

Work for a Workers World;  
Join the Workers Party!

# LABOR ACTION

JULY 28, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

## "Rewarding Friends" Is Road to Nowhere

# LABOR PARTY IS KEY NEED!

## U. S. Arms Back Dutch Tyranny In Indonesia

JULY 22—The Dutch have begun a colonial war against Indonesia. After weeks of preparation, they opened attacks on Indonesian military positions in order to suppress the Indonesian nationalist movement and destroy the Indonesian Republican government—all in the name of Indonesian independence! At present, there are no reports yet of the military results of this struggle, but it seems, unfortunately, that the Indonesians are not in a position successfully to resist the Dutch army of 120,000 highly trained and excellently armed troops.

The present military position of the Dutch is based on support given to them by the U. S. and Great Britain. After the end of the war, the Indonesian nationalist movement, long suppressed but still enjoying the support of the masses of Indonesians, virtually took over the entire country. They established an independent government of their own and drove out the Dutch colonial administrators. They established their own army. They took over the vast plantations on which the Dutch had exploited them for decades.

By themselves the Dutch could never have reconquered Indonesia. It was the British and the U. S. which did the trick for them. The British sent troops to Indonesia to "preserve law and order" and held positions for the Dutch until the latter could organize some troops for an expedition to Indonesia. Had not the British paved the way, the Dutch would have had great difficulty in landing their troops.

And the U. S. helped Dutch imperialism in equally crucial ways. Part of the Dutch army was trained in the U. S. The Dutch army which is today suppressing the Indonesian nationalist movement was armed by U. S. lend-lease. The guns with which Indonesians are being killed are those made in the U. S. Of course, the highly moral U. S. administration insisted—not that the Dutch refrain from using this lend-lease equipment—but rather that they take the U. S. labels off. This is a fact which should be drummed into the head of anyone who says that the U. S. does not pursue an imperialist foreign policy.

The Dutch kept stalling the Indonesians in negotiations. Presumably the Indonesians were supposed to be granted national independence, but the Dutch used every means they could to preserve their actual (if not formal) control of the rich islands of Indonesia. And that meant above all economic control, the reconquest of the plantations they had lost directly after the war. So powerful had the Dutch army become as a result of being propped up by the British and U. S. that it succeeded in gaining this point during the negotiations with the Indonesians. (Another reason for the ability of the Dutch to regain their economic base in Indonesia was the vacillatory policy of the Indonesian nationalist leadership.) Where the negotiations stalled was on the question of control of the police: the Dutch demanded a joint police force, which in practice would have meant Dutch control of the police.

What do the sly and desperate Dutch imperialists call their brutal attack on the poorly armed Indonesian Republican Army? A "police action"! We have heard many imperialist explanations for an attack on the freedom of colonial people, but it has been a long time since we have heard such a cynical description of a war employing airplanes, tanks, artillery, amphibious weapons and a trained army against a nearly defenseless people. But it is also a mark of the desperate limits the Dutch ruling class will go to to maintain their slipping foothold on a land which they have exploited for decades and which returned them so much wealth.

And now the Dutch have struck. The British and American governments wanted to restrain them and did for a time—not out of sympathy for the Indonesians—but because they fear an open war will have deleterious effects on the entire imperialist position in the Far East. But the Dutch are desperately eager to regain their major base of imperialist exploitation and they know that this is a militarily favorable movement for them.

The Indonesian Federation of Labor has sent an earnest appeal to the world working class asking for aid. This is an appeal which will be responded to with eagerness and passion by every socialist, every friend of genuine democracy, every believer in colonial independence.

Already Australian dock workers have refused to load Dutch ships. Hats off to the Australian dockers who act in the true spirit of international solidarity!

We of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party stand solidly behind the Indonesian people in their present hour of travail; we reaffirm the traditional socialist position of support to colonial independence movements.

AGAINST DUTCH IMPERIALISM AND ITS BRITISH AND AMERICAN BACKERS!  
FOR FULL FREEDOM TO INDONESIA!

## "Reward Your Friends, Punish Your Enemies!"



## Truman Report Shows Crisis Lurks Behind Post-War Economic Boom

By ALBERT GATES

President Truman's mid-year report on the economic situation in the country was not surprising in its disclosure that the annual rate of production and the national income is the highest in the peacetime history of the country, even when adjusted to prices lower than the present structure. The present economic situation has all the aspects of a special post-war boom such as the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION forecast would exist for a period of time after the war.

The present boom is reflected in an annual rate of production approximating \$225 billions and employment at a record high of 60,000,000. But the report confirms what we have written many times, that the basic reasons for this high level of economic activity is to be sought in the "reconversion demands of business and the backlog of demands of consumers, by extensive use of savings and credit, and by an extraordinary excess of exports over imports."

The boom therefore has weaknesses which can upset this state of affairs almost overnight. For, despite the tremendous level of production and the high rate of employment, the proportionate share of the working people in the national income declines. Tremendous price rises have given the boom an inflationary character with the most serious consequences on the purchasing power of the masses.

The report cannot avoid remarking that this disparity between consumer income and prices which might have caused an "unbalance" in the economy was overcome by an "unexpected" rise in foreign trade favorable to the United States.

### PRICE RISES

For example, the report discloses that "75 per cent of the gain in national production was caused by the unexpected boom in exports, but foreign buying power is 'likely soon to decline.'" In concrete terms this means that if it were not for the favorable balance of foreign trade taking up a vast portion of production we would already be facing a serious economic dislocation in the economy.

The most interesting part of the report is that which deals with the

## Rader Is Candidate Of Philadelphia WP

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, July 19 — The Workers Party launched its municipal election campaign in Philadelphia tonight with a "Meet the Candidate" rally. Jack Brad Rader, candidate for City Council in District 5, was presented to the audience which filled the hall and was made up of voters from the district and of other members and friends of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION.

Other speakers were: John McBride, prominent trade unionist in the city; E. R. McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party; and Joe Davidson, campaign manager.

The voters from the campaign district were presented with the candidate's platform and invited to participate in the campaign. They were made to feel that this campaign would be their campaign, a campaign of and by the working people in District 5. The candidate himself is a working man and a union man, a member of the Metal Polishers Union, AFL.

The platform called for shifting the tax burden to the backs of the rich, for adequate housing and building programs, for full employment without discrimination, for a city rent control law and the formation of anti-eviction committees in the district. Specifically with reference to the labor front, the platform calls for labor unity locally and nationally between the CIO and the AFL, for the destruction of the Taft-Hartley Act and for the formation now of a local and national independent labor party.

The platform makes it clear that the Workers Party is ready to withdraw its candidate in favor of a union candidate running on an independent labor ticket.

Candidate Rader submitted District 5, the neighborhood of his listeners, to a microscopic examination. He showed that the filth, corruption, insecurity and grief which prevail in the district can be traced to the economic stranglehold on Pennsylvania by such corporations as the steel, aluminum, rail and banking trusts and the equivalent political stranglehold these rich rulers exercise through the control of the Republican and Democratic machines. The only course is to turn from the two capitalist parties to political activity of the people.

Brother McBride emphasized the working class nature and approach of the Workers Party, explaining that only a group animated by the convictions of the WP had anything to offer the common people. Our goal, he said, must be the democratic political control of the country by the majority of the people. No party can offer more and any party offering less is insulting or betraying the workers of the United States.

The aims of the campaign were presented by the manager, Joe Davidson. A determined and persistent effort will be made by the Workers Party and the voters to elect the candidate to the City Council. However, the greatest and most important effort will be directed to arousing the organized labor movement into political action and to educating and informing the electorate of the real nature of their economic and social problems and of how they can be solved fundamentally and realistically.

The national secretary of the party, Ernest R. McKinney, welcomed the audience in the name of the national organization. He explained that the local election campaign was not isolated but that throughout

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By EMANUEL GARRETT

In the Third Maryland District, a United Labor Conference, composed of CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood unions, supported and won the election of Judge Edward Garmatz to fill a Congressional vacancy left by the election of Congressman Thomas D'Allesandro as mayor of Baltimore.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, and Walter Reuther, president of the UAW-CIO, both openly challenged the provision in the Taft-Hartley Act which prohibits union endorsement of political candidates. Murray, in a signed statement published in the CIO News, and Reuther, in a signed statement published in the United Automobile Worker, both specifically and deliberately invited prosecution under the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act in order to provide the grounds for a court test of its constitutionality.

