

Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

MARCH 8, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Stalin Coup Heightens Imperialist Tension

WAR FEARS AT NEW HIGH!



\$3,000,000,000 per year for Universal Military Training

OR

\$3,000,000,000 per year to do ALL of the following:



To construct a 10-room, modern school building in every county in the United States each year



To construct a \$50,000 library in every county in the United States each year



To construct annually a \$150,000 hospital in each county



To employ 10 doctors and 10 nurses full-time for schools and public health services in each county



To purchase 10 new, modern school buses in each county in the U. S. each year



To maintain one psychiatric and behavior clinic in every county in the U. S.



To provide 10 full-time recreation and juvenile guidance workers in every county in the United States



To bring all schools of the country up to a reasonable standard of efficiency



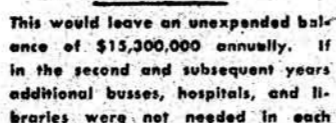
To meet the pay roll of one junior college with 10 instructors in every county in the United States



To provide free education for the 3 million children under 18 who are not now attending school



To pay all expenses of a 3-year post graduate course for 10,000 students and scientists each year



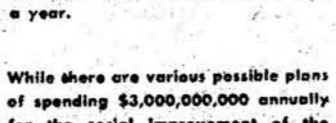
This would leave an unexpended balance of \$15,300,000 annually. If in the second and subsequent years additional buses, hospitals, and libraries were not needed in each county, and a second technical school were not needed in each congressional district, the cost would be reduced to less than \$2,000,000,000 a year.



To pay one year's expenses at college or technical school of the 900,000 boys conscripted



To erect a \$750,000 trade and technical school in each congressional district each year.



While there are various possible plans of spending \$3,000,000,000 annually for the social improvement of the United States, the above proposals indicate methods by which our national welfare and defense could be tremendously improved for less than the amount that would be wasted on the proposed compulsory military training.

(From the testimony of the former Secretary of the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education of the National Education Association before the House Committee on Military Affairs, November 28, 1945.)

Source: Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

The above chart is reprinted from the January, 1948, issue of "Economic Outlook," published by the CIO. The whole January issue is devoted to "UMT—A Poor Investment." The chart, of course, does not cover the main objection to UMT—namely, that it represents the military training of youth for imperialist war. It does, however, graphically illustrate what could be done with funds asked for UMT.

U. S. Behind New Arrests In Greece

By MIKE STEVENS

Eight hundred more persons were arrested in Athens over the last week-end in a carefully timed move by the Greek government. The order for the arrests was issued immediately after the government saw how Great Britain and the United States reacted to the events in Czechoslovakia. Also, the arrests came only two days after Secretary of State Marshall urged Congress to authorize promptly \$275,000,000 additional expenditures for continued and sustained military aid to Greece and Turkey for "resisting communism."

The Greek government claims that it arrested persons who were working with the Stalinist-controlled guerrilla movement. This claim is false. The mass arrests by the Greek government include non-Stalinist and anti-Stalinist trade unionists, Fourth Internationalists, socialists, and every shade of anti-monarchists. In other words, everyone who may oppose the "Truman Doctrine" and the Sophocles government.

During the previous mass arrests last December, there was widespread criticism by trade unionists throughout the world. Now, the Greek government hopes that the capitalist press of the world will find it easier to convince the workers who have been stunned by Stalinist tactics in Czechoslovakia that these mass arrests were made to "preserve democracy in Greece."

ORDERED BY U. S.

The arrests will also help Secretary Marshall in his attempts to get money from Congress for more military aid in Greece. The arrests will be presented as proof that "Russian agents" are working in Athens itself, which is hundreds of miles from the borders.

All the Greeks, whether they are fascists, socialists or communists, are convinced that the United States ordered these mass arrests. They know that the Greek government would not take such a bold move unless it was suggested and pressed by the United States. The Greeks see the United States protesting arrests, intimidations or elections in other coun-

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The seizure of Czechoslovakia by Stalin and his fellow criminals, followed immediately by Stalin's demand that Finland sign a pact placing that country under Russian political and military domination, has raised the widespread fear of war to a new height throughout the world.

On everybody's lips, the question no longer is: Shall and will there be a new World War?—but, rather, is this World War III almost upon us? Can it be that we shall shortly be plunged into it?

