucus issued a statement reasserting its democratic right to exist and criticize the administration of the union. The caucus also reiterated its opposition to all secession movements in the UE.

The latest move of the Stalinist GEB came after an intense campaign of personal calumny and vituperation, lies and insinuations, waged in typical Stalinist style. It was done through various publications of the UE and by the vast swarm of paid officials, backed up by judiciously-timed threats and a scattering of suspensions and expulsions on trumped-up charges.

Despite the fact that condemnation of all secession moves is specifically stated in the program of the caucus of UE Members for Democratic Action, the Stalinists sought particularly to brand it as "secessionist" and "dual."

Encouraged by Philip Murray's recent order directing Jack Altman's so-called CIO Committee for Demo-

cratic Trade Unionism to disband as a dual union group, the Stalinist officers of the UE tried to obtain Murray's direct intervention in the UE against the UE Members for Democratic Action. They hoped thereby to avoid bearing the onus for suppression of an opposition group. Murray refused to intervene.

THE OPPOSITION

However, the widening revolts against Stalinist rule in locals throughout the country, and the issuance of a national newspaper by the UE Members for Democratic Action have so alarmed the GEB that it has evidently decided to risk the launching of direct, punitive action.

The publication of the first issue of its newspaper, The Real UE, gave the caucus of UE Members for Democratic Action a renewed opportunity to put forward a constructive and aggressive program for advancing the interests of the membership and building the union. Such a program would by contrast expose the windy but weak policies of the Stalinist administration; its failure to take the initiative in any large-scale fight with the forces of the employers; its tagging along behind the UAW and the CIO as a whole on major issues of social policy; its soft and pliant collective bargaining program, flagrantly manifested in its hasty, publicity-seeking agreements with General Motors which undermined the bargaining position of the UAW both

last year and this; its attempt to use the UE as a propaganda pressure machine in the interests of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

However, The Real UE failed to put forward a fighting program to rally the rank and file of the union against the Stalinists. Instead the caucus limited itself to vague talk about building "a democratic American trade union movement" without any clear and concrete program, and repeated protestations of its opposition to secession.

NEED OF A PROGRAM

As indicated by this copy of The Real UE, the caucus has permitted even its own formally adopted program to slip further and further into the background. As a consequence, the many new local groups associating themselves with the caucus have drifted about without direction, and have proved themselves incapable of engaging the Stalinists in a fight on

any of the major issues before the union.

The failure to use a program as the driving force of its fight against the Stalinists has also resulted in a blind fumbling for other weapons to use against the Stalinists. This weapon has been provided by the capitalist press and radio in the form of a furious "red-baiting" crusade. Many of the member and leaders of the caucus have begun to adopt this weapon without regard to its anti-labor character.

Thus the increasing use of red-baiting by caucus members and leaders, despite the caucus' avowed opposition to "red-baiting" and its formal defense of democratic rights for all political groups, has resulted in an influx of large numbers of reactionaries into the caucus. This may result in converting the caucus into a reactionary clique, and its total disintegration under the attacks of the Stalinists.

Newark Labor Stages Rally to Support the Telephone Strikers

By JACK WEBB

NEWARK, April 22—The Newark labor movement staged one of the strongest and most spirited demonstrations in its history today when it rallied in support of the striking telephone workers. About 5,000 workers came straight from the shops, arriving in delegations formed at the factories at the end of the work day, marching in bodies that held up the rush hour traffic, displaying colorful banners and picket signs.

Washington Park in Newark, and the imposing New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. Bldg., which is immediately across the street, witnessed a new awakening of the local labor movement, thought docile and possibly dead by the local and state law makers and enforcers. These latter officials inadvertently provided the demonstration with the needed grain of proof of the anti-labor landslide, against which the demonstration was held, when they denied the meeting the use of a public address system. Union speakers ranged through the vast crowd, delivering impromptu speeches, directing the actions of the demonstration, creating a unity of action and will to overcome the handicaps. Those near the speakers' platform listened and cheered speeches of the strike leaders from the telephone unions and other union officials.

However, the tone was set by the many speakers working around the throng. They directed the marchers first across the street for a real mass picketing of the Phone Co. and then took over the main street for their march to City Hall. The "bobby-soxers," the militant striking telephone girls, were themselves a large contingent and supplied the lead in singing during the march, shouting slogans in defiance of city and state officials, and against the Bell Co.

The local police, under the "labor-supported" mayor, were unable to interfere much. When the march reached City Hall, a line of them, mostly wearing gold, were strung around the steps, presumably to protect the "people's" interests. The parade thought it knew best and literally walked right over this imposing barrier and concluded the demonstration with the passing of resolutions on the City Hall steps.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Central Strike Committee of the Telephone Unions, the New Jersey CIO Council, the Greater Newark CIO Council and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The speakers charged the head of the Public Safety Department, one Keenan, with "conspiring to shut off the case of the telephone workers" by denying freedom of speech when he prevented the use of loud speakers.

Speakers, including Mrs. Mary

Hanscom, effective and pretty president of the Traffic Telephone Workers Federation, condemned New Jersey's brand-new fascist-like utility anti-labor law. All speakers promised a united fight against the rising wave of reaction. The temper of the meeting was such as to guarantee that united fight.

Money in the hands of the public has fallen a billion dollars since Christmas. The Chicago Journal of Commerce reports that "some government analysts cite the cost of living as a probable cause."

Those government analysts have minds like steel traps and nothing gets away from them, does it?

2,000 ATTEND "VERITE" FESTIVAL

The first festival of Verite, French Trotskyist paper, has been an overwhelming success. Two thousand comrades and friends attended the affair, held in the main hall of the Mutualite Palace. The great help that this successful ball has rendered to our French comrades' paper is being followed by a campaign for regular contributions to the paper, and a two months sub drive.

WALL STREET AND LOCAL PROFITEERS FIGHT FOR CONTROL OF BUFFALO BELL AIRCRAFT CO.

By JOHN BARNES

BUFFALO, April 24—During the past two weeks the local press reported, with surprising thoroughness, the struggle between two rival stockholding groups for control of the Bell Aircraft Corporation; a struggle consummated in the victory of the incumbent corporation directors. A résumé of this "Local Interests vs. Wall Street" battle, as we shall see it to be, offers a genuine socialist educational opportunity to the workers of Buffalo and to the Bell workers in particular.

The story that "outside" interests were out to oust the present Bell Board of Directors came, to say the least, as a great surprise to the people in this area. First, the ways and means of corporation control are somewhat of a mystery to many, and second, Bell Aircraft has always been considered, by those who gave the matter thought at all, as a "home-grown" product. Imagine the reaction, then, when the news broke that a Wall Street group, headed by none other than Edward R. Stettinius, a man of no small importance, was threatening the incumbent Bell management in, the approaching elections of corporation directors.

In brief, the history of Bell Aircraft can best be described in two words: war baby. Starting on the proverbial shoe-string (not a shoe-

FROM A HOLE IN THE POCKET TO NO POCKET

A lot of politicians are talking about lower prices, but the loud talk hasn't shown up on the price tags in retail stores yet. Retail prices in Chicago hit a new high of 156.2 on March 15, with not a single group of commodities declining from the middle of February. The index, based on the 1935-39 average, showed a 2.2 per cent increase for the month. Food prices advanced 4.1 per cent, bringing the total increase in the past year to 37.6 per cent. Clothing prices increased 2.4 per cent, and house furnishings rose slightly.

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of General Motors, who speaks with a great deal more authority on prices than does President Truman, predicted the other day that further price increases were in the offing. "It is impossible to assume," said Mr. Sloan, in a speech before the Economic Club of New York, "that business generally can accept a sufficient reduction in profits to justify the reduction in prices so badly needed and at the same time substantially increase wages." You've got to give the man an A for gall!

The Department of Commerce released some interesting statistics the other day on what has happened to people's savings in the past year, under the onslaught of the profiteers. THE SAVINGS OF THE MASSES HAVE BEEN MORE THAN CUT IN HALF. One year ago they totaled \$33 billion. Today they total only \$16 billion. Buying of the small denomination savings bonds—the \$25 and \$50 sizes—has gone down considerably in proportion to total purchases while buying of the king-size bonds—the \$500 and \$1,000 variety that you and I will never see—has gone up to about 40 per cent of the total, said the government. Total holdings of savings bonds declined by \$500 million last year, but holdings of the F and G issues increased by \$2 billion. A return to the pre-war savings pattern, "in which savings were greater among wealthier groups," has resulted, said the department. Savings in the form of government insurance declined 30 per cent as a result of veterans letting their national service life insurance lapse.

Money in the hands of the public has fallen a billion dollars since Christmas. The Chicago Journal of Commerce reports that "some government analysts cite the cost of living as a probable cause."

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THIS SHOULD BE GOOD

An extensive project to inform the nation on how and why the American economic system functions is being considered by the American Association of Advertising Agencies. The hopheads with the whizzbang minds who run the nation's ad agencies define the American economic system as based on five fundamental principles: Private property, a free market, profit and wage incentives, competition, and government regulation (but not government control). These hucksters want every plant owner to institute a permanent program "to correct the economic misinformation and lack of misinformation that exists in the industrial worker's mind about profits, production and dividends. To restore his pride in his job, his feeling of importance and his sense of belonging to an economic group. To give him a

better appreciation of the benefits our American economic system brings him."

My experience has been that the average industrial worker knows a hell of a lot more about the workings of capitalism than does the average advertising agency executive. I would really like to see how the admen are going to explain away the monstrous profiteering of Big Business at the expense of the masses. I would like to see how any ten ads could convince the guy that spends his life screwing on nut No. 10 that he should feel "pride in his job, and importance." I'd like to know how the gents who write the perfume ads are going to convince us we should "appreciate the benefits of our American economic system," which in my lifetime has given us two wars, two depressions, and is setting the stage nicely to throw us into either: (A) an atomic war, or (B) the deepest, broadest, most devastating depression this nation ever saw.

STRIKES PAID OFF FOR THE MINERS

The Wall Street Journal presented a good summary recently of the wage pattern in 26 different industries from 1939 to date. Obviously, the courage of the miners in disregarding the war-time patriotic whoopla and hitting the picket line has paid off in the paycheck.

Before the war, coal miners were among the "submerged half" of industrial workers, drawing \$23.88 weekly. Today they are at the top, with weekly earnings of \$69.58 (but their hours of work have grown, too).

The auto workers have lost ground, and have been passed by men of the machine tool, meat packing and bituminous mining industries.

Leather workers drew about \$19.13 weekly in 1939, seven dollars less than most factory employees. This year they earn \$48.49, a dollar and a half more than most men in factories.

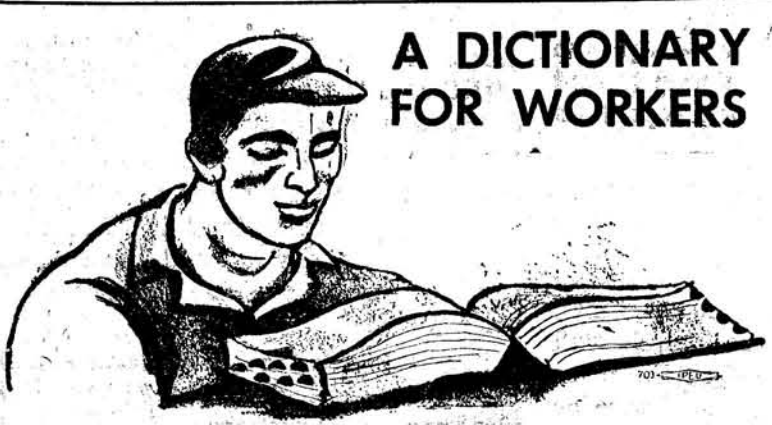
The poorest paid industry remains the power industry, with an average weekly wage today of \$32.46, compared with \$17.69 before the war.

For men and women in the meat packing industry, weekly pay jumped from \$27.85 to \$57.38 in the past eight years—enough to pass by the once more highly paid ship builders, machine tool makers, auto workers, steel employees and phone workers. Speaking of phone workers, they have advanced the least of any of the 26 groups, which goes far to explain the stubbornness with which they are conducting their current great strike. Before the war they earned \$31.94 each week; by January, 1947, they had gained just \$11.25.

People employed in retail trade have advanced almost as little. They've added \$12.25 to their pre-war earnings of \$21.17 a week. They earn less than the workers turning out many of the wares they sell—furniture, woollens and worsteds, leather, sawmill products, clothing, cotton goods and canned food.

Whereas before the war auto workers received from \$3 to \$6 more a week than men in the steel mills, today iron and steel workers top the auto workers by nearly \$3.

Not all the changes in weekly pay checks have been caused by changes in hourly pay. The length of the working week has been an important factor in some industries. For instance, the soft coal miners have stepped up their work week from 27.1 hours in 1939 to 46.7 hours this January. Laundry workers are working a longer week than before the war, and packinghouse employes are working about seven hours more weekly.



A DICTIONARY FOR WORKERS

Compiled by JACK RANGER

Bedeaux System, the so-called B-System. A scientific speed-up plan to intensify exploitation of the worker.

Black Legion, a fascist secret society financed by the automobile corporations, which arose in the Detroit area in the late 1930s with the aim of smashing the Auto Workers Union and other labor organizations.

blole, a temporary agreement between individuals or organizations with different programs to unite for a definite limited action.

Blanquism, a military conspiracy without a definite class character which has little public sympathy or understanding.

Bonapartism, the name applied to a government which tries to appear to be impartial and non-partisan during a time of great social tension in a nation, but which actually serves the cause of reaction against the masses. Such a government almost always assumes the character of a military dictatorship.

bourgeoisie, the members of the capitalist class. In the early days of capitalism, the merchants and business men lived in cities or burgs. Thus the burghers or bourgeoisie have come to mean the owning class and its supporters, while anything that is bourgeois is capitalist in character.

boycott, union, an organized refusal to buy non-union goods or services; or in the case of a secondary boycott, refusal to handle for shipment or to work with materials which are made in a non-union shop.

Brotherhood, a union. The independent unions of railroad workers, such as locomotive firemen, engineers and conductors, are referred to as Brotherhoods. Many national AFL unions have the name brotherhood, such as International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

bug, popular term for the union label.