Thus, the heads of the CIO and UAW, as well as AFL and Brotherhood leaders, properly took responsibility as representatives of their organizations for defiance of the law.

Thus, too, they reiterated the necessity and right of labor's participation in politics.

However, while they acted right in putting themselves on the line, so to speak, the particular way they chose to discharge their responsibility as union leaders is actuated by a dangerously false policy.

It is the policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies" AND THE POLICY OF "REWARDING YOUR FRIENDS AND PUNISHING YOUR ENEMIES" IS THE ROAD TO NOWHERE WHEN IT IS NOT THE ROAD TO RUIN!

Labor must participate in politics. In this Murray and Reuther are right, absolutely right.

Labor has the strength to be victorious in political action. In this Murray and Reuther are right. And the victory of Garmatz is proof of this.

Labor must defy the Taft-Hartley Act. In this Murray and Reuther are right.

But they are wrong, deadly, seriously wrong, when they advocate the support of a "friend of labor," a Democratic Party candidate, whatever his record of "friendliness." They are wrong, dangerously wrong, when they refuse to take the initiative for the only kind of real, purposeful, valuable political labor action — the INDEPENDENT PO-

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## UAW Votes Down Merger

Victory for Reuther Forces on Adds UAW-FE Plan Is a Blow at Stalinists

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—In the first great test involving the two major factions in the UAW-CIO since Walter P. Reuther became international president, the Reuther forces won a sensational victory in achieving the defeat of the "bureaucratic, unconstitutional and union-splitting FE-UAW merger proposal by a two-to-one margin.

It must be emphasized, however, that this victory is far more than just a gain for the Reuther caucus. It is, above all, a triumph for the rank and file of the UAW-CIO because it preserved the sound, militant and democratic structure of this huge industrial union.

The FE dispute served to remind the whole leadership that the ranks of the UAW-CIO are alert, watchful, critical and prepared to defend the fine traditions of this "spearhead of the American labor movement" against all comers.

### BASIS OF VICTORY

The extent of the Reuther triumph, which was a big surprise to his opponents, headed by George Addes, secretary-treasurer, and his Stalinist

associates, is explainable only on that basis. In terms of staff members, a smooth political machine working day and night for the merger, a powerful demagogic campaign for unity, in all the organizational aspects, the Addes forces had a tremendous advantage. And Reuther was beginning to think of how he could involve Philip Murray, CIO president, on his side.

But Reuther had a powerful advantage, overlooked by many people on his staff as well as among his opponents. The ranks of the UAW-CIO saw this fight not merely or primarily as a struggle between Reuther and Addes for power—though this was, of course, involved. The ranks saw this primarily as a fight over the structure of the union, its foundation as a bulwark of industrial unionism. By hammering home on this decisive question Reuther put his opponents more and more on the defensive and scored a real victory over them.

The Reuther victory places a greater responsibility on him as an individual and on his supporters. The UAW ranks proved to the hilt

that the cynics in the union are wrong. "What can you do? The ranks aren't aroused." Given a powerful, progressive issue, the ranks are aroused and will fight. They did whip Addes and company unmercifully on the FE merger proposal. The active militant elements of the UAW-CIO rallied behind Reuther during the GM strike. They repeated this in the FE merger fight. Reuther triumphs only when the ranks are moving forward, participating in solving their own problems. Here is the challenge for the convention. A clarion call for a Labor Party as a major plank in the Reuther caucus program for the coming convention would again impel this movement of the workers forward.

### BLOW TO STALINISTS

The FE merger vote result is a devastating blow to the Stalinists in the UAW-CIO and in the entire labor movement. This is a triumph, too, for the rank and file. For another major attempt of this "rule or ruin" totalitarian clique to gain control of a powerful and strategic union has been smashed by the workers. Not

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Labor Party Remains Our Key Need - -

(Continued from page 1)
LITICAL ACTION WAGED BY AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

We do not doubt for a moment that Judge Garmatz may have a noble record, as Democratic Party records go. But he is not our man, and cannot be our man, so long as

Mich. Council Resolution on Labor Party

The following resolution, which is reprinted from the "Local 599 Headlight," was adopted by the Central Michigan Skilled Trades Council:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON LABOR PARTY

"Whereas the past sixty years of experience of organized labor, culminating with the passage of the Taft-Hartley "Slave Labor" Act, and

Whereas the theory of no politics in unions was relegated to the limbo of the past by proving the fallacy of voting for our "friends," and

Whereas the NAM has clearly demonstrated to us what political power means in its hands therefore be it

Resolved that we go on record as enlightened and forward-looking union men, demanding a formation of a LABOR PARTY. Be it further

Resolved that we, as skilled people, put all possible pressure on the UAW-CIO Executive Board to blaze a new trail and lead us out of this "Blind Alley" into which poor leadership brought us. And be it finally

Resolved that we, as individuals do our utmost to see to it that every Congressman and Senator who voted for the infamous Taft-Hartley Bill be defeated in the coming elections.

he belongs to a party of the capitalists, so long as he is not of our class.

DON'T NEED "CHARITY"

In his statement, Reuther makes it a point to mention that Garmatz is a member of the electricians union. Huh! Better yet, a little calculated fakery, because nowhere in his statement, does Reuther mention that Garmatz is a judge. On the contrary, he gives the impression that Garmatz is a working electrician, a working man who is being put up for Congress by a united labor ticket.

Garmatz is very likely a member of the electricians' union. There are probably a good many Congressmen, some of them the worst scoundrels, who carry union cards of one kind or another. That does not automatically make them working men, or part of the labor movement. Union card or not, they are on the bosses' side of the fence, uphold the bosses' system, represent the bosses' party.

Garmatz may be a fine fellow personally. That is not, however, the issue. The issue is one of political action, of organized class action, and that cannot be achieved under any label except labor's independent political label. The issue is one of class representation, and that can come only out of the ranks of the labor movement.

Time and again, events have proved the utter insanity of supporting "friends of labor." As we said in an editorial last week, the very choice of word, "friend," indicates one who is not PART of labor. We do not need the charity of "friends" who toss us a favor now and then, while they go about the routine business of preserving the profit system against the assault of labor. Accepting their charity, instead of striking out for what is rightfully ours, is a self-defeating policy.

Examine the cartoon on page one. They all look alike, do they not? Of course they do. On specific occasions they may act differently. Different sections of the capitalist class have different ideas on how to keep the profit system running, on how to keep labor in line. Some of them feel that it is easier done by patting labor on the back. Roosevelt, for

example, was the extreme master at this.

"FRIEND" TRUMAN

Sure, Garmatz may be a swell guy. We don't know and we don't particularly care. But the policy of supporting Garmatz naturally and integrally includes as well the policy of supporting such eminent "friends of labor" as Truman.

Murray and Reuther and Green and Whitney of the Railroad Brotherhoods speak at great length about the lessons of the Taft-Hartley Act. But they deliberately overlook the main lesson—the futility, to put it mildly—of relying on "friends of labor."

Truman's veto of the bill after his strategists had told him it would be good campaign strategy, presumably makes him a first-class "friend of labor." The same Truman who many months ago proposed that Congress enact "labor curbs" milder than the ones in the Taft-Hartley Act, but curbs nevertheless, curbs which could be expanded at a more favorable moment. The same Truman who broke the railroad strike. The same Truman who called for an injunction in the mine strike.

We note with disgust that Whitney has announced his support of Truman. A year ago Whitney said that the Railroad Brotherhoods, if they did nothing else, would spend millions to defeat this monstrous Missouri politician. And now, by the simple process of having vetoed a bill, Truman is again, in Whitney's eyes, a "friend of labor" and he ought to be supported—until he breaks another strike, slaps another injunction on striking workers.

That's the fate of all "friends." When "friendship" might seriously jolt the capitalist class, they forego the smile for the scowl.