The campaign for the conquest of Europe now being undertaken by the Stalinist movement has heightened the tension between America and Russia. Senator Vandenberg (Republican), leading spokesman in behalf of Truman's imperialist program and the man charged with obtaining adoption of the Marshall Plan, has demanded quick action.

In a speech bristling with war threats, Vandenberg offered the Marshall Plan as the sole alternative to actual war. In view of the fact that

Stalin has openly proclaimed that he will go to all lengths to halt the operation of the Marshall Plan, it is clear that fulfillment of the Vandenberg demand for quick passage will make the situation more warlike in character.

The powers of Western Europe that still remain out of the hands of Stalin's Russia are alarmed as never before. The Stalinist campaign, as they well know, will not halt with the conquest of Czechoslovakia, nor with the approaching conquest of Finland.

Important general elections are coming in April and May in the key nations of France and Italy. These election results will largely determine the fate of these two countries, and American imperialism may well face the alternative of seeing the total failure of its efforts to bolster Western European capitalism or of precipitating an unwanted, premature war against Stalin.

At the moment, in a supreme effort to organize some kind of a political bloc with which to confront the Russian Empire, the British Labor government—with the approval of Marshall and Truman—has speeded up its plans for a Western European conference at which military and economic unification will be proposed. This, too, adds up to further steps on the road to a new war.

CHAIN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Meanwhile the Stalinists in Czechoslovakia have moved rapidly to build their totalitarian state. Once they had decomposed and disintegrated the feeble resistance of the capitalist parties and the Social Democrats—symbolized by the capitulation of the so-called "liberal" Benes, who lacked even the courage to resign—there was nothing to halt the Stalinist machine. All factories, newspapers, radios, means of communication, etc., are now firmly in the hands of the totalitarians. Elections have been indefinitely postponed and will take place only when the results are entirely guaranteed.

By promising further breaking up of large farms and estates, Premier Gottwald, the Stalin of Czechoslovakia, has sought to strengthen his support among the small peasants and farmers of the country. At the same time, he is taking any possible control of the factories out of the workers' hands by sending his government administrators (all members of

(Continued on page 4)

Liar or Fool? -- Which Is It, Mr. Wallace?

Questioned by Representative Sol Bloom at a hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week on how his attitude toward the Marshall Plan differs from that of the Communist Party, Henry Wallace, would-be President on the third party Stalinist ticket, replied:

"I am not familiar with the Communist program, so I am unable to answer your question. I don't follow the Communist literature."

Now what shall one say about such an answer? Should one call Mr. Wallace a liar? Or should he simply be put down for a fool? On the evidence presented by Dwight Macdonald in his recent book on Wallace (it will be reviewed in next week's LABOR ACTION), one would have to conclude that there is some truth in both characterizations.

Consider for a moment: here is a man who for thirteen years held several of the most important posts in the government, including the vice-presidency. Here is a man who more recently edited a national journal of political comment, The New Republic. The government, during his years in office, concerned itself greatly with Stalinism in its various imperialist projects and deals. And the magazine he edited devoted much of his space—and favorably during his tenure—to the same subject in one way or another.

This problem of Stalinism is in many ways the major problem of the world today. Capitalist, worker, each for his own reasons, is profoundly concerned with . . . the "Communist" (Stalinist) program, and therefore "communist" literature.

Yet Mr. Wallace disclaims his knowledge of either. How then did he qualify as an editor of a national magazine? How then does he qualify as a speaker or writer (and this is a man who writes books, all kinds of books) on ANYTHING that is taking place in the world today?

His program calls for a division of the world into two imperialist spheres, Russian and American. Presumably it is based upon some knowledge. But Wallace insists upon his ignorance. What then is his competence to judge any problem in the world today? Liar or fool?—we suspect a little of both.

Or take it from another angle. Wallace's third party movement is the creature and invention of the Stalinist totalitarians directed from the Kremlin. Everybody knows that, or should know that. Certainly the spokesmen for that movement should know what is obvious to every semi-informed observer. Who does he think provides the rah-rah claque at all the meetings he addresses? (And Macdonald notes that if ever there was a sucker for applause, it is Wallace. So much so that he will alter the essential content of an address according to the amount of enthusiasm facing him.) The only labor leaders supporting the Wallace ticket are known Stalinist stooges or dupes.

Can it be that he knows nothing about the movement that conceived his candidacy? Again: liar or fool?—we suspect a little of both.

Either way, Wallace is damned. But we do think it is a question that ought to be asked of him at all his meetings. After all, his competence to speak on anything at all, short of corn experimentation, is involved.

