

**WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD;
JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!**

LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 11, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Geltman on Ballot in 19th District as WP Wins Fight

NEW YORK—The name of Emanuel Geltman will appear on the ballot in the 19th Congressional District (East Side) under the designation of the Workers Party. This is a signal and rare victory. The charges of Klein, who is the candidate of the Democratic and American Labor (Stalinist) Parties, were thrown out of court. The motion of the Board of Elections voiding the petition was nullified by the court's decision.

Making a clean sweep of the charges against the Workers Party petition, Judge Cohalan of the State Supreme Court upheld the entire legal argument and brief of Defense Attorney Joseph G. Glass. In his decision, the Judge declared, in relation to the Board's unjustified action: "There is no apparent violation of Section 137, Subsection 3, of the Election Law and no attempt has been made to show such a violation." The court thereby upheld the argument of Attorney Glass that the Board's action



GELTMAN

was baseless, unspecified and therefore unjustified.

DOUBLE VICTORY

Slapping at the likewise unspecified attempt of the so-called liberal Representative Klein, the Court stated categorically that he was not "an aggrieved candidate within the meaning of the law," that he had failed to defend his motion for invalidation of the petitions or providing the grounds for his intervention in the case.

The decision stated categorically: "The petitioner's (Workers Party) motion is accordingly granted in all respects."

The precedent established in this case is of enormous importance. Until now, to be challenged was considered to be tantamount to being rejected from the ballot. Very few cases are on record where a minority socialist party has been able to break through to justice once the machine steamroller has begun.

The determination of the Workers Party to fight through, and the brilliant defense of civil rights by Attorney Glass, frustrated the Tammany machine in this case.

ASKS FOR REBATE

The election campaign now gets under way. Mass distribution of leaflets on current problems begins this week under the direction of the East Side Branch of the Workers Party. Next week LABOR ACTION will carry a special back page devoted to the campaign. Several thousands of these are to be distributed.

Several meetings and symposiums are being arranged. Comrade Geltman is scheduled to speak at an AVC-sponsored symposium later this month.

The first meeting for Comrade Geltman will be held on October 15 at 114 West 14th Street. The subject for this forum will be "The Political Situation in the United States."

Emanuel Geltman has sent Representative Klein a challenge to open and public debate.

Comrade Geltman's public announcement of the challenge says in part:

"Mr. Klein tried very hard to keep the Workers Party off the ballot, to deprive it of its rights. Klein lost. He failed to prove his case in court.

"Let him now tell why he tried to silence the Workers Party.

"Klein is the candidate of the Democratic and of the American Labor Parties.

"The Democratic Party stands for the Marshall Plan, for the Truman Doctrine, for atomic diplomacy. It is one of the parties driving toward war and militarization of America. It is the party which put over the draft of American youth.

"The American Labor Party is a pro-Russian party. It has never criticized any action of Russian foreign policy, Russian imperialism or Stalinist totalitarianism.

"Arthur Klein is running on both tickets. Where does he stand?

"A challenge has been sent to Rep-

resentative Klein to debate this issue publicly. We ask Mr. Klein: "What is your program for peace? Let us debate this question before the people.

"The Workers Party stands for peace and socialism. Do you support Russian imperialism, American imperialism, or what?"

Stalinist Expansionism Is Fatal to Israel

Open Letter to Hashomer Hatzair

To the Members of Progressive Zionist League (Hashomer Hatzair) Achduth Avodah-Poale Zion

We address this letter to you who, despite important political differences, we consider to be fellow fighters in the struggle for the socialist liberation of mankind.

We are concerned with the voluntary political self-Stalinization of the Mapam (United Workers Party) in Israel, which in recent months has assumed alarming proportions.

Operating with dangerously naive illusions about the progressive role of Stalinism and Russia, the leaders of the Mapam are campaigning insistently for the adoption by the Israeli government and labor movement of an exclusive pro-Russian orientation. Their support of Russian foreign policy is uncritical, and as total as that of the most loyal and monolithic Stalinist party. As a matter of fact, their Stalinist orthodoxy is so thorough that El Hamishmar (Mapam daily) endorsed the Cominform denunciation of Tito.

POLICY AIDS RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM

What is worse is that Mapam leaders are actively aiding Russia in her attempts to build centers of power in the Near East in general and in Palestine in particular. It is sponsoring the Arab League for National Liberation—pseudonym of the Arab Communist Party—as the rulers of Arab Palestine. The Arab League for National Liberation only yesterday, before Russia switched to partition, swore loyalty to and accepted the anti-Jewish discipline of the Mufti's Higher Committee. The League also backed the Mufti's anti-Jewish boycott and opposed Jewish immigration.

This policy is based on the Mapam leaders' delusions that Russia is permanently committed to support of Israel's struggle for independence, not as a means of advancing her imperialist interests, but for progressive and ideological considerations.

This approach is a far cry from a realistic recognition of existing inter-imperialist rivalries and attempts to exploit these rivalries for the benefit of Israel. The Mapam leaders seek open and active alliance with the Russian imperialist bloc and denounce all attempts to march along the road of neutrality and non-involvement.

How else can sense be made of the efforts of the Mapam representatives in the Israeli government to sponsor the Arab League for National Liberation and help it become "the organizing center" (government) for the Arab areas of Palestine? How else account for the fact that the Israeli Ministry of Labor, headed by Mordecai Bentov, a leader of the Mapam, without the approval of the Arab Department of Histadruth, or the Ministry for Minorities, transferred the direction of the employment bureau to the Stalinist Arab League for National Liberation? (JTA July 26)

In the present circumstances, with the employment bureau having a near-monopoly on jobs for Arabs in Israeli territory, this amounts to placing the Arab workers under the domination of Arab Stalinists. The Stalinists are past masters in the

art of using control of the means of livelihood as a whip to corral workers into their camp.

RECKLESS AND DISLOYAL GAMBLE

This is a reckless and disloyal gamble with the independence and social freedom of both peoples in Palestine.

At best, the exclusive pro-Russian orientation will have the effect of turning Palestine into a hotly contested battleground of the cold war between Western imperialism and Russia. Only the imperialists girding for a new world war can gain from this development.

On the other hand, if the Mapam's Nennis and Fierlingers are successful in allying Israel with the Russian imperialist bloc, can tiny Israel or the small Arab state in Palestine be expected to maintain their national independence?

But what guarantees are there that Russia, having once gained a foothold in Palestine, will not swing back to its traditional pro-Arab, anti-Jewish policy? Only those blind to the anti-democratic and anti-socialist character of the Russian state can naively expect a Russian sense of "gratitude" to prevent a betrayal of the Jewish cause, when Stalin and his henchmen decide that a return to the policy of catering to the feudalist anti-Jewish Arab ambitions may be helpful to Russian interests.

There are signs that Russia's pro-Israeli policy may be reversed sooner than many of us expect. The Yiddish and English press in the United States has recently been carrying reports from well-informed correspondents that Russia is laying the groundwork for a rapprochement with the feudal Arab League governments.

I. Itzhaki, Palestinian correspondent of the Jewish Morning Journal, reports that the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in possession of information that the Kremlin is preparing to support the new government of Arab Palestine, headed by the Mufti, in order to thwart Britain's puppet, Abdullah.

MUST BLOCK REACTIONARY POLICY

The reactionary and suicidal policy of support to Russian totalitarianism by the leaders of the Mapam constitutes a direct challenge to the thousands of honest militants in the Hashomer Hatzair and Achduth Avodah movements who are devoted to the cause of a free, democratic, revolutionary socialism.

This leadership, which is aiding and abetting Stalinist expansionism, must be called to account. An end must be put to the policy of stooging for the anti-working class, anti-socialist force that is Stalinist Russia.

The socialist militants in the Hashomer Hatzair and Achduth Avodah in the United States of America owe it to themselves and the cause they are fighting for to assume the initiative and leadership in reorienting their movement toward a democratic, revolutionary, socialist policy. We are confident they will measure up to their responsibilities.

N. Y. City Committee
Workers Party

Wallace PP Leaders Order Surrender in Local Battles

By JACK BRAD

The announcement by the Progressive Party of a complete reversal of its policy in congressional election contests was issued in a public statement last week by C. B. Baldwin, campaign director. Though not entirely unexpected, the news was received with considerable surprise, for almost equally amazing as the contents of the Baldwin statement is the method by which it was made public.

The Wallace-Stalinist coalition is a new party and one which claims a general "liberal" outlook. It is a fact that many liberals have unfortunately allied themselves with it. Yet the Baldwin pronouncement is made quite suddenly, without any discussion in the ranks and in complete violation of the decision of the national convention of only a few

months ago, called to decide election policy among its major objectives.

There is no indication whatsoever as to who made these new decisions; the public release does not speak in the name of the National Committee. There was no announcement of a meeting of this committee, if any took place. Baldwin simply asserts that "the Progressive Party has just completed a survey of congressional contests throughout the country." That is the sole authority cited.

RANKS NOT CONSULTED

There has certainly not been any public discussion in the Progressive Party on election policy. In very rare instances only do "branches" or membership arenas exist where such matters may be discussed. It is certain that in this "progressive" organization the ranks were not consulted. A

decision is announced and those who were ringing doorbells for the Progressive Party candidate yesterday must now ring doorbells for the Democratic candidates in more than 20 districts, including such major electoral efforts as the governorship of Connecticut, the Senate seat in Minnesota, and over a score of congressional races.

ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) Leader Chester Bowles, supporter of the Marshall Plan, denounced as a red-baiter and warmonger a short while ago, is now endorsed. Douglas and Hollifield, denounced as "spiteful" and "unwilling to cooperate with progressives" because of their refusal to cross-finance in the California primaries, are now not only acceptable, but all the painful efforts of months of signature gathering, of raising funds, of developing support—all the day-to-day work of hundreds of supporters of the Progressive Party is set aside. The Progressive Party candidates are withdrawn without a vote or decision or consultation of the ranks.