WHOSE FRIENDS?

Take Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City. He is currently battling near the top of the "friend of labor" league. During the post-card petition campaign against the Taft-Hartley Bill, he was to be seen at every labor rally, advising labor to oppose the bill (as though labor needed that advice), but to oppose it by nice, gentlemanly means. He is frequently seen at labor conventions and rallies.

But this very week he tried to break a bus drivers' strike in New York. Who remembers back to his first weeks in office when he went all-out to break the tugboat strike by MARTIAL LAW? That's supposed to be forgotten! And his advocacy of a fare raise, which is one of the prime municipal issues affecting the New York City working class, is presumably supposed to be overlooked, because he still gets union invitations.

They say that O'Dwyer has the governorship in mind, with a senatorship to come next. His advisers have evidently told him that it would pay off to court labor, and so he does. The tragedy lies in the fact that the labor leaders permit him to get away with it.

There is one "friend of labor." He is a Democrat. But there are Republicans, too. Senator Wayne Morse is one of them. As Senators go, he has a good record. That is, as capitalist senators go. He favors some restrictions on labor, but he was opposed to the Taft-Hartley Act. He is a Republican who feels that, whatever successes the Republican Party may have with the middle class, it cannot hope to win without labor's support. And he probably has convictions on labor unions, and such. But they are as nothing compared to his conviction that the profit system must go on, is man's noblest product. And that is what counts.

There are paternalistic employers, and there are outspokenly anti-labor employers. One believes in providing little doddads of social benefit for his workers; the other believes in cracking the whip. But they are both employers. Both live off profit, though they differ on how to get the maximum of profit. Both will crack

skulls when labor challenges their right to live off the sweat of others.

There are other "friends" too. If the test is to be whether they voted for or against the Taft-Hartley Bill, then a whole pack of bigoted, miserable, vicious, anti-Negro, anti-labor Southern Congressmen need to be included because, out of considerations of party loyalty, they voted with their chief.

DISASTROUS POLICY

No, the policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies" has almost invariably paid off in disaster. It is not the way for labor to participate in politics. It stands in the way of that participation!

The PAC is now out collecting dollars for its political campaign. Insofar as it is a campaign to assert labor's right to engage in political action in defiance of the Taft-Hartley Act, we are all for it. Insofar as it is a campaign to elect a lot of capitalist "friends of labor" we are against it. We would say it would be the obligation of labor's ranks to contribute several times the amount asked, to sacrifice deeply, if PAC was collecting funds to run an INDEPENDENT LABOR CAMPAIGN, to nominate and campaign for independent labor candidates, to convert PAC INTO A LABOR PARTY.

Similarly with the AFL. Green has called for the defeat of all Congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley Bill. That means labor is to vote against Hartley, who the last time around got Green's endorsement. That means labor is to vote against Senator Ives, though "he presents a special problem. His favorite stance is that of "labor's friend," and he is consequently a very handy man in the Dewey-for-President camp. But he voted against the veto. Hence, Green wants his defeat. And presumably Green wants labor to vote for all the Congressmen who voted to sustain the veto.

LABOR CAN LEAD

None of this bears any resemblance to labor politics. Nor is the case of the "labor candidate" on a Democratic or Republican ticket any better. Reuther in his statement also calls for the election of Philip Storch, an active member of the Newspaper Guild, in the Eighth District of Pennsylvania. We suppose that Storch is not a judge, but really a union man because Reuther says he works as a reporter for the Allentown Morning Call. On an independent labor ticket he would deserve support. But not on the Democratic ticket!

We must refuse to have any traffic with this "friends and enemies" deception. We are our own "friends." There are sixteen million organized working men and women in unions. The responsibility for leadership of the nation, all of the people, rests with them. Only labor can speak for the interests of the people and if it goes so, and does so vigorously and militantly, it can win the overwhelming majority of all the people—poor farmers, little storekeepers, hard-pressed professionals—to its side.

We have often written that economics and politics are inseparable. We repeat it now, and shall do so again and again. To make economic advances, we must make political advances, so that the result may be a social advance for the whole people.

We must prepare for the hour of decision. Our union leaders will not take the initiative of organizing us in any way that will constitute a basic challenge to the system of private property and its political and governmental institutions! Nonetheless, we must strive for just that—to establish our own power through a workers' government.

We cannot do that if we lack the weapons of political struggle, specifically a LABOR PARTY. They cannot be forged out of the policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." They can only be forged out of complete, class independence and militancy. The union leadership will not take the initiative; it is consequently a job for insistent rank and file pressure, for rank and file promotion in shop and local!

The Boss's Dictionary

Bolshevism:



UAW Ranks Defeat Merger - -

(Continued from page 1) that the Stalinists will quit. They'll be back fighting with some other maneuver to take control of the UAW-CIO. But they are in a very

Wins



WALTER REUTHER

Cudahy Spills The Beans...

Cudahy is making "no profit on meat." So we were told in negotiations over our wage demand for 15 cents an hour. But the very next week the quarterly dividend was raised 33-1/3 per cent and an "extra" of 40 cents a share was declared by the Cudahy board.

Our 15 cents an hour demand would just about meet the 20 per cent increase in living costs during the last year. It falls far short of matching the dividend windfalls that Cudahy stockholders have been enjoying. Since there is "no profit in meat" (Cudahy says so), soaring dividends must come from Old Dutch Cleanser—and, maybe, hides.

But you may think Cudahy is "misinformed" about where its profits come from. If so, don't forget that Swift-Armour-Wilson-Cudahy profits move together—usually up.—From "The Meat of It," published by the Packinghouse Workers Union.

No Kidding, Mr. Hartley!

WASHINGTON, July 23—Rep. resentative Fred A. Hartley, Jr. (R., N. J.) promised today to take the lead in changing the Taft-Hartley Act if any of its provisions should harm labor. But he cautioned that unions would suffer most if they bucked the new law—AP item in N. Y. World-Telegram, July 23.



WP Candidate - -

(Continued from page 1) many other sections of the country Workers Party members are attempting to arouse their fellow Americans of all races into making a determined bid to solve and to eliminate the contradictions of modern society.

He promised that the Workers Party here and in the United States generally was and will continue to present the facts and to tell the truth about the corruption, the insincerity and deliberate attacks of the Republican and Democratic Parties on the working people.

Following the political rally, the audience participated in a discussion which highlighted a lively social evening. The social period was used for making and renewing personal acquaintances. All attending were urged to appear at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W.

R. J. Thomas Loses Vote in His Own Local on Merger Proposal

DETROIT—Another stinging rebuke was given to R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO vice-president, by his own local union, Chrysler 7, which voted by 736 to 503 to reject the Addes-Thomas-Stalinist FE merger proposal, after Thomas had mailed a personal letter to every member of the local urging them to accept the merger.

Local 7 Executive Board voted 11 to 8 to hold a secret referendum of the membership in line with the arguments made at the membership meeting by Jack Widick, unemployment compensation director. After the Executive Board vote for a referendum, the pro-Reuther caucus put out a leaflet explaining the democratic issue involved and naming the pro-Addes-Thomas board members who voted against giving the rank and file a chance to vote on the merger proposal. Both sides put out printed leaflets for and against the merger. The hard-hitting leaflet of the Reuther caucus was much more effective than the Addes-Thomas leaflet and the lame letter from Thomas.

UAW Ranks Defeat Merger - -

(Continued from page 1) much weaker position. The enthusiasm of some of their allies in the UAW-CIO has been considerably dampened.

The presidential ambitions of George Addes have been cooled off considerably too. He will have the fight of his life to retain his present post of secretary-treasurer. For this is one time that Addes was not able to remain behind the scenes, the smooth operator, letting R. J. Thomas and others do the hatchet work. Addes had to debate Reuther. Addes took the major responsibility for the FE merger proposal. It is his personal defeat.