Building Trades Council, a local or state-wide delegate council representing those unions active in the building and construction industry, which functions to further the ends of all workers represented, to settle jurisdictional disputes, to encourage construction and housing, etc.

bureaucracy, originally meaning a centralized system of administration of a government or organization, organized by department or bureau. It has now come to signify the tendency of any officials to be bound with red tape, to be lazy or insolent or rude, or to pay too great attention to their own careers rather than taking care of the tasks their jobs call for.

business agent, a paid representative of a union who is usually responsible for collecting dues and fines, for negotiating agreements, and seeing they are lived up to, for receiving reports from members and stewards, and presenting reports to the membership on conditions under which the membership works, for organizing workers within the jurisdiction of the union, for representing the union before the public and the labor movement, etc. The office of business agent was found necessary early in the life of organized labor, when employers discriminated against unionists dependent upon them for their livelihood. The business agent is usually one who has formerly worked in the industry.

Detroit Auto Workers Down Tools - -

(Continued from page 1)
The effectiveness of just strike action, its limits, are more and more clearly understood. And that is why the GM and Chrysler offers will be voted overwhelmingly by the rank and file.

The crying need to supplement economic action, the burning need for explanation to the ranks of what is different in the situation today than a year ago; that is terribly lacking. It was the fatal weakness of the Cadillac Square demonstration. The workers came; they wanted answers. Instead they got a scolding from Richard T. Leonard, UAW-CIO PAC director, a smug bureaucrat. "It's your fault. You should have voted." As though voting for capitalist politicians was an answer.

Before the rally, one UAW-CIO top leader, Emil Mazey, co-regional

director of District 1, spoke at various local unions. His call for a labor party now received a good response. But at Cadillac Square no one spoke for genuine independent political action. None of the bureaucrats dared admit the blind folly of their course of supporting capitalist politicians. Quite the contrary. They are seeking to justify it more and more, precisely because the failure of that policy is more glaring.

There was no summons to struggle at this demonstration. In the contract slogan of higher wages without price increase, Reuther was left alone in the CIO leadership, the Stalinists, having pulled a fast one in the contract covering 30,000 GM workers under UE-CIO domination. Philip Murray, CIO president, told Reuther that the USA-CIO would not settle for less than 19 cents. The steel set-

tlement was the same as URWA and UE, and set the pattern for UAW-CIO. None of this was explained to the auto workers, because the Address-Thomas-Leonard-Stalinist clique was trying to cover up its pals in UE.

Last year, the GM workers were left alone fighting for a magnificent program. This year, the pressure of the entire CIO was put on the UAW-CIO not to spearhead the "second round." It succeeded under the theory that a "united strategy" was better. Yes! But the united strategy ended up in a "one at a time" business, with Wall Street picking the weak spots in the CIO armor and signing contracts with those unions, thus forcing the others in line. The brochure on wages, prices, profits, prepared by the staff of Reuther to fight GM once again, became a museum piece the day it was published,

the day UE signed a contract. The 20 cents an hour that Reuther confidently expected to win became a mockery.

All these things, the auto workers at Cadillac Square wanted to know. Instead they got either silence or nonsense about supporting the Democrats again. In the good old days, a few concessions were obtainable by a mighty demonstration. A wonderful union movement was built by fighting on picket lines. The blunt facts of life say today that more is necessary. New kinds of struggles, new ideas, a new kind of militancy is required. It comes on the political front, primarily, and not on the economic front. The crucial issue must become the labor party.

MORGAN INTERESTS

"Enter 'Wall Street'" in the person of Edward Stettinius, former head of U. S. Steel and one-time Secretary of State—and a number of lesser known but equally prominent "Wall Streeters." The concern of the local press (reflecting, naturally, the interests of the local money-men) was overwhelmingly genuine and well founded. For Stettinius, as is well known, is a "Morgan man." That is, though a millionaire in his own right, he functions under the immediate direction (in government and in business) of the House of Morgan, one of the largest finance capitalist banking houses in the world. He may, and undoubtedly does, own a good many shares of various

corporation stocks in his own name, but he does not, in the real sense, "control" the destinies of these corporations. He is, in reality, a Morgan functionary, comparable in status to, say, Alfred Sloan of the du Pont holdings.

We see, then, that the insurgents, striving for control of Bell, was the House of Morgan. And we see, also, that it is simply a case of the big fish out to swallow the smaller, "big" fish. This, Marxists know, is the rule, the law under capitalism. It holds for Morgan vs. Bell Aircraft, for the A & P vs. the corner grocery, the chain department store vs. the independent dry-goods dealer. The big fish go after the small and the number in the pond constantly decreases until monopoly, or near-monopoly results.

Now, the questions: "How, exactly, did Morgan go after Bell Aircraft? Did his representatives make a public bid? Did they offer to buy the holdings of the present Board of Directors?"

HOW IT WAS DONE

While we cannot state with certainty how the Stettinius group bought its way in so securely, we can be sure that it did so under the cover of darkness, so to speak. Undoubtedly all readily available shares of Bell stock were bought, every possible pressure brought to bear on the incumbent management. Above all, we may be sure that wise sharks that they are, the Morgan group tried every which way to upset the management and slide into control with a minimum of previous publicity. It was the Larry Bell "faction," fighting for its life (and profits) that set the press afire. And so much for the sanctified business methods of finance capitalism. We leave the moral justification of this "normal" business practice to the righteous defenders of American freedom and democracy.

What must basically concern us, however, is how these procedures and tactics of corporation control relate to the actual control of production.

It is obvious that under capitalism those that own the majority of the stock control every phase of production, the standard of living of some three thousand families in the case of Bell Aircraft.

And what are the qualifications of the contending groups at Bell Aircraft for this responsibility?

The present Bell rulers: a relatively small investment—plus—an

imperialist war—plus—government subsidy—plus—cost-plus contracts. Result: the "right" to parlay a gift into a fortune on the backs of the workers.

The would-be Bell rulers: idle capital gained by exploitation of labor the world over.

Those are the respective qualifications, pure and simple. These are the people who have the "right" and power to completely change the lives and living standards of the three thousand men and women who do nothing—except the work! It is for these people to say whether Bell shall be open or closed, in Niagara Falls or San Diego, making bombs or buttons. The hopes, the aspirations of thousands of families are up for ownership along with the brick, mortar, glass and machines. The workers, who are responsible for the profits over which the capitalists battle have not a word to say!

WORKERS' CONTROL

However, the capitalist ideologists no longer base their "rights" on a moral plane. They, along with their labor lieutenants (and the Sunday Socialists) hold that worker's control of production is outrageously Utopian.

Their dogma reads, roughly: "The workers don't know enough to operate industry. There would be continual squabbles among them. Production requires experienced management and know-how gained after years in the field."

On the basis of what we have said of the Larry Bell and Morgan groups, to whom does the above really apply? To the capitalists themselves! It is *they* who know nothing of running a plant. A good 99 per cent have never even seen the inside of a plant. Mr. Stettinius, for one, we are sure, wouldn't be able to identify the front end of a helicopter—much less build one.

It is *they* who squabble over control and profits.

It is *they* whose only experience in management consists of managing a scissors about the edges of a yearly dividend coupon. Therein lies their activity in the "field."

And therein lies the lesson for the workers of Buffalo, and, as we have said, for, particularly, the workers of Bell. *Workers' management and production in a Socialist America.* That is the alternative to the spectacle of the vultures and the jackals fighting, under the laws and logic of capitalism, over the profits derived from the labor of the working class.

Spanish POUM Appeals To Workers of the World

The following appeal from the Spanish Partido Obrero Unificaco...

THE P.O.U.M. TO THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

From its last illegal meeting at some place in Spain, the Central...

Not a single moment since the end of the civil war has our party...

At the beginning of 1947—year of the victory against fascism—...

We are strongly convinced that in spite of all the haggling of...

The decay of the fascist regime is already most evident. The help...

The present revival of the labor movement is very promising.

We are fighting—and shall fight in the future—convinced of the...

English workers! Your solidarity can be conclusive. You must require...

American workers! Mobilize yourselves for your brothers in Spain.

Italian workers, Argentine workers! Fight for the cancellation of...

Workers of Europe and America! Unite in order to help your comrades...

Let international solidarity be effective! We believe in it.

Spain, January 1947

Stalinist Assassins Must Be Made To Stand Trial! - - Natalia Trotsky

By NATALIA SEDOV TROTSKY

ON JUNE 8, 1940, Leon Trotsky wrote: "I can therefore say that I live on this earth not in accordance...

Everything we said in connection with the violent death of L. D. Trotsky is today being wholly confirmed by the confessions...

to Budenz, the leaders of the Stalinist party in the United States, Earl Browder and Jack Stachel...

MUCH IS UNSAID

Louis Budenz leaves much that is unsaid... he knows much more!

Stalin cherished the project of destroying the leader of the anti-totalitarian opposition even before the expulsion of Trotsky from the Russian Communist Party...

On November 7, 1927, during the parade in celebration of the 1917 Revolution, the Trotskyist Opposition marched with its own banners...

To the uninitiated it might seem incomprehensible why Stalin exiled Trotsky abroad and then tried over a period of several years to do away with him...

ly or psychologically. Even the legal exile of L. D. was not managed successfully by Stalin; it was broken up by a huge demonstration which took place at night in the railway station.

THE EXILE OF TROTSKY

The year spent by L. D. in Central Asia was one of intense discussion by correspondence with co-thinkers.

The question came up for discussion in the Political Bureau. Stalin said: "Trotsky must be exiled abroad in the first place because he is providing here the ideological leadership to the Opposition which keeps growing numerically; secondly, in order to un-crown him in the eyes of the masses...

On December 16, 1928, to an ultimatum which came from Moscow that he cease and desist from revolutionary activity, Trotsky replied: "Only completely corrupted functionaries could demand of a revolutionist that he renounce political activity, that is, renounce serving the party and the world revolution."



Left to Right: Natalia Trotsky, Frida Kahlo, Leon Trotsky and Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, on Their Arrival in Mexico.

sky permission to settle in France, ostensibly with the same rights as other foreigners. But in reality he was forbidden to live in Paris and was immediately placed under strict police surveillance.

In June, 1935, the Social Democrats of Norway formed a government. Trotsky turned to Oslo with a request for a visa.

The realization of Stalin's project became long-drawn out. As Lenin said, "this cook prepared only peppery dishes." Stalin needed more potent means for obtaining the deportation of Trotsky from Norway...

claimed a course toward the "annihilation of Trotskyism."

THE ARMED ASSAULT

On May 24, 1940, took place the armed assault upon our house, which was led by the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros, former member of the Stalinist party of Mexico.

After the death of L. D. Trotsky the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition wrote: "To this failure (of the attempt led by Siqueiros) we owe the most dramatic document of modern political literature; in it a man explains to us why he must be killed, and lays bare all the threats of intrigue, which threaten more and more closely around him..."

David Alfaro Siqueiros, freed on bail of 10,000 pesos, prohibited from leaving the country where he had committed a capital political crime, nevertheless fled from Mexico, not without the assistance of prominent individuals. His trial was suspended, without any explanations.

Glasgow Dock Strike Holds Fast After Bitter Seven-week Struggle

BULLETIN: At press-time, a report from London dated April 27, announced that 7,000 dock workers quit work in support of the six-week-old Glasgow Dockers Strike reported in the following story we received from the British "Socialist Appeal."—Ed.

By ROY TEARSE LONDON—On March 24th, 3,800 Glasgow Dockers struck work against the first attempts of the bosses' plans to transform the industry once again into a casual sweatshop.

The outcome of this strike will be of nation-wide importance to the dockers in their fight against the miseries of casual labor.

This decision stems from the work of the Fact Finding Commission introduced by the Minister of Transport in 1946 to investigate the position of the various ports. And the main argument of the Regional Port Controller in justification of this action is that with the maintenance of the present personnel the port would be rendered uneconomical and, it is claimed, the port is unable to meet the guaranteed wage of £4 2s. 6d.

BOSSSES SPEAK OUT! Despite the statement of the Ministry of Labor on April 10th that "the Minister wishes it to be known that there is no foundation in the further statement that has been made that these discharges in Glasgow are designed as the forerunner of discharges at other ports, the employers have very much different ideas in mind. In the "Journal of Commerce and Shipping Telegraph" (the paper of the Port and Shipping employers) of March 31st, there appears a special article pointing the way to their policy in the coming period.

Referring to the Dock Workers' (Regulation of Employment) Order 1947 and the 40 days grace in which they can lodge their complaints, the article states: "In stating their case for reasonable (!) reductions in man-power in the cargo-handling industry, the employers will cite many instances of what has been termed 'industrial blackmail' (i.e., the dockers' fight against speed-ups and sweated conditions.—R. T.)"

The article continues, "In Manchester there is an average daily surplus of 457 out of an inflated register of 2,600" (costing the owners another £105,000.—R. T.) "In Liverpool and Birkenhead, out of a

total of 15,800, there are some 3,500 surplus to requirements, on the basis that one-fifth of each gang is unnecessary." "Taken over the whole country and allowing one-fifth of the estimated number of dockers as being surplus to actual needs, but required by trade union procedure, one-fifth of 70,000, or 14,000 men, are drawing nearly £8,000,000 per annum from levies on cargoes."

ATTITUDE OF LABOR PARTY

When the officials of the union contacted Labor M.P.s in the House of Commons in an attempt to obtain an interview with the Minister of Transport, Barnes, he claimed that he was "too busy" with the Transport Bill to see them!

However, after further efforts, they were able to interview, among others, Mr. Strauss, Under Secretary to the Minister of Transport. No satisfaction was obtained. In answer to the demands of the Dockers' representatives that the government, if they were going to sack anyone, should sack the employers by nationalizing the industry, and give it to the Dockers to operate, this "representative of Labor" stated that he was "not prepared to go into that question." Despite all the arguments of the Dockers he refused to budge, his only "positive" statement being that strike action by the men would be taken as a "challenge to the government."

Telegrams from the Dockers to the Prime Minister, Barnes, and Isaacs, have been conveniently ignored. And a deputation of the Dockers to the Glasgow Labor-dominated Council was similarly ineffective. True to form, Labor Lord Provost Hector McNeil, flatly refused to even meet a deputation from a body of 2,000 Dockers who had marched to the City Chambers.

GLASGOW WORKERS SUPPORT DOCKERS

The general sympathy of the Clydeside workers for the struggle of the Dockers is demonstrated in the fact that on Tuesday, March 25th, the Executive of the Glasgow Trades Council publicly expressed its support and contacted the Minister of Transport by telegram, demanding the re-instatement of the 500 Dockers. On Wednesday, this attitude was endorsed by a full Delegates meeting of the Trades Council. The Quarterly meeting of the Glasgow District A.E.U. Shop Stewards, on March 30th, passed a resolution declaring its unqualified support of the Dockers and demanding that the government intervene by effecting the re-instatement of the 500 dismissed Dockers.