The political criteria of yesterday are overthrown by decision of an unidentified authority. LABOR ACTION has commented often on the openly undemocratic character of the Progressive Party in its political support to Stalinism. This is also characteristic of its internal structure. How was the decision made then? While we do not know as yet the detailed facts, some things are evident.

LIBERAL DILEMMA

A battle has been raging in the upper councils of the Progressive Party between the liberal and Stalinist wings since before its formation. In general, the liberals have sought not to cut themselves too far adrift from the liberals who were not willing to join the Stalinist political adventure of the Wallace party. Though committed to the support of Wallace's candidacy, the liberals feared that an irrevocable break with the labor movement, particularly with the CIO, with the ADA and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party would leave them hopelessly in the grip of the Stalinists with all the bridges burned. If they were forced into such a position, of isolation, their political value and therefore their relative weight in the coalition would sharply decline. The Stalinist strategy has been precisely to reduce the Wallaceite wing to dependence and impotency through forcing upon it an isolation from its co-thinkers outside of the Progressive Party.

It is obvious that this liberal group, best exemplified by Rexford G. Tug-

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Sees Threat to Workers In Oil Strike Truce Offer

By SCOTT BYER

RICHMOND, Calif., Oct. 3—For 29 days the CIO Oil Workers on the West Coast have been on strike against the Standard, Texas, Associated, Richfield, Shell and Union Oil companies and this twenty-ninth day has been marked with a truce offer to the companies from O. A. Knight, international president of the OWIU. The conditions laid down by Knight, as reported in the press, are that the men will return to work for the 12½ cents an hour offered by the companies on the first day of the strike; that the employers accept all workers back to their jobs without discrimination; that the companies withdraw all suits for damages against the union, its locals and members; that the companies agree to arbitrate the 8½ cents difference between their offer and the union's demand for 21 cents an hour; and that the arbitration shall be under the direction of Governor Earl A. Warren, Acting Governor Goodwin J. Knight or any other persons mutually acceptable to both the companies and the union.

What the attitude of the Big Six will be toward this offer is of major importance, but more important is the question of what the rank and file membership of the OWIU will do about this sellout by their top leadership. Unless they repudiate the offer made by O. A. Knight they face going back to work having won very little in the way of wages with their other more than justified demands left to the whims and fancy of the

very men who called out the California State Highway Police to escort and protect the scab deliveries of oil made during the strike.

The first back-to-work movement which occurred in this strike, in the San Francisco Bay area, was handled in an admirable way by the membership of Richmond Local 561 of the OWIU. Under the direction of Homer Patton, an AFL Boilermakers International representative, an AFL Joint Committee was set up. September 13 this committee got 300 workers into cars and trucks in front of the Independent Machinists Union hall and with police escort entered the Standard Oil refinery. Patton claimed that the back-to-work movement had the endorsement of the AFL Boilermakers, Electricians, Sailors, Steamfitters & Plumbers, Carpenters & Bricklayers, Sheetmetal Workers and the Independent Association of Machinists. To counter this move, and in defiance of a court injunction, the following morning 3,000 pickets and sympathizers massed to stop a repetition of what had happened the day before.

At approximately 7:00 a.m. two large vans and a few passenger cars loaded with scabs raced through the picket lines, running down and seriously injuring one striker. This started a pitched battle that lasted for more than an hour between the pickets and 150 steel helmeted and well armed police, who were on the spot to protect the oil company's property. Under the guidance of war vet-

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Power Blocs Jockey Over Berlin in UN; Russians Stalk Out

As expected, the United Nations Security Council meeting in Paris has voted, against the opposition of Russia and the Ukraine, to hear the charges that Russia is an "aggressor" because of its blockade of Berlin. In reply, Vishinsky and Manuilsky have staged another of their walkouts from the deliberations, leaving unanswered the question whether their boycott is permanent or a temporary demonstration.

Since this is a procedural question the veto power does not come into play. There is little doubt, of course, that even if the two delegates return the same two votes will be cast against any measure condemning Russian action. But meanwhile both sides will have gotten in some more political licks.

The Council previously brushed aside a proposal by Russian Delegate Vishinsky to move the discussion to a reconvened meeting of the Big Four's Council of Foreign Ministers. He claimed that since Germany was involved, Security Council action was in violation of Article 107 of the UN Charter and the Potsdam and Yalta agreements.

U. S. Representative Philip Jessup countered that the question was within the UN sphere because the blockade was aimed primarily against the U. S., Great Britain and France. Most observers doubt that Russia will pull out of the UN as a result of its likely indictment. But this makes little difference: the U. S. has the votes and its delegates show little disposition to compromise.

TALK OF CONCESSIONS

The Stalinist leaders, on the other hand, have started talking about concessions. Marshal Sokolovsky, Russian commander in Germany, emphatically declared that he was willing to renew four-power discussions in Berlin—discussions which were summarily terminated two weeks ago. Vishinsky yielded slightly to the long-time American proposal for an international commission to control the atomic bomb.

His proposal to the UN Assembly was for the simultaneous creation of the commission and the outlawry of atomic weapons. This does not satisfy the Western powers, which are insisting on the preliminary setting up of a commission with power to

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No Be-Bop for FBI: How J. Edgar Taps Wires

FBI Eavesdropping Network Breaks Law but Little Napoleon Has 3,900 Men on the Job

By CHRIS WARREN

When you pick up your phone, do you get a be-bop signal? If you do it means that your conversation is being recorded. The Bell Telephone Company now insists that all recording machines have an additional piece of equipment that lets out a be-bop every ten seconds. This affords citizens the benefit of private conversations on their telephones unless...

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is interested in you. The FBI doesn't bother with the telephone company if it wants to intercept your telephone talks. They have their own "fine men" who can attach a length of wire to the regular line, insert recording devices in lamps, walls, etc.

Before the Second World War there were 850 special agents who spent their working hours tapping the telephone wires of people throughout the country. Today there are approximately 3,900 employed in that occupation. Such notable figures as Phil Murray, John L. Lewis, Jim Farley, etc., have had their phones on the FBI tapping list for years. Not publicized are the hundreds of others, labor leaders, union organizers, ambassadors, publishers, etc., who have the privacy of their homes invaded for the purpose of building up the files of J. Edgar Hoover. Former FBI agents can find no rhyme

or reason for most of their hours spent eavesdropping except that Hoover likes to collect information "so that he can have the satisfaction of telling his bosses what's cooking."

RULED ILLEGAL

A reporter for the New York Star has written a series of articles on the system of wire tapping as carried on by Hoover and his G-men. He has spoken to numerous ex-agents who were detailed to "listen in." In the last presidential election the system worked so efficiently that a full report of the Republicans' campaign speeches were placed on Hoover's desk before they were delivered and sometimes almost immediately after the authors of the speeches had had the line okayed by Republican high-ups.

Hoover has been carrying on a feud with Governor Dewey since the days when Dewey drove Hoover from the front pages of the newspapers with his spectacular "gang-busting" methods. Hoover, also, it seems, resented Dewey's taking the glory and credit for the capture of some "big" criminals who really were brought to justice by J. Edgar and his boys.

One fact is certain. Most of the wire-tapping carried on by the FBI is ILLEGAL. The Federal Communications Act of 1934 makes intercep-

tion of interstate or foreign communication by wire or phone an offense punishable by a \$10,000 fine and two years in prison. This law was ignored until 1937 when the Supreme Court ruled that tapped conversation was illegal and all convictions based on the introduction of "tapped evidence" was overruled.

This sudden and unexpected decision to enforce the law caused a flurry of excitement among private

Blocks Legislation On Wire Tapping



detective agencies and local police forces. They immediately withdrew their recording equipment from operation. The decision, however, in no way affected the workings of the FBI except to make things easier. They could now get clearer recordings. There had been so many tapings and cross-tapings that the recording devices of the FBI were under a great strain! With this strain removed the FBI expanded and developed its own system.

DICTATOR'S REALM

The callousness and indifference of the Department of Justice and the law-making agencies is remarkable. "Governor Dewey has hampered every move to call the turn on how wire tapping should be regulated," declares Senator Joseph Zorelitzki. It is easy to understand why the former prosecutor of those who broke the law is so eager to make sure that this particular law continues to be broken!

Hoover is virtually a dictator in his organization. His agents used to salute each other with the greeting "Heil Hoover." No other man in the United States has access to the private lives of the citizens of this country as he does. He is responsible to no government agency. No one challenges his right to obtain informa-

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Chapters From a New Pamphlet by Jack Ranger A Labor Party—A "Must" for American Workers

Chapter 15

Future Political Perspectives

IT IS possible generally to foresee, with workable accuracy, what the next few years hold in store for the American people.

The 1929-40 depression—temporarily lifted through the artificial stimulants of the Second World War—will be resumed, with devastating social and political implications.

Capitalism in the U. S., developing for over a hundred years under the most favorable conditions for the system—an immense territory without an inner tariff barrier, a continent richer than most in natural resources, an inexhaustible labor market through immigration, the absence of a European-type militarism until recent years—even this U. S. capitalism has been periodically shaken by crises, beginning with the first one in 1819, the next significant one in 1837, and thereafter one every nine or ten years, up to the First World War.

Then came the post-war crisis of 1921, then a boom period of prosperity (a period, however, in which one fifth of the industrial plant and equipment was idle) and then the crisis of 1929, the sharpest and most appalling in the history of capitalism.

