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LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

MAY 10, 1948

Henry Wallace's RECORD On Labor and Jim Crow Much Unlike His Promises

By HAL DRAPER

Since he threw his hat into the presidential race, Wallace has been yelling loudly that he is a "friend of labor" and a "friend of the Negro people." Without any hope of being elected, of course, but aiming to snare as many protest votes as possible, Wallace (and his running mate Taylor) have gone all-out for labor and civil liberties. It makes for good talk and campaign publicity—and a few votes.

Far be it from us to object to labor and anti-Jim-Crow talk even from the mouth of vote-seeking politicians. They may never do anything about it, but at least their duped supporters may get mad when they find out they've been taken for a ride.

We merely advise sincere supporters of Wallace to ask themselves a question. There is a story told about the 1944 Democratic convention

What Did He DO?



Henry Wallace

which illustrates the point, even if it was probably made to order for the purpose.

This was the convention where the CIO, among others, was working up a sweat booming Wallace for the vice-presidential nomination. In the midst of the hurrying and scurrying (according to the tale), CIO President Phil Murray slowed down for a minute and a thought struck him for the first time. He turned to one of his aids and said:

"By the way, what did this guy do for us?"

Well—what? Maybe Murray never did ask this question. He would have had to slow down an awful lot to make the story credible.

But we're asking it. And a national full of workers—listening to Wallace tell them that HE'S FOR what THEY'RE FOR, by Gideon—are asking it.

For four years as vice-president,

and for eight years as a member of the cabinet, Wallace was a power in the government administration. He wasn't prospecting for votes then—he had the power to DO things. ABOUT LABOR AND JIM-CROWISM, FOR EXAMPLE.

What did this guy DO?

ABOUT SHARECROPPERS . . .

As Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace's main dealings were with one union, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, now named the Farm Labor Union.

This union, the main one that Wallace had anything to do with, thinks as much of Wallace's pro-labor speeches now as it does of Taft's "appeal to labor" in the Ohio primaries. Its paper, the Farm Labor News, recently printed an article on what this guy DID.

In 1935 the Southern sharecroppers recalled a Roosevelt speech about the "forgotten man" and got the idea he meant them. Their union raised funds from sharecroppers' nickels to send a delegation to Washington to ask the forgotten man's secretary of agriculture to enforce Section 7 of the AAA. This section said that landlords should keep the tenants on their land and allow them to use a portion of the government-rented acres for raising food for their families and livestock.

"The union had evidence that the landlords did not intend to carry out that part of the government contract nor divide any share of the government subsidy payments," the Farm Labor News reports.

After some delay before they could see the great man, Henry—"embarrassed" as usual—saw the delegation and promised an investigation. IT WAS THIS WHICH LED TO THE WELL-KNOWN BLOWUP IN THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT IN WHICH WALLACE FIRED JEROME FRANK, GARDNER JACKSON, LEE PRESSMAN AND OTHERS WHO INSISTED ON SUPPORTING THE SHARECROPPERS INSTEAD OF THE LANDLORDS.

(The same Pressman, who then vowed to "get Wallace," recently resigned as CIO counsel in order to boost the Third Party candidate. Toeing the Kremlin line as usual, Pressman doesn't let Wallace's RECORD bother him as long as his SPEECHES are satisfactory to Russia's stooges here. If this be slander, let Pressman say a few well-chosen words about "what this guy DID" as Secretary of Agriculture—and why Pressman was fired!)

ABOUT LABOR . . .

But that was in 1935. A lot of words have flowed under the lip since then. What did Wallace think ought to be done about labor JUST BEFORE he started fishing for votes?

In the December 30, 1946 issue of the New Republic, Wallace wrote an article "Where We Stand on Labor." Keep the Taft-Hartley Law and the crackdown on the miners in mind while you read this:

"Because of the public temper, it (Continued on page 4)

NEW WAGE DRIVE DEMANDS A JOINT UNION STRATEGY!

UAW Sets May 12 Date for Strike Against Chrysler

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Mich., May 1—Unless Chrysler corporation makes a satisfactory wage concession by May 12, the 75,000 workers employed in its various plants will be called out, it was announced by the policy committee of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, headed by Emil Mazey, acting president of the union.

Setting of a strike date was in sharp contrast to the action of Philip Murray, CIO president, who capitulated to the steel corporations' refusal to give any wage concessions to the steel workers. It is a reflection of the difference between the UAW-CIO, a union with a militant, democratic tradition, in which the leadership is more responsive to the needs of the rank and file, and the bureaucratically dominated United Steel Workers of America.

As a preliminary to the strike announcement, the UAW-CIO published large advertisements in the Detroit newspapers showing that Chrysler could easily pay the union demands of 30 cents an hour, reduce the price of its cars \$145 a model, and still make between six to eight per cent profit on its investment.

These advertisements were clipped and used extensively in the shops, giving the rank and file a clearer idea of the issues involved in the wage demands. Also, some hard-hitting leaflets entitled, "The Six Cent Insult," were distributed. These exposed the corporation's wage policies, and quoted from the arrogant speeches of management during negotiations. They also showed that management had given itself extensive wage increases in 1947.

Although the announced lay-offs of Plymouth workers due ostensibly to steel shortages, the pressure of the cost of living, the poor financial state of most workers tended to give the workers a mood of uncertainty, it was noticeable that a tightening up of ranks, and the beginning of a strike sentiment was developing. The truth of the matter is that, although no one wants a strike, the refusal of Chrysler to grant an obviously indicated wage increase, is putting the workers into a fighting mood.

The fact that more and more brief shutdowns are occurring in various shops reflects the growing tensions and restlessness of the autoworkers, squeezed between the inflationary cost of living, and the drive of management for more production, that is, the speed-up.

The first major strike should occur at Chrysler, unless the union's wage demands are settled satisfactorily.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?



Must Coordinate Effort to Beat Boss's Offensive

With strike action planned by the auto workers union, threatened by the railroad unions, and contemplated by other, smaller unions, the labor movement faces the urgency of considering its position dispassionately and earnestly.

In our opinion this position dictates the necessity of coordinating union effort in a commonly planned and buttressed strategy if wage raises are to be won, and prices to be held in check.

Pretense will not help us. The facts are that the union movement is hard pressed in its wage drive. Unnecessarily, to be sure, for there is sufficient power in labor's ranks to rout the burgeoning boss offensive.

There have been disquieting signs. A communications workers' strike was virtually broken. The Wall Street strikers—a small action by a small union, but an action nevertheless and one, moreover, backed by the militancy of the AFL seamen—went back to work at terms originally offered by the Stock Exchange officials. True, the union claimed a victory to the extent that the Exchange did not break the union; but the strikers did not win their demands.

The packinghouse workers are reported ready to accept the meat packers' nine cent offer which is a substantial retreat from the union's solidly documented position for a 29 cent wage increase. The retreat is mitigated only slightly by the union's assertion that it will seek an agreement to lower prices.

The steel workers' union leadership, confronted with the industry's blunt refusal to so much as consider a wage increase, denounced the industry, exploded the hypocrisy of the industry's price "reduction" (Murray proved it did not even cancel the price hike imposed some months ago) . . . and did nothing!

The steel industrialists are arrogant. Similarly, the electrical industry bosses, the auto bosses, etc. With the Taft-Hartley law to work for them, and with the union leadership unwilling, by and large, to undertake a militant counter-offensive, industry big-wigs are boldly dismissing wage demands with a wave of the hand.

If they haven't actually sat down in a room to map THEIR anti-labor strategy (and it is altogether likely that some of them, at least, did so get together), their coordinated operation amounts to the same thing. It can only be answered by an equal demonstration of unity from and by (Continued on page 2)

Wages Far Below Minimum Standard

Bureau of Labor Statistics Says Family Needs \$3,500 to Meet Costs

By SUSAN GREEN

Some time back a Congressional committee was curious to know how the other half lives or "what it costs a worker's family to live." The Bureau of Labor Statistics obliged and came up with "a necessary minimum" budget for a family of four. The prices used are as of June 1947. The CIO has brought the figures up to the higher prices of January 1948. Here is the result.

For a worker, his wife and two kids of eight and thirteen, it is necessary to have an income of about \$3,500 a year. If the worker and his wife are blessed with more children, each kid would require about fourteen percent more of that figure; meaning that a family of five needs

around \$3,900 annual income; and so on.

With a pencil and a pad one discovers that on the basis of a forty hour week, of fifty weeks a year (allowing a couple of weeks for one kind of "absenteeism" or another) or of 2,000 hours a year, the hourly rate of pay would have to be \$1.75 for the worker with his family of four to get that \$3,500 necessary minimum. If the worker has a family of five, his rate of pay would have to go to nearly \$2 an hour to total the \$3,900 required by the BLS.

GAP IS BIG

Let us see how the workers stand in relation to this level set by BLS, which we will show later is a miserably low level of existence. How many workers get an hourly rate of \$1.75, to say nothing of \$2? The majority of even highly skilled workers earn less than those rates, and the larger number of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers work on much lower scale. This statement can be backed up by instances from specific industries.

In steel where jobs are divided into thirty categories with the lowest rate 94½ cents an hour, in some plants at least one third of the workers are receiving \$1.13 and \$1.21 hourly pay—a far cry from the \$1.75 or \$2 required by the BLS budget. A very few in the top layers earn around \$2 an hour, rollers being listed at \$2.13. Even such skilled men as hearth pourers and speed regulators in rolling mills have rates of only \$1.61. In some cases regular wages are supplemented by a production bonus, entailing of course more intense labor.