A splendid demonstration of international class solidarity was shown when two American seamen, from a ship tied up in the port, approached the Dockers with £26, collected among their mates, for the Strike Fund.

desired effect among the dockers. A cynical joke is going the rounds of the strikers in relation to the fact that during the war, for "national effort" in working 24 hours a day under all sorts of conditions, three B.E.M.s and one George Cross were awarded to Dockers. One Docker commented: "When they need you they put you in the queue for medals, when they don't need you they put you in the queue for the dole."

TROOPS AGAIN USED

The first attempt to break the strike was by the diversion of Glasgow-bound ships to other ports. The Liverpool dockers took the lead in answering such methods. On March 29th, the Glasgow "Daily Record" reported: "The Arnold Maersk, which was diverted from the Clyde two days ago to Liverpool because of the Glasgow dockers' strike, is on her way back to the Clyde with her cargo undischarged." "Dockers refused to handle her cargo" ... one Docker stated "we will not handle cargo from Glasgow."

On April 3rd, 300 soldiers were brought in to unload the Arnold Maersk, whose cargo of oranges they claimed, was threatened with going

(Continued on page 6)

On the CP Intellectual Front

A Self-Portrait in a Stalinist Writer's Novel

THE JUDAS TIME, by Isidore Schneider. Dial Press. Reviewed by Irving Howe

THIS novel is an extraordinary document. Intended as a fierce fictional polemic against those who desert Stalinism, it develops into a terrifying and nightmarish picture of the life and mind of the Stalinist intellectual. As such it is an infinitely more revealing disclosure than any attempt by an "outsider" to analyze the Stalinist mind; it has a value for the political analyst similar to that which psychiatric inmate's diary might have for an analyst; it is first-hand.

Schneider is one of the few intellectuals who have remained loyal to Stalinism. He must at one time have had some talent; one can see its petrified residue in this novel. But he long ago abandoned serious art and now writes according to the Stalinist dictum, "art is a weapon"—which means, in the case of Stalinism, art is a whore.

whose inner imperfections and compulsions lead him to question the Wisdom of the party and desert to Trotskyism. This snarling wretch visits Trotsky who entrusts him with a mission to Russia. (Trotsky, as is well known, made a habit of sending every stray visitor on "secret" missions . . .). Traveling across Germany, Cain is happy to observe the Nazi strength; in Russia, his plot is foiled. The gentle folk of Stalinland cure him of an illness, the Russian doctor even refusing to take a fee, and Cain returns to America, where he turns stool-pigeon and acknowledges at the end that he is in the pay of the ruling powers.

A SELF-PORTRAIT

As a portrait—even unfavorable, even highly critical—of a Trotskyist, this is simply silly. For, however evil our characters, we are at least human beings, and Cain is nothing of the kind. Cain is rather a Grade-B Hollywood villain—or, to probe a little deeper into the novel's genesis, he is really an involuntarily-portrayed aspect of Schneider himself.

are let out to take an occasional airing, but they return voluntarily; they must have a cell.

In Schneider's world-view, one may question everything but the party. Jack Burrell, the functionary, is much like Stalin: he never discusses ideas; he tolerates discussion by others so long as they are within the bounds of Stalinist orthodoxy; he is the Man of Silence and Strength; he watches, arranges, manipulates; he does no wrong; he seldom talks, but like Stalin he usually grunts. No more damning portrait of the bureaucratic type has been drawn—one can imagine this Burrell confining thousands of dissidents to a Siberian labor camp while eating an apple. The fact that it comes from a Stalinist spokesman makes it all the more triumphantly valid.

PILLAR OF GOD

Compared to Burrell, the other Stalinists are weak and, one occasionally suspects, even human. But what is so amazing is that in The Judas Time the Virtuous, the loyal followers of Stalinism, are not as human beings different from the Evil. That the Evil are evil, all the faithful know; but that the Virtuous are such fools, so empty-headed, such slobbering nincompoops, will surely give the faithful a jolt. A preaching in which evil cannot be distinguished from good results in a Morality Play of Zombies.

For what the book reveals is not this world, nor any world recognizable to most human beings; it reveals rather the world of Isidore Schneider. If the party is the Pillar of God, how unworthy then are mere human beings? No wonder they search for the warm rest of authority. I know it is a much-too fashionable phrase these days, but one really cannot think of any way to characterize these people than as in "search for a father"; perhaps even more, in search for complete obliteration of the need for personality and thought, the willful escape from freedom's responsibilities.

Consider a novel in which two "intellectuals" seriously discuss whether landscape painting lulls the workers into acceptance of social evil or stirs them to discontent!

Consider the following as a picture of life in the Stalinist Party: "At the mere summons to the hearing Schroeder collapsed. He arrived looking like a man who had left a sick bed. He offered no defense. He roiled himself as a 'coward, vacillator.' . . . He eulogized Calvin, his accuser, as a 'monolith' of staunchness and fervently thanked him for not having spurned him as he deserved but, instead, having stretched out his strong and generous hand to pull him out in time from the quicksand of renegeary."

"On Calvin's motion the decision was that Schroeder retain party membership on a year's probation. For this decision Schroeder was de-

liveriously grateful. Through sobe he thanked his comrades for their proletarian mercy; and the women and most of the men wept with him. In a spontaneous rite of reconciliation all crowded around to grip his hand." (My emphasis—I. H.)

If anyone but Schneider had written this passage, would not such a writer have been accused of hysteria and exaggeration?

That is life in the Stalinist Party: a self-made prison.

Throughout the book one theme predominates: since the party is the Pillar of God, what can mere mortals do but confess? Before his renegeary, Calvin writes a letter of confession to himself in which he encloses a razor to slit his throat if he as much as wavers from the party. ("My vow! If I betray working class let me die! Will judge myself and carry out the judgment. Have no revolver or cyanide here. Razor blade will do. If occasion comes give me courage to cut my throat.") Then the Schroeder confession I have quoted above. Then the confession of an unfortunate who followed Cain's apostasy and discovered too late that he had left the True Faith.

*This, be it noted, is the first Moscow Trial document ever written in Pidgeon English.

It is an appropriate theme; the theme of the intellectual underworld, of the wretched, cringing creatures who form the Stalinist intelligentsia. It is not the least horrifying aspect of modern life.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Ass'n

114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

General Offices: 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel: ROnsides 6-5117 Vol. 11, No. 18 May 5, 1947

EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor

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Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65c 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, 1874

Editorials

The Big Four Flop in Moscow

Messrs. Vishinsky and Bevin sang a duet of "For Your Friends Are My Friends" at the Moscow railway station after the conference broke up, but that didn't prevent the obvious conclusion being drawn throughout the world that the Moscow gathering was not merely a failure, but the sharpest and deepest of all the diplomatic failures since the conclusion of the war.

tation of the country, a way was sought that would be to the greater advantage of one as against the other. However, none of the powers would agree to such a program, therefore nothing occurred.

The fierceness of imperialist appetite was more than once revealed at the Conference, particularly by Russian imperialism. France demanded incorporation of the Saar, a clearly German territory, along with major control over the Ruhr; the Russians demanded Ruhr production as part of their fantastic \$10 billion reparations program, a permanent economic stranglehold over Austria and its industry; a form of government that would facilitate the activities of the German Stalinists and, in general, a lasting grip over Germany.

Each respective scheme, of course, only served to prove LABOR ACTION's original description of the Moscow Conference as a gathering of the hungry imperialist wolves set to carve up Europe's central country, along with its people. The imperialists have met; they failed to come to terms; they will meet again and ultimately write another corrupt, reactionary "peace."

What Way Out in Palestine?

The judicial murder of Dov Gruner by the British authorities in Palestine has only intensified the Jewish terrorist struggle. Fighting in that country has become more widespread. This very fact only serves to emphasize that the terror is an unavailing policy in this complex situation, that it cannot solve a single Palestinian problem.

Arabs and the Jews. It is merely a desperate protest against the arrogance of British rule—an absence of policy.

Because we understand the nature of the terrorist movement and because we know it to be the product of imperialist repression, we defend those brave youth. Yet we cannot help but deplore the waste of this energy and bravery in a hopeless way of fighting.

Palestine needs the unity of the Arab and Jewish people in a common front against imperialism. Expulsion of the imperialist overlords will help to unify the country and end the long-drawn-out struggle between the two populations. But to achieve a lasting unity and to insure the genuine progress of this unity, the two populations must approach each other on the basis of equality. A constituent assembly, based on majority rule and a guarantee of the democratic national rights of all the people is the key to the situation in Palestine.

The Jewish organizations continue to play into the hands of this policy by their failure to pursue a policy and program that would result in a common struggle with the Arabs against imperialism. Their demand for a Jewish state, their rejection of a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, their arrogance to the Arab masses plays into the hands, not only of the British, but also the reactionary feudal Arab Effendi, whose class interests also urge them to struggle against the right of Jewish immigration.

LEON TROTSKY'S "THE NEW COURSE" Get this historic essay on Russia, together with Max Shachtman's study of the development of Russian totalitarianism. NOW ON SALE: \$1.00 (paper bound) 265 pages Originally \$1.50 Order from: Workers Party Publications 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

As long as this situation continues there will be no solution to the crisis in Palestine. And while we fully understand the basis of the terrorist movement in the frustration of the Jewish population of the country, and especially its youth, the futility of the policy is only too obvious. It cannot go on endlessly without defeat before the superior forces of imperialism. And what is most important, it cannot resolve the situation favorably for both the

WORLD POLITICS

Where Is Wallace Going?

We have witnessed in the last few weeks a sharp decline in Henry Wallace's career as an important capitalist politician. That may seem a rash thing to say, but we feel that a consideration of his present position will buttress our statement.

Wallace came to prominence in national politics as a follower of the Roosevelt New Deal, the basic purpose of which was to reinvigorate an American capitalism badly shaken by the depression. It proposed to achieve this objective by a series of reforms within the framework of capitalist society: concessions to labor in order to forestall serious discontent; work relief for the unemployed; subsidies to farmers to cut down their production in order to avoid the periodic surplus of goods which glutted the capitalist market; financial reforms to protect capitalist economy from the damage done by its more irresponsible members; and an aggressive foreign policy to expand the power of U. S. imperialism.

In this situation the previously unknown Wallace was catapulted to fame; he was in charge of the program of agricultural restriction (plow under every third acre and every third pig). When this program was viewed from the standpoint of the needs of humanity, it was seen as simply absurd—and tragic, too. For here in a period of terrible want, when millions in America and other countries did not have enough, the government deliberately encouraged the farmers to produce less. No policy has ever exposed the social wastefulness and inhumanity of capitalism more than did this Wallace-led scheme.

WALLACE'S RISE TO FAME

Wallace, nonetheless, became a national figure; in that rhetoric peculiar to his fussy mind, he talked in radical terms, popularized such slogans as Sixty Million Jobs without ever seriously inquiring into the ability of American capitalism to provide them on a permanent basis, and thereby became the darling of the liberals, sections of the labor leadership and the Stalinists.

In this country the leaders of the small farmers have always talked in radical language. The Populist movement which developed in the late 19th century and gradually died out in the early 20th, represented the desperate attempt of the small farmers to resist the growing octopus of finance capitalism which was depriving them of their economic independence and in many instances even of their land. Populism, a vague conglomeration of agricultural reform, trust-busting and radical rhetoric, was the farmers' protest against the railroad, the bank and their government. Populism never came to grips with the more basic economic conflict between employer and worker developing in the city; it represented the last will of a dying, rather than the strong voice of a developing, struggle. Historically, it was obsolete almost before it began; it could be replaced only by the socialist movement.

Wallace is a product of this populist tradition—a product, however, not of its vigor and youthful strength but of its decay. For all his verbal radicalism, he served in the cabinet of the Roosevelt administration which was the most consciously and persistently imperialist in American history. For all his verbal radicalism, he served in the cabinet of the Roosevelt administration which strengthened the hand of the banks and the railroads while the aid it gave the farmers was transient and ineffective.

When Roosevelt died, it seemed for a while that Wallace might take over the leadership of the New Deal movement. He did not. His failure was not merely

due to his personal inadequacies, serious as those are; more fundamentally it was due to the fact that New Dealism had reached the end of its rope. Roosevelt's death was in a sense a great blessing to his reputation; he did not have to face the post-war difficulties, most of them still to come, which the hapless Truman inherited and which would probably have sharply harmed his reputation. Already Roosevelt had begun that transition characterized as the turn from New Deal to War Deal; and in that transition, the diffuse political elements which Roosevelt patched together at the beginning of his Presidency began to scatter. The capitalist political wing which was the basic axis of his regime—personified by such figures as Baruch, Jesse Jones, Stimson, Knox, Morgenthau, Knudson and Stettinius—felt that the heat was off and turned rightwards to the policies which Truman is now more or less carrying out. The labor leadership, for all its servility, was increasingly left out in the cold. The Stalinists changed their line again. And the liberals, as usual, were befuddled.

IN THE POST-ROOSEVELT ERA

Where did that leave Wallace? As a capitalist politician, he had declined. He had failed to get the Vice-Presidential nomination from the Democratic Party in 1944. He had no hold on either of the political machines. The capitalist parties did not view the situation as desperate enough to require the leadership of the Wallace type; they much preferred Truman or Taft. Wallace therefore had no alternative but to turn to the fringe elements—the liberals, the Stalinists and the semi-Stalinists.

This move to retain some degree of popular support and political prominence was to prove Wallace's undoing as a capitalist politician. In our opinion, it would be a gross simplification to speak of Wallace as still representing any section of the American capitalist class. He is now a mere political adventurer who bases himself on the coalition of certain liberals and Stalinists who want the U. S. to adopt a pro-Russian foreign policy. As such he will be relegated increasingly to the rank of a front man, a stooge. Not that he will be a stooge of Stalinism in the sense that Marcantonio is. But if he is to maintain any existence at all as a political figure he now has no alternative but to play along with the Stalinists for the time being.

His opposition to the Truman Decline, supported to one degree or another by every capitalist politician, was the last step in the development described above. It lost him his last remnant of support in the non-Stalinist labor leadership. His weird and cowardly behavior—cutting out sections of a speech criticizing Russia because he was booed by Stalinists at Madison Square Garden—has marked him as one of those credulous creatures made for Popular Front politics and little else. As this international situation continues to become worse, Wallace's policy of "appeasing" Russia will isolate him still further from the main sources of capitalist political power. He will have the alternative of being spokesman for the Stalinists and those whom they dupe or of breaking with them and sinking to oblivion as another political hack. It is his ironic predicament that his only possible source of future support and public prominence will also be the force that will most completely cut him off from the political ambitions he so obviously nurses.