Three of the regional directors who have been bitterly anti-Reuther also saw the handwriting on the wall, since their regions defeated the proposal by big majorities. These bureaucrats are Joseph Matson of Chicago, Arnold Atwood of Indiana and Kenneth Forbes of the Saginaw-Muskegon region. The conduct of the International Executive Board, in view of this defeat, will be worth watching. The rank and file has given solemn warning. Don't tamper with the UAW-CIO. The rubbish can

will be the final resting place of those bureaucrats who fail to heed this warning.

Loses



GEORGE ADDES

Rations Cut to 650 Calories; Relief Packages Are Vital

A recent communication from Austria, from a grateful recipient of a food package, tells a story that is almost impossible for well-fed people to comprehend. This valiant anti-fascist has taken the food which he received and portioned it out into 20 calorie lots per day—in order to make it last as long as possible!

Two hundred and fifty calories is less than is contained in a bread and butter sandwich. Less than is contained in one five-cent candy bar.

The Austrian letter was very short. "I write from my bed. My words of thank you can only hint my feelings. I am too weak to write more."

The ACEWR has been sending cabled packages of food to the British zone in Germany where the official rations—never realized—were recently cut to 650 calories a day. Our funds are exhausted as a result of this emergency.

We feel that we must answer to the appeal of the Austrian anti-fascists, just as we did in the case of the British zone in Germany. But to do so we must ask for help. A cabled

food package costs either \$13.50 or \$14.50, depending upon the contents. It reaches its destination in from six to ten DAYS, in sharp contrast to two to three MONTHS one of our own food packages takes in transit, and the six WEEKS necessary for the receipt of a CARE package.

The cost of cabled food is many times higher than any other method—but cost of human lives is a far greater price to pay.

We ask that everyone who can, send a contribution for one cabled food package. Or if you cannot finance one package alone, make a pool and raise the money this way. Human life is at stake. The people whom the committee is helping in Europe were intransigent anti-fascists. Almost to a man—and woman—they spent years in concentration camps and prisons. Now they are sick, tubercular, unable, alone, to face post-war Europe. You can help.

Send your contributions to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 130 W. 23rd St., New York 11, N. Y.

Aid European Hungry Workers

Will you undertake to help us send food and clothing regularly to a European working class family?

Will you support the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF in its campaign to bring help in the form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-Nazi and labor fighters?

If you can give us this support, please send all contributions (in the form of food, clothing and money donations) to us at the address given below. We will take care of seeing to it that these contributions of yours reach those who need them most of all.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF 130 West 23rd Street New York 11, N. Y.

Remember! \$10 will enable us to send a 21-pound CARE Food Package to a European Working Class Family.

ACEWR 130 West 23rd Street New York 11, N. Y.

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months. I am sending the following contribution: \$.....

food packages clothing packages

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone..... State.....

With the Workers Party

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. Visit our headquarters listed below to purchase Marxist literature, the NEW INTERNATIONAL and LABOR ACTION. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

AKRON Write to Box 221.

BALTIMORE 21 West Preston St. Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Public forums every second Friday of each month.

BUFFALO 633 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours: 11 a. m.-2 p. m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings every Saturday, noon-2 p. m. Open house Friday nights at 8. Educational, Refreshments.

CHICAGO 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone: CHESapeake 5798. Office hours: 3-5:30 p. m. daily. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLEVELAND Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Write to: Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DETROIT 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Telephone: Plaza 5559.

LOS ANGELES 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7, Cal. Telephone: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours: 2 to 5 p. m., daily.

LOUISVILLE Write to: Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

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# Editorials

## British Piracy

His Majesty's "Socialist" Government has chalked up a new victory in its war against the Jewish people. Sailors of the Royal Navy executed a daring maneuver of imperialist piracy, fully in keeping with the tradition of the British Empire. By force of arms, and under the valiant direction of their commander, they boarded a defenseless Jewish refugee ship, the Exodus, carrying 4,500 "illegal immigrants" to Palestine. Three Jews fell, one of them an American seaman who was shot and clubbed to death, and many were injured.

Having demonstrated that Britannia is still capable of ruling the waves of the Mediterranean when faced with the challenge of an unarmed boatload of Jews, and having further demonstrated that the Attlee-Bevin "labor" government does not propose to let the Empire crumble any faster than it is, the British victors celebrated their naval victory by ordering the return of the 4,500 Jews to France.

Such valor deserves only one reward: an unrelenting battle, uniting Jew and Arab, to DRIVE THE BRITISH OUT OF PALESTINE. And this battle, which His Majesty's Government seeks to subvert by playing Arab against Jew, Jew against Arab, must be backed by the active support of the workers of England, France, the United States and every country.

It would, for example, be an excellent tribute to the Empire's centuries-long tradition of colonial persecution and imperialist rapacity if, when the Exodus returns to France, it was met by a delegation of French workers, tens of thousands strong, handing the British commander a fitting reminder of his achievement, one that could serve as a funeral wreath on Admiral Nelson's monument in Trafalgar Square, "Here Lies the British Empire."

## Our Cartoon

You will have noticed the cartoon on this page, and the question may have occurred to you: is it not too late for this kind of action?

No, it is not! Admittedly, such action as is called for in the cartoon was urgent BEFORE the Taft-Hartley Bill was enacted. But it has lost none of its urgency, though its purposes are necessarily different.

Week after week, while the matter was still before Congress, we called for a 24-hour general protest strike and urged labor to raise this demand on the union floor. In our opinion, such a mighty demonstration of labor's power, coordinated with a March on Washington, could have prevented passage of the anti-labor act. We said that the capitalists were executing a class offensive against labor and that they could only be stopped by a labor offensive of greater intensity, by an action which would have massed labor's organized power as a monumental warning to the governmental political stooges of big business.

Though the demand was heard in many sections of the labor movement, and not only in LABOR ACTION, though it was specifically voted by a number of unions, the labor leadership refused to undertake its organization, rejected it outright, in fear that it might lose a wave of labor militancy that they could not control.

Because the labor leaders would not take bold, offensive action to halt passage of the bill, relying instead on a Truman veto and a post-card campaign, we are now faced with the necessity of destroying any possibility of its being used against us. The leaders of both the AFL and CIO propose to circumvent it, seek its repeal, test its constitutionality, and so forth. But, just as the situation originally called for more than the labor officialdom was offering in the way of leadership, it today demands a wider and more vigorous assault than they propose to undertake.

The fight is only getting under way. Both the CIO and AFL leaders have met and issued denunciations of the act along with promises of various types of activity to wipe it off the books. What is lacking in these denunciations and plans is the spirit of DEFIANCE. AFL officials got together and issued a statement which pledges the AFL to a campaign against the law. As part of this campaign, the AFL will (with exceptions!) by-pass the Labor Board set up by the act, as the CIO steel workers and electrical workers have already done, initiate various legal tests of the act, call for the defeat of Congressmen who voted for the bill, and support Congressmen who opposed it. Except for the latter point, on which we comment elsewhere in this issue, the AFL statement is all right—as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. And the same holds true for the CIO.

The miners have already registered a triumph over the bill. They did it by showing their power in a strike that spread rapidly through the coal fields. The union refused to settle for anything less than a clause in the contract negating, in part, the effectiveness of the act so far as the miners are concerned. That's something for the miners. However, it is not yet a triumph for the rest of labor. Exceptional circumstances contributed to the miners' victory. (While that nobody, Hartley, enjoying his moment in the spotlight, breathed fury threats of retaliation, Taft found it expedient to say that the mine contract did not violate his vicious bill.)

Labor as a whole has still to make an unmistakable demonstration of its position. Organization of a Labor Party would be that kind of a demonstration! And so would a 24-hour nationwide protest strike! A 24-hour protest strike would, above

all else, be a political demonstration, an indication of labor's attitude toward the government, the Democratic Trumans as well as the Republican Tafts. As such it would give genuine meaning to whatever it is the union leaders have in mind. It would show that labor does not intend to dissipate its energies in court actions alone. It would be a CLASS action, and as such would give proper, effective meaning to court tests, by-passing the NLRB and similar moves.

Agreed, the union officialdom will not go for this proposition any more now than before. As before, the demand will have to come from the ranks. We have in past issues stressed the importance of the ranks taking part in the organization of the fight. It is too big an issue to be left in the hands of the union leaders alone. In this connection we have called for democratically elected joint boards of strategy. A 24-hour protest strike organized by these union boards of strategy would be a combination of tremendous significance and promise.