In the auto industry average low paid workers, such as stock chasers, in Detroit receive \$1.25 an hour and in Cleveland \$1.10, leaving a gap of 50 cents and 65 cents between what they get and what the BLS says they should get. The tool and die makers in the industry, the top classifications, receive in Detroit \$1.87 and in Cleveland only \$1.70, the former falling far short of the BLS level for a family of five and the latter for a family of four.

In shipbuilding, carpenters, electricians, boilermakers, that is, skilled men, rate a mere \$1.50 on the east coast. The top crafts, namely, lofts-men and patternmakers, reach \$1.65 and \$1.75. However, heavy manual labor rates only 93 cents in Mobile

and New Orleans, and \$1.09 and \$1.12 in Baltimore and northern yards.

So we could go on from industry to industry in this parade of shamefully inadequate wage scales. In textile, clothing, rubber, the picture is the same. What else can be expected since the overall average wage in all manufacturing is \$1.18 an hour, 57 cents less than the BLS minimum for a family of four and 82 cents less than the minimum for a family of five!

One must also take into account that even today, when the capitalist system boasts of full employment, workers are laid off for one, two and even three months a year for one reason or another, be it because of material shortages, seasonal factors or something else. Five weeks without work means a corresponding ten percent cut in the annual income. Unemployment benefits today by no means make up this loss. The utmost (Continued on page 4)

Detroit Police Avoid Real Leads In Investigating Reuther Shooting

By LEE ROBERTS

DETROIT—The attempts of the Detroit police department to find the would-be killer of Walter P. Reuther reveal thus far a pattern of deliberate intimidation and humiliation of union members connected in any way with the Stalinist bloc in the UAW. Although Reuther himself stated that the attack could have been made by management, the Stalinists, the fascists, or just a screwball, the police department, headed by red-baiting Commissioner Harry S. Toy, has ignored all possibilities other than the Communist Party. After two weeks of investigation, during which not a single gangster or fascist element has been questioned, the chief of Detroit detectives is quoted as saying, "I am more convinced than ever that it must be the Communists."

In answer to protests against the methods of the police received from various local unions, Toy replied: We don't interfere in union affairs; and we don't want the unions telling us how to run our department. This is the same "public servant" who not so long ago, in a radio broadcast,

stated that anyone engaged in "un-American" activities should be shot, jailed, or deported.

Such a statement constitutes a call to violence, an incitement to lawlessness, of precisely those reactionary elements who, as well as the CP, could well be responsible for the attack on Reuther. A member of the Klan or some other anti-Negro outfit considers "un-American" anyone who fights for Negro rights. Walter Reuther, in their eyes, is "un-American" because of his fight against discrimination in bowling. It is not impossible that Toy's invitation to commit assassination was taken seriously by such people.

Although the Stalinists are fully capable of a crime like the shooting of Reuther and may be the perpetrators of it, there are other elements in America who are also capable of such a crime and who may be the perpetrators of it. It is difficult to see what the Stalinists have to gain at this moment by assassination; in fact, they have much to lose. Toy, however, excludes everyone but the CP, and his investigation becomes (Continued on page 2)

Big Business Makes Sound Investment in Stassen

Fact and Fancy in the Stassen Myth

By JACK RANGER

Several months ago, I ended an article in LABOR ACTION on Harold Stassen by mentioning that, although James Farley had failed to mention Stassen among the top Republican contenders for the GOP nomination, Stassen just couldn't be counted out.

"Throughout his career he has established the record of always making a much better race than advance notices indicated," I wrote. "He has a faculty of tapping those hidden points of support among Big Business circles which carry a candidate to the top."

I believe that the Stassen showing in the Wisconsin and Nebraska primaries bears this out. His total vote soared beyond the expected Stassen support. His Republican opponents charged that heavy money poured into those states turned the tide for Stassen.

There is not the shadow of a doubt but that a very large number of wealthy business men are making substantial contributions to Stassen's campaign, because they firmly believe that he—more than any other Presidential candidate—can best serve their class and personal interests.

Writing in the April 22 Chicago Journal of Commerce, Holmes Alex-

ander said he had had "a quick peek at the list of his (Stassen's) financial backers. Some of the names are secret and some are not. Suffice it to say that there are Vanderbilts, Whitneys, Cookes, steel men, automotive men, flour millers and heavy industrial equippers on the list.

"People with vast wealth and booming business," wrote Alexander, "do not put their money on 'soak the rich' and 'share the wealth' politicians. They are even chary about putting their money on progressives—as the word is understood these days. Stassen has convinced these men—plus thousands of small businessmen—that his economic theories are sound."

The Chicago Tribune, supporting Taft for the Republican nomination, has exposed the fact that a committee of nine of the biggest businessmen in Minnesota is sending letters throughout the business and political community of the nation, soliciting campaign funds up to \$1,000 for Stassen. Among the nine are the chairmen of the boards of General Mills and Pillsbury Mills; the presidents of the Minnesota Valley Canning Co., the Minnesota & Ontario Paper Co., the Josten Manufacturing Co., the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing

Co., and the chairman of the board of Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

This group of industrialists has raised more than \$250,000 of the more than \$700,000 spent thus far by Stassen on his pre-convention campaigns, according to the Tribune.

A number of Minneapolis businessmen are touring the country, asking other businessmen to kick in to the Stassen fund. Unquestionably, the ex-Minnesota governor has made commitments to big business which satisfy them. But should such commitments satisfy those who are not millionaire bankers and industrialists?

Currently, Stassen has come out with an outrageous piece of fakery. Speaking recently in Toledo, where he is challenging Taft for some of Ohio's votes, he told a Lions Club luncheon that "secret ballots for union men voting to strike, accept a contract, or name officers would be the best method of ending arbitrary control by some labor leaders."

THE STASSEN MYTH

The myth that Stassen is a "liberal" continues on, despite all evidence to the contrary. It is carefully nurtured by the press monopoly—by the Luce, Cowles and Knight papers and others.

The record shows that he accepted support of the Silver Shirts in his Minnesota campaigns for governor. The record shows that his accomplishments in office were of an unmitigated reactionary nature: That he shoveled money to U. S. Steel by cutting the state tax on iron mined from the Mesabi Range; that he raised the legal interest on small

(Continued on page 2)

FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Wage Drive Demands Joint Strategy —

(Continued from page 1)

the unions. When U. S. Steel announced its price "reduction" fakery, other steel companies and monopolist outfits outside of steel, like Westinghouse, quickly hailed the stand, and announced their solidarity with it. Simple intelligence and self-pres-

ervation dictate an equal response by labor in its OWN behalf.

Fundamentally, the labor movement is powerful enough to enforce any demands it chooses to make. It is powerful enough to block or invalidate anti-labor legislation. It is powerful enough to bring U. S. Steel

and other big combines to their knees. How to do so in the circumstances? By bringing their power into play! And how can that be done? By uniting in joint strategy the efforts of the various unions!

Specific demands and conditions vary from industry to industry. A common thread unites all the unions, and all the union demands on wages and prices. Hence, there is every reason in the world to plan a joint union strategy. Concretely, representatives of the unions, including in their number delegates chosen by the rank and file, can meet to discuss their common needs, and map action to coordinate their demands and lend the weight of all the participating unions—on a national and local scale, CIO and AFL—in support of any union's action.

It has been noted that workers are hesitating to undertake severe and difficult strike action. This is no reflection on their militancy. They merely want a fighting chance to win. That is to say, they want demands that will mean a genuine victory over the wage cutting effects of spiralling prices; and they want the assurance they will not be left in the lurch, battling on their own against the odds of government and industry cooperation.

The auto workers, for example, are an exceptionally militant group of workers. No one can say they lack confidence in their abilities, or that they are afraid to tackle any of the giant corporations. Yet, it is not clear that their position would be a thousand times strengthened if they could meet with representatives of the steel workers, maritime workers, and others, to plan the help that one will give the other, to map a JOINT STRATEGY WHICH WILL ADVANCE THE INTERESTED INTERESTS OF ALL.

We do not pretend that this covers the entire problem. It is merely a part, an important part of the problem. In the situation we face today, more so than when we raised the same slogan two years ago, it is necessary to have DEMOCRATICALLY CHOSEN BOARDS OF UNION STRATEGY, coordinating a COMMON CAMPAIGN!

Reuther—

(Continued from page 1)

almost exclusively an investigation of suspected "communists."

Much indignation has been aroused by the anti-labor and anti-Semitic activities of the commissioner. It is reported that at an interview with leaders of the Jewish Community Center, Toy admitted that perhaps he shouldn't have made his statement about Communists being smuggled into Detroit disguised as Jewish rabbis. "Since then," he said, "I have been told that some Jewish people are sensitive to anti-Semitism." (1) At the same interview, he said that he thought he should revise his infamous statement on shooting "un-Americans" by saying that first they "should have a trial."

The criminal who almost killed Walter Reuther must be apprehended. The police, directed by a man like Harry S. Toy, cannot be depended upon to do this job. They are not interested in protecting the labor movement and its leaders. To repeat: not a single member of the Ku Klux Klan or any other fascist outfit has been arrested or questioned or even inconvenienced in any way.

Stassen Myth —

(Continued from page 1)

544 sought time after time for an election so that the drivers could choose which union they wished to represent them. The Stassen Slave Labor Law made such an election mandatory if a majority among the workers signed cards specifying a union of their choice. Local 544-CIO several times presented such cards and petitions, signed by a majority of the Minneapolis drivers. Yet Stassen's labor conciliator, acting on orders from the governor, certified Tobin's union as bargaining agent for the entire Minneapolis trucking industry without an election.