These few remarks are not intended as a thorough analysis of Wallace, who is certainly one of the strangest birds to flit across the American political scene in many years. Two interesting and illuminating articles on Wallace have recently appeared. One by Dwight Macdonald (April issue of Politics) is a brilliant piece of journalism which tears Wallace apart as a personality and would-be thinker. The other by David Bazelon (April issue of Commentary) is more of an attempt at political analysis along Marxist lines. Between the two of them, however, one does gather a great deal of information about Wallace.—I. H.

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

Let's Raise That Subsistence!

Science under capitalism is an astonishing thing. It can, with equal facility, discover nuclear fission—and statistically prove that it is impossible for a veteran in college to live on sixty-five dollars a month. Even Life magazine, on the basis of a recent survey, has come to the same conclusion. So it must be true.

It is not necessary at this late date for the 1,500,000 veterans in college to consult statistical surveys in order to find out their economic and social condition. That can safely be left to the unique brand of idiot represented by those professors of economics whose wisdom begins and ends with the "law" of supply and demand.

The sixty-five dollar subsistence grant given to single men or the ninety dollars awarded married couples was initially insufficient, both in terms of services rendered during the war and in terms of meeting the cost of living. The inflation which has occurred during the past year in particular has reduced these figures to derisory values. As a result, savings accumulated during the war are melting away and war bonds are being cashed in. To augment incomes part-time jobs are resorted to, parents are drawn upon, or wives are forced to go to work. The total result is the Lilliputian life: miniature housing, indifferent food, G.I. clothes, scrippled medical care, a penny-pinching social life, a shrunken college experience. Many have had to leave school altogether.

ECONOMIC BASIS OF CURRENT SITUATION

All this is obvious to most veterans—even to those majoring in business administration or taking advanced ROTC. What is not so obvious is the cause of the present condition and the relation of the student-veteran's problems to those of the domestic economy as a whole.

The basic characteristic of the present period is an inflationary rise in prices. Chester Bowles, the former price administrator, pointed out last month that "Moody's Index of general commodity prices shows an increase of 63 per cent since a year ago, while Moody's Index of raw industrial material prices shows an increase of 61 per cent." Increases in wholesale prices promise still further increases in the cost of living.

The lifting of OPA ceilings a year ago under the sustained pressure of big business produced these price rises. Business motivated the lifting of controls by saying (1) production would increase and (2) prices would ultimately go down. Naturally prices immediately rose and unit consumption in such commodities as food, milk, drug store products, and department store items has decreased. "Non-durable goods are off 15 per cent," in comparison with a year ago, states Bowles.

THE FALLING BAROMETER

This falling off in purchasing power is what is worrying the men who tell Truman what to think. The combination of high prices (which means decreased purchasing power), diminishing savings with which to buy commodities, the expansion of consumer credit ("deficit financing") and profits which can neither be reinvested or utilized as purchasing power is beginning to worry some economists. They fear the beginning of the fatal sequence which Truman recently described: "Buying stops; production drops; unemployment sets in; prices collapse; profits vanish; businessmen fail." That is a fair description of the embryology of a depression.

Further, Truman warns, "Economic trouble in the United States would provide agitators with the opportunity they seek." The reference, of course, is to unreasonable people like you and me who read LABOR ACTION and refuse to see in capitalism or its apologist Truman the final flowering of millennia of cosmic and social development.

Neither moral exhortation, stronger measures of political and economic coercion, nor activity inspired by a more fervid interest in the coming elections on the part of Truman can stave off the crises to which capitalism is subject. His efforts can at best ameliorate a few of the effects. Under capitalism there are no ways other than through economic crises and war in which to work off the periodic surpluses which build up.

WHAT MUST THE VETS DO?

Veterans must organize. The capitalists do—and with notable results. "Profits in the aggregate," says Truman, "are breaking all records. . . . In 1946, corporate profits, after taxes, were 33 per cent higher than in 1945." What gains labor has been able to record in combating the rising cost of living have been achieved through organization and militant action. Even so, despite the slanders of the daily press, the wage earner's pay check, according to Bowles, "will buy 16 per cent less today than in 1944." But without organization it is guaranteed in advance that the veterans in college will continue to take de facto cuts in their subsistence allowance.

Veterans organizations, and in particular the AVC, must initiate demonstrative—and not hat-in-hand—actions whose aim is an immediate increase in subsistence benefits. The AVC program of increases to \$90 for single men and \$125 for married couples is, in God's truth, a modest beginning. Such a program could be handily financed through an excess profits tax on the criminal profits currently being made by the corporations of this country.

The student-veteran should make common cause with organized labor in its fight for better living conditions. The opponent is the same: the class which both owns the means of production in this country and controls the government.

To do less is to aid in permitting the boundless avarice of the capitalist class to depress the living standard of the whole country, hasten the advent of a new depression—and thereby accelerate the appearance of the Third—and Atomic—World War.

NEXT WEEK: UN AND PALESTINE A PROGRAM TO DEFEAT THE ANTI-LABOR DRIVE THE NEW WAGE PATTERN

International Socialist Notes

I VISITED AN INDO-CHINESE CAMP CREYSSSE-BERGERAC, Department of Dordogne, France—After a long walk, I reach temporary buildings, and see an Indo-Chinese flag. I must say that here the curious, the bourgeois, the colonialists cannot enter, but the representative of the French workers is received with open arms. As soon as I pass the guard post, I have before my eyes the most magnificent demonstration of the truth of the Marxist conception. It is necessary to recall that the Indo-Chinese workers left their country in 1939 with the most diverse and confused political conceptions. A prolonged stay in France has taught them that, in this country as in Indo-China, the workers are exploited. Employed in a nearby gunpowder plant, the workers immediately went on strike in response to the March, 1946 events in Indo-China: "We will not make powder to assassinate our brothers," they said. The repression was bloody. An expedition of the Mobile Republican Guard, formerly of the fascist Darnand, now of the socialist Depreux, swept with rifle fire the barracks and the unarmed men. They answered with the hunger strike. Their will was unshakable. They understood. Their number was several thousand, but they had only one soul. Today, their camp is a free republic. The colonialists no longer occupy the guard post. A distant commandant stays in his city office. The workers have themselves organized discipline and police. No peasant of the surrounding countryside complains of stolen property. The functionaries and leaders have been democratically elected by the ranks. The best educated among them teach their comrades to read and write, what eighty years of French occupation neglected to do. Those who are further advanced study mathematics, natural history, geography etc. These people, from such an ancient civilization, have retained a vitality, dynamism and a remarkable facility for assimilation. More than 60 per cent of the workers, completely illiterate on their arrival in France, not only

know how to read and write their native tongue but could teach French grammar to many Frenchmen. In the central courtyard there is a monument to the dead bearing this inscription: "To the memory of those who died for the independence of Viet Nam and for the liberation of the working class. Liberty, independence, happiness." We are far indeed from the tricolor of Maurice Thorez! Max Tisserand. A VICTORY FOR WORKERS' DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE After almost a year of dispute, the JCI (International Communist Youth of France—Trotskyist) have been admitted to the Anti-Fascist Youth Front by a majority vote of the organizations. Last year, when the front was founded, the Stalinists demanded our exclusion. The majority, led by the Socialist Youth, accepted our temporary exclusion, provided an impartial jury of honor was set up to hear charges against our comrades. The jury was constituted but the Stalinists refused to testify before it. As a result, our comrades were admitted, whereupon the Stalinist Youth and one smaller Stalinist-dominated affiliate withdrew. The major organizations remaining in the Front are the Socialist Youth and the Youth Hostel Movement, which is very strong in France, but there are several smaller affiliates. The radical character of the youth in the Front is indicated by the resolutions recently adopted by the National Committee. One resolution demands immediate peace with Viet-Nam and opposes military credits for the Indo-China war. Another resolution, in order to meet the increasing threat of bands of youth under fascist influence who have been attacking working class youth organizations, calls on all local affiliates of the Front to join together in defense groups. Our French Trotskyist youth went further, to propose the building of a nation-wide anti-fascist workers' youth guard, but nevertheless greeted the resolution adopted as making a real step forward in

mobilization of the working class youth. Meanwhile the first congress of the JCI has already taken place, and we will soon publish a report of the proceedings. WELL, WELL, WELL! IS WAR OVER?— CANADA CANCELS LABOR ACTION BAN Publication, LABOR ACTION, 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y. Gentlemen: Reference is made to your communication of March 4, 1947, relative to a complaint of non-receipt for the past few months of a shipment of 25 copies of LABOR ACTION addressed to Charles Le Mesurier, P. O. General Delivery, Vancouver, BC, Canada, and mailed weekly. Please be advised that the matter was taken up with the Canadian postal authorities and that the district director of postal services at Vancouver, BC, Canada, informed this office that your publication was on the list of those prohibited transmission in the mails in Canada in June, 1940, as the result of a decision by the press censors that your publication could not be circulated in the Dominion. However, it has now been decided that no exception may be taken to the transmission in the Canadian mails and the distribution of LABOR ACTION is now being permitted and the complainant should receive all subsequent issues. Sincerely yours, Albert Goldman, Postmaster. Read and Subscribe to The New International

Spring Comes to Europe's Refugees

Plight of DPs Remains As Powers Adopt Do-Nothing Policy

By ALBERT FINDLEY

Spring has come to Europe. With the spring has come an increased urgency on the part of thousands of Jews to move on to Palestine.

Spring has always been the season of migration. The great Jewish migrations to the United States would reach their peak in the spring. After the Passover holidays—traditional celebration of the freeing of the Hebrew slaves—the migrant would pack his things, and with the whole town to see him off, would leave for America.

The year 1947 sees a different type of emigrant Jew. He no longer is leaving from his home, his village and family. He has no home or family.

He was first forcibly separated from his village—his family and neighbors were sent to be exterminated. The monstrous product of a decaying capitalist society—Nazism—used all the latest scientific methods of extermination.

While 40 per cent of the Jewish people of the world perished during World War II, not a hand, not a finger was lifted by their so-called allies to aid them. Protests were hardly even made. As to ships, visas, havens of migration—none of the fighters for "freedom" and "humanity" volunteered or allowed themselves to be pressured into doing anything.

The deaths of 6,000,000 people can be blamed not only on the Nazis, who carried out the slaughter, but also on the United States and Russia, which kept the doors of their own countries closed, and on Great Britain, which blockaded the Palestinian shores.

Is it any wonder then that the remnants of a people now are not waiting for the International Relief Office or the UN to find them a place, but are walking, swimming and risking their lives to get to Palestine?

The fever of movement has engulfed the Jewish population of the DP camps. A year and a half of idleness in converted concentration camps under military rule has had a disastrous effect on the personalities of these survivors. Yet they rise again, unconquered and with a determination to live once again as normal human beings.

DANGER TO DPs

The mass migration that we will see in the next few months will take advantage of the warm weather, calmer seas and ability to sleep out in the open, to make its way to Palestine. This movement is aided by not originated by—the Haganah, Jewish resistance movement of Palestine, which is supplying the ships and is now seeking to supply airplanes.

(The American League for a Free Palestine and Ben Hecht, by their Hollywoodian boasts and full-page ads, give the impression that they and almost they alone are helping this "illegal" immigration. This is absolutely false. Through all the years of talk, the revisionists and their splinter groups such as the League and the Political Action Committee for Palestine, have only brought one boat of 800 immigrants to Palestine. As usual, this one boat was given more publicity than twenty boats of the Haganah.)

The governments of the world are preparing a counter-offensive to destroy every last hope of these suffering people. General Clay of the United States Army has issued two infamous orders in the past week:

One order warns the DPs that international relief cannot last for long, that it is not expected to continue after June, and "urges" their return to their countries of origin, offering them sixty days' rations—as if such piddling amounts of food can be of any avail in the face of dislocation, hatred, anti-Semitism and the bitter reminders that every foot of ground holds millions of dead.

The second order prevents the DP camps from admitting any new wanderers, except in extreme need or illness, leaving all others to shift for themselves. This order is a product of the "stabilization" program.

The Jewish Morning Journal interprets this decree as "no more—except Jews." How naive! It imagines that its conception of the need of the Jewish refugees will be accepted by the military. The New York Times reporter knows better when he says it is directed against Jewish immigrants. As yet the borders of the American occupied areas are still open—and this comforts some liberals and some Jews—but not for long. The military will soon attempt to stifle ANY "unauthorized" movements.

A STALINIST TRICK

The British are putting pressure on all European governments, from Sweden to Italy, to stop immigration at its source. The DP camps are moved inland, away from the Mediterranean. The French and Italian governments promise to prevent Jews from entering their countries. But in memoranda to the British, they pointed out that should the Jews manage to enter—they would be told to move on—even if it means to Palestine. All seem to have the same solution for the DP problem: Let the other country take care of them.

It remained, however, for the Stalinist-controlled government of Poland to take the most crass and barbaric steps. By ukase, the Polish government has ordered the end of all illegal immigration.

A special conference of Jewish leaders was ordered to appear at the office of the Security Ministry. There they were told that emigration from Poland was prohibited and that the government would not tolerate anything of this kind. That the 80,000 Jews who are left from a pre-war population of over 3,500,000, find their lives intolerable, that the continued and ever-growing anti-Semitism makes it impossible for Jews to live in Poland, that makes no difference to the Polish Stalinists. They want to imitate the Russian state, where no one can enter or leave, except diplomats and hired hands.

Not only were Jews immediately arrested on trying to cross the border, but the Polish secret police, under Russian tutelage, invoked the old "collective responsibility" and warned the Jewish leaders that they PERSONALLY would be held responsible if any Jews attempted to escape. The reasons given—"domestic reasons" and (hypocrisy has no limit), the wishes of the British. It is of course a well known fact how solicitous the Polish government is of the feelings of the British government!

The tragic history of the Jews in recent years proves the Marxist contention that capitalist totalitarian anti-Semitism plans and executes a policy of annihilation, the complete and total physical extermination of the Jews. The arena of annihilation is today no longer limited to single countries. It is continental and world-wide.

WHERE SHALL THEY GO?

This is a fundamental sense and in a very real personal sense, the survival of the Jews is dependent upon the overthrow of capitalism. "The Jewish proletariat is in need of revolution more than any other." This is not only true for the Jewish worker, but offers the only hope of life for all Jews, workers and petty bourgeoisie alike. If anything can be learned from the past and present bestial assaults of capitalist anti-

SEMITISM, it is that the only real and fundamental solution of the Jewish problem lies in the unity of the Jewish people with the working class and its revolutionary vanguard—the Workers Party.