That crisis began in agricultural areas such as the Balkans and Latin America, swept with growing fury across the earth and finally rolled up on the shore of this country in November with an impact that gradually numbed trade and production, doomed tens of millions of workers to unemployment, shattered the morale of the capitalist class, and called into being the New Deal government of Roosevelt in 1933 to save the system and buy off the growing mass sentiment for revolutionary change.

From 1933 to 1940 the New Deal administration vainly strove to restore the functioning of capitalism in this nation. Leaning on the theories of capitalist economists, the government sought to spend the nation into a state of prosperity. Relief or WPA jobs were given to millions—not to all who needed them, but to millions. The economic system gradually and slightly lifted by 1937, and then again in 1938 fell flat on its back. In 1939, when the Second World War broke out in Europe, there were still more than 10 million unemployed here.

Roosevelt's policies failed to rescue the economy, as had Hoover's before him. But the war which Roosevelt and world imperialism brought on temporarily revived the patient. Capitalism came back with a bang once the war really got going. But it is an artificial recovery.

Since the end of the war it has been a feast-and-famine economy—a feast for the rich, whose profits reached an all-time high of approximately \$20 billion in 1947, but a famine for the masses, who in the first two years after the war were deeper in debt than they ever had been in history.

The post-war "prosperity" was built on a number of factors, chief of which were the following: huge military expenditures, record installment buying, unprecedented volume of investments in new plants and equipment, extremely large expenditures by business for inventories of goods, vast increase in foreign trade between the United States and the European nations ruined by the war, and pent-up consumer purchasing power from the years of war scarcities.

Most of these factors exhausted themselves by the spring of 1948. It is only a question of time until the American economy once more hits the skids. When the new depression comes, American capitalism will confront it in a much worse position than in 1929.

A national debt of at least \$250 billion will be hanging overhead at the very start of the depression. The economy is even more monopolized than in 1929. Military commitments are huge. The rest of the world is insolvent. There is growing unrest in the colonial world. At home the workers are better organized in unions, a little wiser, a little harder to control by the old methods.

After seeing big business spend hundreds of billions of dollars for destruction in the war, the unemployed (who will number tens of millions) will be in no mood to accept a miserly one billion dollars a year in relief, as Roosevelt and Congress tossed them in the last depression.

In such a depression, it is more than probable that labor, fighting desperately to gain a bare living for the people and to maintain and protect its economic organizations, will be forced to supplant the present conservative union leadership—professional, narrow-minded, selfish, brutal, jealous, bribed and corrupted by big business.

We believe that labor will build its own political party, based upon the unions, controlled by the unions, with a leadership responsible to the unions and removable by the unions. We believe that this labor party will attract to it, through its program and policies, the majority of farmers and middle-class people, both of which groups will be ruined by the vast depression.

We believe that this labor party will be forced by each new turn of the screw to adopt increasingly radical demands which will go beyond capitalism, that labor will finally see that the solution of mankind's economic and social problems lies not within the capitalist system at all but beyond it, in a socialist order.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Discusses Threat in Oil Strike Truce Offer - -

(Continued from page 1)

crans in their ranks, the strikers set up road blockades to stop further entrance into the refinery, and for protection in the attack by the police. Tear gas dispersed the pickets several times, but each time they returned to fight back with fists, rocks, boards and bottles.

(It is interesting to note that while it was impossible to combat the pellet type tear gas bombs effectively, for they had no gas masks and could only turn their faces to the wind and warn others to do the same and not to rub their eyes, the pickets hurled almost every grenade type bomb back at the police.)

The battle ended with a victory demonstration of the strikers in front

of their union hall which was but a few yards away. At this demonstration the local leadership announced that the AFL Joint Committee did not have official AFL sanction. With this announcement about 700 pickets marched to the IAM hall and sent a committee through the cordon of cops protecting the entrance to protest the committee's scab herding. It is said that the IAM officials were very "impressed" by the committee as well as the "mob" outside. It is sufficient to point out that the so-called Joint Committee has not attempted any more activity similar to that it was guilty of on September 13.

There have been many other battles like the one described above, not

only in Richmond but in front of the Shell and Associated refineries in Martinez and Avon, Calif., which are nearby. Militant activity has not been restricted to the refinery areas. Roving picket squads have been organized and the Big Six have announced the discontinuation of all oil and gas deliveries in this county with the statement that "we do not wish to jeopardize the safety of our truck drivers." The scab drivers are members of company unions.

The bravery displayed by the oil workers in their fight against the profit-bloated oil companies is the result of their anger at the fact that although they were working steadily before they struck, they were going in the hole financially; and their

desire for better working conditions, put together with the knowledge of the tremendous profits that the oil barons are making.

Given the bravery and the militancy of the rank and file oil workers, the question must be answered: How is it then that O. A. Knight can put forth the sellout offer outlined in the beginning of this article? This writer has not the space to psychoanalyze the bureaucratic machinations of the oil workers' international president, but it is assumed that he has done so feeling that there is enough back-to-work sentiment among the ranks to allow him to save face. If this feeling does exist it is the result of the leadership provided by Knight and the entire international CIO officialdom.

At no time during the strike were there any steps taken by Phil Murray and company to mobilize the entire strength of the CIO and the rest of organized labor behind this strike. The entire strike strategy so far has been carried on by the various OWIU locals, which on their own did their best to get together and mobilize the rest of labor behind them. This so far has been inadequate, for even though many of the CIO locals in other industries have contributed financially and otherwise, the CIO is relatively small as compared to the AFL in this state. The largest CIO forces here, those in the maritime industry, have their hands full with their own strike.

What is needed to win this strike? 1) The international CIO must immediately send enough money to the strikers so that they can stave off the bill collectors for a time.

2) Send in organization personnel to complement the staffs of the existing strike committees.

3) Pressure must be brought to bear on the oil companies NATIONALLY.

4) Call for and set up rank and file strategy committees from all unions affected by the strike in each strike region and, if need be, to coordinate the work of these committees on a coast-wide basis.

PP Surrenders Local Battles - -

(Continued from page 1)

well, has more in common with the ADA than with its own fellow thinkers in the Progressive Party. Tugwell, for example, even supports the Marshall Plan which to the Stalinists is anathema. At the Philadelphia convention, the Wallaceite liberals attempted to introduce some amendments to the foreign policy program along the lines of "not taking 100 per cent responsibility for the foreign policy of any nation." The Stalinists refused even this weak eye-wash compromise. They crashed through with their overwhelming steamroller.

This convention gave the Stalinists complete organizational control, but it could not settle the crucial and unbridgeable differences. Tugwell took his battle out into the open about a month ago by announcing in the press his intention to quit if the Stalinists did not relent in their crowding of the liberals. It was a cry of anguish and an appeal to Wallace to step in and avert a split. This was the first open sign that the suspected conflict was being joined.

DINNER INCIDENT

Only a few weeks ago a second sign burst through the otherwise silent and smooth facade. At a dinner where Baldwin dropped hints as to the change of policy, Wallace publicly chastized his "closest associate" for this policy change, urging that instead a sharp break had to be made and that the policy of minimum support to the Democrats had to be cut still more because the party's independence had to be preserved at all costs.

There has been much confusion on this dinner incident which will not be cleared up until one of the principals breaks out of the circle of silence to tell the story. It seemed as if Baldwin, who had previously appeared to be playing the Stalinist game, had reversed positions with Wallace, the latter now exposing their policy in this matter. However, until secrecy is lifted, nothing certain can be ascertained. It is possible that Wallace was speaking as the balancing force between factions and in this role of trying to maintain party unity, was advising his supporters not to exacerbate the conflict but to place the party first.

More likely, however, is the probability that Baldwin was enunciating a new Stalinist line of retreat, exemplified in the new congressional election policy, while Wallace had not yet caught up with the new

twist and was still supporting the Stalinist line of yesterday, of which they had convinced him.

The predominant fear of the liberal wing is that the Wallace vote will prove enough to elect a reactionary Republican Congress and that the accusation that the Wallace movement served only to defeat liberal Democrats will be realized. Fear of taking responsibility for such an eventuality is what motivates their desire for a policy of conciliation with ADA and the Democrats. The argument employed by the Stalinists and mouthed by many of the liberals themselves was that the Wallace vote would be so great as to sweep in several dozen Progressive congressmen who would form a substantial core of opposition. Likewise the early predictions of a huge Wallace vote between ten and fifteen millions attenuated these fears, since this would have been an overwhelming mass justification which would have established the party firmly.

MANY LOSSES

It is this loss of strength and popularity, the inescapable identification of the party with Stalinism, the many disaffections and, above all, the continued but more complete isolation from the labor movement, which has forced the change in tack.

The Wallace candidacy and movement have lost sharply everywhere, especially in the labor movement and among middle class people. The great flood of attack by the capitalist press and especially the intervention of the labor leadership in behalf of Truman have whittled the Progressive Party support.

The Progressive Party has been effectively smeared with the Stalinist label. Stalinism has proved to be the Achilles heel of the Progressive Party. It is the primary weapon in the hands of its opponents. The labor leadership especially has used this weapon to the hilt.

It is possible that the new policy is an attempt to avoid the enormous blame for the election of conservatives and reactionaries without the compensation of a substantial Wallace vote. For all the current polls hold his standing at between two and four million votes.

By withdrawing local candidates, not only is responsibility surrendered for the Congressional election results but all attention can now be given to the Wallace national campaign. In this sense the new policy becomes a salvage operation—leave the local

campaigns alone for the moment and concentrate on the maximum vote nationally. Many of the local Democrats are strong, while Truman is weak.

In California this is unquestionably a consideration. Here the Stalinists' local electoral tactics have reduced expectations from 750,000 to 250,000 votes. The endorsement of Douglas and Hollifield is a retreat on these fronts in favor of a larger state vote by a more conciliatory and opportunistic policy.