Stassen in his current campaign is double-dealing, as he always has—talking one line and following another. Slippery as ever, he is a butter man in the dairy states, an oleo man in the vegetable oil states. He is critical of the Taft-Hartley law in the industrial states, and a crash-labor man before industrialists and bankers.

In return for his aid in breaking the

power of the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis labor movement, the officials of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and the Stalinists supported Stassen in the 1942 state elections. I see that the AFL state labor officials in Minnesota have finally turned on Stassen, and are denouncing him weekly, in the St. Paul Union Advocate. A politician too far to the right for those birds is really "right."

Yet, who do these labor bureaucrats have to nominate for President? They haven't dared come out for Truman. They denounced Wallace for the wrong reasons. And they won't permit the formation of a labor party to take the place of the Farmer-Labor Party which they helped so much to scuttle. That is the tragedy of the 1948 campaign.

Workers Party Holds Successful May Day Celebration in N. Y.

NEW YORK—Local New York celebrated May Day last Friday with a highly successful meeting attended by about 200 people. The well known documentary film "The Wave" was shown together with a UAW short entitled "The Brotherhood of Man." Speaker for the National Committee of the Workers Party was Hal Draper who pointed to the great struggles of American labor in the coming months as indicating the enormous vitality of the American working-class.

The main program for this meeting was presented by Jack Brad, New York organizer, as the struggle against imperialist war under the watchword: "Against Washington, Against Moscow."

Kulinski Candidacy in Baltimore No Substitute for a Labor Party

By HENRY WILLIS

BALTIMORE—Mr. Philip C. Kulinski is going to run for Congress in the Third District on the ticket of the Progressive Party of Maryland (outgrowth of the Wallace-Progressive Citizens of America movement). Mr. Kulinski has a better background than candidates normally have. He is working at the Baltimore Fisher Body Plant, where he has been for approximately 12 years; he is an extremely militant member of his UAW local, having occupied various offices which include the position of International Representative. There is no doubt that he has an active record in the labor movement and particularly in the UAW.

As an individual his desire to advance the welfare of the working class is unquestioned. He, consciously, would never perform an act detrimental to his class. But, the road to hell has been paved with good intentions. Philip C. Kulinski is leading the workers there when he asks for their support on a PCA program.

The Progressive Party of Maryland (PPM) proclaims that the old parties, Democratic and Republican, have betrayed the people. However, the workers following the PPM program will also be betrayed and disillusioned.

NO HOPE HERE

The PPM is organizationally controlled by the Stalinists, just as the entire Wallace movement is on a national scale. Not long ago the Stalinists were staunch upholders of the Democratic Party regime. Why? What is the guiding goal or principle of their political action? The Stalinists are primarily interested in

carrying out the foreign policy of Russia. They are not interested in the welfare of the workers. How can they be when they support incentive pay during the war, the no strike pledge (of course, only during the period when the United States and Russia were honeymooning during an imperialist war); hallelujahed for Roosevelt when it served their purpose (having, of course, called him a fascist before the honeymoon of U. S. and Russia.) Stalinists cry, through Wallace, against Jim Crow; but it was the same Stalinists who strongly advocated "self determination of the southern black belt," that is, Jim Crow on a national scale. The list of anti-working class actions on the part of the Communist Party is endless.

UAW Local 239 is correct in engaging in politics, but this requires a working class program and working class candidates. A socialist program advocating workers control of industry is worth striving for. It's an absolute necessity for Local 239 to work in the direction of setting up an Independent Labor Party, if it wishes to engage in class politics. When the workers of this country adopt a sound program, it will be possible to attract the support of the middle class.

Garmatz, the incumbent Congressman from the Third District, is a product of the reigning local Democratic machine; such as those controlled by Mayor D'Alesandro, Governor Lane, Pollack, etc. If there are no genuine Labor Party candidates (Kulinski is definitely not one in the circumstances), then the workers should support only those genuine labor candidates seeking office, even if the office sought is small. It is no

less criminal to ask workers to support a Third Capitalist - Stalinist Party (the PPM or P.C.A., outside of its Stalinist involvements reflects those business interests that feel the squeeze of monopoly capitalism) than it is to support Republicans or Democrats. Supporting the PCA program will only disillusion the workers and set working class politics back.

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

Workers in the Third District and throughout the country must continuously learn to judge politics not by the individual but by the party's program and its action in the past. Many supporters of PPM argue that since Roosevelt's death many of the New Dealers were forced to leave the government because of a reactionary successor, President Truman. This is, of course, absolutely false, for Roosevelt himself declared the New Deal dead. His brain trust advisers, and many fellow travelers, had outlived their purpose, and they were consequently dropped.

If Kulinski is elected to Congress, he will, we assume, follow PCA policy. Wallace's foreign policy is, very briefly, aimed at dividing the world between United States and Russian imperialism. Of course, Wallace does not call this imperialism; only Truman is an imperialist. Socialists maintain that monopoly capitalism and imperialism are inseparable. Wallace is a New Deal capitalist and Stalinist front man combined. His capitalist views are okay with the Stalinists so long he doesn't interfere with Russian expansionism. And Kulinski will have to give his blessing to Russia's grab of Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., as Wallace does.

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, advocates a sound position for labor, namely, INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. Local 239 and the Chevrolet local, together with the entire Baltimore labor movement, must take steps in the direction of an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. Only labor on a working class program can prevent war (and not through the appeasement of Russia). The workers of this country, despite the great wealth they have created, still suffer a housing crisis, high rent, high prices, etc. It is high time for them to take over the government and run society on an intelligent and rational basis. The first step in that direction is to build an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

WDL Urges Action On Skull-Cracking Kansas City Cops

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—Immediate action by Governor Frank Carlson of Kansas to protect citizens' rights and a prompt prosecution by the civil rights section of the Department of Justice were urged in wires sent out by the Workers Defense League after some 100 Kansas City police went berserk April 22 in an attack on the striking meat workers' union hall reminiscent of the Palmer raids.

Describing the raid as a "ten-minute skull-cracking charge," the Associated Press, which is not known for pro-labor slanting of the news, said: "In a matter of minutes after police arrived the hall was empty. Broken glass littered the floor. Some union members jumped through windows to escape club-swinging policemen. Women screamed. Chairs were overturned. Blood was spattered on walls and floor. Ten persons, two of them women, were treated at hospitals."

Ralph M. Baker, district director of the United Packinghouse Workers, said that 100 other persons were injured. Previous to the attack Police Captain Eli Dahlin told the entire police force: "You are to crack skulls, if they ask for it, no matter who they are."

CPer Sudden Militancy Can't Make Up for Do-Nothing Policy

BUFFALO—The explosive situation existing at Westinghouse Local 1581 dates back to the beginning of the fight, by BOTH progressive and simple red-baiting forces, against Communist Party domination of the local. So great was this INTERNAL anti-CP pressure that the COMPANY, seeing the CP administration on the ropes, its "caucus split," decided to TAKE ADVANTAGE of the union crisis and moved to chop the local down PIECEMEAL. At the first opportunity, a steward (editor of the local's newspaper) was FIRED. The local immediately—AND CORRECTLY—closed ranks AGAINST THE COMPANY.

The Communist Party administration saw in this firing episode a chance to accomplish three things: (1) turn militant and thereby COVER UP its past record of DO-NOTHING and SELL-OUT in the local; (2) bury the ISSUE of Communist Party Control under the solid front shown against the company; (3) win the approaching UNION ELECTIONS (scheduled for May) on the basis of a militant show against company anti-union policy.

They, therefore, added four additional grievances to the steward's case, set a deadline for a satisfactory settlement, and put local strike machinery in motion. The company's refusal to meet these grievance demands soon brought an OVERWHELMING strike vote.

It should be remembered at all times that these grievances are LEGITIMATE and NOT CP inventions. The question, however, is: how has the CP administration ACTED on these grievances in the PAST and can it be depended upon to fight them in the FUTURE? The ANSWER is found in a recently distributed CP LEAFLET. It states: "Mr. Ludwig (the plant manager), did you interpret our silence on these issues

for a year and a half as a sign of weakness?" There it is! SILENCE... FOR OVER A YEAR AND A HALF! Those who see the Communist Party as a "defender" of the workers should profit by this short but OH-SO-CLEAR illustration.

The truly progressive forces within the local (and by progressive we DO NOT mean those well-intentioned workers who are consistently SUCKED IN by the sweet talk of the "now-militant" Communist Party) face DOUBLE DUTY in the coming strike. First: they must be ever alert AGAINST A SELL-OUT of the strike by the CP leadership. Second: they must FIGHT the strike to a successful end AGAINST THE COMPANY.

The LABOR ACTION position, AGAINST the company, and FOR a DEMOCRATIC, PROGRESSIVE, MILITANT LOCAL is slowly coming to the fore among the most advanced Westinghouse workers and will make greater headway with each worker's passing experience. With such a position Westinghouse workers can wage a clear, sharp fight for the largest UE local in the area. With such a position Westinghouse workers can wage an anti-Communist Party fight that will serve as a model to militant UE members everywhere.

Coming Next Week:

Comrade Erber was unable to complete his article on Churchill and the Moscow Trials for this issue. It will appear next week along with a companion piece by Jack Weber. Also: a letter from Natalia Trotsky on the GPU latest anti-Trotsky forgery in France; Ann Russell on Miners and the Law; etc.—Ed.

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Reuther Fights ABC Jim Crow

Editor:

Shortly before he was shot, Walter Reuther made an important contribution to the struggle against Jim Crow—some unionists believe it possible that in this may lie the motive for the attempt on his life.