Which reminds us that many months ago we addressed a letter to Mr. Wallace at his New Republic office citing a blurb in his name appearing on advertisements for a despicable book, "The Great Conspiracy," by Kahn and Sayers. A major purpose of the book was to justify the infamous Moscow Trials. We called Mr. Wallace's attention to this fact, and referred to the verdict of world opinion, especially as concretized in the findings of the John Dewey Commission of Investigation, which held the trials to be a colossal frame-up. Remarking that his views of such matters were of considerable public interest, we asked for an interview. Wallace was in New York at the time we wrote. Some time later we received a reply signed by his secretary informing us that Mr. Wallace is in Palestine (by that time he was) and that we would hear from him on his return. We are still waiting. And we would still like that interview.

CIO Council Split in Los Angeles

State Body Also Splits as Stalinists and Anti-Stalinists Divide on Issue of Wallace Support

By SAM ADAMS

A split in the California and Los Angeles CIO Councils was completed with the resignations of the chief officers of both bodies at their recent meetings to consider the position of the CIO on the forthcoming political campaign.

The state board met over the weekend of February 14 and 15 and voted on a Stalinist-sponsored resolution which duplicated the action of the Los Angeles Council as reported in LABOR ACTION of February 16. Avoiding a direct collision with the action of the national Executive Board, which had condemned the candidacy of Wallace, the third party and endorsed the Marshall Plan, the Stalinist majority in the state council proposed unity of the California CIO in support of "progressive and pro-labor congressmen and legislators."

With the passage of this resolution, Morris Zusman resigned as president of the state council, declaring that he could not serve as head of a body which refused to carry out CIO national policy. He was accompanied in his walkout by the representatives

of the Steel Workers, UAW, Newspaper Guild, Oil, Amalgamated, Rubber, Retail and Wood Workers, whose support made the division in the state body very close. The Stalinist-sponsored resolution carried by a vote of 63,387-2/3 to 40,122.

LOS ANGELES COUNCIL SPLITS

The split in the Los Angeles Council took a somewhat different form. It had already voted in favor of the Stalinist resolution one week before the state council met. The anti-Stalinist bloc, made up of a curious conglomeration of reactionaries and progressives, merely bided its time awaiting some response from the national office of the CIO, knowing that, in view of the action of the council, intervention of the national office was certain.

This intervention came in the form of a letter from John Brophy, national CIO director of union councils, calling on the Los Angeles body to rescind its action of February 6 and that it oppose Wallace, the third party and endorse the Marshall Plan.

A motion by Phillip Lerman, delegate of the UAW, to endorse the letter and rescind the previous action precipitated a sharp dispute at the meeting. But the Stalinist majority prevailed. President Lunceford of the rubber workers and Vice-President Clark of the steel workers resigned and together with their supporters walked out of the council. The Stalinists and their supporters remained in control of the Los Angeles Council, which they proceeded to reorganize.

The tactic of the anti-Stalinist bloc is to force the appointment of admin-

istrators, or receivers, for both the state and Los Angeles bodies. Already it has stepped up its campaign for the removal of Harry Bridges as director of Northern California on the ground that while he has a right to support Wallace as head of the Longshoremen's Union, he has no right to do so as a national appointed official.

WHERE TO NOW?

What will emerge from this situation? It is difficult to foretell at this moment. One thing is certain: there will be in effect two state and two Los Angeles Councils. The anti-Stalinist bloc is meeting in a rank and file caucus on March 1 to decide its course of action. In any case, the long honeymoon between the Stalinists and their fellow travelers and the CIO top bureaucracy is ended. The unity which prevailed between them during the long years of the war made possible the stranglehold acquired by the Kremlin's agents in the West Coast labor movement.

For the first time in the long history of the CIO a fight has opened up against the Stalinists which contains many progressive features despite the ugly and reactionary nature of the present dispute.

The fight in California, as everywhere else in the CIO is over whether this great trade union body shall support the mystic Henry Wallace or the Missouri mule Harry Truman, for president, and to endorse either the Stalin Plan or the Marshall Plan! What real interests can the workers have in such a struggle?

The saddest thing in this situation is the absence of a powerful, organ-

ized and determined voice in behalf of independent labor political action, for a Labor Party, against all the capitalist candidates, and their parties, including the latest Stalinist stooge, Wallace; of an independent political voice against the war plans of the two imperialist rivals in the world today. Within this situation, however, there are signs of a real awakening.