"Few of Europe's Jews have any illusions about Palestine. They know they are entering an armed camp. They know that the end of their journey may not be Tel-Aviv but Cyprus. They know that for most of them the new life will be hard, that they will live by the sweat of their brow in the most literal sense."

What promise is there in this tiny country of toil and danger that should cause the Jews of Europe to want to fight their way in, suffering hunger and thirst en route? It is the promise that they will fight as part of a nation—no longer the hounded individuals of an unaccepted minority. That is why the Jews are pre-

pared to face British bayonets and Arab opposition in Palestine, but shrink from the possibility that they may again wear the yellow "J" as subjects or even citizens of a hostile state. To put it succinctly, they prefer to guard their settlements at night, arms in hand, rather than read want ads that say "restricted" or employment ads that say "Christian only."

It is not the desire to cut themselves off from the non-Jewish world that attracts them to Palestine. It is rather that they feel they will meet the non-Jewish world on more equal terms. The large Jewish communities of Poland permitted the Jew to live an intense cultural life of his own, but it still was culture in a ghetto.

The great difference is that in Palestine, the Jewish community has a measure of power. True, the Jewish "state within a state" is a feeble

force when matched with Britain or even the combined forces of the surrounding Arab world. However, the Jews see in the organized community of Palestine the opportunity of fighting under a common banner—a source of strength felt by every people of Europe under the Nazi heel, except the Jews.

BREAK DOWN THE WALLS

The Jews of Europe face a world of walls. It is the condition that also turns their faces toward Palestine. Not that the wall around Palestine is less formidable, but behind the Palestinian wall the most powerful Jewish minority of any country reaches out a hand of welcome. The fight for the right of Jews to go to Palestine cannot be considered as a substitute for the need to fight against all reactionary restrictions upon immigration whenever they oc-

cur. The struggle to open the doors of a country now partly their own to the refugees is an obligation which the workers of each nation must place in the forefront of their demands.

In this respect a special duty devolves upon the labor movement of the U. S. No other country is so favorable a situation to admit large numbers of immigrants. The wealth of America and its vastness make it possible to admit a million immigrants without making the slightest impression upon its economic institutions. The main content of American labor demands for European Jews should be "Open the doors of the United States," but together with the international working class they must throw their support behind the pressing demand of "Open the doors of Palestine."

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Additional Comments in the Discussion On Workers' Control and Democracy

By STANLEY GREY

be recalled that this is standard for our movement but hardly for the intended reader.

QUESTION OF MANAGEMENT

2. When Comrade Erber says "the investigation of this question ('how does the working class exercise control over its state?') must proceed along the lines of workers' role in management," his "answer" merely substitutes one unknown for another. For then another question is immediately posed; by virtue of what do the workers manage production? Is it simply a question of the technical arrangement of managers and personnel or is it basically a social question of the nature of the state? Trotsky points out that "workers' management of industry, to a much greater degree (than workers' control—S. G.) . . . proceeds from above, for it is inseparable from state power and the general economic plan. The organs of management are not factory committees but centralized Soviets." Therefore, to assert that the line of investigation of the question of workers' control over the state is to inquire into workers' management over industry is tautology. It is equivalent to saying that to investigate the question: by virtue of what do workers control the state, it is necessary to investigate the question: by virtue of what do workers control the state organs.

3. When Comrade Erber speaks of workers' control in a workers' state as being "the intervention of the workers in the sphere of production in the same manner in which they intervene in the sphere of wages, hours, conditions, under private ownership," he is ignoring two crucial points. (1) That this particular type of control is not the same as our traditional concept of workers' control and has implications which overlap into management and (2) that under a nationalized economy such intervention, in the nature of the case, cannot be carried out "in the same manner" as under private property.

Point 1—The traditional notion of control is the "surveillance and checking of one institution by another." And, as Trotsky continues, under a workers' state "a certain period of apprenticeship is required. The proletariat is interested in leaving the management during that period in the hands of an experienced administration, but compelling it to keep all the books open and establishing a wide-awake supervision over all its affiliations and actions." Thus control is a matter of surveillance, of checking, of supervision.

But when Comrade Erber accepts and emphasizes the importance of wage negotiations, etc., as a form of control, he is extending the traditional concept. For when the union negotiates wages, hours, etc., it is

not supervising or checking, it is participating in the determination of policy, it is joining in the decisions of production. This form of workers' control therefore overlaps into features of management. To say therefore that it is this form of control that will be operative in a nationalized economy and that it will be sharply distinguished from management is to overlook what is essentially and importantly new in accepting union negotiations as a form of control. Either we abandon the term, or abandon the rigid distinction between such control and management. Trotsky, it will be noted, spoke of control in the surveillance sense and is therefore consistent in his distinction.

UNION-STATE RELATIONS

Point 2—Wage negotiations, etc., under private industry are a union-plant relationship. The union participates in the determination of certain limited conditions of production by pitting its strength against the company. But where the state owns the property and where wages, prices, hours, etc., are matters which are decided in conformity with a general plan for the whole economy, these negotiations are now not union-plant, but union-state "negotiations." It is therefore obvious that they cannot be conducted "in the same manner," for they have an entirely different context and meaning. To the degree which the union will "negotiate" with the state successfully, to that degree will this form of control be a form of management, for it will serve to influence the actual formation of policy decisions. (Unless management be considered the mere technical execution of policy.) And the ability, the right and the power of the union to do this "negotiating" brings us back to our basic generalization of the existence of political democracy as an indispensable precondition for a workers' state. It does not determine the forms of life but it supplies the oxygen for whatever forms will arise.

4. Erber's criticism that the statement that full workers' control depends on a workers' state nullifies its meaning as a transitional slogan has some validity. But what was un-

A COMPLEX QUESTION

There is no space to go into some of the other points Comrade Erber raises. However, one concluding word of a general character. It seems to me it is relatively less fruitful to attempt a description of the workers' state and the particular and necessary institutions of such a state than it is to attempt broad correlations between certain organic problems of centralized control and probable variants of the historical process.

The problem of maintaining and defending the social rule of the working class will depend not on ingenious resolutions in advance of contradictory tasks but rather will depend on the concrete complexity of the actual historical situation. For example, the problem of "how resolute the contradiction between the need for local controls and the need for central authority" is one which is not subject to the formalistic or percentage solution nor of a universal simple answer. Its resolution in life will depend on the country involved, its level of technology, the traditions of its working class, etc. In a rich country, to suggest one variant, it would be possible and wise to allow all kinds of "mistakes" and "misarrangements" in the central plan where local authorities insist on it, for the sake of teaching them by experience. A rich country could "afford" it; in a poor country, the problem is more complex.

History is not niggardly and we can't force it to be so by advancing single solutions to complex questions.

DeGaulle Makes New Bid To Take Power in France

General Charles de Gaulle again steps to the fore in French politics. From making speeches he has turned to organizing a movement which he calls the Reunion of the French People.

Heretofore the Bonapartist politics of de Gaulle have been apparent from his advocacy of all power to the executive. His most recently expressed aims have more totalitarian embellishments. According to reports of his speeches, he is opposed to the existing system "under which rigid and opposing parties share all the powers," and wants another system "in which the executive power proceeds from the country and not from soluble conflict settled by the people themselves."

Like the ingenious capitalists who would give "economic freedom" to the workers by crippling the unions, capitalist politicians with dictatorial designs will allow "the people to settle their insoluble conflicts" by abolishing political parties through which people express their political will.

What are the chances now of de Gaulle getting popular support? His followers today are mainly Vichyites, a group discredited among all layers of the French people.

However, the emergence of de Gaulle's Reunion of the French People has alerted the political parties and the labor unions. Though de Gaulle's offerings are labeled "sterile agitation," action is afoot to oppose it. Harold Callender reports in the New York Times from Paris that leaders of the Socialists, Communists,

Popular Republicans and Radicals, the Confederation of Labor and the League of the Rights of Man have called for "a vast counter-movement" in the form of Republican Vigilance Committees.

No national situation is today free from the raging international conflicts. De Gaulle's new movement has been greeted by the French supporters of Stalinist imperialism with heated attacks on the ground of being supported by American reaction and being the puppet of American imperialism, in which there may be more than a grain of truth.

If the domestic and colonial crisis in which France is steeped remains and deepens in the immediate future, with no revolutionary solution possible because of the lack of revolutionary leadership and organization, there is bound to be a swing toward the two extremes of Stalinist totalitarianism and nationalist totalitarianism, and contesting Russian imperialism and American imperialism will be crystallized on French soil through these extremes.

However, today Premier Ramadier and the other governmental representatives of "national unity" are still making appeals for the subordination of private interests and party aims for the "national good," within the framework of capitalist democracy. An immediate result of the consolidation of the republican elements against the possible growth of the de Gaulle movement may be to strengthen the Stalinists, who have an aptitude for benefiting from such united actions.—S. G.

Program of the Workers Party

- I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers**
Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.
- II. For a Living Wage**
 1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
 2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
 3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5,000 annual minimum per family.
- III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!**
 1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.
 2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.
- IV. Tax the Profiteers**
For a 100 per cent tax on all profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.
- V. Nationalize Big Business**
For the nationalization of the big monopolies; the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.
- VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People**
For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.
- VII. Open the Doors to the Jews**
 1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
 2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.
- VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans**
 1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
 2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.
- IX. For Peace and Freedom**
 1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
 2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.
- X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government**
For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

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A Story of Lost Independence

How American Imperialism Dominates the Island of Cuba

By GASTON BRUYERE

Once the fierce war of independence, heroically waged by the Cubans, was over, and the Spaniards had been forced to leave the island in agreement with the Treaty of Paris (drawn up between America and Spain), a transitory interventionist government was set up by the United States. This came after the natives had won their war of independence in 1895. Outwardly, this intervention was meant to clean up the island and prepare the Cubans politically for managing their own affairs. The true purpose of the U. S. A. in intervening in the Cuban war against Spain was to obtain real possession of the island. This they achieved through the same Treaty of Paris that gave them Puerto Rico and the Philippines following the Spanish-American war.

Having already undertaken an armed struggle for its independence, Cuba could not submit to the status of protectorate, like the other two, but added an infamous clause to its democratic constitution, thus diminishing its sovereignty. This amendment to the Cuban constitution was called the Platt Amendment. It gave the U. S. A. the right to intervene in the country's internal affairs whenever they considered it necessary. Thus, in 1902, a republic without sovereign powers was born.

From the time it purchased Flor-

ida, the United States had been trying to obtain through money or by other means the Island of Cuba. Considering its geographical position as strategically important from both a military and a commercial point of view, they offered Spain millions of dollars for it. For the same reasons that the U. S. coveted Cuba, Spain wished to retain it. Since the middle of the last century, the U. S.'s efforts to get their hands on Cuba had been increasing. Beginning then and running parallel with the natives' anxiety to obtain their independence, American inversionist capital had penetrated the island.

With its incredibly fertile lands, with its privileged geographical position making the island a safe harbor and store-house for American manufactured goods on their way to South American and Caribbean countries, and because of its unequalled strategic base for troop movements toward the Pacific or the defense of the Panama Canal, Cuba has been one of the objects of imperialist greed.

It was after the republic was set up, which found the Cubans impoverished by their war for national independence, that the penetration of American finance capital became really enormous.

For pitiful sums U. S. capital bought stretches of land which they devoted exclusively to planting su-

gar-cane. In this way, they changed nearly all small rural holdings into enormous latifundios and forced great masses of small farmers to toil for inferior wages as sugar workers. Large portions of the island's territory were turned into productive one-crop plantations, where the Cubans were unable to produce even a third of their basic means of sustenance. The Cuban people were submitted to a regime of low salaries and forced to become buyers of U. S. manufactured goods at a price too high for Cuban economy. Thus imperialism, while selling dear and buying cheap, set up a monstrously deformed economy over the Cuban people, and in doing so twisted their historical destiny and forced them to accept the semi-feudal conditions of a plantation colony. But this economic crime itself brought imperialism its own historical punishment.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Island of Cuba, ruled before its independence by a nation as capitalistically backward as Spain, had to survive in an even more backward regime than the metropolis. The latter sustained the colony, as well as itself, two centuries behind the times. The industrial revolution did not take place either in Spain or its colonies. Its production methods remained on the periphery of this

transformation and it survived in semi-feudal conditions of production.

Cuba, thanks to its particular situation, had railroads before Spain did; an incipient semi-industrial production system began developing there before it appeared in Spain. Also an anti-feudal, republican and democratic mentality began to form in Cuba before it did in the metropolis. The wish for national independence affected all Cubans alike. Poor and rich embraced the national independence idea, with the avowed purpose of making a historical jump and bringing the Cuban production process system into harmony with a capitalist world. At this crossroads of their destiny, they were surprised by the American intervention in their way of independence. The intervention lasted from 1898 until 1902, at which date the Americans left the island fully prepared for the penetration of the island's economy with their finance capital. Puerto Rico and the Philippines remained militarily and politically in their hands; Cuba economically.

THE NATIVE BOURGEOISIE

Impoverished by a long war, the native ruling class became an easy mark for voracious imperialism. With no resources of their own for starting production again and with nearly all their property destroyed by war, they found themselves forced to sell their possessions *en masse* to American capital. Then they flung themselves into public life in order to obtain, through control of the newly-born state, the advantages of an official bureaucracy which they meant to keep for themselves. Thus with the birth of the republic in 1902, the ruined Cuban bourgeoisie surrendered its sovereignty to imperialism and became a parasitic, anti-national class.

Parallel with the decline of the Cuban bourgeoisie as an independent ruling class, imperialist penetration became more acute, until it reached the point of controlling the sugar production, the backbone of Cuban economy. Just as imperialism monopolized the most important sources of wealth (sugar, tobacco, bananas, concessions in the ports, etc.) it also controlled commerce, the means of communication and transportation,

railroads, shipping companies, airlines, etc. Today, forty years after the republic was set up, the native bourgeoisie, which has ceded all its class privileges to American imperialism, no longer exists as such. Languid since its birth to the life of the republic, it has finally lost its natural class physiognomy and in the process turned into a mere agent of American inversionist capital.

Placed between the producing classes which work for wages and have definite conceptions of their national and social needs, and the fierce penetration of imperialism, whose only mission in Cuba is to extract raw material at low cost for its big industry, this parasitic ruling class has lost hegemony over its economic interests and consequently its social and political independence. Systematically betraying the national interests in its death-struggle to survive as a ruling class, becoming a parasite class with no further social function than that of representing, as badly paid agents, the basic interests of Yankee imperialism, this Cuban capitalist class is naturally the most negative, anti-national and reactionary ally of imperialism.