Reuther appeared before the Executive Committee of the American Bowling Congress as a representative of the Committee for Fair Play in Bowling (which has been carrying on the fight against Jim Crow in bowling) and demanded that the ABC eliminate the "white only" clause from its constitution or else the anti-Jim Crow bowling group (of which the UAW is the spearhead) would finance the creation of an International Bowling Congress. However, despite Reuther's threat, the reactionary rulers of the ABC rejected an amendment designed to permit

non-whites to bowl in ABC sanctioned competition.

We, who have been highly critical of Reuther's growing conservatism over the past period—particularly his refusal to break with the boss political parties—do not hesitate to salute him for his courageous stand.

Reuther must have known that his appearance as a champion of Negro rights would cause resentment among the advocates of racial discrimination, but he did what was indicated as president of the most progressive union in America.

For that we hail him!

Sid ROBERTS, Detroit

Squatter's Rights For Socialists

Dear Editor:

We've got an apple to peel with Comrade Barton. His article in the May Day issue, linking the develop-

ment of California and the development of Marxism since 1948, was very interesting and well done, BUT... we ask indignantly: how come he omits the most important episode in California history linking the two? In Russia they shoot people for less.

Barton's counter-revolutionary omission is the story of the Marxist Sequoia Trees, appropriately known also as redwoods. Everybody knows that in the Giant Forest of the Sequoia National Park stands the General Sherman Tree, the oldest and largest living thing in the world, 4000 years old and over 100 feet around. But does Barton know that its original name was the Karl Marx Tree? Thereby hangs a tale.

In the 1880's a group of members of Marx's First International came to America and settled in this region, forming the Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth Colony; they built a sawmill for fir and pine lumber and, unlike the capitalist lumber interests,

vowed never to cut the big trees. They named the biggest for Marx and the other giants after heroes of the Paris Commune and American socialism. These were the first names these trees were given.

Counter-revolution reared its ugly head, the government raised a howl, and in 1890 the Great White Father in Washington declared the region a national park in order to get them out. That's how the famous Sequoia National Park came into being. Troops were sent in to expel the First Internationalists' colony, and the volume on California in the American Guide Series says: "The colonists retreated with what grace they could muster, but their vocabulary was adopted by their neighbors... The local papers blossomed with phrases like 'Cossack Terrorism' and the soldiers were booted in the streets and shot at from abscades in the forests." These White interventionists dug up a rat named Wolverton who swore he had discovered the Karl

Marx Tree several years before, and on the strength of this claim the name was changed to General Sherman. Obviously, comrades, the trend to militarization was visible even then.

The California Chamber of Commerce—which in most other respects is the soul of truthfulness, as everybody knows—conceals this skeleton in the closet (the arboreal revolution in California). The last time we were there, we asked the park ranger at Colony Mill who the original founders were; he said he didn't know—uh huh. A likely story, in view of the fact that these same rangers are well known to be walking encyclopedias on everything from sidewalk-winders to wampuses.

The moral of the story, of course, is that all California socialists are duty-bound to raise the transitional slogan: Give the redwoods back to the reds! Down with General Sherman! Tree cheers for Karl Marx!

Hal and Anne

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Editorials

The Mundt Bill

To a Congress which has already earned a reputation for vicious legislation (Taft-Hartley is among its major achievements), the Mundt bill (HR 5852) adds a particular piece of nastiness. The bill provides that the Communist Party and all Communist Party front organizations must register with the Attorney General, outlaws any movement which the framers of the bill believe will establish dictatorship, and stipulates penalties for violation that include loss of citizenship, loss of right to get passports, loss of Federal employment, fines up to \$10,000 and jail sentences up to three years. The bill, says Congressman Mundt, does not outlaw the Communist Party. It merely achieves the equivalent.

The bill is conceived in the very totalitarian frame it purports to be directed against. So much so that it suggests that the framers of the bill would *spiritually* be very much at home in the atmosphere of Kremlin totalitarianism. Allowed to pass, it will constitute a major threat to ordinary civil liberties and essential democratic rights. It is clearly a violation of constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and organization. It does in fact go further than undermining these rights, for it would establish as well a malicious thought control. It is quite possible that the Supreme Court would rule the bill unconstitutional. The Court occasionally comes up with a commendable verdict (see below), but only a simpleton will forget the famous observation about the Supreme Court following the election returns.

It is, therefore, the special duty of anti-Stalinists, of those who oppose Stalinism because they understand it as a menace to the labor and socialist movements, to do everything possible to defeat the bill. The Stalinists are enemies of labor, and they must be fought. They must be fought with the weapons of the labor movement. And these do not include the suppression of democratic rights.

We say it is a fundamental obligation of labor to fight Stalinism, but not with the methods of the Mundt bill. We are for driving them out of positions of responsibility in the union movement. We are for demonstrating to every person how the Communist Party has debased the noble word, communism. We are for educating everyone to perceive the totalitarian monstrosity which Stalinism actually is. But we repeat: not by assailing the structure of civil liberties.

Moreover, what the Mundt bill seeks to achieve would not only harass the operation of the Stalinist Party and its fronts, but would endanger every liberal or socialist movement, however moderate or extreme, which refuses to accept capitalist exploitation of man as an eternal and immutable necessity. Written by the gutter minds of capitalism, it would place in jeopardy every critic, every opponent of capitalist rule. The bill provides for the punishment of individuals who "attempt in any manner" to organize a "dictatorship." That's a pretty vague (and pretty sweeping!) injunction. Imagine a Mundt deciding what is dictatorship and what is not, what is "an attempt in any manner," and what is not.

Socialists and others in the labor movement have a special concern with extending democracy, and not with limiting it. It is part of their fight against Stalinism! Hence it is precisely they who must act most vigorously against the Mundt Bill. We have heard that anti-Stalinist liberals in Americans for Democratic Action are planning to oppose the bill, though we do not know what action they contemplate. Good. Most of all, we would like to see the anti-Stalinist unions, unions like the UAW, take the initiative in opposing the bill through union resolution and through a campaign of protest. That way we serve democracy. That way we oppose Stalinism!

Blow at Racism

The decision of the Supreme Court holding that restrictive covenants cannot be enforced through state or judicial processes represents a significant victory over Jim Crow and bigotry. It is a victory not only for Negroes, Jews and other minority peoples (Indian, for example) against whom restrictive covenants are directed, but for every decent minded person as well.

Welcome as is the decision, it must nevertheless be noted that the real battle against Jim Crow ghettos is yet to be won, and it will not be won through court actions alone. The Supreme Court ruling is indeed an historic occasion. It kicks a major prop from under the ghastly evil of restrictive covenants by declaring that there is no way in law to uphold these covenants. However, it does not declare that restrictive covenants are themselves illegal. That is, people can enter into "voluntary association" to bar Negroes or Jews from access to a given housing area. So long as a participant in that "voluntary association" does not challenge the agreement by seeking to rent or sell to a Negro or Jew, the covenant is operative. Long experience with Jim Crow in all its forms has taught us that there is more than one way, the "legal" way, to exercise discrimination. Thus, the Supreme Court in its decision cites the 14th Amendment which forbids a state to "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

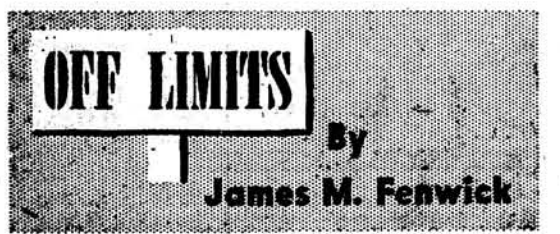
The 14th Amendment has, however, been honored much too frequently in the breach as 13,000,000 Negroes can testify.

Further, it is possible that where the bigots cannot resort to legal action they may resort to more direct means to enforce their covenants. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which pursued the case to its result is to be commended for a job well done. Yet, in what comes next, the NAACP policy, which relies almost exclusively on court action, will prove itself inadequate. It is something for

the victims of discrimination and for all of us who, while not directly affected are victimized by injury to any group of people, to consider.

There is also the much bigger problem of ghetto life. Restrictive covenants are only part of the contribution to ghetto life. In the City of New York, for example, Negroes are compressed in a few areas, primarily Harlem. Harlem is not the creation of restrictive covenants so much as it is the creature of an entire pattern. A landlord refusing to rent to a Negro (even when the landlord is the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company which has built a huge housing development, Stuyvesant Town, with the help of TAX EXEMPTION, hence with the support of taxpayers) simply refuses to rent to a Negro. And that remains that—and will remain that until many more decisions are won in court and in action!

There is cause for rejoicing in the Supreme Court decision. But after that we must turn to the necessity of WIPING OUT discrimination, in housing, in suffrage, in education, in working, IN EVERYTHING.



CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM—THE MILITARY PHASE

Capitalist imperialism has passed through several phases. These are not rigidly distinguishable in any particular country since the phases interpenetrate. Nor did the great capitalist powers go through these phases simultaneously. Nevertheless, the history of capitalist imperialism is readily divisible into several distinct epochs.

The first was an era of plunder. Powers such as England and Spain ferociously fell upon less developed countries like India and Peru and relieved them of their gold, silver and jewels. These resources exhausted, England and the Netherlands, in particular, turned to a more pacific trade in spices, silks, coffee, and other products. Then followed the epoch which reached its flower during the Victorian era and whose decay we have witnessed in our lifetime. This period of the dominance of finance capital, analyzed classically in Lenin's "Imperialism," was characterized by the investment of capital in the colonial and semi-colonial enterprises.

The basically economic character of this imperialism was obvious. At first the military aspects were subordinate, although the relation between military operations and economic interest was an explicit one. The role played by military considerations in this imperialist expansion was reflected in the growing proportion of the total national budget devoted to war purposes.