The capitalists will not try to apply the Taft-Hartley Act universally and simultaneously. They will use it as they need it. Occasions will then arise that will, by the very nature, call for nationwide strike action, for example an injunction levelled against any group of workers. All the more reason therefore to show them in advance what labor is ready to do.

Several weeks ago we wrote in a front page editorial that NO LAW CAN TAKE AWAY LABOR'S RIGHTS IF LABOR WILL NOT PERMIT IT. A 24-hour general protest strike, as a sign of labor's political and economic offensive, would show that labor does not intend to permit any law to take away its rights.

## Stratton Bill

We have not read all the provisions of the Stratton Bill. All we know about it is that it provides for the admission of 400,000 displaced persons. And we are for that, with one amendment: we are for removing ALL barriers to immigration!

One thing you can say for Congress. It is consistent. Whenever a bill comes before it that in any way invites support, it is treated to the neatest display of sleight of hand. People like ourselves, who have no faith whatsoever in the workings of the capitalist government, are led to suspect that half the time these bills are introduced by their makers in order to promote a little campaign strategy with full knowledge that they will get nowhere.

Congress, which fairly wore itself to a frazzle working overtime on the Taft-Hartley Act, rent boosts and other contributions to capitalist welfare, likes to take its time about such things as national health insurance, anti-poll tax, FEPC (all of them bills labor should support) and the Stratton Bill. We note for example that the skillful politicians of the Republican Party in the House managed to finally get around to approving an anti-poll tax bill with five days of this Congress session to go. The Senate couldn't possibly act in the five remaining days, what with filibusters and stuff. So it will go to the next session of Congress and serve in the meantime as campaign propaganda in the fall elections. And nobody expects the Senate to approve the bill at its next session or any session—unless it is compelled to act under the ultimatum of mass action.

The Stratton Bill is similarly wending its slow way through Congressional chambers. The immigration barriers are a disgrace of long standing. The Democrats have blamed the Republicans who passed the originally severe quota limitations on immigration. But as the Workers Party candidate, Max Shachtman, reminded Congressman Celler in a debate during the last Congressional campaign in Brooklyn, the Democrats had a majority of Congress for the better part of fifteen years and did nothing. Now, with Stratton, a Republican, having introduced his bill, possibly with the noblest of motives (we like to give a man the benefit of all doubt) the Republicans will try to make capital out of the plight of the DPs, snag a few votes and move no faster toward action on the bill than the needs of publicity dictate.

Thus we have again something which, like the anti-poll tax and health bills, requires the intervention of the American people, demanding action in no uncertain terms.

Great numbers of Europe's hounded and starved displaced persons despair of reconstructing their lives in a battered Europe. Not only Jewish people but Poles and other peoples are among those who wish to find a haven elsewhere. It is a right that must be accorded them, a right that must be protected by the working class.

For example, there is, properly, a great sentiment among the American working class for the right of Jewish immigration to Palestine. However, to limit our appeal to that is merely to play into the hands of American imperialism, which is quite willing to exploit the misery of world Jewry for its ends, provided that it does not have to admit any Jews here. With respect to the Jews, it is elementary socialist policy to demand that the doors of the United States be opened to free and unrestricted immigration. And the same holds true for any people, especially those who face the persecution of Stalinist concentration camps or the humiliation of U. S. displaced persons camps, who wish to come to the United States.

The plight of Europe's starving people can only be solved by the socialist reorganization of Europe, and that means socialist struggle in Europe itself. Nevertheless, as socialists we hold that they have a basic human right to enter the United States if they want to, as we uphold their right to go to any country of their choice. And there is no sane reason to limit the number in any way whatsoever.

## A Weapon for a Labor Offensive!



# WORLD POLITICS

### The World Is Silent

By IRVING HOWE

We wrote in detail last week of the crisis in Indonesia; of the preparations of Dutch imperialism to start a punitive colonial war against the Indonesian nationalist movement; of the Dutch demand for a "joint police force," which means a Dutch-controlled police force and therefore a country dominated by the Dutch; of the use of this demand by the Dutch as a provocation to initiate a war by which they could reassert their unchallenged domination of Indonesia.

Today, July 20, as these lines are being written, there are again reports in the press that the Dutch are preparing to launch an armed attack. One dispatch from Holland states that the Dutch Governor General of Indonesia has been granted permission to begin firing whenever he deems it necessary. And the Indonesians have issued a radio appeal to the world begging that pressure be put on the Dutch to prevent an attack; the Indonesians are obviously not in a position to offer much military resistance. The Indonesian labor federation has asked the workers of the world to protest and to boycott all Dutch goods.

Time was when such an appeal would have aroused a mighty response; time was when such an appeal would have seen an outpouring of workers into the streets, a mobilization of intellectual opinion in behalf of the Indonesian republic. But, alas, the paralyzing results of the leadership of the radical workers by the Social Democrats and Stalinists are still with us; they weigh down the consciousness of the advanced workers as if a millstone were on their minds. And the response to this request for aid from the Indonesians is indifference or cynicism or silence. Of course, the Stalinists may—for purposes of their own—simulate a protest; but who can take seriously the protestations in behalf of national independence by those who suppress all of Eastern Europe as ruthlessly as England, Holland or France ever suppressed their colonies?

On the whole, there is only calloused indifference and silence. The daily press, linked by a thousand ties to wealth and privilege, writes as if the Dutch were benevolent parents and the Indonesians straying children. The liberal journals, "guardians of the nation's conscience," maintain staid silence. The highly moral editors of that most mortal journal, the Social Democratic NEW LEADER, also maintains a dignified reserve; for, were they to open their mouths on this matter, they could hardly afford to be quiet about the fact that it was their comrades of the British Labor Party government whose troops paved the way for the reconsolidation of Dutch power in Indonesia.

Only one political tendency in the labor movement has clearly, without hesitation or ambiguity, stood firm on the side of the Indonesians. Only in the press of the Trotskyist groups in this country has there appeared continuous support for the Indonesian national cause.

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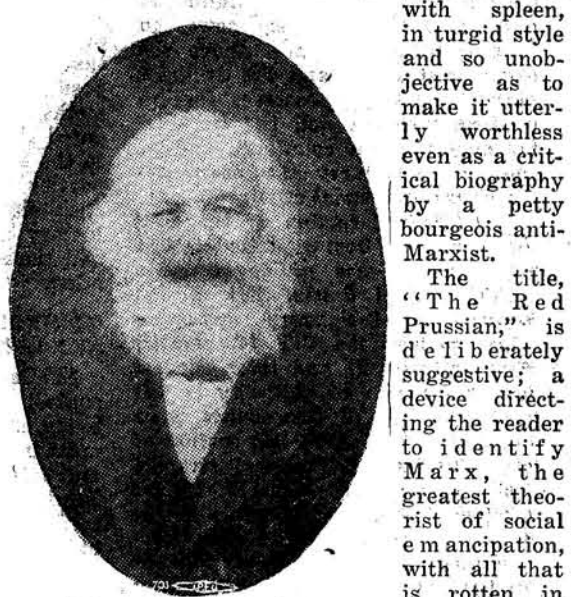
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**A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR**  
Published Weekly by the  
**Labor Action Publishing Ass'n**  
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.  
General Offices: 4 Court Square  
Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: HItchins 6-5117  
Vol. 11, No. 30 July 28, 1947  
**EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor**  
EDITORIAL BOARD  
**ALBERT GATES HENRY JUDD IRVING HOWE**  
Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50¢ for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 60¢ for Canada, Foreign). Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## 'Red Prussian' Is Ignorant Book on Marx

THE RED PRUSSIAN, by Leopold Schwarzschild. Charles Scribner & Sons, 409 pp. Reviewed by W. AMADEUS

This book is from the pen of an "outstanding German liberal" of the pre-Hitler days. Its aim is to destroy what the author believes to be the undeserved world reputation of Karl Marx among historians, sociologists, scholars and intellectuals of the bourgeois world. It is a surly book, written with spleen, in turgid style and so unobjectionable as to make it utterly worthless even as a critical biography by a petty bourgeois anti-Marxist.