PRODUCING MAJORITIES

The intervention of foreign capital in the Cuban economy has created a very broad base of salaried workers. When the small rural properties were in most cases liquidated, their former owners became proletarians, socially and economically speaking.

Another mass of temporary and migratory workers go lamentably from a period of work in the sugar industry (three months) to another period of work in the tobacco and coffee plantations. This moving mass constitutes, from the point of view of the Cuban revolution, the motor element of any social transformation, while at the same time they are the only ones who can fully carry out the democratic and national process. It is these agricultural workers, together with the remains of a peasantry having no property rights over the land they farm, who make up the heavy contingent of agricultural wage-earners.

THE WORKING CLASS

The formation of the working class has been paralleled by the liquidation of the bourgeoisie and small properties. American imperialism, through its own organs, plays the role of ruling class in Cuba. But the dramatic contradiction of imperialism's leading role resides in the fact that in strangling the native bourgeoisie and pauperizing the middle classes, it has created a proletariat mass which will be its undoing. In Cuba, the struggle for national economic liberation implies the socialist transformation of the means of production, for there is only the working class to lead the national movement to its proper conclusion. Only the working class, through its organizations and with a clear vision of its destiny, can com-

plete the national and democratic stage of Cuban development. Drawing along behind it the producing majority, it will transform democratic objectives into socialist and revolutionary ones in this very process.

American imperialism and its national agents have lost political power in the present state of things in Cuba. This was due to a powerful democratic revolutionary movement in which, up till now, the working class has played a passive and secondary role. With no clear objective, without a definite line and with no concrete plans, the liberal democratic movement which came to power in 1944 is becoming diluted in the void without daring to wage decisive battles against imperialism. Meanwhile, the latter goes in for every kind of intrigue, shuffles and reshuffles the politically dispersed cadres of its native lackeys, threatens and coerces; it brutally raises the prices of products which are vital to the population's sustenance; it buys Cuban export products at wretchedly low prices, leaving a tragic balance in Cuban economy, with the deliberate intention of making the national democratic revolution submit through hunger.

While the power of the democratic and petty bourgeois revolutionaries is being drained in secondary battles, while American imperialism is trying to crush this incipient nationalist movement, what is the Cuban working class doing? How is it organized? What are its present aims? Who are its leaders? The reader will find replies to these questions in the next article, which will treat of the Stalinists' historic betrayal of the Cuban people and their role as the American advance-post of Soviet bureaucracy.

Glasgow Dock Workers --

(Continued from page 3)

rotten. Public statements were made that they only intended to use troops on this one ship; it was apparent they were feeling their way toward a bolder use of troops. On April 10th, after a few days respite, they used troops on the S.S. *Gracia*. On this occasion they could not use the excuse of endangered cargo, as this ship is fitted with refrigerating gear.

The Labor government, elected by the dockers and other workers, is showing more and more its complete alignment with the bosses. Under guise of "No Intervention" it intervenes in the most vicious form, by

compelling worker-soldiers to blackleg on others of their class.

The spirit of the Glasgow dockers today is born out of their fierce determination not to return to the conditions of casual labor which pertained between the two wars. Their fight is that of dockers as a whole. Raise the demand in the Trade Unions and Labor organizations that the government: withdraw the troops immediately; that it sacks the bosses, not the workers, by nationalizing the industry without compensation, with its operation under workers' control. Demand an end to all casual labor, whether it comes un-

der the category of part-time work or outright sackings. In the event of a disparity between the ports at any given moment, demand a sharing out of the work, by a reduction of hours, with no reduction in pay, on the basis of the full operation of the guaranteed weekly wage demanded by the unions.

This is the immediate answer to the policy of the employers. It must receive the widespread support of the entire working class movement.

Full support for the Glasgow Dockers! For the immediate re-instatement of the 500 men!

THE THIRD FRONT OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND

By A. RUDZIENSKI

IN its issue of February 13, 1947, LABOR ACTION published a discussion on the dangers of revolutionary strategy in Poland. Bess S. faced this problem with courage, indicating the dangers of "critical support" to the peasant opposition against Stalinism, taking the bull, so to speak, by the horns.

Comrade Irving Howe answered Bess S. indicating that what is new and distinctive in the Polish situation is *Stalinist imperialism* which oppresses the Polish people in the same form as German imperialism did previously. *Taking as its premise the existence of Russian, Stalinist imperialism, the Marxist party is compelled forthwith to lend its "critical support" to the democratic, petty-bourgeois resistance movement, for even though this movement is not Socialist and is sufficiently confused, it contains revolutionary elements.*

But this is only the premise. Even more important is the consequence, which presents itself in the powerful phenomenon of the formation of a *third front*, the *third front of the proletariat and the oppressed nations and colonial peoples against both imperialist blocs*. This new situation, bearing the seed of the socialist revolution, presents itself in Poland today.

And not only today. Already in 1939, the Polish people were caught between the two fires of Russian and German imperialism. The international proletariat, weak and disoriented, could not lend aid to the Polish people and its proletariat who shed their blood in an unequal and hopeless struggle against Nazism and Stalinism. This same phenomenon was repeated afterward in the Polish resistance, which was different from the resistance in France and Western Europe. *The Polish resistance movement had to struggle simultaneously against both Stalinism and Nazism.* This new phenomenon was crystallized with clarity in the Warsaw insurrection where the insurgents fought the Nazis but at the same time desired to maintain their independence of Stalinism. The council of the resistance movement in the country, in its final stage led by the illegal PPS, defined the situation surrounding the insurrection in the following form: "Militarily we struggle against the Nazis, but politically also against the Russians." Given the weakness of the revolutionary workers movement, this attempt was transformed into a defeat, and a capitulation to Stalinism. *The Polish insurrection was sacrificed by the Western imperialists to Stalin, and by Stalin to Hitler;* Mikolajczyk went to Moscow in order to accept the dictates of the Kremlin, but with the hope of being able to form an opposition with the support of the Anglo-Americans.

A POLISH POPULIST REVOLT

The main body of the illegal PPS, however, remained in opposition to the Stalinist government, an opposition much more pronounced and with more clearly defined principles than Mikolajczyk. This opposition, represented today by the Independent Socialists, and which is led in the puppet parliament of Warsaw by Zygmunt Zulaswski, old leader of the Polish unions and the left wing of his party (PPS), is organizing its ranks for combat in the protecting shadow of the peasant opposition and in understanding with the latter. We consider the tactic of Zulaswski correct, for were he to struggle against the government and Mikolajczyk at the same time, he would weaken the democratic opposition and give aid to the totalitarian regime. On the other hand,

Zulaswski and his friends go much further than Mikolajczyk. In the *last session of the puppet parliament of Warsaw, Zulaswski was the only one who voted against granting "plenipotentiary powers" to the government, while Mikolajczyk's fraction abstained from the vote.*

In order to clarify the problem still further, we must define the social and economic character of the peasantry and Populism in Poland. Aside from the numerous agricultural proletariat who work for wages, more than 70 per cent of the peasantry own less than five hectares of land, almost 35 per cent less than two hectares. This means that 70 per cent of the peasantry are semiproletarian or proletarian, and bear no resemblance to either the rich German and Czech peasants, or to the conservative and reactionary French peasants. The condition of the Polish peasant, always bad, is even worse today: he has neither horses nor cows, neither equipment nor seeds, and in many regions the peasant has no roof over his head. Furthermore, the peasant must yield a "share" (in the form of agricultural produce) to the government, which is larger than the tax which was paid to the capitalist government. The agrarian reform affects not more than 400,000 families and involves only 1,300,000 hectares of arable land. Because of its economic condition, the Polish peasantry is poor, and rebels against whatever government oppresses it. The Polish "colonels" had to use planes against the peasants when they declared a strike. At that time, no one, least of all Moscow, accused the peasants of being "fascists." The peasant movement was plainly anti-totalitarian and democratic. It is even more so now, when the economic oppression is augmented by imperialist and national oppression and the foreign occupation of Poland.

Polish Populism which has nothing in common with fascism, is a democratic, petty-bourgeois movement, and resembles the "Russian Essars" (Social-Revolutionaries). The Polish Stalinist press stigmatizes the Populists as "Essars" (for purposes of internal consumption only, however). The Russian Bolsheviks, it will be remembered, made a bloc with the left-Essars in order to absorb them.

SOME HISTORICAL LESSONS

The position of the Polish Populists differs from that of the Russian Essars in 1918-20 in that, the former do not face a Socialist revolution, but are confronted by an imperialist counter-revolution. For this reason, the Populists, ought to give critical support to the democratic, peasant movement against Stalinism. "Critical support" does not signify that we accept the program of a petty-bourgeois Poland, a Poland of peasant parcels established for all eternity between the modern industry of Germany and that of Stalin.

We support the peasantry in order to breach the Stalinist obstacle that confronts us, in order to be able to form an anti-Stalinist and Marxist workers movement, in order to be able to form a third front against both imperialist blocs, who in spite of struggling against each other, impede our march toward world socialism. Supporting the struggle of the Populists we widen at the same time the breach between the imperialisms, the breach that must be filled by us.

Now we must touch upon the "thorniest" point of all, the political position of Mikolajczyk with regard to Anglo-Saxon imperialism. Undoubtedly, Mikolajczyk went to Poland under the pressure of the United States and Great Britain. But subjected to the direct fire of the Kremlin, Mikolajczyk wished to play the role of the intermediary

between the two blocs, making of Poland a bridge between both imperialisms. Stalin does not wish to permit this bridge, nor Mikolajczyk's government or petty-bourgeois democracy in Poland. Stalin cannot permit it, because he knows that the era of the bourgeois revolution in Europe, in Poland is already finished, and therefore he cannot permit the smallest breach in his political system.

Mikolajczyk also learned something, seeing that the Anglo-American declarations had a platonic character and that in a concrete instance they would afford no salvation from the GPU. Mikolajczyk is maneuvering as best he can. He does not issue statements, engage in electoral abstentions, nor encourage peasant strikes that would bring direct armed Russian intervention and a general slaughter. With each turn in events, the reality reveals itself as more complicated than our slogans and formulas. ("Theory is grey, but green is the eternal tree of life."—Goethe)

Confronted by the two imperialist blocs, confronted by Stalinist totalitarianism and American imperialism, the democratic, populist movement of Poland, Polish "Essarism" is something very peculiar, something anachronistic, but progressive, by virtue of its anti-imperialist and anti-totalitarian position. This anachronistic, democratic character of Polish peasantry is due to the fragmentary nature of the bourgeois revolution which was never completed in Poland in a Jacobin fashion. Now Stalinist counter-revolutionary imperialism strives to annihilate the peasantry politically in a barbarous form for its own reactionary political purposes.

A MARXIST SOLUTION

Poland, then, is a neuralgic point in the present imperialist system in Europe, where the contradictions take on a more pronounced character. The Polish proletariat and people suffer the consequences of this contradiction. But as this contradiction hastens historical development toward a new revolutionary denouement, the Polish proletariat acquires new experience, matures and takes new positions which its class brothers in an America which is so rich, so sure of its power, do not understand.

In the fire of this contradiction the third revolutionary front is being forged in Poland, which desires to break a path for its own development, the third front which fights against both imperialist blocs, both forms of economic, political and social reaction, the third front of world socialism, composed of the revolutionary proletariat, the oppressed nations, and colonial peoples.

Poorer and in a more miserable condition than the proletariat, the Polish peasantry also belongs to this third front and are our companions in the struggle, no matter what Comrade Bess says, and whether Stanislaw Mikolajczyk wishes it or not.

Fellow workers of the United States, accept these peasants, oppressed by the hateful Stalinist reaction, without vacillation and fear, because our common struggle opens the road of the socialist revolution. In the end, we, the Marxists, more powerful with our Marxist doctrine than with the atomic bomb, shall gain the victory over the capitalist and Stalinist imperialisms. However, the road presents many risks and mortal dangers, and whoever stands in fear of climbing the peaks and descending into the abysses which lie along the narrow path that leads toward world socialism, separates himself from our difficult road. But we, conscious of our responsibilities, shall follow our "break-neck" path until it is transformed into the broad and luminous highway of human liberation.

March 31, 1947

Natalia Trotsky --

(Continued from page 3)

ferent to the crimes that have been committed nor permit them to pass unpunished.

A new and supplementary judicial investigation must be undertaken against the Stalinist assassin now lodged in a prison in Mexico, the self-styled "Jason," "Monard," "Vandendresche" — all three false aliases. The prisoner must be subjected to a supplementary cross-examination in order to clear up the following points: (1) his real identity and his past; (2) his role in the Siqueiros assault and the murder of Robert Sheldon Hartke; (3) what he did on the trips that he made periodically to New York; (4) the identity of his superiors, inspirers and paymasters.

The participation of the leaders of the "Communist" Party of the U. S. in the plot against Trotsky, attested to by Louis Budenz, provides sufficient grounds for bringing before the court Budenz himself together with Browder and Stachel and to place them in the hands of the Mexican judicial authorities.

Millions of people are under a monstrous delusion: they identify the October Revolution with the bloody totalitarian regime which engulfed it, the regime with its "Apparatus" of espionage, corruption and slander; with its Comintern, the organizer of murders, formally dissolved in 1942 but still continuing its evil activities! The time has come for those who continue to grope in the dark to open their eyes. The responsibility of the crime committed in Coyoacan and for other innumerable crimes falls directly and far more so than on his contemptible secret agents—upon Stalin himself. The interests of the complete investigation of this exceptional court case demand Stalin's presence; he

must appear before the court as the author and arranger of the crime. Stalin bears the responsibility before the world's public opinion, before posterity and before history.

Coyoacan, Mexico
April 18, 1947

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Telephone Striker in Chicago Sends in Her Observation

We publish below two letters received from a telephone operator in the Chicago area. The writer, as can be seen from the letters, is a real union militant. Though we cannot attest to the accuracy of all of her comments, we think her letters an interesting reaction to the situation in the union, that is, the various telephone unions, because they are written by a militant. The letters further indicate the kind of steadfastness and consciousness among the telephone operators which is keeping the strike going despite the unions' handicap of limited funds, confusion, disorganization and inexperience.

Where You Can Buy Labor Action and New International

- AKRON Kallas Cigar Store, 1 W. Market St. News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. National News Co., 333 S. Main St. La Salle Confectionery, 620 S. Main St.

Since I am an operator in a small office I feel I may give you a part of the story here in Chicago and surrounding office. Being a long distance operator and my husband a Western Electric man, we are both on strike.