A CHANGE BEGINS

The increasingly important influence which armaments have begun to exert in national economies was analyzed as early as World War I, notably by Bukharin.

By 1914 the opening up of new colonial areas, whereby world capitalism could temporarily avert the maturing of its internal contradictions, had ceased. The great powers began to struggle for each other's colonies. This stimulated the growth of huge militarized states.

Simultaneously colonies became less tractable. Crises in the master countries precluded them from being able to retain the firm grasp on their subject peoples which they once had exercised. The present unstable equilibrium in such countries as India, the East Indies, Korea and Indochina reflects this tendency.

Of the great powers, the United States alone today has the potential for establishing economic dominance over the world. But given the economic collapse in the smaller imperialist countries such as England, France, Italy, and defeated Japan and Germany, even the U. S. finds grave obstacles confronting its pressing desire to exploit the rest of the world.

Add to this the fear of a depression at home and the further contraction of the world market caused by Russian expansion in Europe—and U. S. capital is driven to expand armaments production on a grand scale (the production of the means of destruction as contrasted with the production of the means of consumption) as a method of assuring a continued flow of profits.

If the ERP is being used to revive European capitalism it is being done only to the extent that it will (1) not regenerate serious economic rivals to the U. S., (2) stave off the Stalinist penetration which is made possible by the miserable level upon which European workers subsist, and (3) stabilize Western Europe as military powers subordinate to the United States and directed against Russia.

Capitalist imperialism today more and more assumes the character of a struggle for military allies, naval, air, and army bases, and strategic raw materials. For the present, direct economic motives are recessive. These considerations influence much of Russia's policy also, though not to the extent that they influence the policy of the United States.

Means are becoming ends.

As never before in its history the world is becoming a huge machine for making war.

The alternatives confronting humanity, the capitalists do not understand very clearly. But if they do not, we do. Either socialism will triumph, or the world, held in bondage by U. S. or Russian imperialism, will enter into an epoch of twentieth-century barbarism.

Thus ends the great saga of capitalism which began in an upsurge of economic activity, culture, and hope during the Renaissance.

The wealth of U. S. corporations has increased almost 250 per cent since 1939.

War Paid Off... For Some!

The Securities Exchange Commission reports that corporations that owned 24½ billion dollars in 1939, now own \$60,900,000,000 of net working capital. The war was no losing proposition.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed last week that money wages have declined for the fourth consecutive month and that real wages have been declining for over a year.

And at the same time the National Association of Manufacturers announces the largest propaganda "war chest" in its history to convince the American people that everybody is happy in this best of all possible corporate worlds. And it is for them.

WORLD POLITICS

The Follow-Up on ERP:

Although the original report that President Truman planned a special message to Congress, asking for enactment of lend-lease military aid to the countries of Europe receiving aid under the Marshall Plan proved to be premature, it is clear that such action—in one or another form—will shortly be taken.

This inevitable "next-stop" development illustrates one of the illusions held by those who urge wholehearted and uncritical support to the Marshall Plan as such. That is, their false conception of the Marshall Plan as a mere, single act of Congress providing for billions of dollars worth of food and materials to Europe. The actual act adopted by Congress is merely one part, one aspect, of the whole plan itself which is vast and sweeping in scope. The plan is really a broad historic strategy, with political, economic, military and social implications. Bit by bit, this strategic conception of the most far-sighted (from their point of view) American imperialists will unfold before our eyes. We are now witnessing the preparations for stage two—the military guarantee to bolster up the economic aspects of the plan for the rehabilitation of Western European capitalism.

TOWARD MILITARY INTERVENTION

If the political objective of the ERP is the rehabilitation and stabilization of Western European capitalism, to suit the needs and necessities of American imperialism, then it follows with perfect consistency that this program must be underwritten in military terms. A series of events have begun which must end in ever growing military interventionism.

First, five nations of Western Europe (England, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg) signed the Brussels Pact which formed a loose military alliance and defensive pact. On the same day this Pact was signed, Truman told Congress, "I'm confident that the United States will, by appropriate means, extend to the free nations the support which the situation requires. I am sure that the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to do so." By "appropriate means," of course, arms and munitions was meant.

A provision was written into the Marshall Act itself providing for the standardization of military equipment in the various treaties which each recipient nation must sign.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Spaak of Belgium visited Washington and openly suggested that Congress be asked to provide weapons for Belgium and other signatories of the Brussels fifty-year pact. It is also re-

mored that important military figures from Norway and perhaps other Scandinavian countries are in Washington for similar consultations.

AWAIT INITIATIVE FROM ABROAD

Secretary of State Marshall then told a news conference that the project of sending armaments to Europe was under "active study." The heads of the armed forces were working on this project, labeled as military lend-lease revival. Then the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee asked the State Department to draft such a bill for its consideration, while broad hints were sent around that the European Marshall bloc should prepare a balance sheet on military needs, in much the same manner used for the balance sheet on economic needs.

Then came the denied report of the Truman special message—but this step appears to be scheduled for later on. Truman undoubtedly desires the initiative to come from the Marshall bloc itself, in the form of a request which he will promptly fulfill. Besides, it would not be wise to prematurely speed up the military phase of the Marshall Plan, particularly when its propagandistic aspects of food shipments must be emphasized now. The next step will, in all likelihood, be the passage of a revived military lend-lease bill and, ultimately, the actual creation of a sweeping military alliance in which America pledges immediate support in the event of an open Russian attack upon one of the bloc.

These facts carry their own message. They should be carefully considered by those critical of LABOR ACTION for its critical attack upon the Marshall Plan and its refusal to give it blanket endorsement while, at the same time, insisting upon the necessity of economic aid and rejecting the sectarian position of simply being "against." It is not so much a problem of "for" or "against" as of clearly understanding what the whole strategic orientation of American capitalism is, at the moment. That may be summed up as hegemony of Western Europe and active preparation, on all fronts, of war with Russian imperialism. The Marshall Plan, narrowly considered, is a part of this orientation; more broadly considered, it is this orientation. If "war is a continuation of politics by other means," then war with Russia will be the planned continuation of Marshall Plan politics, by the medium of military guarantees and alliances.

HENRY JUDD

(We have received several letters criticizing our comments on the Marshall Plan. These letters will appear in next week's LABOR ACTION with an editorial rejoinder.—Ed.)

STALIN'S INTERNATIONAL SLAVE BRIGADE

GPU Chains Spanish Loyalists

By AB7 STEIN

When the Spanish Civil War ended in March, 1939, several hundred Spanish anti-fascists found themselves stranded in Russia. Most of them were aviation students sent to Russia by the Negrin government for technical instruction; some were merchant marine sailors caught in the Black Sea ports; some were civilians who had accompanied the colonies and groups of Spanish children to Russia.

All of these Spaniards, whose only crime was that they were anti-fascist, and that they had seen the inside of Stalin's Russia, suffered the same terrible fate; that is, all except those who died in the course of their tragic odyssey across the wastelands of Russia. From many different parts of Russia, Stalin gathered them together and imprisoned them in the concentration camp of Karaganda. A few of those interned at Karaganda have lived to tell their own story and the story of their compatriots.

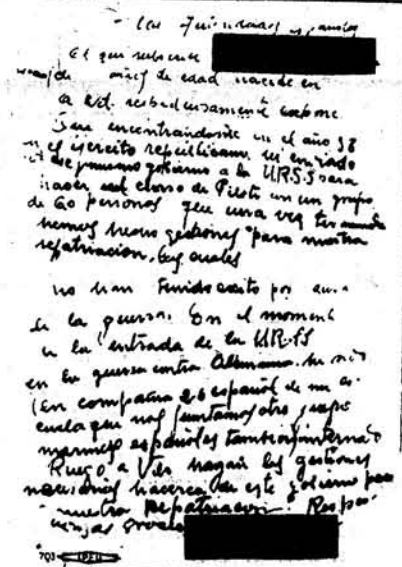
On the basis of the information provided by these fortunate few, the Spanish Federation of Deportees and Political Internees has begun a campaign to liberate the remaining fifty odd survivors, out of the original few hundred, who are known to be interned at Karaganda. In the face of the vilest type of Stalinist slander which brands these victims of Stalin's concentration camps as "spies" and in spite of the cowardly silence of the officialdom of the Spanish-Government-in-Exile, this courageous group of Spanish anti-fascists is carrying on a struggle to arouse the conscience of the international working-class and win the release of these innocent victims of Stalinism. We reprint below an excerpt from the Spanish POUIMIST paper in France, "La Batalla" whose latest issue is devoted to this campaign.

One final point deserves mention. When most of the crew of the Spanish merchant ship "Cabo San Augustin," stranded in Odessa, expressed a desire to go to Mexico, Stalin exiled them to the northernmost regions of Siberia. On the other hand, those few sailors who evinced a willingness to return to Franco Spain were permitted to depart for Spain via Turkey. Stalin could rest confident that these Spaniards were only transferring themselves from one prison to another!

THE CAMP OF KARAGANDA

"Situated in the 'steppe of hunger' as the arid regions of Kazakhstan are known, the camp of Karaganda lies to the north-east of Balchak Lake, between the city of Karaganda and the town of Spaask. It is designated by the Russian administration as 'Camp Number 99'; its postal address being 99-22 Spaask."

"The camp measures about 300 meters in length and 300 meters in width, forming a perfect square. It is enclosed by three wire fences, and in each corner of the camp there stands a watchtower occupied by a guard armed with a machine-gun. During



TWO IRREFUTABLE DOCUMENTS: On the right, the letter in which Senor Borner, ex-internee in Karaganda, certifies the essence of our story. On the left: the anguished message of one of the interned Spaniards, whose name and signature we have blocked out for reasons of discretion.—From "La Batalla."

the night these posts are reinforced with more guards and trained sentry-dogs. Escape is totally impossible."