But if the struggle revolves solely around the appointment of receivers and administrators, around the bureaucratic manipulations of both sides, it can only disgust the rank and file in the labor movement and forestall the healthy development of the working class politically.

ADA Convention Exhibits Futility

Leaders Offer Nothing Better Than Another Ride on Merry-Go-Round of Capitalist Politics

By SUSAN GREEN

The first national convention of Americans for Democratic Action, held in Philadelphia, February 21 and 22, was a public exhibition of top labor leaders desperately clutching the skirts of New Dealers, with the latter hanging on for dear life to the apron strings of the Democratic Party.

Present were nearly 600 delegates from forty states, representing some 25,000 dues-paying members of ADA. Besides the noted anti-Wallace liberals such as Mrs. Roosevelt, Paul

Porter, Leon Henderson, Wilson Wyatt, Adolph Berle and others, there was an imposing array of national and local labor leaders from nearly all the non-Stalinist unions, AFL, CIO and independent. AFL President Green, Reuther of Auto, Dubinsky of ILGWU, Whitney of the Teamsters, Wolchok of Retail and Wholesale Workers, Emil Rieve, Allen Haywood, James Carey, Green of UMSWA and many more labor leaders were at the convention in Philadelphia.

Nothing new came out of the convention to better the political posi-

tion of the workers. The clearly expressed anti-Wallace stand was not exactly new. Before the delegates convened it was well known throughout the nation that this was to be a convention of anti-Wallace and anti-Stalinist liberals and labor leaders.

The convention and its speakers correctly condemned the Stalinist coloration of the Wallace movement. In the statement of policy adopted, the organizers of the Wallace movement are upbraided for "proclaiming devotion to civil rights at home" and for being "the first to condone judicial lynching, slave labor and the po-

lice state abroad. The rest of the anti-Wallace position of ADA is, however, absolutely incorrect from the point of view of working class interests. ADA is opposed to the Wallace party because it will "split the liberal vote." This is simply another way of proclaiming adherence to the two-party system. "The liberal vote" is supposed to go to "the liberals of both parties"—both capitalist. On the other hand, the interests of the people urgently demand the coupling of opposition to Stalin-Wallace with advocacy of an independent Labor Party

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Question and Answer

Benjamin F. Fairless, U. S. Steel head, blamed price rises on labor at a Congress hearing.

"In view of the sad picture you draw," questioned Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, "how was U. S. Steel able to declare an extra dividend last December?"

"Out of earnings, of course," was the quick retort of Benjamin F. Fairless.

Real Independence Is Way to End Fratricidal Bloodshed

Black "Normalcy" Settles On Palestine

By AL FINDLEY

A black "normalcy" has settled over Palestine. When five or six people are killed on one day, the correspondents call it a "quiet" or normal day. It takes a catastrophe like the Ben Yehuda Street bombing that killed 54 people to make the front pages.

The Arabs are shifting their method of attack from small bands of five to twenty each, to guerrilla bands of a few hundred each. Many of these are Palestinian Arabs trained in other countries. The largest proportion are "volunteers" from the Syrian, Lebanese and Iraqi armies. The total number of Arab volunteers whom the British have allowed to cross the frontiers, is estimated at about 7,000. This Arab army, while not possessing heavy arms, is well-equipped for the job it proposes to do—harassing, and hit-and-run fighting in order to upset the precarious imperialist balance in favor of partition.

Arms for this army came from three sources: (1) Arabian governments who have arms and are still getting limited amounts at present from England. (2) From the "merchants of death"—armament dealers and black marketeers. (3) From Czechoslovakia's famous Skoda armament works.

Arabian agents have signed an agreement with the nationalized Skoda works for \$100,000 worth of armaments. The first shipment, consisting of 180 machine guns with 120,000 rounds of ammunition, 130 sub-machine guns, 600 pistols and 1,150,000 rifle bullets, was made on December 28. Two smaller air shipments were made on January 8 and January 10.

The Czechs no longer deny shipping arms. In reply to a question from the Jewish press, Stalinist Interior Minister Nocek replied that officially they were selling only to legitimate governments and that he was not concerned with the ultimate destination of the arms.