The rank and file are out for blood. It is heartwarming to see your fellow worker demanding his share, with zeal and strength.

Officials do nothing to keep up spirits of the strikers, make no known efforts to appeal to local unions to get relief help, or no attempts to stop construction of Bell's 4,000,000 projects going up with AFL labor.

Upon my approach I found them willing. But where are the officials? Why must the rank and file do this when the union officials are paid to do just that? It seems if they were serious, the strike would have an organized plan, no admittance into offices and traffic rooms.

Appeals would have been made to other local unions for cooperation. Aid would have been sought from sympathizers to the funds (of which there are none). The \$2 a month does not go very far it seems.

Why are strikers stopped by stewards to prevent scabbing union members from entering the company offices to work? No violence, it would not be necessary.

Upon approaching other union officials, I found they agree to cooperate 100 per cent, but they tell me no one other than myself has approached them, such as AFL and Teamsters Union, CIO. None of them have been approached. Yet they are willing to help and aid in any way possible.

As an example, "Homewood," a small local suburban office, has 19 operators. The officials fail to see that they had adequate union headquarters for striking; they fail to see that they have relief for aid of operators. Also the union headquarters is six blocks from the picketing office. There is no way of keeping contact with other surrounding offices.

Hope this gives you an idea of

Illinois. Don't worry, the girls are out strong and have good sense, but do need help and understanding.

The strike of suburban offices is going 100 per cent. The company's usual underhanded method of bringing in scabs is underway in the Blue Island office (a railroad town), where unionism has a meaning. The feeling is bitter, but the girls' morale has gone up instead of down.

It took a 250-lb. girl to cross the picket line first. Then within one hour six girls crossed the line.

Naturally the union is weak, not prepared for this type of strike. If they would have waited and first prepared the Plant Men's Union and sold them our bill of goods and made it a 100 per cent strike, the strike would have broken the company's strong arm. The bureaucrats are not interested in the CIO offer, which would guarantee winning of our demands.

Beirne said "We will stay out until we starve," but he forgot that we do not receive the \$17,000 a year which he earns as an executive in the union. He plans to increase our union dues after the strike.

The strike is 17 days old and no offers either way. The company knows where we stand. I say a 100 per cent strike: no one to go in and no one to go out of the offices of Bell. Demand plant union men to respect our picket lines and also ask for identification of management. These things now are not permitted by union stewards.

By V. I. Lenin:

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A First-Hand Report On Party Line-Up, Strength in Japan

The following story is a first-hand report from Japan on the prospects in the elections just held. We are printing it for the information of our readers to indicate that the results of the elections were already indicated in the period leading up to it.—Ed.

I have met both the Socialists and Stalinists in town. They don't know anything. The Stalinist leadership is entirely emigre and Moscow-trained. The rank and file are unlike any Stalinists I have ever seen. They are honest, enthusiastic and devoted followers of what they believe is Marxism. They have no inkling of world history in the past two decades and sincerely believe that the Stalinist Russia of 1947 is the same as Lenin's Russia of 1917—only better. The Social Democratic youth is much the same as Social Democratic youth are all over the world, abysmally ignorant but enthusiastic about their mission. They are in no position to enlighten the Stalinists.

Here are some interesting facts about the political left in Japan: Socialist Party—4,000 members in area, 2,000 in city. They have a dingy one-room headquarters in the downtown area of the city. They publish a newspaper and a monthly magazine. They have one beat-up copy of "Capital" in their library. They may win the city in the coming elections. They are mostly youth, under 27 years of age. They have a Socialist Club at the university numbering about 100 and including several professors. The party is, at present, very active in the election campaign, with street-corner speakers in about a dozen spots in town working twelve hours a day.

Communist Party—1,000 members in the area, 300 in the city. They are more active than the SP. They are mostly youth, including many who were repatriated from North China and indoctrinated by Chinese and Russian Stalinists. Fifty are at the university. The main propaganda weapon is Rev. Hewlett Johnson's "Soviet Power," translated into Japanese. Their program is extremely opportunistic. MacArthur is extremely popular, so they try to be more "democratic" than him as much as they can. They promise rice to the people, a promise they cannot keep under present circumstances. Nationally, they have grown from 10,000 to 50,000 in the past year, mostly because the opposing parties are without any program.

I believe that the number one demand of a revolutionary party in Japan should be "Let Japan Trade With the Rest of the World." This is a life-and-death question for the Japanese people; even MacArthur is astute enough to realize this. The existing stockpiles of food and raw materials are used up. In three months there will be starvation and unemployment. A revolutionary party in Japan would gain a mass following if it knew how to apply such a slogan. Everyone with a brain in his head knows that this is the number one problem. It is not a cure-all measure, but it is insurance against starvation. Just to mouth the phrase would not be enough. The SP and CP do it half-heartedly. A revolutionary party would conduct a militant campaign for this demand. It would catch on like wildfire and receive mass support. Washington would have to give way despite the greed of those capitalist interests which are hogging the whole of the oriental market.

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PRESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION BY HENRY JUDD

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Liked April 7 Labor Action

Dear Editor: The April 7 issue of LABOR ACTION is wonderfully done—an excellent presentation of the first seven years of the Workers Party. We have distributed our available copies to members of the Socialist Study and Action Group of the University of Colorado and the response has been most favorable.

Facts on Legend of Henry Ford

The death of Henry Ford here last week spurred the resurrection and development of the Ford legend. The capitalist press had a hey-day creating a folk-lore around the character of Ford and making him into a new Paul Bunyan or Johnny Appleseed.

him. Ford came onto the scene of American capitalism when it was still developing. He began manufacturing at the beginning of the century when the frontier had just been closed and the process of monopolization was just beginning.

There is no doubting that Ford had excellent mechanical abilities; the fact that he was able to be the first real manufacturer of cars proves this. But if Ford were to be a boy today, or just growing into manhood today, his mechanical ability would lead him nowhere.

One can picture what would happen if a young Ford were being hired into a Ford plant today. First, he would be asked where and when he had worked before. He might not get hired in spite of telling the employment manager that he had done excellent experimental work in his cellar machine shop.

Nevertheless, here is a real Horatio Alger story which the capitalist press tries to hand workers: If you're smart, you can do it, too, is the moral.

them, how he made this easy for them; how he prevented Charley Sorenson from firing a man, and so forth. There are literally thousands of stories which float around about what a benevolent fellow Ford really was. They even tell how he would have recognized the CIO if he had known that his men were for it, "it's just that he didn't know."

We find this hard to believe. Ford hired Charley Sorenson to run his empire, and Sorenson developed the assembly line and the vicious speed-up system which is known so well throughout the industry. Ford hired Harry Bennett to run his service department. Aside from snooping around the plants and generally making nuisances of themselves, these finks invaded Ford workers' homes, intruded into the personal lives of Ford workers and later on became the union-busters that we learned about. Everybody knew about this in the city of Detroit, everybody but Henry Ford, that is. When Ford's thugs beat up union men from 1938 on, it was in the newspapers, but Ford (it is to be presumed) did not read newspapers and consequently did not know what a vicious, anti-union campaign was being waged by Harry Bennett.

No, we find it hard to believe that Ford did not know that in order to get a job in a Ford plant during the last depression you had to buy a Ford in advance. This was common knowledge in Detroit, but Ford did not know about it. Ford also did not know that the only way a Negro could get a job in a Ford plant was by bringing in a letter from his preacher, who preached sermons about what a godly man Henry Ford was. The whole of Detroit knew this, but not Ford.

This picture given to us is that Ford was surrounded by evil advisers who did not permit him to see what was what. But a common-sense estimation of the facts shows the facts to be otherwise. It is certainly true that Ford was the last of the big "rugged individualists." A pacifist at one period, he toyed with fascist anti-Semitism at another.

of this we have only one recommendation: Stand in front of the gates of River Rouge plant watching the hands of Ford workers as a shifts change. Nowhere do you see so many fingers, hands and other limbs missing.

Bill Miller, Detroit.

Commends Exposure Of GPU Murderers

I am reading the exposure of the GPU murder machine in LABOR ACTION with tremendous interest. I was the victim of Stalinist intrigue in my own local union and therefore personally interested in exposing these counter-revolutionists to my fellow workers.

Although Budenz is the product of a corrupt murder machine, let's hope he becomes useful in exposing the Stalinist imperialists.

Wants Revolutionary Program for Students

In the April 21 issue of LABOR ACTION, Comrade Fenwick stated quite clearly the conditions surrounding the GIs in today's colleges. He points out, and correctly so, that there are many working class boys in the schools and an over-abundance of confused, pedantic, servile and impotent instructors.

The kids in the schools are lethargic because there is no one to put a bomb under their complacent fat fannies. There is no decent leadership. The Stalinists have an organization which is misled and misleading; but the liberals and middle confused group have no bellwether to form policy or crystallize a position for them.

have the burning strength of youth and the indigenous quest for security. All they need is someone to integrate this fire and brimstone and create a student body proud of its name, equal to the stature of the revolutionary European kids.

J. S., Brooklyn College.

Charges Withdrawn, Strikers Freed

NEWARK, April 23—Today's papers report that charges have been withdrawn in case of the arrested phone workers who were allegedly violators of Driscoll's slave-labor utility law. The phone workers, mostly girls without previous union strike experience, draw the obvious conclusion: if you refuse to be intimidated, you'll win.

The sovereign state of New Jersey, with Governor Driscoll frantically leading it, decided to enslave N. J. workers in a heated two-hour session. As the striking workers continued to defy this "sovereign authority," the administration decided to sing another tune. The Newark Evening News reports editorially that it fears the bill will in the end be contested by the company rather than by the union. Its purpose, of course, is to throw dust in the union militant's eyes, because the fight to defeat the infamous legislation is just beginning.

Harlem Branch Invites You to "A NIGHT IN MONTE CARLO" MAY 10 — CITY CENTER 114 W. 14th St., N. Y. C.

APRIL NEW INTERNATIONAL NOW OUT: The April issue of The New International, together with an attractive newsstand poster designed by the LABOR ACTION Poster Service, has now been mailed to all agents and branches of the Workers Party.

CHICAGO WP BRANCH LAUNCHES SALES CAMPAIGN: Under the guidance of Comrade Sara Brooks, the Chicago branch of the Workers Party has launched an already very successful campaign for public sales of LABOR ACTION.

Here's a list of new subscriptions and renewals that came in during the past week. Local New York is still continuing its efforts for subscriptions. Morgantown, W. Va., in the heart of the coal mining area, has been sending in subscriptions regularly, week after week.

Table listing subscriptions and renewals for various cities including Newark, Morgantown, W. Va., Akron, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Michigan, Massachusetts, Boulder, Colo., with a TOTAL of 40.

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Henry Wallace Peddles His Particular Brand Of Imperialism at Paris Meeting for Americans

PARIS, April 24—In the Baroque gilt-Cupid setting of the Hotel Continental ballroom, last night Henry Wallace, speaking before the Paris chapter of the American Veterans Committee and some 800 Americans in Paris, gave astounding evidence of his own particular brand of political ineptitude and of the bankruptcy of American "liberalism" whose spokesman he has become.

The speech was of a piece with all the other speeches he has made in his flight over Europe as self-appointed Angel of Peace. With painful earnestness and bumbling confusion, Wallace touched upon a multitude of problems — the century of the common man, the wheat shortage in France, how to achieve civil liberties in Russia, the current witch hunt-red scare in Congress, the nature of imperialism, the nature of a world citizen, the Truman doctrine and others. To each of these problems, he brought his own peculiar version of the Midas touch — every political problem Henry touches turns to mud. This, however, is a species of legerdemain not entirely without its uses for capitalist politicians.

Wallace is for the "Common Man." Wallace is for tolerance and against red witch hunts. Wallace is for civil liberties. Wallace is for wheat. Wallace is for world citizenship. And above all, and in what Iowan accents of anguish, Wallace is for PEACE. And it is precisely here, that the capitalist politician reveals himself, and the working masses of the world whose dearest desire is really peace must in the end, like the little boy of legend, cry, "But the King is naked."

WALLACE AS IMPERIALIST
Henry Wallace is an imperialist, an American imperialist. This may be seen even in the dim light of his halo and may be heard when the fluttering of his wings die down, for Wallace admits it openly. At the Hotel Continental meeting, Wallace said that for the United States to

want the oil of Saudi Arabia is imperialism. But this is justifiable, according to Wallace, just as is the desire of Russia to have the Dardanelles. Imperialism, yes, says Wallace, but "ruthless imperialism" — never! Perish forbid! And lest the bemused masses of occupied Germany and Japan, Poland, the French colonies, India, Arabia, the Pacific islands or Latin America puzzle too long over the difference between "imperialism" and "ruthless imperialism," Wallace proceeds to make the difference clear.

Both in his speech in Britain and the one in Paris, Wallace made reference to *Life* magazine's review of James Burnham's new book which advocates a "tough" foreign policy in relation to Russia. It seems that with this review, *Life* published some maps indicating that America must extend its "spheres of influence" to western Europe, the Near and Far East, Latin America and in effect, to practically every country that Russia hasn't already nailed down or torn up. Such a policy, shrieks Wallace, is "ruthless imperialism."

Now there's no doubt that Henry, an old pig farmer, knows a couple of swine when he sees them but, incurable idealist that he admits himself to be, he still remains shocked at the nature of hoghishness. Wallace "understands" that the U. S. should have its Saudi Arabian oil and Russia its Dardanelles, but let's not be too much of pigs, fellows. After all, our "liberal" argues, the United States is the biggest, fattest, most prosperous pig of them all and can spare a few scraps for hungry Russia. Is Russia stripping Austria of its industrial assets and food? Of course that isn't really nice and it's sort of tough on the Austrians, but that can be avoided. All that the United States has to do is offer a nice fat loan to Russia, and they'll be surprised to find out how reasonable the latter will be about the reparations' problem. Anyway, adds Henry, we're going to need the Russian market for our exportable surpluses in a couple of years. Besides, the more the Russian economy recov-

ers and the more goods that the Russian consumer can get, the more civil liberties will Stalin grant his people.



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_SOLVING THE PEACE

Thus, Wallace solves the thorny problem of world peace. Just let the two imperialist "greats," Russia and the United States, draw the lines of their "spheres of influence" a little closer to home; let United States loans go to bolster up the standard of living of the people of other countries; let Russia and the United States, who are just a couple of good-hearted overgrown boys with too much energy, stay behind their own fences; let's draw up some nice fair peace treaties establishing some "status quos" that will satisfy everybody and his uncle and we'll all have peace and live happily ever after in the century of the common man.