"About two months ago the internees in Karaganda numbered about 900 men, women, and even children, some of the latter born in this same camp, for despite the fact that there are separate barracks for each sex, there is some sort of collective life. The internees comprise a great many nationalities, but the majority are Austrian Jews."

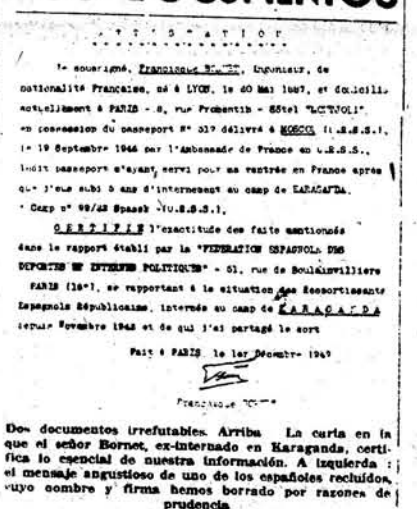
THE LABOR DISCIPLINE

"Karaganda is a camp of obligatory, forced labor; he who rebels against this discipline is immediately condemned to the camp prison, to a regimen even more severe and insupportable. The labor is of an agricultural nature, being expended on state farms which the internees have themselves shaped out of the wilderness. They work under the close and constant surveillance of guards who never relax."

"The work is exhausting, given the severe climate of the region, the permanent under-nourishment, and the perpetual bad treatment. We repeat, the work is compulsory, no matter what the physical condition of the prisoners may be. The overwhelming majority are sick, many being seriously afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis. But this does not matter: the camp administration sets a minimum degree of production which must be accomplished; those who fail in their appointed quotas suffer the consequences."

"The consequences are immediately felt in the form of corporal punishment and solitary confinement in the camp prison. While this punishment lasts the prisoner receives only one meal every three days. And this meal consists of an indigestible soup and 100 grams of bread. The administration is severe with those who sabotage the construction of Socialism."

DOS DOCUMENTOS



Two documents interdicted. Above: The card in which the internee Borner, ex-internee in Karaganda, certifies the essence of our story. Below: the anguished message of one of the interned Spaniards, whose name and signature we have blocked out for reasons of discretion.—From "La Batalla."

"The end of the war did not bring any improvement in the diet of the prisoners of Karaganda, as one might assume. At the present time their daily ration is as follows:

- 600 grams of black bread
- 10 grams of margarine
- 17 grams of sugar (not distributed regularly).

At noon and at night a soup composed of turnips, carrots, cabbage and other such vegetables. The soup in question is so bad that it repels even the most hardened palate. The Russians call it Kashka.

"Never anything out of the way; never the slightest improvement; always the same barbarous diet; and so it continues, day after day, month after month, year after year."

"The barracks are made of hard earth and have flat roofs, also of hard earth. Three-storied bunks with straw mats and one blanket for each person serve as beds. There are no electric installations in the camp; the functionaries and guards use oil-lamps, and the prisoners, if they do not wish to remain in darkness must devise makeshift candles with tins-cans and bottles."

"As in all such camps, the internees are obliged to answer to a roll-call before going out to work in the morning and after returning in the evening. The absence of a single person is immediately noticed. If a prisoner thinks of attempting to escape, he knows his flight would be immediately noticed. During the roll-call, blows and kicks are rained down on the internees."

"On the return from work, at the moment of entering the camp, each prisoner is carefully searched. If a vegetable taken from the place of work is found on anyone, that person is immediately thrown into one of the cells in the prison camp."

"Such is the camp of Karaganda. Such is the regime which its internees are forced to endure."

BOGOTA:

MARSHALL ORGANIZES HEMISPHERE FOR WAR

By A. FERRARA

Under the false banner of Pan-American solidarity, the United States is relentlessly carrying through its plans to force the nations of the Western Hemisphere into a militaristic strait-jacket. This is clearly reflected in the agenda of the conference now going on at Bogota. The Organic Pact, the so-called "constitution" of the Pan-American system is to have a vague and generally harmless character; the burning economic issues which the Latin-American countries wish to bring out into the open for discussion are to be shunted off until another conference, scheduled to meet at Buenos Aires in several months. The only practical issues being settled at the Bogota Conference are those dealing with military matters.

The first point is the transformation of the Joint-Arms Board, a temporary war-time creation, into a permanent body which will have broad powers in its capacity as the general staff of the hemisphere. The second point is the unification and standardization of armaments and military training in the Western Hemisphere. It is no secret as to which country will provide the model to be followed in the matters of equipment and training.

MASTER PLAN OF U. S. IMPERIALISM

Historically, the Bogota Conference represents the culmination and triumph of Franklin D. Roosevelt's master-plan of American military control of the Western Hemisphere, a plan which he first sketched at the Inter-American Conference held at Buenos Aires in 1936. Roosevelt called the Conference and gave the main address, in which he raised the question of "joint responsibility and defense of the hemisphere against aggression." The second step was taken at the 8th Pan-American Conference which took place at Lima, Peru in 1938, also during the Roosevelt era, and under the dark shadow of the impending Second World War. An American-inspired declaration was drafted providing for consultation among the American nations in the event of the threat of war.

A system of foreign minister meetings was established to implement this declaration, that is, of bringing the Latin-American countries into the coming war. The next formal step was taken during the war at the Chapultepec Conference in 1945. Mexico presented a resolution providing that a permanent body composed of representatives of the general staffs of the American nations should be created for the purpose of facilitating unified military action, when such action should be deemed necessary.

The diplomatic measures taken by Roosevelt to involve Latin-America in World War II now logically serve the Truman Administration as the point of departure in preparing Latin-America for involvement in World War III but on a much larger scale than in the previous imperialist conflict. Invoking the Lima Declaration and the Act of Chapultepec, the Truman Administration called the Rio Conference last August. At that conference Washington proposed, and the Latin-American nations agreed to a pact which calls for joint military action against any act of aggression from without or within the hemisphere. The pact also called into being a joint military staff to direct military measures of continental "defense." The actual creation of such a hemispheric general staff was postponed until the Bogota conference.

This historic background provides the scale with which to measure the importance and significance Washington attaches to the Rio pact and the Bogota Conference. What the Lima Conference was to World War II, the Rio Conference and Bogota are to World War III. It is no accident that Secretary of State Marshall, the supreme symbol of American military power is the main American spokesman at Bogota.

PREPARE FOR WAR

Since the Latin-American countries were dragged into support of American Imperialism in the early stages of World War II (with the exception of Argentina), Washington's insistence on a formal pact may seem like a waste of energy. Pact or no pact, it may be reasoned, the Latin-American countries will bow to the power of American Imperialism and repeat their performance of World War II at the outbreak of World War III.

Such a view is incorrect because it is incomplete since it overlooks the following points which determine Washington's policy of "democratically" preparing Latin-America for the coming war now.

(1) For "security" reasons Washington wants the right to send occupying forces (something provided for in the Rio Pact) to any country in the hemisphere when internal or external aggression is threatened. Leaving external aggression aside, Washington has no illusions about the fact that the Stalinists will attempt to impede the flow of raw materials and food to the United States and its allies by a variety of means. Washington will also classify as "sabotage" any genuine popular outbursts against the war and against regimes which support Washington; strikes, mass demonstrations against the high cost of living will also come under a similar heading. Washington wants the "democratic" right to intercede if and when local governments are too weak to act. The recent rising in Bogota itself, is a case at point. It is no accident that this outpouring of popular wrath against a conservative and murderous regime was labeled a "Communist plot" by Marshall. The future casts its shadow over present events.

(2) The unification and standardization of arms and military training. There is no doubt that the United States will attempt to tap Latin-America's vast reservoir of man-power for military purposes on a large scale. It is toward this end that the United States has been selling quantities of surplus war equipment to the Latin-American regimes. It has also been continuing a war-time policy of training thousands upon thousands of Latin-American officers. During World War II, only Brazil sent a small token force into combat in the European theatre of war. If it can, Washington intends to extend and enlarge the participation of Latin-America in the actual fighting in the next war. For this it must prepare now, and it prefers to do so "democratically."

It goes without saying that the corrupt governments of Latin-America are ready to deliver the vast natural and human resources of their countries that Washington will demand before and during the next world — but at a price.

(Continued next week)

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Henry Wallace's RECORD on Labor And Jim Crow Unlike His Promises

(Continued from page 1)

seems to me the part of wisdom for labor and industry to do everything possible to avoid serious strikes in 1947," he piously advised, and he continued:

"If there is to be legislation, I would suggest first, a carefully worked-out program for fact finding; second, a mechanism for voluntary arbitration; and third, a labor court operation under the supervision of the President's Economic Advisory Council and dealing only with those disputes in key industries which it is felt were of supreme interest to the general welfare.

"If a strike takes place in one of the little handful of industries which are essential to the continued life of the nation, the industry should be taken over and operated by the government until a settlement can be reached . . .

"If experience proves, by repeated strikes in such an industry, that the welfare of the whole country is damaged to an unendurable degree by

continued private ownership and operation, I feel we must consider public ownership and operation. In such a case the workers in that industry would, like other federal employees, GIVE UP THE RIGHT TO THE ULTIMATE RESORT TO THE WEAPON OF FORCE, IN THE FORM OF A STRIKE."

Why is Wallace getting so het up about the Taft-Hartley Law (vote fishing apart)? What's wrong with a little injunction to halt strikes for 80 days, when it's all right for the government to "take over" the industry on paper and forbid a strike indefinitely until a "settlement" is reached under circumstances where the union is deprived of any power?