KARL MARX  
The reactionary Prussian system and more recently, with the bloody dictatorship of German fascism. After all, Marx was really a totalitarian Prussian!

The theme of the book is simple: Marx was a failure. This is measured by petty bourgeois conceptions of success, namely, the ability or inability to make money and to accumulate a little wealth. At the age of seventeen (!) Marx wrote bad poetry and was unable to make up his mind about his future profession. He spent his father's money freely while at school although the old man was failing in health and could no longer earn great sums as a lawyer.

At seventeen, Marx was restless. He did not apply himself strictly to his books, drank beer and participated in endless discussion groups with other students, especially the Young Hegelians. He knew nothing about socialism and the great ideas of his predecessors, ad infinitum, ad nauseum. These are many of Marx's crimes, but not all!

### DISTORTS MARX-ENGELS RELATIONS

Marx became engaged to Jennie von Westphalen, who was older than he. She came of a good German family with a fine reputation. But Marx calculatingly, we are led to believe, waited seven years to marry her even though he had no money, no profession, no job and no visible means of support. Schwarzschild's petty bourgeois spirit is so outraged at this that he deals at considerable length with it. He does not say that Marx married Jennie for her money though the implication is present, since in his later pages Schwarzschild details the extreme and constant poverty of the Marx family. The only compassionate note in the book is the sympathy Schwarzschild expresses for Engels, who "submerged" his own life and talents in order to assist Marx.

Schwarzschild is not the first to write about the Marx-Engels relationship this way. He, like his petty bourgeois predecessors and contemporaries, cannot understand the unique collaboration of Marx and Engels, the community of their ideas and the life-pact they made, in the struggle for socialism. Engels many times replied to these intransigent critics and opponents of socialism, who wrote sympathetically of poor Engels' mistaken surrender of his individuality and talents to make possible Marx's work.

For you see, writes Schwarzschild, Marx was diabolically clever. He had a way of winning people to his views, which were all stolen from others, of subordinating them to his will and "using" them up.

The fanciful writing of Schwarzschild covers a vast period of history which coincided with the life of Marx and Engels. He makes short work of the theoretical contributions made by Marx and Engels. Everything they wrote has been proved wrong. They expected the socialist revolution; it did not come. The fruit of their work is Stalinist Russia. Capitalism has not died, etc., etc.

### THE UNMYSTERIOUS MYSTERY

The great mystery which Schwarzschild does not clear up is how the diabolical and not very talented, but shrewd, Marx succeeded in becoming the single "greatest influence in the world." Why is he accorded such respect and why do tens of millions of the most oppressed peoples in society believe in him, even though their familiarity with Marx's ideas and his writings is of the most general kind? Why do so many bourgeois scholars write sympathetically about Marx and commend him for his brilliant ideas and analyses, particularly of bourgeois society? Since he cannot clear this unmysterious mystery, Schwarzschild must conclude that everyone is mistaken about Marx.

But it is difficult to take Schwarzschild seriously. The book is without a single saving grace. It contributes nothing to an understanding of the problems of modern society; it contributes nothing to a knowledge of Marx (many better and more informative books on Marx have been written by both his followers and opponents); but it does contribute a great deal to understanding Schwarzschild.

Having surveyed a capitalist world in ruins, his own country a land of rubble, socially prostrate, inhabited by a population without hope and morale, new imperialist rivalries, new threats of war and destruction, a world threatened with atomic warfare and extinction, this great German liberal has penned a book intended to destroy the ideas and the reputation of a man who, more than any other individual the world has ever known, has pointed the way out of social decay and modern barbarism. Oh yes, imperialism is not to blame for this condition; it is Stalinist Russia which follows the principles of Marxism (sic).

Mr. Schwarzschild promises a second book on the theories of Marxism in order to destroy finally (for the umpteenth time) the ideological influence of Marx. If "The Red Prussian" is an indication of what is coming, we can say in advance that it will be of even less value than this extremely subjective volume.



# Poland: In the Clutches of Stalin's GPU Gang

By JAN REY

LONDON, June 14—We do not think it necessary to review the role of the NKVD (GPU) in Russia at length. Its special armies number more than a million and a half well-fed assassins who enjoy a privileged economic, political and social position. In addition, Stalin's police wield tremendous power in the guise of industrial magnates "employing" 20 to 30 million worker-slaves. The GPU stems directly from Stalin and constitutes the only real power in Russia, being over and above the Communist Party and the Stalinist state. The GPU possesses foreign sections which watch the workers' movement in all countries, and at the same time carry on military, political and industrial espionage.

The "Polish" section of the GPU was one of the best organized. In line with the process of degeneration which gripped Russia, this section became a disciplinary apparatus which policed the CPP (Communist Party of Poland) and later became the sole source of authority in this party. The Polish Communists were accused and tried by this section of the GPU. In the factional struggle which occurred between 1925-30, the GPU disciplined the militants in Poland itself, carrying those oppositionists who resisted off to Russia for punishment. When the great purges of 1936-7-8 in the USSR decapitated the Bolshevik Party, the GPU proceeded just as energetically to the decapitation of the CPP. The entire central committee which had defended Trotsky in 1923-4 was assassinated. All members of the central committee who were critical of Stalinist doctrine and "theory" were assassinated.

In the years 1930-35, the central committee of the CPP was replaced by that group of GPU officials known as the "consolidators." The very same Mr. Bierut, who is today "President" of Poland, distinguished himself in this labor of physical "liquidation" of his own comrades and ghoulies "consolidation." Prior to the outbreak of the war in 1939, the CPP was ripe for liquidation and the GPU decreed its death and formal dissolution.

### GPU TRIES TO SPLIT UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

When the Nazis entered Poland, they could not find any Polish collaborators. As a consequence, the GPU offered to find "Poles ready to collaborate" with the occupiers. A committee was formed which collaborated with the Germans and spied for the Russians; its most prominent members were the Stalinists Krayewski, Albrech and Spychalski, today prominent figures of the regime, the latter a general in the army. From this organization of Russian-Nazi collaboration came the nucleus of the new Stalinist party, the PPR, founded soon after the outbreak of the German-Russian war. In 1943 the GPU created a "national council," where once again the GPU assassin, Bierut, appears under the pseudonym of Janowski, in a house on Twarda Street in Warsaw.

At the same time, the GPU tries to split the independent underground workers movement which is led primarily by the PPS. The agent and instrument of the GPU in carrying out this "diversion" is Mr. Osobka-Morawski, later rewarded with the presidency of the council of ministers. Osobka's group was without importance and altogether lacking in

substance. But when the Russian armies entered Poland in 1944, Osobka called a "congress" and with his band of selected puppets proclaimed the PPS at a time when the authentic PPS was shedding its blood in the underground and the insurrection of Warsaw. In spite of the many protests from the authentic PPS, this state of affairs was imposed upon and still prevails. This is the only example in history where a workers' party has been "expropriated" and its name stolen in order that the regime might wilfully impose an altogether alien leadership, method and program. Having liquidated the CPP, the GPU proceeded to the liquidation of the PPS. Both parties had a rich past reaching back almost half a century in the history of the workers' struggles and the struggle for national liberation.

### CONTROLLED UNIONS AND LEGAL PARTIES

Similarly the GPU is capturing control of the trade unions which today constitute a profitable instrument in the hands of the totalitarian state. The Stalinist Commissar of Trade Unions, Sokorski, prohibits strikes, declaring "strike demagoguery" outside the law.

The legal measures taken against striking workers usually conclude with harsh prison sentences. In the Baltic port of Gdynia, the GPU shot down striking workers. The demand for an increase in the ridiculous wages, which are the equivalent of three to five dollars a month, is considered a crime, and the Stalinist Commissar declares that "only an increase in labor productivity can bring wage increases." The GPU has the job of perpetuating the hunger wages of the Polish workers.