VICTORY FOR STALINISTS

Is the new policy a liberal victory over the Stalinists? It would appear to be so, but the facts are not really ascertainable; there is only speculation. No one knows where Lee Pressman and John Abt stood, what threats were made or alternatives offered. This fact is clear, however: the CP press has not attacked the new policy nor have the Stalinist supporters in the Progressive Party been replaced, so that it is they who will now effectuate a new policy. Thus, while the policy of the liberal wing has now been adopted, there is no evidence that it is the liberals who forced it through. All available evidence is that the Stalinists put through the switch and will now implement it. The new policy represents a retreat and defeat for the Stalinists but not a victory for anyone else.

The losers are the mass of Wallace supporters whose desires remain unconsulted and whose support of independent political action is now reduced to a limited area because it suits other needs.

This much is certain. The new policy brings the party closer to disintegration and split. It is not a solidifying move but an expedient one, a bad compromise in the course of which the basic reasons for the independent split off of the Progressive Party has been nullified and surrendered. For in the course of finding justifications for the new policy all the reasons for the Progressive Party's formation have been reviewed by the Progressive Party leadership itself and all have been denied. The basic claim, that the Progressive Party was born out of a need to embody "progressive principles" in independent form for a decisive break with "bi-partisanship" is now repudiated. Searching now for that which distinguishes the Progressive Party from the ADA one finds only Stalinism.

Ohio CIO Leadership Asks Support for Denounced Politicians!

The leadership of Ohio's organized labor continues to take a ridiculous position on political action in the forthcoming elections. The CIO-PAC had previously stated that it could make no choice between Herbert and Lausche, the Republican and Democratic candidates for governor of Ohio. Now, after rejecting the standard bearers and spokesmen for the two boss parties, PAC has decided to endorse almost all other state candidates on the Democratic ticket. In just two cases they endorsed Republicans. So we now find the CIO in the unenviable position of urging votes for candidates of parties whose leadership the CIO has denounced.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1907, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of Labor Action, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1948. State of New York, County of New York, s.s.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Max Shachtman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is one of the owners of Labor Action and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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BOY MEETS GIRL

In the Struggle Over Berlin's Fate A Sidelight on the "Human Factor"

By WILLIAM BARTON

Nearly every journalist with a small by-line, when commenting on world-scale events, frequently tosses off an aside that "we sometimes lose sight of the fact that actual human beings are involved in these events." Like so many other clichés, it is all so true.

Reading and hearing the reports about the current Berlin crisis naturally brings thoughts of what gives with all of long-suffering humanity. To this member of the human race, much of it is symbolized by a set of individuals once known, but whose whereabouts are today unknown, their names and even appearance just about forgotten.

BOY MEETS GIRL

It happened in those strained days of relaxation after VE Day in Occupied Germany. Our unit was very close to the border of the Russian-American zones; our specific task was to "process" thousands of Russians and other Eastern Europeans slated to return home from Germany. Adjacent to our quarters was a large camp for these DP's, staffed mostly by Russian military and civilian personnel.

Nearby was also a flimsy but large housing project built by the Nazis to house workers from all over Europe to slave in the town's war industries. It was the second home of most of the GIs, much more popular than the barracks after dark for obvious reasons.

The inhabitants of these apartments represented most European countries, except Russia. The large number of Russians in the area were all officially compelled to live in their own "lager," under official supervision. All except one—and that one involves the "boy meets girl" tale of one of our buddies.

This sensitive young chap (from a farming community in northern Wisconsin) found his Russian girl in the housing project. He told us that she avoided all questions of why she stayed away from her countrymen's quarters, but some information came from the person whose apartment she shared—a middle aged German woman whose husband and son were both missing on the Eastern front. The Russian girl was apparently frightened by one of the camp civilian officials who had either attacked her, threatened her with reprisals back home, made her work especially hard, or just looked at her askance. No details ever came out, except that she mentioned the man's name with fear, and never left the building.

The GI's furtive romance went smoothly for about three days. The petty German fuhrer in charge of the house then somehow learned

about the Russian. He insisted that the German woman kick her out; she courageously refused. This officious character answered the rebuff with a strange report to his enemies of yesterday—the Russian authorities. These in turn made their representations to the American unit's commanding colonel, appropriately called "Blood and Guts, Jr."

With a huff and a snarl and perfect military courtesy, the colonel called in the GI. The only reason the latter wasn't busted then and there was that he was only a private. Of course, he was immediately transferred elsewhere. The Russian girl returned to her camp—and there, who knows? Even the German woman received her penalty—she was eased out of her apartment and left town.

OUR COMMON CAUSE

Undoubtedly a very trivial incident in a vast drama. Three people—an American, a German and a Russian, with entirely different backgrounds and likely fates—were pushed around by the officialdom of their respective countries. The much publicized little guy and little girl, joining together as human beings, were defeated by the powerful forces of the modern states, also joined together.

That the two groups of states are working against each other now does not change their effect upon the people involved in our little story. We are being kicked around by the power boys in a world we never made. Whatever the fine points of difference, we share a common fate, and we'll have to get together to change it.

Our joint answer must sooner or later come in a vigorous handshake across all iron curtains, followed by a pledge to defeat those people and forces that prevent the fulfillment of our natural brotherhood. The Third Camp of popular resistance, symbolized by those three small people in Central Germany in 1945, is our hope in these days of insane tampering with the lives of millions.

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Editorials

Oil and Water

We shall have little to say in this editorial about the majority of labor leaders who are trying to get labor to embrace strikebreaker Truman. (And we shall have nothing at all to say about the miniscular handful of labor leaders who have cast their lot with a "winner," Dewey.) We want to talk about those few labor leaders who speak of a new political party, even of a labor party, and the plump for Truman.

The outstanding case, of course, is that of Walter Reuther and more generally the entire leadership of the United Automobile Workers Union. It is no exaggeration to say that the statement made some weeks ago by the president of this powerful union of militant workers, in which he pledged himself to devote the greatest part of his energies to the creation of a new political party based on labor, electrified the labor movement. And properly so. LABOR ACTION, noting the many deficiencies of the statement, nevertheless hailed the statement as a significant step forward.

LABOR ACTION, on that occasion, as it has on many occasions, wrote that support of a capitalist party, on any excuse, was intolerable, and that support of an avowed and open strikebreaker could not under any circumstances be justified. We said that no labor leader has the right to support a strikebreaker or any associate of a strikebreaker.

In repeating over and over again the necessity of labor's own party, we have countless times written about the dangers that lie in the policy of supporting "good" capitalist candidates. We will not discuss the general issue as it involves, for example, the utterly hopeless politics of William Green or Philip Murray, which is to keep the working class permanently pinioned to the Democratic and Republican Parties. Here we want to deal only with the Reuthers.

The latest of these is Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and an executive committee member of the CIO's PAC. In a speech made on September 26 to the United Hebrew Trade conference, Potofsky urged a conference of union leaders, AFL, CIO and independent, to "revitalize" the Democratic Party or to create what the New York Times described in covering his speech as "a full-fledged labor party." We won't dignify the idiom of "revitalizing" the Democratic Party with any comment. We are, however, ready to applaud the call for a conference of labor leaders to fuse labor's political strength. A conference of leaders and rank and file representatives on this most important of issues is absolutely indicated. A labor leader who speaks for such a conference, especially if he were to take the additional step of actually calling one, is really discharging his duties as a labor leader.

But—and this is an enormous but—Potofsky bracketed his call with a plea for the re-election of Truman. And that is precisely what Walter Reuther has done in a statement of the UAW Executive Board issued on September 13. Such endorsement stands in absolute contradiction with the avowal of interest in a new party and cannot possibly be justified.

Not even the miserable excuse that it is good "practical politics" can be advanced for it, inasmuch as few people concede Truman a chance. How guide the workers toward independent political action, if that guidance is now twisted into the channels of the Democratic Party? It impedes what these labor leaders say they want to achieve and casts more than a shadow of doubt on their intentions!

In our letter column last week there appeared some observations by one of our contributors about the UAW's endorsement of Truman. In Potofsky's case, his words merely give one reason to believe that his talk about a conference for political labor action is so much window-dressing to obscure the shameful lengths to which he will go in promoting the Truman candidacy. There was not, of course, a mention of Truman's strikebreaking. That would be too much. Nor—at this conference which resolved that support for a Democratic Party government meant "government for the benefit of the many and not the few" (!)—of the role of the Democratic Party as the servant of one section of the capitalist class. That too would be too much. But Potofsky added his special filip. Before a group of Jewish union people, Potofsky praised Truman's record on Palestine!

This double-talk of a labor party and endorsement of Truman cannot be permitted to go unchallenged. It smells, and the place to talk about that smell is in the shop and on the union floor.

Further, the labor leaders who speak of independent political action must not be permitted to squirm out of their commitments. Above all in the UAW have the ranks the right to demand that the cloud cast on Reuther's promises be dispelled by concrete evidence. (We won't go into it now, but Emil Mazey, as the most outspoken advocate of a labor party among the leadership, has a particularly large amount of explaining to do!)

In the present situation, the very least the union ranks have a right to expect from the labor leaders who speak of new and independent political formations is that they refuse to lend their names to the Democratic or Republican or Wallaceite campaigns. And in the situation, it is clear that they will have to exert the utmost pressure in securing the fulfillment of commitments which were presumably seriously made and require serious steps to effectuate.

A Victory

In recording the victory of the Workers Party in its fight for a place on the New York ballot, we should like to pay a special tribute to Attorney Joseph G. Glass. The Workers Party had right on its side, but that alone is rarely sufficient to crack the barriers that the big boss parties erect in the path of minority parties, especially socialist parties. Nor have the courts been famous for siding with socialist groups which have been dispossessed from the ballot on whatever shady pretext.