ARAB DIVISION

A three-cornered fight is taking place among the Arab politicians for control of the Arab forces in Palestine. First, there is the struggle of the Arab League for supremacy over all Palestinian Arabs. There is also the personal struggle between the Mufti, claiming to represent "political authority," and the "military" led by Kawukzi. A temporary truce has been arranged dividing the fronts between different commanders representing different factions, but ultimate disposition has not been reached.

In addition, there is Abdullah. The Syrians and Lebanese want an immediate "guerrilla" struggle to forestall any attempt by Abdullah to absorb Arab Palestine. LABOR ACTION has in the past given full information on Abdullah's plans for a greater Syria. Herald Tribune correspondent Rogers reports that Abdullah now has the support of the U. S. for his plan, but that Abdullah wants the

U. S. to win over Russia and tip the scales in favor of those in Britain who support his scheme by which he will be "called in" by a group of Palestinian Arabs and will "pacify" the country, but will stop at the borders of the proposed Jewish state. In return, the U. S. is to prevail on Russia to withdraw her veto against Abdullah's admission to the UN and England (with U. S. backing) should continue its subsidy for his Arab Legion.

BRITISH FOSTER CHAOS

The British are doing their bit to create chaos. An army of 100,000 which in the past has conducted house-to-house searches in large cities, now claims inability to prevent the entry of 7,000 Arabs. The British administration is rapidly deteriorating in Palestine and each local commander is a law unto himself. No attempt is being made for the orderly transfer of power into the hands of the inhabitants of the country. Large stocks of arms are purposely being left in such a position that a struggle for possession will take place. Individual British soldiers have undoubtedly taken part in attacks on the Jews. The outrageous bombing of New Jerusalem's main street was carried out by a group that consisted of British and Polish volunteers.

One point upon which the overwhelming majority of Jews and Arabs agree, is the demand that the British leave as soon as possible. It is tragically funny to hear, after all this, an appeal by Chaim Weizman for a British-Jewish rapprochement.

England has also acted to paralyze the economic life of the country and to force an economic agreement favorable to the London "City." Palestine had a surplus of dollars, but the British prevented their use, and forced their conversion into pounds on the grounds that Palestine was in the Sterling bloc. These pounds have now been frozen. Without consulting any of the inhabitants of the country, Palestine has been excluded from the Sterling Bloc. Of the approximately 100,000,000 pounds due Palestine, only 4,000,000 pounds are to be at the disposal of Palestine trade and industry. The rest is frozen until an arrangement can be made by His Majesty's Government with either the UN Commission or with successor states.

The British Foreign Office has been attempting to capitalize on the fact that it was the only great power to oppose partition to induce the Arab countries to sign treaties favorable to England. The growing nationalist sentiment amongst the Arabs has defeated this plan. With the result that the "model" British-Iraq treaty has been repudiated.

JEWS DISCUSS "ATTACK"

The Jews too are preparing. They possess arms given them by the British in World War II, and are receiving arms via international smuggling. They have recently bought 21 de-

crepit airplanes and other surplus supplies from the British. For a time the Jewish leaders have alternated between boasts that their armament is sufficient to patrol all of Palestine (Ben-Gurion) to a plea for an international army. They are concentrating on trying to get the U. S. to lift the embargo on arms for the Jewish militia.

The Haganah has until now limited itself to defense, and to reprisals around the borders of the proposed Jewish state. There is some talk of adopting a policy of "attack" on the main centers of Arab mobilization deep in Arab territory. The main proponents of this policy are the Irgun, the Stern group and the Revisionists. Those who doubt the close connection between Revisionists and the Irgun or Stern group, should note that all three groups adopted and began propagandizing for this plan at the same time. The unity agreement between the Irgun and the Haganah that was initiated is now dead. The primary reason was excessive Irgun demands for independence to raise funds and to engage in political propaganda. Open fights in the streets of Tel-Aviv are now taking place between Irgunists and Haganah members.

U. S. POSITION

Prospects for an imperialist International army to enforce partition ended with the statement of U. S. delegate Austin to the U. N. Security Council. While reaffirming the principle of partition, he declared that the UN charter did not give the security council the right to enforce partition and called for a Big Five agreement on whether or not the stipence, and to "consult." Since Britain and China are part of the Big Five, it is obvious that no action will take place. The U. S. delegate solemnly called upon the UN as a "matter of urgency" to "do nothing—at once." This legalistic statement is a retreat from the American argument used to swing smaller nations behind the original partition scheme. Palestine joins the growing list of "issues," along with South Africa, Korea, the Balkans and Trieste that expose the UN as being little more than a chessboard on which some moves in the international game of diplomacy are made.