That Wallace, the corn-fed Iowa politician, is actually in earnest in putting forward this folksy solution for the problem of world peace, is undeniable. He's for it with all his warm heart and muddle-head. But he is wrong, terribly wrong, on the one calculation on which his scheme is based—on the assumption that the two rival imperialisms of Russia and the United States can live in peace. Even on his own basically cynical willingness to grant "spheres of influence" to the great powers—and what does that mean but placing masses of people and the resources that properly belong to them under the exploitation of the two biggest imperialist powers and their satellites—a "status quo" cannot be established. Or more exactly, it cannot be established except temporarily. Both rival imperialisms must expand politically and economically and can only do so at the expense of the other.

Wallace is of course right when he says that America's "get tough" policy leads toward war. He is a hundred times right when he says that America has used her relief program for Europe politically—as

TOMATOES JUMP TWENTY CENTS IN ONE YEAR!

While the Truman and Newburyport "price cutting plan" were getting more and more publicity and achieving less and less, housewives in New York on April 29 found that: Tomatoes had jumped to 63 and 65 cents a pound, as against a retail price of 35 cents at this time a year ago.

Carrots had gone up two and three cents a bunch in a few days, with other fruits and vegetables following suit.

has Russia, though Wallace doesn't mention that. What he doesn't understand is that both Russia and America are looking for a "status quo," a temporary living in peace before an inevitable explosion. Only the gentlemen who are making the "peace" are more serious politicians than Wallace. They understand the nature of "power politics," which for them is an iron necessity rather than a couple of nasty words as they are for Wallace. There will be concessions and compromises on both sides—but a nasty hard bargain will be achieved, a bargain for which the poverty-stricken masses of the world will have to pay.

WHERE IS HE GOING?

There is no question but that Wallace's European tour has finished him for the time being and perhaps permanently, with the Democratic Party politics. But whether he has finished with American politics remains yet to be seen. Questioned by the LABOR ACTION reporter as to the possibility of the formation of a new political party, Wallace mumbled something about the Democratic Party being "traditionally the progressive party," but finally said that if the next Democratic Party convention showed itself "too conservative" (the man's a glutton for punishment), a third party might have to be formed to contest the 1950 elections.

It is a sad commentary on the political immaturity of the American labor movement, that the formation of a third capitalist party under the leadership of such a man as Wallace should still be a possibility. More than a possibility—Wallace will be unable to form such a party except on the basis of the support of the labor movement, which he is all too likely to get. If U. S. labor falls into the trap of a third capitalist party, unable to solve or begin to solve the problems of the working people of the United States and of the world, instead of proceeding to the formation of an independent labor party around an effective program of action, the American labor leaders will be serving the forces of war and reaction better than they know.

By SUSAN GREEN

Twentieth Century's "Boomerang" is miles above the run-of-the-mill thriller. It is based on a real-life unsolved murder in a Connecticut town—the shots were all taken in that town—and is an unvarnished and alarming picture of how near an innocent man can come to being hanged, even if he is not politically "undesirable." The film story develops as the personal struggle of the State's Attorney to protect an innocent man against the multiple external pressures to procure a conviction. In the real-life case the State's Attorney was Cummings who later became Attorney General of the United States. The part is played by Dana Andrews, of "Laura" fame, with quiet conviction.

The wheels of justice are meshed with the wheels of politics; graft and personal involvements when a popular and well-loved priest in the community is mysteriously shot on a street corner and the police are completely baffled. Immediately the opposition politicians put on the steam. The city government being of the reform variety, its opponents are mostly the substantial citizens who own the press, and other means of propaganda. The camera turns on people listening to their radios, complaining of the inefficiency of the police; on women shouting to each other over wash lines. Such sequences give the feeling of a whole town out for revenge—with the slimy politicians pouring oil on the fire.

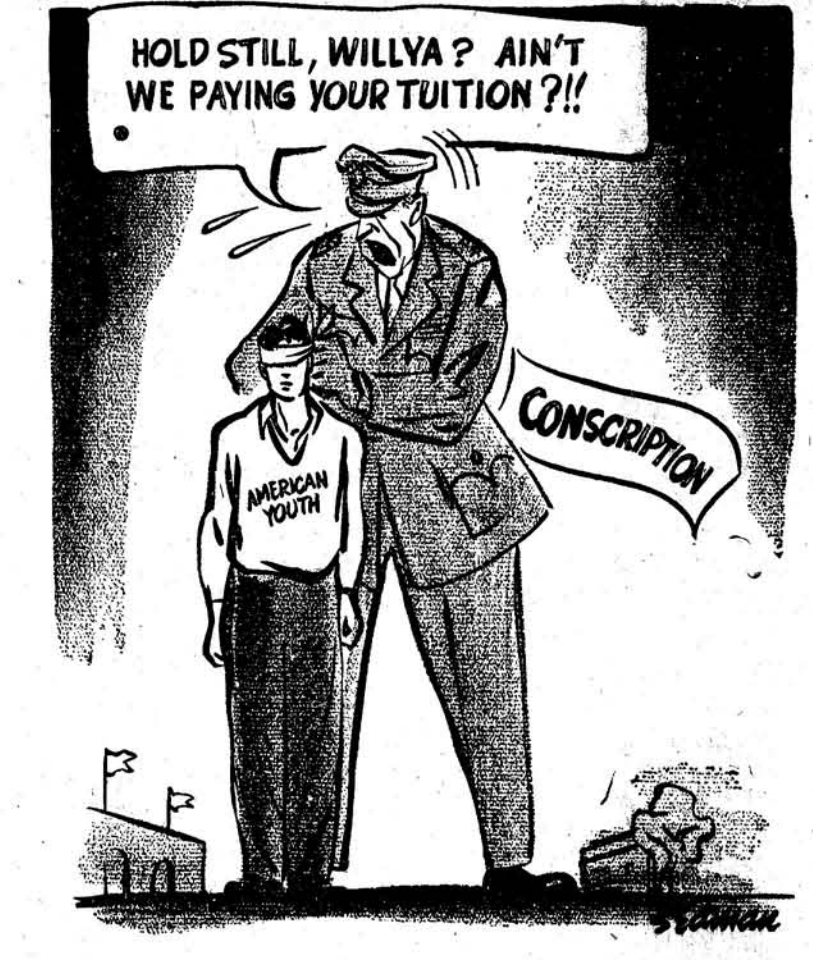
The police commissioner has tried to resist the public pressure. There were no clues. What was there to go by? Several townspeople claimed to have seen the murderer running away, stated he wore a dark overcoat and a light hat, were sure

they could identify the man. That was all. However, the political stakes were great. The reform government would surely lose the next election if the murder was not solved.

AN UNUSUAL DEVICE
The manhunt of the police, bringing into headquarters droves of "criminals" in dark overcoats and light hats, is shown as cruel and terroristic. Neither does the film pretty-up the "persuasive" methods of the police to get a "confession" out of the young man finally apprehended because he left town on the day of the murder and furthermore carried a gun, whom the good townspeople willingly "identified" as THE man. It is also commendable that at this time when war veterans are supposed to be especially well taken care of by the government, Twentieth Century did not tamper with the fact that the innocent man accused of the murder was an unhappy, harassed, maladjusted war veteran, looking around for a more satisfying job than waiting in a coffee pot.

The excitement of the film derives from its unexpected developments. The audience is as electrified as the court when the State's Attorney, instead of proceeding with the prosecution, asks for a *nolle prosequi*, a discontinuance of the case. Between the adjournment of court that day and its reconvening the next, the State's Attorney is again subjected to pressures, threats and the lure of political reward. The suspense here is real and not merely a leg-puller because the man does not know himself what he will do. Up to the time the court reconvenes the struggle in him seems unresolved.

When he starts speaking, one senses that his tone has changed. The audience thinks he may be



"Boomerang" Better Than Run-of-the-Mill Thrillers Hollywood Tries Something Different

capitulating, and so does the accused. But slowly the tactic evolves. The State's Attorney does not ask for a *nolle prosequi* again, but merely to clarify certain confused points in the State's evidence. And bit by bit he explodes the evidence, working up to the climax—and a dismissal of the case.

FLAW IN LOGIC

There is one flaw in logic. The film is based on a real unsolved murder. Yet the audience is given the murderer on a silver platter. The priest had advised a mentally sick parishioner that he must be confined to an institution. This was strictly between the priest and the parishioner who conceived the idea that with the priest out of the way nobody else could bother him. But if this was just between the priest and the parishioner, how could anybody else, including Twentieth Century's writer, have known about it? Presenting the murderer "in person" was a shoddy device for assuring the audience's sympathy for the State's Attorney. Also, Hollywood has to show, no matter how crudely and unconvincingly, that crime doesn't pay. And so this otherwise good film ends with an accident in which the real murderer—about whom we have no business to know—is killed. If the law doesn't get the murderer, then divine justice does.

Conspicuous for their absence from "Boomerang" are the glamorous femmes, the cheap love angle, the manufactured thrills that audiences are supposed to crave. Without these over-worked standbys of Hollywood, "Boomerang" is satisfying entertainment and shows to what advantage the tinsel and artificiality can be dispensed with.

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(Continued from page 1)

half million homeless and displaced Jews, most of whom are now living on charity in demoralizing atmosphere of displaced persons camps. Another cause is the continued decline of the power of the British Empire because of the encroachments of its Russian and American rivals.

For the past two years the problem of Palestine has been acute, but the British have been delaying. These tactics are designed to create hopelessness and despair among the displaced persons of Europe so they will not wish to go to Palestine. England hopes by further delay to destroy the desire and the possibility of emigration to Palestine.

TACTICS OF DELAY

The delaying tactics have already had two results. Poland has closed its borders against any exodus of Jews. The United States has refused the admission of any more inmates to its displaced persons camps. The countries under Russian domination are expected to do the same soon. England is hoping that the coming depression in the United States will dry up the funds that finance the immigration to Palestine.

British politicians are building on vain hopes. The need of the displaced persons will not lessen since no other place of immigration exists and it can only increase their desperation. Post-war capitalism has been unable to stabilize itself and reduce anti-Semitism.

British imperialist leaders last week in the House of Lords declared that they will not accept any decision of the UN they do not agree with. Whatever Britain does, it will not get out of Palestine. The strategic importance of Palestine and the need to maintain a strong position in the struggle for control of the Near East force Britain to remain there in one way or another.

The British are now playing a pro-Arab game to woo the reactionary governments of Egypt, etc., over to their side in order to maintain their grip on the entire Near East.

Russia too is playing the same pro-Arab game. It too wants the oil of Iran and the Near East. It too bases its game of power politics on winning over the Arab governments. The result is that it orders its stooges in

Eastern Europe to prohibit emigration. The Communist Party of Palestine is against Jewish immigration and supports the anti-Jewish boycott. The Daily Worker of New York hastens to support the Egyptian proposals for stopping immigration. The well informed S. Itzhaki cables from Jerusalem that Molotov proposed a deal to the U.S. and England on the question of Palestine and the Balkans in which Russia would give England a free hand in Arabia and the Near East in return for a free hand in the Balkans. The needs of the displaced persons, the rights of Jews and Arabs in Palestine and the Near East mean as little to the Russian imperialists as they do to the empire builders of England and the Near East.

U. S. DOUBLE GAME

The United States, with its expanding interests in the Near East, is playing a double game. Bartley Crum, in his book, *The Silken Curtain*, has shown that for each pro-Jewish statement made, a pro-Arab document was issued at the same time. The U. S. attempts to satisfy the Arabs because of its desire for oil and influence in the Near East. At the same time the politicians want the Jewish votes and are afraid of strong demands to open the doors to the U. S. In addition, they want to reduce the expense of supporting the DP's in the American occupation zones of Europe. As a result, the U. S. will probably attempt some kind of compromise.

The leaders of the Jewish Agency, in their demands to the UN, base themselves not on the elementary democratic right of free immigration, but on the false "historical," i.e., biblical, right and on the imperialist basis that England and the League of Nations promised them a national home in Palestine. As if England and the League of Nations ever had the right to dispose of someone else's country!

The leaders of the Zionist parties, by demanding a Jewish state, are adopting a policy that takes into consideration the existence of only one people in Palestine, namely the Jews. There is no attempt to coordinate the interests of both nations inhabiting Palestine.

All the Zionist leaders—including the Irgunists—welcomed the fact of

submission of the problem to the UN, and support the creation of an investigating commission. The moderate Zionists expect a compromise in the form of increased immigration and/or partition of Palestine into two states—the Jewish area comprising about 60 per cent of the present Palestine. In this they hope to get the support of the U. S. and possibly convince England that this would be the first step toward realizing the Colonial Office dream of a "Greater Syria" under King Abdullah, since the Palestine state would have to unite with Transjordan.

The Irgunists hope that they can play off Russia against England and the U. S. and convince one of the two (they don't care which) that a Jewish state is a more efficient tool for the control of the Near East.

The Arabs too base their demands on the interests of only one nation in Palestine—the Arabs. Thus their demand for prohibition of immigration and immediate independence for an Arab state.

That neither the UN nor England will ever grant them independence does not enter their considerations. The Arab League considers "diplomatic maneuvers" as the only method of operation. However, Palestinian independence will not be accomplished that way. The only way it will be achieved is by struggle against the imperialist overlords. Such a struggle can succeed only if it rallies the entire population and above all its most decisive segments, the urban working class. In Palestine, this means that the Arabs must unite with the Jews to conduct a real fight. To do this they must raise slogans that will guarantee the rights of the other nations in a bi-national country.

The greatest need of the Jews is to save their brethren from the misery of the DP camps, i.e., free immigration.

Solomon Israeli, correspondent of the Jewish Forward and editor of the Bulletin of the Council for Jewish-Arab cooperation, reports that today, in contrast to 1929-33, there exists a great feeling of cordiality between Jews and Arabs. It expressed itself most dramatically in the joint

Arab-Jewish strike of government employees and in the joint strike of oil workers, but it is also present in day-to-day relations between Jews and Arabs.

We warn both Jews and Arabs that whatever may result from the UN will be based on power politics and not on the interests of either Jews or Arabs. It will be tainted by the smell of oil.

It is on the basis of concretely proved facts that Jews and Arabs can work together that we urge the uniting of Jews and Arabs in the struggle against British imperialism. What is needed in Palestine is a revolutionary party that can rally the two nations in a struggle for a free and independent Palestine, based upon a democratic constituent assembly. A party that can give the slogan of a constituent assembly the concrete economic and political content that will satisfy both Jews and Arabs and make this slogan a real rallying point of struggle.

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