And here also we can see why Wallace refuses so "principledly" to utter a peep about the Russian slavery. He proposes for America that nationalization must mean NO RIGHT TO STRIKE. In Russia, all the industries are "nationalized"—owned by the totalitarian state—and ALL the workers have no right to strike. Logical, isn't it?

This is the man who runs as a "friend of labor"—now that he is an "out."

But Wallace is a "friend of minority peoples" too. He is against Jim Crow now. He makes speeches.

What did this guy DO when he had more than the power to shoot off his mouth?

The official organ of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, the Crisis, said in an editorial this past February:

"Under his secretaryship the Department of Commerce was more than ordinarily ridden with humiliating separation of workers because of color and limitation of promotion for the same reason. While in the latter months of 1947, just before the announcement of his candidacy, Mr. Wallace was railing against segregation and refusing to speak to separated audiences, for five or six years prior to that time he had dodged speaking before conventions of the NAACP. . . . While turning aside NAACP invitations, Mr. Wallace found time to speak several times at Tuskegee, an institution where white and colored guest speakers are sent to separate guest houses."

During his regime as Commerce Secretary, the National Airport restaurant was under his jurisdiction. It was thoroughly Jim Crow. Wallace took personal responsibility for this state of affairs. He advanced two reasons why it had to be Jim Crow: (1) The airport was just over the line in Virginia; (2) the restaurant was a concession and the policies were not established by the Commerce Department.

Both reasons were hypocritical fakes. This isn't strong language, but only a fact. Proof?

The War Department's Pentagon Building also held cafeterias run on a concession basis and was also located in Virginia. Stimson—who did not even pose as a liberal—ordered a no-discrimination policy in them. Wallace discovered he was against segregation when he no longer had the power to do anything about it.

Can anyone point to anything "this guy DID" against Jim-Crowism during over a decade of high office in Washington?

While Wallace was vice-president, the great campaign was going on to save Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper, from being railroaded to death in Virginia. The vice-president of the United States (now currently declaiming against segregation) never raised his voice. Maybe nobody asked him? A delegation of outstanding Negro and white leaders called on him to enlist his aid, to prevent a heinous crime.

After promising to meet them in his office, Wallace ducked for three

No Help from Henry



Odell Waller

hours. As the delegation was leaving, they caught sight of Wallace emerging from his office (had timing). Embarrassed—this is what makes him a "liberal"—Wallace tacked in the other direction. Pursuing him, Mary McLeod Bethune, the well-known fighter for Negro rights, called out: "Mr. Wallace, this is a great tragedy, we must talk to you." Wallace, fleeing from the scene, spoke over his shoulder: "There's nothing I can do," and disappeared.

"Nothing I can do"—as vice-president of the United States of America! What does he think he can do now—as vote catcher?

Wallace now denies this episode. Good! let us say that all the outstanding men and women in the delegation are liars. But he does not deny that the delegation called on him. THE FACT IS THAT WALLACE DID NOTHING—did not even express a pious opinion—NOT ONLY FOR ODELL WALLER BUT FOR THE CAUSE OF RACIAL DEMOCRACY ANYWHERE. . . .

Until he became the Stalinist choice as candidate for president.

WHAT'S HIS MOVEMENT?

Well, so he is a candidate for president, but he talks right, doesn't he, huh? That's more than the reactionaries do, isn't it, huh? Maybe Wallace hasn't been all there all of the time, but he's a good guy now, isn't he? And besides it's the movement he represents that's important, not the man. . . .

WHAT MOVEMENT?

The Third Party that Wallace talks about doesn't even exist as a party. There is no party, there is no organization, there is nothing to be supported except—Wallace and his promised good deeds. The "movement" consists of two parts: the Stalinist apparatus running the Wallace campaign; and the people who are being sucked into voting for Wallace by that apparatus.

There is no doubt that the latter half represents a "movement" among the people. It consists of people who DO want something different from the bipartisan reaction now going on, who DO want a party that represents the interests of the little people, the workingmen, the victims of exploitation and bigotry and profiteering.

BUT THE WALLACE-STALINIST COMBINATION CANT GIVE THEM THAT. THIS MARRIAGE BETWEEN OPPORTUNISTIC PHRASEMONGERS AND TOTALITARIAN STOOGES OF THE KREMLIN DOES NOT OFFER ANY OPPORTUNITY FOR LABOR TO STRIKE OUT FOR ITSELF POLITICALLY.

And only if labor organizes its might on the political field can there arise a real alternative to Democratic and Republican reaction—a real party of working-class struggle for peace, abundance and democracy.

Why Not Now?

By H. BENSON

DETROIT—Some tight-rope walker, juggling his pencil in the current issue of *Ammunition* (UAW educational magazine) attempts to "explain" the 1948 political policy of the United Automobile Workers Union.

In question and answer form we are told just why we should not support the Wallace movement. We receive an IOU handout on the promise that after the presidential elections this fall the UAW will help organize a genuine third "majority" party based largely on the union movement. But sad to say we are told this cannot be done now; for now is not the time. (The epitaph of the leaders of the American labor movement will read: "Now was not the time.") No, there is too much "educational" work to be done and besides, the state election laws would make it impossible to get on the ballot in time for the '48 elections.

"NATURALLY, WE DON'T KNOW . . ."

After many questions and many explanations we finally reach the \$64 item (quotes are from *Ammunition*):

"Question: But whom do I vote for for President?"

"Panel (Answer): If you don't know, naturally we don't know. . . ."

That's clear enough. The UAW leaders just don't know. For years, the CIO leaders, including those of the UAW, have commanded great prestige among millions of workers; they have pounced away at the necessity for political action; they have stubbornly insisted that the only "practical" political policy was to support so-called liberals in the two capitalist parties. And now, after years of experience with this policy, at a time when the union movement is under attack from every department of government, they can only offer this advice: "naturally, we don't know."

Ammunition continues with its brilliant political advice: "Actually, if we start working immediately on a political program that deals with housing, Taft-Hartley, prices, taxes, and monopolies we may yet find a candidate and a program we can support in November."

How does this abracadabra make sense? Only in one way. If by some miracle or by some hypnosis whose workings is as yet unknown the CIO leadership could perform the impossible and arouse the enthusiasm of its membership for the current bankrupt political program . . . and if as a result the CIO could put on huge political demonstrations in some form or other . . . then it is doubtless true that some phony "liberal" in the Democratic party who now prefers to remain discreetly silent might utter a few ineffectual mutterings which could be interpreted by the desperate CIO officials as "progressive" and "New Dealism." Then we could all jump on his hand-wagon and try to postpone the whole annoying business for a few more years.

TIME IS NOW, NOT LATER

But if such pressure would accomplish such results, what could the immediate formation of a labor party bring? CIO members would respond by the millions as they did in the days of the formation of the CIO itself. That is guaranteed. And, seeing the determination and resoluteness of the workers, it is also certain that the politicians of all parties would try to woo the workers away from this movement by all sorts of concessions and compromises. And the more we spurn their crumbs the more they would try to offer in order to stave off the growth in influence of our party.

It is true that these concessions would not last forever, for when our party grew in strength, as it inevitably would, the capitalist politicians would fight us with the same reactionary methods that they use today against our unions.

But the immediate formation of a Labor Party, now . . . today would mean a big step forward and an immediate improvement in the conditions of the whole working class, regardless of the outcome of the current elections. NOW is the time for the formation of a Labor Party.

\$3,500 a Year—

(Continued from page 1)

that can be expected under present unemployment insurance is from \$80 to \$100 for a five-week wage loss.

INSULTING STANDARDS

Is it any wonder that the workers are asking for what has come to be called "labor's third round of wage increases?" Is it any wonder that they want also a guaranteed annual wage? The average worker lives on a level far below the BLS requirement. When he is laid off, his level sinks even lower. And that is not all.

The standard used by the BLS is an insult to the working people. In this age when the possibilities for good living are almost limitless, when profits go beyond the capitalists' fondest hopes, when billions flow freely for war preparations, the BLS budget allowed for workers—and which they do not even get—is a skimping, worrying, grueling and humiliating thing.

The wife is supposed to do all the housework—the marketing, the cooking, the cleaning, the washing and ironing—without any paid assistance. While the budgeters conceded that a washing machine is necessary under these circumstances, actually out of one hundred families, in a twelve month period, only seven can afford to buy a washing machine. This status assigned by the BLS budget to the working class housewife, is the measure of the whole shabby standard.

While the budget allows for a five-room living unit with bath, electricity and heat, and in not too bad a neighborhood, it makes no provision at all for repairs and redecorating that so many tenants must do themselves these days. The food allowance is 24 cents per meal per person, a figure below the average per capita consumption in the United States as a whole. The meat ration is a little more than one-quarter of a pound per day per person, naturally of the lowest cost cuts, provision being made magnanimously for a turkey on Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Years.

The principle followed by the budgeters is summarized in their words thus: "The budget level must be sets of goods and services regarded as so necessary that families would go into debt or reduce their level of savings to maintain consumption at that level when, for example, prices in general were increased . . ." In a word, the irreducible minimum is good enough for the workers—and they don't get even that.

The clothing allotment, for instance, includes one fifth of a skirt per year for the wife and one tenth of a suit for her. The housefurnishings budget permits two pillow cases a year for a family of four. Of smaller items, one telephone call is permitted every three days, one half pack of cigarettes a day for husband and wife together, six tenths of a permanent wave per year for the wife. Against a rainy day, this worker is supposed to insure himself in an amount not exceeding \$85 a year premium—which is absolutely laughable in its inadequacy. No other allowance for saving is made in this minuscule budget.