In effect, what the U. S. said was that if partition could be carried out, it would not oppose it. If the situation in Palestine was a threat to the U. S., the U. S. is free to act, either to reconsider or to take a position to enforce the partition. The United States hopes for one of the following: (1) The Jews will be able to establish a state by their own power. (2) Some scheme can be worked out with Arab politicians. (3) England can be induced to stay and keep the situation in hand.

England's latest declaration that after May 15 she will consider the UN as the "legal government" of Palestine, has dimmed State Department hopes that England will stay. At the same time it undermines Austin's legal statement to the Security Council, since it "legally" takes the issue out of the category of "threats to the peace" and puts it into the realm of "law and order" that is so appealing to the U. S. rulers. The report about the United States' support to Abdullah's plan is only one of the ways in which the United States attempts to eat its cake (partition) and have it too (Arab oil and alliances).

It is of course not excluded that if these schemes should fail to achieve partition and a stabilization of the Palestinian situation, the present small retreat by the U. S. will be the beginning of a long series of retreats that may lead to complete abandonment of the partition plan. However, as yet the U. S. has not reached that decision.

ZIONISTS RUSH PLANS

The reaction of Zionist leaders to the American statement has been a speeding up of the process of forming a provisional Jewish government. Officially, this action will be taken, a little early, to be sure, to conform with the April 1 time table of the UN partition plan for the establishment of provisional councils of gov-

ernment." Actually, it is an attempt to concretize the partition plan before the sands run out: This provisional government may declare its independence May 15, when the British leave. It is also rumored that this declaration of independence will have the consent of the "five lonely men" who make up the UN partition commission.

Russia has remained silent. The Zionists have little hope that Russia will take any other position than Austin did, since Austin argued for the fundamental positions of Stalinist diplomacy—that the UN cannot enforce its political decisions and that basic action must be taken by the Big Five. It may also attempt some kind of demagogic appeal to Zionist innocents. (As we go to press, the first of these predictions has been proved true with Gromyko's statement to UN.—Ed.)

LABOR ACTION long ago reported its opinion that a UN army would hardly be formed as a result of the conflicting imperialist rivalries. Even if a UN army would have been formed, it would not and could not bring peace to Palestine. All it could do would be to perpetuate foreign control of Palestine and prolong the dangerous transitional period, thus continuing the incentive to bloodshed and violence. Neither will bloodshed in Palestine stop if partition is defeated by the Mufti and his cohorts. Peace will not come to Palestine by imposing Arab rule on Jews or Jewish rule on Arabs.

The only effective way to minimize bloodshed in Palestine is by the immediate granting of independence to both the Jewish and Arab peoples of Palestine. This can be done in a matter of days, at most weeks, if there is a will to do this—for example, India. The braided geographical borders and the realities of the interdependent economies of the two people would then be able to operate to give free play to those forces among both Jews and Arabs who will work toward peace and unity.

Palestine Discussion

We have been compelled to omit, for lack of space, our column of discussion on the Palestine issue. In addition to contributions listed last week, we have received an article from Albert Goldman. We shall try to allot a greater space to the discussion in next week's issue.

Los Angeles Class: Trotsky's Theories

LOS ANGELES—A class in the "Theories of Trotsky," under the general heading "Development of Socialist Thought," will be held by the Workers Party of Los Angeles on Friday nights, beginning Friday, March 12. Albert Gates, organizer for the Los Angeles branch of the WP, will be the instructor of the class, which will meet at the headquarters of the Workers Party, 3314 So. Grand Avenue.

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PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST ROAD DEBATE DRAWS 500 IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK—Before an audience of 500, on Sunday, February 29, at Labor Temple in New York, Dwight Macdonald, editor of Politics, and Hal Draper, editor of The New Internationalist, debated the question "Is Working Class Action the Road to Socialism?" with Draper taking the affirmative and Macdonald the negative.

Hal Draper, presenting the point of view of the Workers Party, outlined the role of the working class in history and established why it has been in the past and must be in the future the only class capable of creating a world socialist society.

Dwight Macdonald declared that socialism will be won by the intellectual man of high moral values and integrity rather than by actions by the working masses, stressing the defeats the working class has suffered in the past hundred years, its failure to achieve socialism and its capitulation to Stalinism. He maintained that the high standard of living that the working class enjoys today, as compared with a hundred years ago, diverts it as a class from the struggle for socialism.