Much depended on the skillful, intelligent presentation of the Workers Party's case in court by someone who was as fully understanding of the principles involved as of the intricacies of the law. The Workers Party was thus extremely fortunate in having Attorney Glass as its counsel. He proved himself more than a match for the attorneys of the Board of Elections and Tammany Hall on the legal aspects of the case. But, more than that, he emphasized throughout the important principles at issue.

At the conclusion of one of the hearings before Judge Cohalan of the State Supreme Court, at which Attorney Glass had made an impassioned presentation of the fundamental democratic issues that were at stake, one of the Tammany lawyers, corroded with the cynicism of his employment, expressed his astonishment at Glass' militancy (his word). What was there to get sore about? A job is a job, a fee a fee, is it not? Why not a joke, some banter? Informed that the case was a matter of principle, the Tammany lawyer took his leave, apparently wondering what this word "principle" could mean.

Though, formally, only the right of the Workers Party to put its candidate on the ballot in the 19th Congressional District of New York was involved, actually every socialist and minority political group had an interest in the case. It is not the first time that an attempt has been made to deny a place on the ballot to the Workers Party and it will probably not be the last time. And the Workers Party is not the only party so affected. In their time, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Labor Party have repeatedly had to face various efforts to refuse them a place on the ballot.

Wallace's party this year has run into difficulties in many states. Even Truman has run afoul of election laws conceived by his own party in certain Southern states.

(There is no limit to the hypocrisy of these scoundrels. Truman's party can work itself into a lather when it trips over its own rules in Louisiana, and yet go to great lengths and expense to oust the Workers Party from the ballot in one congressional district of New York. The same holds for the Wallace and Stalinist party which, in New York, is the American Labor Party. It gets properly indignant about the machinations of the Democratic politicians to keep it off the ballot in various states, yet engages in the same rotten business. Two years ago it was the ALP which successfully barred the WP from the ballot in Harlem, and this year, Congressman Klein, who sought to rule the WP off the ballot and then withdrew his objections, is both a Democratic and ALP candidate.)

Attorney Glass proceeded from the start on the premise of democratic principle, and so he handled the case throughout. He fought with the knowledge of what a victory in this case would mean. And victory in this case is his second legal triumph over the electoral blockade set up by the Democratic and Republican Legislature. That the Socialist Party and Socialist Workers Party (which would otherwise have been ruled off for having identical words in their names) both appear on the New York State ballot this year is the result of a court victory won two years ago by Attorney Glass. (It gives us particular pleasure to note that Joseph G. Glass is a prominent member of the Socialist Party. As a man of political convictions and convictions which differ from those of the Workers Party in important respects, his devoted handling of the case was a heartening demonstration of socialist cooperation.)

Both the Workers Party and Attorney Glass have the right to pride in their achievement. They have won a significant victory. To our knowledge, it is the only such case won in the New York courts this year. The precedent it sets will net other victories this year and next.

WORLD POLITICS

Struggle for Germany

Perhaps no people are more surprised than the Germans themselves over the fact that the ruins and divided segments of their nation have become the scene of the greatest pre-war political and social struggle ever known. In general, the effect of this struggle has been—for the first time—to lift them out of the depths of apathy and disinterest that so characterized the mass German population in previous years. In this respect, it is correct to say that an amazing transformation has occurred within Western Germany since the beginning of this year. To those acquainted with the country immediately after the war, and even so recently as last year, this transformation in the social, moral and psychological atmosphere has been a revelation, testifying again to the ability of any people to pull itself together and tenaciously resume historic life despite all obstacles.

Naturally, a decided bettering of conditions of living has been the principal factor behind this change. The influx of food and raw materials into Western Germany under the terms of the Marshall Plan, together with the currency reform measures, provided the elementary stimulus which, together with the revival of small German industries and the leap forward in Ruhr coal and steel production, set off a distinctly noticeable economic revival. The economic face of Western Germany is entirely different from that of last year. People are working and, in general, look better fed and better clothed. They possess far more physical and mental activity than last year. The currency measures, brutal and discriminatory against those whose living depended upon savings rather than earnings and income, and carried through in a manner calculated to arouse fear and panic among the population, did—despite all this—achieve certain results. It struck a heavy blow at the mass black market, liquidated a worthless paper currency and replaced it with money having real value, and stimulated the production, marketing and sale of commodities. One can actually buy things now in German stores—an unprecedented happening! The familiar "Zigarette-Shokolade" economy of post-war Germany is definitely over.

This must not be taken to mean that there has been a wholesale revival of Germany's former economic life or even that there has been a recovery comparable to that of, for example, France. We simply mean that whereas Germany was flat on its back and out cold one year ago, it is now up on its knees and conscious of its surroundings. Everything indicates that this economic revival will continue, within definite limits set by the trend of American aid and the political situation in the "cold war."

The economic and social problems of Western Germany are entirely different from that of a year ago. Today, the problems approach those of the "normal" European countries—that is, high prices, the wage-price spiral, the shortage of money, foreign commerce, etc. The Neue Volkszeitung, in a report from a typical German industrial city, estimates the real problem of the German working class in cost of living terms. A worker, head of a family of three, receives a weekly income of about 45 marks (approximately \$13 a week). Deduction of five marks for taxes and social insurance leave him with 40 marks per week. But a cost of living budget—on a very modest scale indeed, including food, light and other necessities—runs to 45 marks a week! This is the heart of the new economic and social problem of the German working class.

ORGANIZED POLITICAL LIFE

Simultaneously with this economic revival there has come an increase in organized political life and trade union activity. There is no question but that the German labor movement, if we speak of it in the broadest sense of the word, exists once more. Just as the most dire prophecies about mass starvation, epidemics and disease catastrophes failed—fortunately—to materialize (the problem of tuberculosis is, however, a very serious one), so in the realm of political and social life the tendency toward the pauperization, atomization and "lumpenization" of the German proletariat has likewise been halted. Those political circumstances which forced American imperialism to pour aid and dollars into Western Germany, while reversing its notorious Morgenthau program for the complete destruction of German economy, have proved a godsend to the German proletariat which has known how to take advantage of this situation.

Able to work once more, receiving a wage with which, in any case, he can buy something that has value, seeing about him growing signs of rebuilding and renewed economic activity, the German worker can take a renewed interest in the events of life and feels himself once more a member of a social class within society. This does not mean that a high level of political and socialist thought and action exist; again, it simply means that the most necessary and elementary progress has been made.

It is impossible to overestimate the effect that the

struggle over Berlin has had upon the German consciousness. Masses of people in the western zones, ill-fed and undernourished as they are, willingly have contributed portions of their rations to the Berlin airlift. The political blundering of the Russians in their handling of this situation has so antagonized the population not merely of Berlin (this is well known from the demonstrations and other actions conducted by the people of that city), but of all of Germany so that it can be stated that German Stalinism has lost heavily and would show up very badly in elections. The association between the German Stalinist movement and their Moscow masters is clearly fixed in the minds of all. Stalinism has declined considerably, even among the Ruhr workers. Berlin has become a focus of German nationalism, hope in the future and desire to resist the progress of Stalinist totalitarianism.

Does this signify a burst of enthusiasm for the Allies in general, or the American occupation in particular? Nothing could be further from the truth. We have no space here to discuss the long story of disillusionment with American "democracy," even among those liberal layers of the population who were most preared to pin their faith on the Americans. We can merely report that there is widespread understanding of why the Americans hold tight to Berlin, together with the belief that since they—along with the other conquerors of Germany—are equally responsible for this fantastic situation, their supplying of the Berlin population is a necessary action, and not a "favor" or act of generosity. In the same sense, American material aid is accepted for what it is. To those Americans who boast about it, the curt reply is given that what the Americans have removed from Germany (in the form of patents and machinery), together with money extracted as occupation costs, plus the volume of German trade and commerce taken over by American firms—all this more than accounts for the value of Marshall Plan aid.

ORIENTATION OF GERMAN PEOPLE

There are no illusions about the nature or aims of the Allied occupation and American activities. At the same time, there is absolutely no popular movement or demand for the ousting of the Allied or American troops of occupation since it is felt that only the Russians, together with their totalitarian SED Party, could fill in the vacuum that would be produced. There is no belief at the moment that a German state, arising out of an independent development of the people as a whole, could step into the situation and successfully halt the march of Stalinism. In this sense, the continued occupation is tolerated as a necessary, if unwanted and hated, condition.

But this attitude does not mean that a political and ideological orientation toward creation of an independent Germany does not exist. It does, in different ways, within different layers of the population and above all, within the different political parties. The conception, held by some revolutionary socialists in America and elsewhere, that a mighty national resistance and revolutionary movement can arise which will cast out the occupiers (Russians and Allies alike) and set up a fully independent German state—this conception is unknown in Germany, even among the most left of the left. It is the naive transformation of French conditions under the German occupation, with its Resistance, to an entirely different situation.

The general orientation is more along the following lines: It is believed that the Berlin situation, and the general split between East and West, will remain, deepening into a total impasse. Within the context of this impasse, the hope exists within German bourgeois circles as well as the Social Democratic Party, that the Russians and Allies will be obliged to withdraw, not only from Berlin, but from all of Germany. Part of the withdrawal will consist in leaving behind, in their respective zones, comparatively stable GERMAN regimes; one oriented toward the East and under an SED police dictatorship; the other oriented toward the West, aided by America and supplied by American arms.

The Social Democratic leadership hopes to play a leading role within this formally independent (in reality, satellite) Western German state. The German bourgeoisie, naturally, hopes that this development, together with a continuation of the economic revival, will make it possible for Germany to push itself a little bit into the world market. Both believe that the very existence of such a state would be a powerful force in attracting support from Stalinist-terrorized Eastern Germany.