LABOR'S NEEDS

Recently Fortune magazine broke down the spending of a family in the \$25,000 income level, and showed how difficult it is to make ends meet these days. The workers of this country do not reach even the miserable \$3,500 allotted them by this government bureau!

Other budgets for working class families, from non-government sources, have been higher than that of the BLS. For example, the Heller Committee of the Social Research of

the University of California placed the needs of a family of four in the San Francisco region at \$450 higher than the \$3,500 of the BLS—another measure of the abyss between what workers need and what they have. Only recently the New York City Housing Authority has been obliged to raise the ceiling of incomes for tenants in city projects to \$4,000 and \$4,500. Again, this highlights the difference between the minimum needs of workers and their actual receipts.

Thus we see the insecurity that sits like a ghost at the worker's meager board. Such figures as above enable us to understand the compulsion behind labor's drive for higher wages; the motive of the miners in their strike for pensions; the more urgent demands for health insurance and sick benefits, for unemployment insurance, for guaranteed pay. They also underscore the need for labor to form its own class party.

OPENING A DISCUSSION ON CZECH EVENTS

By E. R. MCKINNEY

(The following article was written three weeks before the Italian elections. It is being printed without changes or additions.)

I am writing this piece to discuss points of view expressed in LABOR ACTION recently by Comrades Judd and Howe. The Judd article was his "World Politics" column for March 1, 1948. Comrade Howe's article appeared in LABOR ACTION for March 8 under the title, "Observations on the Events in Czechoslovakia." It is my opinion that whereas there is a difference in the approach and point of view of Comrades Judd and Howe, both of them at bottom hold fundamentally similar positions. Furthermore, I believe that their analyses of the Czechoslovakian events are woefully inadequate, invalid in part, and more the product of a feeling of alarm than of sober and painstaking reflection. I believe the central theme of the Howe article to be totally inadmissible and must be rejected unceremoniously by the Workers Party. My purpose in writing this article is to validate these contentions and this position.

I will begin with the Judd article in LABOR ACTION for March 1. Comrade Judd writes: "The Stalinist road to state power is marked by the use of blackmail, threats, violence and coercion in every shape and form possible. Kidnapping and jailing of opposition leaders, bribery of Social Democratic leaders . . . police violence against opponents meetings. . . . Behind all this hovers the menacing shape of the Russian armed forces, able to invade and overwhelm the nation at will."

"But all these are techniques . . . and as such are subordinate to factors far more important for socialists to grasp. These weapons alone could never put Stalinism in power in Czechoslovakia or, for that matter, anywhere else. Together with their use, Stalinism must (a) mobilize the working class of the country and (b) offer a political and social program that will actually mobilize the workers." What is Judd saying here? He is saying that Stalinism must depend on the working class if it is to have organizational and administrative success in a country. Not only must Stalinism get the support of the working class but it must have a "political and social program" which workers can support, or which workers think they ought to support. Judd says further: "The greatest threat to the nature of Stalinism lies in its capacity (based upon organic need) to mobilize the working masses, in the

We have received several contributions which disagree in varying degree with articles that have appeared in LABOR ACTION on the Czechoslovak events. Because these events are of tremendous importance to the labor movement, and have stimulated a wide discussion on the problem of Stalinism, we have decided to open the columns of LABOR ACTION to discussion. The article that begins below, and two others, will be printed in their entirety, inasmuch as they arrived before we set any limit on size. Further contributions will have to limit themselves to 1,000 words. Shorter articles are preferred. The New Internationalist is also throwing its columns open for discussion of this issue. Space requirements will not be as exacting in the NI. Insofar as it is practical to do so, we will try to devote a half page per issue to this and the Palestine discussion which also continues for the time being. Additional discussion articles will appear from time to time in the Workers Party bulletin which can be ordered direct from the Workers Party. The latter column of LA is, of course, always open for discussion of any issue. In the latter column, however, the editors reserve the right to condense material to fit the space requirements of the paper. Articles contributed to the discussion column will not be altered in any way. If they exceed 1,000 words, they will simply be rejected.—The Editors.

name of a social program (nationalization) which appears to be revolutionary and progressive."

That is, according to Judd, the political and social program utilized by the Stalinists to win the support of the masses is nationalization, the taking of the capitalists' property and making it state property. Further on Judd writes: "Capitalism, the bourgeoisie, capitalist parties cannot fight Stalinism successfully. Stalinism will defeat its opponents except where American imperialism is the counter factor, in every case because the capitalist parties are politically and socially bankrupt and cannot halt the Stalinist mobilization of the people." The implication here is that the Stalinist parties are not bankrupt; they have a political and social program (nationalization) which gives them an appeal to the working class which the capitalist parties do not and cannot have.

THE DECISIVE POINT

Comrade Judd's article bristles with difficulties. What does he mean by the "organic need" of Stalinism to mobilize the masses? And if Stalinism has this organic need and if Stalinism must present a political and social program to attract the masses and if Stalinist "techniques" are not sufficient, and if that political and social program is presented to workers in a way which wins their acceptance and support, then we are forced to accept one of several alternative conclusions: (1) We can accept Comrade Howe's conclusions that the workers . . . also support them (the Stalinists) because their conception of what socialism is has been debased and corrupted as a result of the cataclysmic declines and the barbaric experiences of recent history"; (2) that

support the thesis that the workers of Czechoslovakia supported the Stalinist coup voluntarily, the proponents of this view must hold that previous to the coup the Stalinists had gained the support of the workers by answering their needs, or that these workers had become so thoroughly degraded that they could no longer distinguish between what is evil for them and what is good. This is not all; we have to know just at what point the Stalinists cease to do good by the workers and at what point the workers begin to understand this. This is a legitimate question because it is Judd's contention that although the Stalinists use terrorist tactics in the seizure of power, this is not really the way they take power. They can only take power if they mobilize the masses around a political and social program which "appears" progressive. Let's get the whole picture before us. Before the seizure of complete power the Stalinist already had virtual control of Czechoslovakia. Industry was already 75 per cent nationalized. The Stalinists had already been using "blackmail," "threats," "violence," "coercion," "kidnapping," "bribery," and "jailing." This was one advantage they had. But added to this they had another advantage: in the midst of the use of the above-mentioned "techniques" the Stalinists were successful in presenting a social and political program to the workers which "appeared" not only "progressive" but "revolutionary." Consequently the proletariat took to the streets voluntarily, under the Stalinist banner, in their own action committees and workers militia. They took over the factories and cast a menacing, and what they thought was a "progressive" glance in the direction of Benes. The remaining 25 per cent of capitalist enterprise was nationalized, or at least the proletariat thought it was being nationalized. Simultaneous with all of this, according to the screaming and hysterical lead article in LABOR ACTION for March 8, the Stalinists were also moving "rapidly to build their totalitarian state. Once they had decomposed and disintegrated the feeble resistance of the capitalist parties and the Social Democrats . . . there was nothing to halt the Stalinist machine. All factories, newspapers, radios, means of communications, etc., are now firmly in the hands of the totalitarianists. Elections have been postponed and will take place only when the results are entirely guaranteed."

Again I have to ask some questions. Are we to understand that "totalitarianism" the reference is to the action

committees? Is the writer of the article saying that the workers continued to support the Stalinists after the coup and as the Stalinists "moved rapidly to build their totalitarian state?" My last question is; if the workers were voluntarily supporting the Stalinists, why is it necessary for the Stalinists to postpone the elections until the "results are entirely guaranteed?" There is another sentence in this article which reads: "At the same time, he (Gottwald) is taking any possible control of the factories out of the workers' hands by sending his government administrators (all members of the Communist Party) to assume control over each of the seized factories." What happened from one day to the next? Why does Gottwald find it necessary to send "his administrators" to take control of the factories, when the workers are voluntarily supporting Gottwald? And who are these people sent by Gottwald to take factories away from workers' committees? Why is the writer of the article so considerate and gentle as to give them the innocuous title of "administrators?"

IMPLICIT CONCLUSIONS

In his LABOR ACTION column for March 1, Comrade Judd says: "Capitalism, the bourgeoisie, capitalist parties cannot fight Stalinism successfully . . . because the capitalist parties are politically and socially bankrupt and cannot halt the Stalinist mobilization of the people." Judd obscures the real issue by the way he formulates this sentence. He talks about "capitalism," "bourgeoisie," "capitalist parties," without making clear what the real nature of the conflict is. The conflict is between bourgeois-democracy and bureaucratic-collectivist totalitarianism. This is the correct formulation unless Judd is saying that the U. S. is no longer a bourgeois-democratic country, or that bureaucratic collectivism and bourgeois democracy are "equally reactionary." Judd's argument is that if Stalinism is defeated it will be defeated by American imperialism and not by any political superiority which bourgeois-democracy may have over bureaucratic collectivism. I take it that he means by "American imperialism," American armed force of the Marshall Plan. It is Judd's position therefore that workers will reject bourgeois democracy because it is capitalism but will accept bureaucratic collectivism because it is anti-capitalist. Or to put it another way; the Czech proletariat was advanced enough to be against Czech capitalism but not advanced enough to know

that Stalinist anti-capitalism is totalitarianism. They are advanced enough to reject bourgeois-democracy but not advanced enough to reject Stalinism.

Implicit in Judd's article is the belief that the whole world politically, today, outside the Marxist movement, is one solid "reactionary mass." Therefore no appreciable distinction can be made between fascism, Stalinism and bourgeois-democracy. According to this one must say that Europe is entering the century of de Gaulism or the century of Stalinism. (Concluded Next Week)

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