The irons with which the working class was bound were first fastened on the peasantry. The GPU captured the Peasant Party in 1944, sending its creatures as "representatives" to the Lublin Committee. But with the arrival of Mikolajczyk all the party organizations broke away from the police-imposed leadership, so that the "work of the GPU" was suspended in mid-air. To remedy this stroke of bad luck, the GPU fathered a new brain-child, "New Liberation," headed by Rek and other pliant tools, just before the elections. Despite their almost complete lack of influence in the countryside, both of these Stalinist inspired organizations received a great number of seats in the "Sejm" (Parliament). As these measures, however, did not succeed in destroying Mikolajczyk's Populist movement, a new "party" was created, the PSL-Left (Party of the Peasant Left). We wish to remind our readers that Bierut had categorically denied to the Socialist Zuluski the possibility of organizing an independent socialist party, citing as argument the fact that "there are enough political parties" in Poland. In spite of this declaration, the "Security" hastened the creation of three new "parties" (two peasant and one "worker").

The Christian Workers Party of Popiel was infiltrated and captured by the GPU through the Stalinist agent Felczak, a very docile tool of the GPU, known in pre-war days as an accomplished strike-breaker and lackey of the capitalists. This "party" also has its deputies and participates in the "democratic coalition."

### ITS SECRET AGENTS ARE EVERYWHERE

The GPU is not content with control of the legal parties, whether they are Stalinist or of the opposition. It also penetrates the political and military underground. The most important organization of the underground today is the WIN (liberty and independence), which absorbs and collaborates with the remnants of the famous AK (home army). Politically WIN represents an alliance between the PPS and the middle class left. A short time ago Warsaw witnessed a public trial against the WINs, in which the first accused, Rzepecki, member of the WIN command and a converted Stalinist partisan, criticized and accused the WIN and the London government, receiving an eight-year sentence. Notwithstanding this sentence Rzepecki is at liberty, works for the army's general staff, and carries on a feverish political activity on behalf of the government. How many as yet unmasked agents the GPU has in the WIN we do not know.

The case of the NSZ (nationalist armed forces), anti-Semitic and nationalist military organization, commanded by the fascist Piasecki (ardent admirer of Mussolini before the war), is very illuminating. During the periods of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Lodz, Krakow and Kielce, this organization enjoyed suspicious freedom of action.

Just before the Kielce pogrom, the detachments of the NSZ came out of the forest and celebrated in the streets of Radom, Kielce and neighboring towns. Neither the army nor the regime's police intervened against them. The pogrom was carried out in broad daylight in the capital of a "Woywodia" (province) with its military garrison and different kinds of "workers' state militia." The chief of the NSZ, Piasecki, after various meetings with Bierut established a "Catholic" newspaper, "Slawo Powszechnie," which collaborates

unashamedly with the regime. Dziarmaga, his lieutenant, and various others have followed suit. We know that before this decision was made a part of the NSZ (the Brigade of the Holy Cross) passed into the American zone in Germany because it did not wish to follow the turn of its chief toward Stalinism.

The GPU tries to penetrate at all cost into the Catholic Church but without much success to this day. Outside the case of Piasecki, "faithful son of the Catholic Church," one well-known conservative writer, Pruszyński, went to Rome as ambassador extraordinary in order to negotiate with the Pope, since the regular ambassador, Professor Kot, an ex-Populist, was already compromised.

### PENETRATE EMIGRATION IN EUROPE, AMERICA

We know that the GPU has also penetrated the Polish emigration in Europe and America. The agents of the GPU control not only the leadership of some Polish organizations, they even penetrate to the very heights of the London emigration, forming nuclei of agents who strive to silence the protests among the soldiers and the displaced. In the embassies of the Stalinist Warsaw regime, the GPU agents direct and control the ambassadors and ministers. Thus, in the Polish embassy in Washington, Alef Bolkovik (true name, Aleksiej Frumkin) is chief of the GPU with the official title of "military attache." Frumkin-Bolkovik controls not only the former ambassador, Lange, the present minister Winiewicz, and Pruszyński, but organizes the net of the GPU in Polish-American circles through Leo Krzycki and other known agents.

The GPU "Major" Eusebio Dworkin, officially secretary of the Warsaw embassy in Mexico, holds the same rank in Latin America. Dworkin has a long past as an assassin for the GPU in the Spanish civil war. Because

of him many revolutionary workers lost their lives. Now Dworkin controls not only the Warsaw embassy in Mexico, not only directs the Minister, Drohojowski, but controls the entire Polish colony in Latin America. No passport is extended or prolonged without his consent. Dworkin even controls the "London" ministers. In his last visit to Buenos Aires, he destroyed the only anti-Russian daily Polish newspaper in Latin America, buying the entire printing press, so that he might burn the files and archives in true Hitlerian fashion and destroy the plates of a book that was being readied for publication. The part played by the "London" Polish Minister in Buenos Aires was helpful to Dworkin in achieving his ends. At a more opportune moment we shall publish even more sensational facts for our readers.

Stalin knows full well that he cannot win over the workers and peasants as well as the Polish "intelligentsia" on a political basis. For this reason he tries to penetrate into all the parties, organizations and church inside Poland, and in the emigration as well. His agents try to take over key positions. Some of them are unmasked and they create the usual Stalinist "diversion," a split. Others who are more cautious cloak their role as spies with "patriotic" and "anti-Russian" phrases which serve as the chloroform with which the victim is prepared for the fatal operation. The Poles enjoy patriotic phrases and a GPU agent who employs them can operate for a long time. The totalitarian dictatorship has more faith in police activity than in political struggle.

But in the long run, ideas based on historical realities conquer, and not the police. For this reason we do not give way to despair because of the "successes" of the GPU, frequently carrying on work in the "tiger's mouth." The enormous GPU network lays bare the corruption and decay of the Stalinist regime, reveals its weaknesses, and demonstrates its ap-

proaching and irremediable end.

When the hour of liberation arrives, the pressure of the masses will smash the enormous and perfectly developed Stalinist "apparatus" into a million pieces. Nothing can suc-

ceed in stopping the historic process, which, like a river that has overflowed its bounds, will inundate the outworn and anachronistic historic formations that are condemned to inevitable death.

## Johnson Leads His Faction Out of WP

A group of members of the Workers Party, led by J. R. Johnson, member of the National Committee of the WP, has split away from the party and announced its intention to join the Socialist Workers Party.

The decision to split away from the Workers Party was made at a national conference of the Johnson group held on July 5. The conference adopted a resolution in favor of the split proposed by Johnson, in face of opposition voiced by a number of the delegates. The resolution is filled with violent denunciation of the Workers Party and its policies as representing a "petty bourgeois political tendency" and with lavish praise of the SWP as the authentic proletarian group. The language both of the denunciation and the praise differs from that frequently employed by the SWP itself only in that it is more hysterical.

It is noteworthy that the resolution does not even claim that the Johnson group was deprived of any of its rights to political existence and especially the full democratic right to propagate and defend its views in the Workers Party and its press. Such a claim could not be made by anyone. The fact is that the views of the Johnson group were so repeatedly discussed and thoroughly defeated that the Johnson resolution is obliged to acknowledge that "it can do nothing further to influence the WP majority politically" and that to remain members of the WP "now involves the minority in wearisome and futile political struggles."

The action of Johnson is probably the first one in the record of the revolutionary movement of quitting a party in face of the fact that the party allowed the departing faction, by its own acknowledgment, the fullest opportunity to express and disseminate its particular views inside the party, and while the faction admits in the same breath that the party—the Workers Party—is a legitimate part of the international revolutionary movement.

In spite of all the efforts of the Workers Party to retain the Johnson faction in its ranks, and its repeated invitation to the faction to abide by its own past proclamations in favor of remaining in the party and against any split from it, the Johnsonites proved determined to break away and join the SWP. The Johnsonites have been characterized as ultra-leftist phrasemongers and have been known in particular as the champions of the theory that Russia is a fascist capitalist state. The SWP has been criticized for its opportunistic right-wing tendencies and has been known in particular as the supporter of the theory that Stalinist Russia is a workers' state, which it defended in the late imperialist war.