While nobody can foretell how these orientations will work out in practice, it is surely the most likely variant and, in the sense that such a state would furnish the best possible opportunities for the development of a revolutionary trend within the German Social-Democracy (non-existent now), the more desirable one. In any case, German political activity and discussion in the future will revolve around precisely such problems.

Henry JUDD

Democracy

U. S. CAPITALISM CAN'T AFFORD IT

By STAN GREY

There is a widespread conviction that democracy as it is known in the United States is something so rooted in American history and the American people that it is fundamentally ineradicable. Those who cling to this conviction recognize that there have been violations of these fundamental rights. But these are seen as the exceptions to the rule, the excesses of fanaticism caught in the fever of war preparations. The U. S., it is pointed out, lived through World War II without any wholesale violations of the democratic rights of its citizens. If Japanese-American and German-American citizens were persecuted and placed in concentration camps, if the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were imprisoned on the pretext of their revolutionary opinions, these are passed off as temporary and possibly necessary lapses in the otherwise firm democratic conduct of the war.

The surprise of the last war was not the violations of democracy that took place, but the extensive amount of freedom that did exist during a wartime regime. This is adduced as proof of the vital strength of the traditions of the American people, and is as close to a guarantee as one could have that the same traditions will operate equally strong in the next war. It is further argued that this guaranteed and inderstructibly viable democracy of the U. S. is sufficient reason for defending it in a war against totalitarian Russia.

This elevation of undeniable facts in American history into eternal necessities of America's future substitutes a desperate hope for critical understanding. If there are already signs that it is nothing but a wisp of hope, these signs refuse to be recognized by those who prefer to voice their passion for democracy to achieving an understanding of history and the charting of a course which can best preserve the very democracy they profess to cherish.

TRADITION—AND REALITY

Already events have taken place in the United States which raise the question, "Where is this powerful American tradition?" If there was one single thing to which the American tradition was squarely opposed, it was the idea of peace-time conscription. Yet is not that the reality of today? If it is argued that this tradition made it more difficult to put over the conscription, the fact is that it proved incapable of stopping it. Where is the American tradition which should be preventing this unprecedented armament program in time of peace? Where is this American tradition which should be making impossible the widespread witch-hunts and persecution of arbitrarily labeled "subversives"?

The "American tradition" has proved itself woefully feeble in the face of the speedy development of militarism and the partial regimentation of sectors of American life. If the leaders of American capitalism have little regard for this tradition, it is because they have less need of preserving a posture of democratic piety than do the more trembling sensibilities of liberals and other passionate "democrats." The sober disillusioning fact is that the American tradition of democracy will suffer devastating blows where it comes into conflict with the needs of the war and the imperative of establishing American domination over the globe.

In the last war, the requirements of victory did not extend to the suppression of freedom at home. All that was "necessary" was the suppression of outright fascist groups and the safe surveillance or incarceration of citizens born of enemy nationalities. And all that was necessary (and more) was done. If the total amount of suppression appeared as only a tiny part of what might have happened, it was not from any religious devotion to "democracy" but simply that it was only a small part of the population which it was necessary to suppress outright.

THE COMING WAR AND STALINISM

The next war will be vastly different from its predecessor, not only in its unimaginable destructiveness but in its impact on the social life in the United States. It is often argued that fascism, as known in Europe, is as impossible in the United States as is social and economic collapse of capitalism which preceded it in Europe. If the German and Italian capitalist class had resort to fascism to preserve its class rule against revolution, no such dread alternatives confront the U. S. ruling class. Even granting this to be true, which is far from assured, what is overlooked is the enormous fact that what is at stake for the American ruling class is not immediately its own class rule in the United States but the very existence of international capitalism, upon which it depends.

With all the considerable modifications that the comparison requires, one can say that the collapse of international capitalism is to the American ruling class what the national collapse of German or Italian capitalism was to their ruling classes. And the American ruling class, like its class brothers in Europe, will not sacrifice their class system on the altar of ideal democratic principles. The struggle between the United States and Russia is a struggle between two social systems, capitalist and anti-capitalist systems. The life and death of American capitalism in the next period is not the threat of social revolution at home, unfortunately, but the Stalinist threat to its domination of the world's economy.

While the coming war will be an imperialist one, as were the previous ones, the social nature of the belligerents make this a somewhat different struggle with infinitely higher stakes. In imperialist wars between capitalist countries whatever the outcome of the war, the world remained within the capitalist domain. A defeat in such a war guaranteed only a position of lesser advantage in the exploitation of the world. But Stalinist and capitalist exploitation are exclusive. This dictates the absolute necessity of victory by either side with no holds barred.

It is the insidious power of Stalinism that while it is a totally reactionary social system, it is that despite the fact that it is at the same time anti-capitalist. While it would, if successful, overthrow capitalism it is only in order to replace it with a system no less repressive of the masses of the people than the one it would overthrow. It is this anti-capitalism of Stalinism which makes it such a powerful magnet for those genuinely anti-capitalist, pro-socialist workers. It is this anti-capitalism of Stalinism which will at the same time make it necessary and possible for the ruling class to blanket the labor movement with repressive measures to guarantee the abso-

(Continued on page 4)

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114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
General Offices: 4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117
Vol. 12, No. 41 Oct. 11, 1948

Emanuel Garrett Goltman,
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(Continued from page 1)

act before there is any consideration of specific prohibitions on manufacture.

But the Russians have had to make a show of strength. They are therefore planning all sorts of military maneuvers, including parachute jumping, in the Berlin air corridor. Vishinsky's Security Council speech actually belittled the possible effects of the Berlin blockade. He shouted that Marshal Sokolovsky had offered to provide for all of Berlin's needs and that therefore those who charged Russia with threatening Berlin's population with hunger and cold were guilty of creating "war hysteria."

RIFT UNALTERED

Whether Russia does or does not back down, the three-year rift in Europe and the rest of the world will not be altered. The U. S. wants an outpost in Western Germany. Russia hopes to needle the others out of Berlin. Against this background, all other deliberations are explicitly or implicitly founded. The East-West division reveals itself even in various UN committees on questions like "declarations on human rights." It will be an important unstated motivation behind the coming discussions and actions on Palestine.

The doings of the world statesmen assembled in Paris are being fol-

lowed with full solemnity by the two billion human beings, hoping for a real peace. Instead they are getting an oratorical contest by two grasping power line-ups—a speech-making duel that reads like a series of White Papers preceding an international explosion.

The two war blocs may even manage to come to some temporary agreement; but that will solve nothing. The social structures of both allow for neither internal nor external peace of a lasting sort. Those who base their hopes on changes of heart by the big imperialist powers will be disillusioned.

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Southern "Liberal" Resents Exposure of Jim-Crow Facts

By SUSAN GREEN

Recently the New York Herald Tribune opened its pages to a veritable civil war fought, in print, between the North and the South. The provocation was a series of twelve articles written by Ray Sprigle, reporter and staff member of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, called "In the Land of Jim Crow," which, as can be guessed, was not pleasant reading. Whereupon the Tribune was bombarded by letters both approving and condemning Mr. Sprigle. Finally came a series of six answering articles by a journalist from the deep South, Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times, hotly opposing Mr. Sprigle and his point of view.

What made Mr. Sprigle's series important is that, with a Florida tan, a shaved head and a guide provided by Walter White of the NAACP, Mr. Sprigle passed the color line, from white to black, for four weeks. Thus he saw and brought to light many aspects and details of Negro life in the South that are not too widely known. On the other hand, Mr. Carter's contribution is noteworthy because, a self-confessed "southern liberal," he reveals what this rather recent growth—southern liberalism—is like. Readers of LABOR ACTION who missed the exchange in the Tribune will be interested.

LILY WHITE MURDER

From Mr. Sprigle's articles one learned that the public humiliations suffered by Negroes in the land of Jim Crow are not confined to segregation in buses, trains, stations, with the worst and the filthiest accommodations allotted to the Negroes. Not at all. In many Southern cities, for instance, the stores do not permit Negro women to try on dresses. In some stores cloths are put over black customers' heads so they may not contaminate the hats they try on. In most places the colored customer must pick her hat and dress off the rack, and if she as much as touches an article, she willy-nilly has bought it. And did you know that Georgia's entire coastline is barred to Negro bathers? Other Southern states have at least segregated beaches, but the makers of the rules in Georgia are afraid the Negroes may blacken the Atlantic Ocean. Negroes enter the lily white Atlantic lapping the shores of Georgia at the risk of being fined \$50 and costs.

Segregation in the field of health at times brings wanton and unnecessary death to Negro patients. As is well known, all health facilities in the country are sadly inadequate. However, the inadequacy of hospitals and health facilities for the Negro is criminal, and the coldblooded exclusion of even dying Negro patients from lily white hospitals, as reported by Mr. Sprigle, is something hard to believe even for those who are well acquainted with the viciousness of Jim Crow.

Mr. Sprigle told of a young Negro mother in immediate need of a Caesarian at childbirth. She and her dentist husband lived in Clarksdale, Miss., where there is a good white hospital which does not accept Negro patients no matter what the urgency. Mrs. Hill was driven 78 miles to a Negro hospital. She died on the way, with her unborn baby. Again, two women badly hurt in an auto accident right outside of Dalton, Ga., where there is a 40-bed white hospital, had to be driven for nine hours to the nearest Negro hospital in Chattanooga. On arrival one of the women was already dead.

Sprigle cited similar tragic cases. He checked with the white hospitals involved, asking if it were true that under no circumstances do they accept a Negro patient. Neither letters nor telegrams brought any reply from any of the hospitals—which is answer enough.