After the presentations the floor was thrown open for questions to the speakers from the audience.

In his summary, Draper pointed out that successful working class actions in Russia, Germany and China took place either during or directly after the First World War. Among other things, he cited in evidence the wildcat strikes in the United States during World War II despite the no-strike pledge, as against Macdonald's contention that improved living conditions divert the working class from the class struggle.

Both speakers agreed that the top trade union bureaucrats' hampered wether than aided the working class in its struggle against its oppressors. They agreed, too, that the Stalinist parties in Europe today were agents working against successful working class action. Macdonald, however, maintained that the support the workers gave to the Stalinist parties proved their inability to achieve socialism. In refutation, Draper insisted that, although the working class of Europe was mistaken in its belief that the Stalinist parties would bring socialism, its support of the Stalinists showed that it was the only class willing to fight for socialism.

Stalinists Out in Full Force As Mich. Progressive Party Is Formed to Boost Wallace

LANSING, Feb. 21—The Wallace-for-President campaigners met here today and officially organized themselves into the Progressive Party. It was announced that approximately 1,000 were present for the all-day affair. The meeting was for the most part an organizational one—passing the usual resolutions, making arrangements for getting on the ballot and setting up a state-wide organization for Michigan.

It was obvious from those present that the Stalinists and their followers comprised most of the movement here, with few innocents. Thus far, the new party has failed completely to attract to it any leaders of unions which they do not control. The best they can do in the United Automobile Workers, aside from such old reliable as Hodges Mason, president of Local 208; Dave Miller, president of Local 22; and James Conser, financial secretary of Local 600 was Leroy Llewellyn. Llewellyn is the recently-defeated West Side regional director, who is now running for president on the Stalinist-supported slate at Local 600.

The UPW, public workers, the UOPWA, office workers, and the UE, electrical and radio workers, were much better represented, of course, by such leaders as Mort Furay, regional director UPW, Yale Stuart, board director UPW, and Jerry Shore, regional director UOPWA. Other standbys included Nat Ganley, State Senator Stanley Nowak, Jack Raskin of the Civil Rights Federation and Reverend Charles A. Hill.

KEYNOTER EXPLAINS

The keynoter of the day was William Gallmor, a New York radio commentator. Gallmor informed the conference that "Henry Wallace loves people" and his movement is for "peace and abundance." (He failed to explain how Wallace showed his affection for the people during the depression days when his famous AAA plan plowed under every third row of crops while there was hunger and insecurity in abundance.) Gallmor explained that with Wallace in the White House, the U. S. can avert war because Russia would then trust the U. S. He added that this was true under FDR who was able to get compromises from Stalin because he was trusted by the Russian government. It goes without saying he was not referring to those periods when Roosevelt, according to the Stalinist backers of the Wallace movement, was a "fascist" and a "war monger."

With the overwhelming defeat the Stalinists were handed at the UAW convention and the almost certain defeats for them in the coming local union elections, the Wallace movement is a handy thing for them. Up till now they have been licking their wounds in silence, and have appeared very demoralized. They have come out of hiding in most plants to organize Wallace clubs. The degree of their success depends on Reuther and Mazy's program for the coming election.

The only obvious way to defeat this Stalinist movement is for the UAW to put on a campaign to organize a real labor party and not continue labor's present policy of continued support to Truman and the Democratic Party. Such a policy will make it much easier for the Stalinists to convince workers that their new party is a "people's party," and that Wallace is labor's greatest and newest friend.

Bazaars Aid ACEWR Fund

The American Committee for European Workers Relief reports the close of a highly successful bazaar season. In a two and a half month period, ending January 31, ACEWR chapters held nine bazaars.

The net proceeds of these bazaars are as follows: Allentown-Bethlehem, \$25.05; Chicago-Calumet, \$200; Los Angeles, \$970; Milwaukee, \$200; New York City, \$1,388; Philadelphia, \$150; San Diego, \$50; San Francisco, \$177; Minneapolis-St. Paul, \$700. Total: \$4,080.

The total will reach a somewhat higher figure when the final returns from the Minneapolis-St. Paul bazaar have been determined.

In addition to the bazaars, the ACEWR reports that \$422.35 was realized from other affairs held by chapters. These were: New Haven, Italian dinner, \$235.25; Lynn, Mass., banquet, \$113; Pittsburgh, social, \$40; Seattle Christmas party, \$34.10.