The present alliance of the Johnsonites and the SWP against the Workers Party, which Johnson up to yesterday insisted was the only organization which had a thoroughly revolutionary position during the imperialist war and was the only one which fought Stalinism during the war, not only underlines the unprincipled character of the split but serves to confirm the belief, long held by serious Marxists, that ultra-leftism and opportunism are infinitely closer to each other than they appear to be on the surface.

The division in the revolutionary

socialist movement, which extends throughout the world, Trotskyist movement, has developed with increasing clarity. It separates those who seek to make the revolutionary movement the independent vanguard, the left wing of an independent working class, and those who seek to transform the revolutionary movement into the left wing of reactionary Stalinism. The former is represented in this country by the Workers Party; the policies of the Socialist Workers Party represent the latter.

In doing so, the Johnsonites have found themselves obliged to shove into the background and reduce to trivialities the vital and fundamental political and theoretical questions that have divided and still remain unresolved in the international Trotskyist movement; and to hide their own views on these questions. In their place, they have announced in their document the anti-Marxist and essentially nationalistic theory that the revolutionary party in the United States can be based solely upon the perspective of the American revolution.

The split from the Workers Party is accompanied by repeated protestations by the Johnsonites that they are still in favor of the unification of the Workers Party and the SWP, to which the two parties are still formally committed in a joint statement for unity they signed last March. It is clear, however, that if Johnson actually looked forward to an early unification between the two parties, he would not have precipitated a split at this time but would have waited to make his political alliance after the unity was achieved.

It is equally clear that the same holds true for anyone who encouraged the split at this time. If the split leads to the admission of the Johnsonites into the SWP, a step to which the WP cannot and will not offer any objection, it will plainly show that the SWP leadership, which has already in practice ruled out unity with the WP, has decided to nullify even the paper existence to which it has reduced the joint agreement on unity.

### Bolivian Miners Hit Attack On Trotskyists

The Bolivian government, supported by the Stalinists, after having started an offensive against the revolutionary wing of the workers' movement, has recently concentrated its fire against the Trotskyist organizations which control the miners' union—the most powerful working class organization in Bolivia.

The miners' convention, meeting at Colquiri, reaffirmed its confidence in its Trotskyist leadership and its opposition to the government. The latter, using the parliamentary recess, replied with a series of prosecutions, raids on homes and prohibition of the "Lucha Obrera," produced by our comrades.

It is clear that the government seeks to behead the Trotskyist movement and drive it underground.

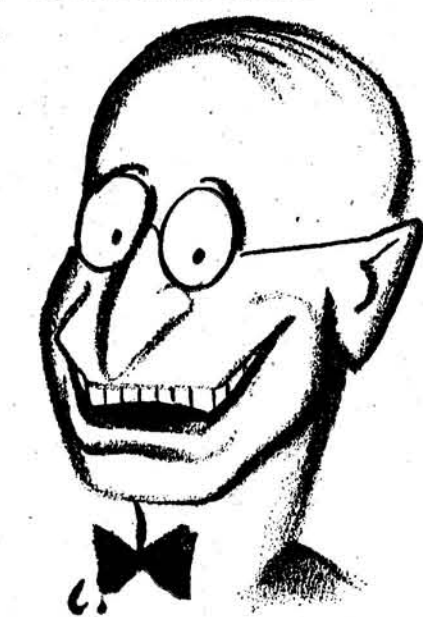
## Crisis Lurks Behind Boom --

(Continued from page 1)

nered the fruits of high productivity—the capitalist class. The nation's financiers and industrialists, with the able assistance of the Administration and Congress, have been enjoying the greatest profits in history and a general accumulation of wealth for almost seven years.

The great volume of goods produced by the millions of workers has redounded to the exclusive benefit of labor's exploiters—the profiteers. They got it during the war from government-guaranteed contracts; they are getting it in peacetime through tremendous exports and inflated prices.

### There Is Worry Behind the Smile



No wonder the Administration is alarmed when it observes that no substantial change is likely in the status of the overwhelming mass of the people in the coming months. It is especially alarmed by the high rate of exports which drains off a considerable portion of the goods produced, because it knows that this foreign bonanza cannot last much longer as the dollar holdings of other nations are being rapidly drained off.

That is why Truman warns the nation that it had better begin thinking about a change which will follow when the present "temporary props to our economic system" fall. His report is really a warning to the monopolistic big business interests who believe that they, with their falsehoods about "free enterprise" in an economy that is being choked to death by monopoly, are responsible for this boom. But all the evidence proves that the capitalist rulers of this country will no more be able to do anything about a coming crisis than they were in 1929. They cannot see further than their profits.

### CONGRESS ATTACKS PEOPLE

With a Congress to do its bidding, big business is having one helluva time taking advantage of a tremendous exploitation of labor with new technological improvements and high

prices. While Congress has done everything in its power to improve the position of big business, it has done everything in its power to prevent an improvement of the conditions of the wage earners.

In abolishing price control with the hypocritical promise that "free" economic activity will bring about a leveling of prices, they insured many more millions in big business profits. For prices rose sharply precisely in those commodities which are an every-day need of the people, food, clothing and other consumer items.

No housing program was enacted by the present big business Congress which condemned millions of people to live under sub-standard conditions. The latest bill ending genuine rent control was another bonanza thrown to the real estate and landlord interests of the country.

While this Congress quickly passed a vicious anti-labor law and sought to pass a "relief to the rich" tax bill, it has not done anything about:

1. Raising the minimum wage law even to the miserable 65 cents an hour called for in the present bill.
2. Expanding the social security structure nor acted to liberalize its benefits.
3. Passing the poor Taft-Wagner-Ellender Housing Bill, and one of its authors, the GOP leader in the Senate, has done little or nothing himself to push his bill.
4. To produce FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, while the GOP is preparing to make a political football of these matters in preparation for the 1948 elections.

Here you have all the elements of a really shaky economic structure

and some of its political elements, the latter emphasized by the passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill.

### MAKINGS OF CRASH

While big business exudes tremendous confidence which accounts for its more militant attitude toward labor, its more sober members are a little worried, and with good reasons. They see all the weak spots in the economy which can well crumble the whole structure virtually overnight. It is not necessary to go back to the conditions of 1923—with production at a rate of 38 or 39 billions of dollars and an unemployed army of 15 to 20 millions—to have a real crash. Given the present structure of the economy, even a far higher production can produce a devastating crisis. Listen to the conservative New York Telegram comment editorially:

"Suppose the national income dropped to less than \$40,000,000,000 as in 1932. Or even to \$100,000,000,000, that goal Mr. Roosevelt talked about in 1937. This country with its \$258 billions national debt, its government costing upwards of \$35 billions a year, its foreign obligations, its imperative need for adequate defense measures in a menacing world—this country would be sunk."

It might have added several equal and perhaps more important factors such as the tremendous rise in the number of workers consequent on the rise in total population, the declining share of the workers in the national product, the increasing difficulties and the eventual impasse created in foreign trade and we have all the makings of a crash that can and will far outstrip the 1930's.

## August New International Features Analysis of Labor's Fight on Taft-Hartley Act

The August issue of The New International, now ready for the press, contains many interesting features.

The lead article of this issue discusses the meaning of the Taft-Hartley Bill. In that article, Albert Gates deals with the ineffective steps taken by the official leaders of both the AFL and the CIO to combat this slave law, and the struggle for an independent labor party as the indispensable next step for the American working class.

The first part of an article entitled "The Imperialist Conquest of South Africa," by Robert Stone, is an interesting Marxist study of the rise of South Africa. This article is timely especially in view of Great Britain's recent plan to integrate its Af-

rican empire into a more effective arm of British imperialism.

The issue also contains the second part of "The Nature of the Polish State," by Ernest Erber; "Linton Oak's Mistakes on Poland," by A. Rudziński; "Bolivia Faces the Future," by Luis Velasco.

Of particular interest to many of our readers will be the material on WP-SWP unity. The August issue contains an article on unity by Albert Goldman, and two speeches by James P. Cannon and M. Stein of the SWP on their views of the unity.

The contents for the September issue will also prove of great interest. The best way of assuring yourself of a copy of The New International is by subscribing.

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