CONTRAST IN EDUCATION

"The pattern of 250 years of slavery still endures in the South. For 250 years, for instance, it was a crime, in some places, to teach a slave to read and write. And looking at some of the Negro schools in the South, it must still be a crime." Thus Mr. Sprigle on Negro education in the South. By and large, this general situation is widely known. Mr. Sprigle adds some not so well known facts. For instance, in the Mississippi Delta country, district No. 4, Madison County, the unusual situation exists that Negroes own about 90 per cent of all the land and pay 90 per cent of the taxes. But the Negroes have nothing to say about how the tax money is to be spent. The educational facilities for black and white respectively compare as follows:

The whites built themselves a new school consisting of five modern buildings designed by a good architect. There is a main school building, a vocational school building, a gymnasium, a beautiful bungalow for the principal. Fifteen teachers are employed, the minimum salary being \$150 a month. On the other hand, only after persistent protests was a new school built for the Negroes. It is a square box on a dirt road, two partitions dividing the space into four rooms. One of the rooms has desks hammered together out of scrap lumber picked up out of the mud, the

mud stains still present. The other three rooms have no desks at all, just home-made benches and tables. There is one toilet for boys and girls "leaning drunkenly in the wind." Four teachers are employed, their pay running from \$55 to \$90 a month. The contrast speaks for itself.

In this delta country many places do not even pretend to provide school buildings of any kind. Of 121 Negro schools in one county, only 31 were so-called school buildings, the rest were in churches, lodge halls and even garages. Yet the school money in this county comes from a two per cent sales tax paid by the population, half of which is Negro. However, as Mr. Sprigle stated, as much is paid simply to haul white children to and from their schools as is expended for the whole Negro educational program. More could be related along these lines from Mr. Sprigle's report. The abysmal lack of educational facilities for Negroes is so important because, as Mr. Sprigle pointed out, next to the right to vote freely, education for his children is most ardently wanted by the aware Southern Negro.

GRAND LARCENY

Mr. Sprigle also did well again to call public attention to the iniquitous sharecropping system. "This sharecropping in the South is grand larceny on a grand scale, and the Negro is the victim," wrote Mr. Sprigle. He told of the lot of a so-called prosperous Negro sharecropper in Georgia, for 29 years a cropper under "The Man"—the all-powerful landlord. In 1946 his crop consisted of 14 bales of cotton and six and a half tons of peanuts, for which "The Man" allowed him \$800 for the whole year. In 1947 his crop rose to 17 bales of cotton and 10 tons of peanuts, for which he was allowed only \$700 for the entire year's work. Mr. Sprigle figured that at the current prices the cotton was worth \$3400 and the peanuts \$2000, a total of \$5400. Technically the cropper is supposed to get one-half of the value of his crop, in this case, \$2700. Deductions are made for the hire of a tractor, for fertilizer, for the commissary bill and so on. But \$2000 definitely looks suspicious as deduction for these items. However, nobody but "The Man" knows how calculations are made.

The sharecropper never gets an accounting or statement from the landlord. "The Man" has to account for his figures to absolutely no one. In the Mississippi Delta region, where King Cotton holds sway over the most fertile land in the world, "the last outpost of feudalism in America" thrives on the sharecropping system of robbery.

Though Mr. Sprigle did not state the following conclusion from his facts—and, by the way, his facts are more important than his conclusions, which are rather superficial—one can see that the economic absolutism of the sharecropping system must be battered down and ended. Any Fair Employment Practices Law that does not require that "The Man" make strict accounting to the sharecropper for his crop will do nothing at all for this most exploited section of farm workers. It is to maintain this system of feudal robbery that the bourgeois of the South want to keep the Negroes in ignorance and without political and civil rights.

A progressive program for the Negro must, therefore, include the demand for fair employment practices for the sharecropper.

CARTER'S CONTRIBUTION

Now to go to Hodding Carter's contribution to the discussion on Jim Crow. In the first place, he accused Mr. Sprigle, in crossing the color line, of indulging in a stunt rather than in useful procedure. Mr. Carter stated that Mr. Sprigle revealed nothing of which people, North and South, are not already aware and "which increasing numbers of sensitive, compassionate and fairminded Southern whites are combatting openly and successfully." Mr. Carter expressed doubt that any investigation under the exclusive guidance of the NAACP could give a comprehensive picture of the whole Negro question in the South. He accused Mr. Sprigle of choosing the two worst Southern states, Georgia and Mississippi, for his exposures. And he pointed the finger of counter accusation: "... prejudice isn't directed solely to black skins or limited to the South." Which nobody would deny and which gets us nowhere except to show how deeply a Southern liberal resents publicity for the ugly facts of Jim Crow in his section.

Mr. Carter declared that Mr. Sprigle's "bill of particulars just isn't so." If so, wrote Mr. Carter, there would be "either mass emigration or bloody revolt"—a contention which cannot be taken seriously. Mr. Carter stated that the abuses Mr. Sprigle reported could have been more true in his childhood than now. The Negro in the South of 25 or even 15 years ago is the one Mr. Sprigle is describing, according to Mr. Carter.

To refute Mr. Sprigle's report Mr. Carter cited his own town of Greenville, Miss., also in the delta region. In the town of 32,000 population one half are Negro, and in the county of 75,000 population three-fourths are

Negro. A recent bond issue of a million dollars for schools in Greenville was divided to provide \$650,000 for Negro schools and \$350,000 for white schools, taking into consideration that Negro schools are more needed. Showing progress on another front, Mr. Carter reported that the homicide record of the past year showed no killings of Negroes by whites and no lynchings of Negroes, nor any lynchings in that county for over forty years. Mr. Carter is hopeful of more improvement—of course, without interference from the North.

The measure of his liberalism, however, can be found in his comment on the sharecropping system. He did not wish to whitewash it, he said, and admitted the defrauding of the cropper by the landlord. But he pointed out that there are also honest white men and that "no better system" has been devised. So speaks a Southern liberal about one of the greatest economic injustices of all time, except to add that if the Negro is exploited by the owner, the latter in turn is exploited by other interests.

Mr. Carter's basic approach can be gleaned from the following quotation: "The Southern white is increasingly overcoming all but one of the emotional biases inherited from the 250 mutually blighting years of a master and slave relationship. That one exception is the white South's insistence upon segregation in the mass. And that exception will remain throughout the ascertainable future, regardless of any federal legislation aimed at its discontinuance."

DISASTER IN JUSTICE

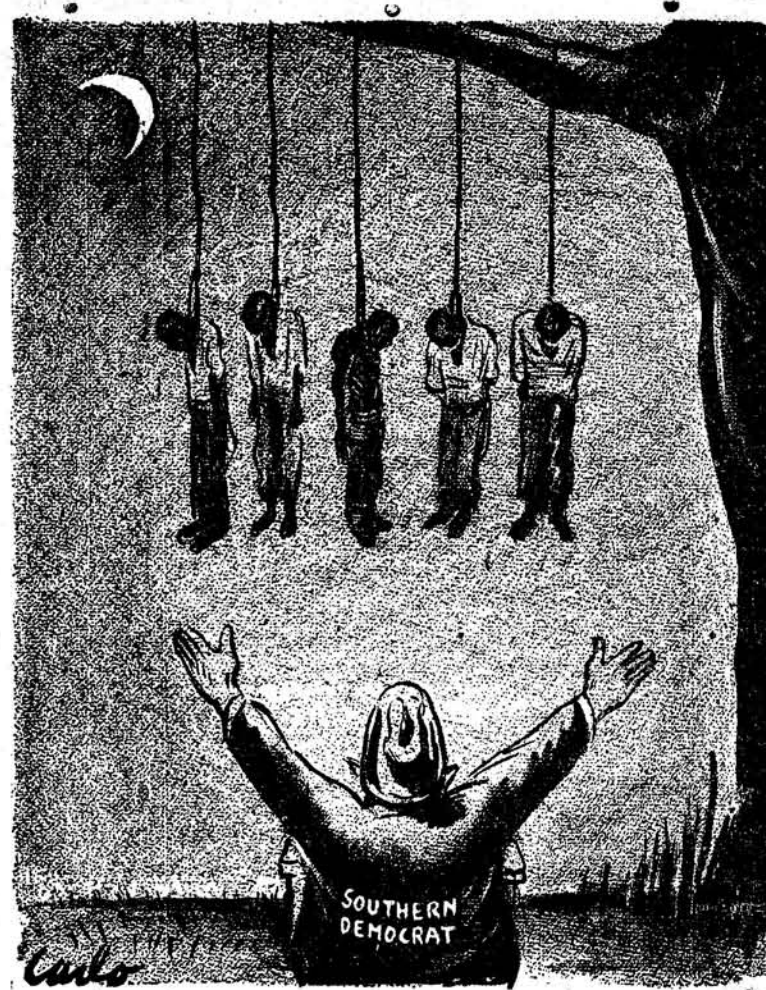
Mr. Carter places his faith in economic change, which he sees taking place. He pointed out that the one-crop system is going, that small farms are on the increase, that man-and-mule methods are giving place to mechanization that will force sharecroppers to leave the South for other sections of the country, that the specialist in production is becoming more popular than the overseer with the whip, that industry is entering the South to stay. Mr. Carter hopes that the South will receive a greater share of the national income, which will mean better individual incomes and a higher standard of living. He feels that the distribution of Negroes throughout the country, thus ending in the South the "specter of Negroes outnumbering whites three and four to one" will do more than anything else to break down segregation.

Mr. Carter branded "synthetic" the planks in the platforms of the Democratic, Republican and Wallace parties on the Negro question, written to catch Northern Negro votes and not to solve problems of the South. With this it is easy to agree. He does not see how these programs will get anywhere because "you can't enforce tolerance with a policeman's billy." He feels that if tolerance is "enforced," 30,000,000 Southern whites will rise solidly against it and that the only thing that would save the South from disaster would be if the Negroes themselves refused to take advantage of the new laws. To which one must comment that conservatives (and Southern liberals) always see disaster in disturbing the status quo.

All the interference Mr. Carter wants from Washington is federal aid to education, a broadened national health program, national slum clearance, soil conservation and resettlement, and so on. He is not for the lifting of the poll tax because in itself it won't raise political standards. The economic level must be raised, then follows education, according to Mr. Carter's formulation. He does not look at the other side of the coin, namely, that since the Negro is really not so dumb as not to know what he wants, his free vote would help him to arrive at a higher economic and educational level.

The above is, obviously, not an attempt to analyze the position of a Southern liberal as presented by Hodding Carter, nor to posit the socialist solution as against his, but is mainly a report for the information of LABOR ACTION readers. Nor has this article taken up Mr. Sprigle's conclusions because they seem less important than his factual report. Neither of these writers even mentioned the increasing solidarity between the black and white worker in the South in those very industries Mr. Carter spoke about, and the basic work done by the unions in the South, especially the CIO, in breaking down prejudice, segregation and inequality.

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Wiretapping - -

(Continued from page 1)
by illegal methods. His files are bulging with all sorts of information useful to the "right people" at the "right time" and there is no doubt that the "right people" are aware of his usefulness and shut their eyes to his methods.

Congress is very busy at present investigating the "spying" done by foreign agents, investigating the reports that Americans "sold" information to interested parties. Let it pass

in the midst of his snooping to consider the man who listens in on the conversations of private citizens, of president, of ambassadors, and who delivers this information to whomsoever he wishes. And let the working people of the United States consider this information and decide whether they will just let it pass or whether they will express their indignation with a demand that Hoover be put in his place and that the rights of citizens be respected.

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Will U.S. Capitalism Preserve Democracy? - -

(Continued from page 3)
lute compliance of the working class in war production.

Can even the most passionate believer in democracy think that the government will trouble to discriminate between the Stalinist "militancy" in the labor movement designed to sabotage war production and the authentic militancy of the non-Stalinist or anti-Stalinist worker aimed at improving his conditions of labor? In the last war, strikers and strike leaders, while they may have hampered war production, could in no way be accused of being agents of the enemy power. How different will it now be when actual agents of Stalinist Russia will in fact be in the labor movement and by their presence and actions open the gates wide for open persecution of all fighters for workers' rights!

This process has already begun and is so extreme even in peacetime that it requires an exceptionally developed naivete to believe it will be mitigated by war. Loyalty oaths and subversive

lists include not only Stalinist but socialist anti-Stalinist organizations as well. Inside the labor movement, known anti-Stalinist militants have been fired or discriminated against in many ways. The nature of the war antagonism compels a suppression of all anti-capitalist as well as pro-Stalinist forces. It is not simply a Parnell Thomas or a Clark who are the villains, though their particular talents may make them specially suited for the role. It is a necessary policy of the war, completely consistent, the liberals notwithstanding, with the capitalist drive to war and world power.

Democracy while unquestionably a firm part of American tradition is not a property immune to historical forces. Itself a product of certain social and economic conditions, it will fall when new conditions make it a burden for the ruling class. That is not to say that fascism, to the extent and of the same kind known in Europe, is inevitable in the U. S. on the outbreak of the war. It is to say that those whose loathing for Stalinism has thrown them blindly into the arms of American democracy will be shocked one day

soon to discover that other embracers are not their paramours but their jailers.

The crux of the matter remains: the support of the government's attack on Stalinism, which it carries out for its pro-capitalist reasons, cannot but aid the over-all attack on all the anti-capitalist sections of the labor movement. The progressive defeat of the Stalinists must be the task of the labor movement itself. If this is true on the national scene, it is equally true in the international conflict. The support of the U. S. war against Stalinism, given in the name of democracy, cannot but involve and possibly end in the destruction of the very democracy for whose sake the support was given.

This is not indicated by any dogma or abstract consideration. It follows from the nature of the political antagonisms of today. A hatred of Stalinism and the recoil into some ideal "democracy" if understandable is not sufficient for the working out of a program which can effectively preserve and extend genuine democracy.

YOUTH and Student CORNER

Edited by: JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

It is now a long time since a youth column has appeared in LABOR ACTION. The absence of any news from the youth front has been symptomatic of the general apathy which has prevailed on most American campuses. It is, therefore, highly gratifying to be able to resume a weekly youth column with an account of a demonstration, which in scope and militancy, exceeds anything that has happened in American colleges since the Thirties.

Professor William E. Knickerbocker, head of the City College of New York's Department of Romance Languages, has for a long time been known for his vicious and overt anti-Semitism. Jewish students who have attended his classes always received unfairly low grades. Disproportionately few Jewish instructors were appointed to his department and rarely promoted. In 1942, Knickerbocker denied a Jewish student the school's medal for general excellence in romance languages in spite of the fact that this student had by far the best record in the college. Shortly afterward, a number of student organizations demanded an investigation of Knickerbocker's conduct. When the demands for an investigation became so insistent that they could no longer be ignored, a faculty committee, after a brief examination of the charges against Knickerbocker, completely whitewashed him in the face of the overwhelming evidence which attested to his anti-Semitic conduct. The New York City Board of Higher Education then took a hand in the entire matter, proceeding in its turn to "exonerate" him completely.

It is to the great credit of the City College students that despite the repeated whitewashings of Knickerbocker by the school authorities, they nevertheless continued the struggle to oust him from the college. In 1947, the New York City Council initiated an investigation of its own. The City Council found Knickerbocker guilty of all the charges pressed against him and demanded his removal from the school. Despite the City Council's resolution, the Board of Higher Education on the flimsiest excuse, again found Knickerbocker not guilty.

SITDOWN DEMONSTRATION

This was the last straw for the City College students. As soon as the fall semester started, the campaign to oust Knickerbocker was intensified. Leaflet upon leaflet was distributed to the students, principally by the Wallaceites. Those students who unknowingly found themselves registered in Knickerbocker's classes walked out, and it was only after great pressure was exerted upon them by the school administration that they consented to return temporarily to class. The campaign for Knickerbocker's ouster reached its climax on September 29, when a group of 30 students initiated a sitdown strike outside of the college president's offices. This group was immediately joined by a large number of other students.

In about an hour 500 students were "sitting down," demanding that the school authorities take steps to remove Knickerbocker from the college. The strikers were immediately denounced by the administration and by many student leaders. They termed the sitdown "extra-legal," "undemocratic," a sign of "mob violence," a "communist coup," etc. The strikers, who had by that time elected a chairman of their own, conducted a meeting in an orderly and democratic manner. The opponents of the strike were given ample time to present their case, and the strike chairman made sure that they should not be unduly interrupted. In face of the violent denunciation, the strikers held firm throughout the day and a token group of 26 students continued the strike all night.

The militancy and solidarity of the strikers was excellent. Unfortunately, the Stalinists, who through the Students for Wallace and American Youth for Democracy (AYD), dominated the meeting, began to trans-

form the protest into a Wallace rally. Six speakers from the Wallace movement, most of whom had no connection whatsoever with the strike, were invited to address the strikers at frequent intervals. The chairman, an ardent Wallaceite, made continuous remarks concerning the fact that the Wallaceites were the only organization in favor of the strike. However, the strike was a demonstration which included students of all political opinions and the Wallaceite speeches failed to transform the essential character of the strike. During the sitdown, the case of a racist, Dr. Davis, was linked to that of Knickerbocker by the students, who demanded the ouster of both bigots. Dr. Davis was found guilty of Jim Crow actions while in charge of the school dormitories and was subsequently transferred to a teaching position in the school.

On September 30 the Student Council sponsored a rally to consider the whole Knickerbocker case. From the outset, the militant tone of all the speeches made it apparent that this was going to be different from the run-of-the-mill student rallies. For the first time in years the tremendous meeting hall was filled to capacity; 2500 students were in attendance. The Student Council introduced a resolution calling for Knickerbocker's ouster, and for a petition to be sent to the State Commissioner of Education. This resolution was overwhelmingly accepted by the students, but at the same time the great majority of them showed that at long last they had learned through experience that unless student demands are backed with action the school administration will pay no attention to them. Consequently, in the event that the administration within a week refused even to suspend Knickerbocker, the meeting voted to call a sitdown with the suspension as its demand.

In view of the militant stand of the student body, the administration became desperate. It suspended all classes and directed all students to the meeting. When this was done, a motion to reconsider the sitdown vote was introduced. Again the students voted for a sitdown. At the same time, the meeting took steps to prevent the fight for Knickerbocker's and Davis's ouster from becoming a political football. A motion restricting all activities and speeches during the campaign to subjects directly bearing on the ouster itself was carried overwhelmingly, with only the Stalinists voting against it.

The most reactionary role was played by Students for Democratic Action and Student League for Industrial Democracy members. They denounced any militant action as leading to mob violence and as being "extra-legal." It is especially unfortunate that some students wearing Norman Thomas buttons, and thus generally identified with socialism, solidarily, themselves with these elements. It is extremely important that all socialists disassociate themselves in the most emphatic manner from the disastrous policy of the SDA-SLID Thomasites. Fortunately, the opponents of strike action made no impression upon the great majority of the student body.

The next day the administration refused to grant the slightest concession to the students. The Student Council, meeting in an all-day session, decided to submit the question of the sitdown to a referendum. It is to be hoped that the student body will not back-track on its militant record and that the referendum vote will clearly demonstrate that the CCNY student body is determined to pursue its struggle against the anti-Semites and the racists.

To facilitate this struggle it is necessary to establish a broad and representative committee which can be relied upon to press the fight against Knickerbocker and Davis until they are ousted from the school. This committee should, moreover, try to establish contact with student groups in other colleges. Finally, the students must not allow the Stalinists to utilize this struggle for their own partisan ends.