The need for relief in Europe has not diminished. The ACEWR requests that all who want to extend a hand of solidarity to the European working class send in contributions of money, food or clothing. Checks and money orders should be made out to ACEWR and sent to 130 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

CHARGES FALSIFICATION OF REPORT ON LOCAL 45 MEMBERSHIP MEETING

CLEVELAND, Feb. 23—As brazenly as after the January membership meeting, one of the officers of Fisher Body Local 45 released to the press an account of Sunday's membership meeting which has nothing in common with what actually occurred.

At the previous meeting, an endorsement of Wallace had been secured. However, the largest minority vote registered in the local in a long time was recorded against the endorsement. Leo Fenster, recording secretary, then told the newspapers that all but THREE members had voted for Wallace! This time the officer involved is not specifically named, but it is probably the same Fenster. The meeting of February 22 (see last week's LABOR ACTION) recorded itself by a voice vote as being overwhelmingly for instructing incoming officers to sign Taft-Hartley affidavits. There was a definite "No" vote, however, and Charles Kennedy, in the chair, specifically asked Fenster if he wanted a hand or standing count made. Fenster did not take advantage of this offer, and everyone conceded the vote was for compliance.

This morning's Plain Dealer carried a story on the meeting, explaining that there was a sharp cleavage in accounts of what happened. It said that some members claimed that everyone present voted on T-H compliance, with about eight opposed.

Then the story went on, "A spokesman for the present officers, often accused of left-wing leanings, said: 'Only about eight or so members voted on the resolution and the rest of the members abstained from voting, thereby showing their disapproval of the measure.'"

In the next paragraph this same officer is quoted as saying this was an "unimportant" feature of the meeting! Further on in the story, this spokesman tells of his surprise at the large turnout by the membership.

The Stalinists in this local, as elsewhere, are but a tiny part of the membership. They have advanced to leadership and maintained themselves there by opportunism of the worst sort, deals with all kinds of elements, and false claims to militancy. Those who dared to oppose them were subject to character assassination and slander. Now for the first time in years, the Stalinist pleas for unity and unanimity have failed and they were beaten fair and square on the issue of isolating the local from the rest of the UAW.

The Stalinists can't take it, and must distort and falsify the action of the membership to make a defeat look like a moral victory. But the fellows who were there know what took place, and they have a darn good idea who gave out the false information. Stalinist falsification exposes itself.

Questions to SWP On Czechoslovakia

Editor: Regardless of how the hardboiled brain trust of University Place (Socialist Workers Party) presents its report on the Czechoslovak crisis, it is faced with some serious political problems. After all, Prague has fallen to Stalin. That cannot be written up as another news item to be objectively and factually reported.

Some questions: What is the class character of the political change in Prague? What class does Gottwald represent—and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Zarin? What is the class character of the Action Committees

which were the mechanism for engineering the "revolution"? According to reports, this political revolution hinged on two issues, presumably, nationalization of enterprises employing fifty workers and

ousting of those who opposed this program, that is, the bourgeois ministers. Is the ousting of the bourgeois ministers progressive? And the nationalization which brings Stalin's tyranny? Would the SWP, which was for ousting the bourgeois ministers, now still be for expelling the remaining obstacles to the nationalization, such notorious battlers against nationalization as, say, Benes? Or are they willing to abide by Stalin's timetable and let it take place as already planned?

And when the students of Prague, weeping for the loss of their city, marched futilely on Hrodzang Castle, would the SWP join the no doubt already degenerated "workers' militia" and shoot down these class enemies, meanwhile acting as the "best militiamen"? And does Stalinist still seek to restore private property—its that still its central historic purpose?

Finally, is nationalized property in Russia not best defended by nationalizing property in Czechoslovakia? Does the SWP now propose to defend the basic conquests of the new regime, critically to be sure? And if the Stalinists can bring the essence of revolution, nationalized property, with such ease, then is socialism possible via the bureaucratic revolution, degenerated of course?

And while mankind mourns for Prague, will "official Trotskyism" condone the bureaucratic revolution? I refrain from posing any problems to the Johnson comrades who no doubt remain unafraid of Stalinism (by contrast with some revisionists who are afraid) and who no doubt remain secure in the certainty that the working class will deal with this question in historic time.

Yours,
Jack Brad.

will take "more punch in liberalism's good right arm" to end "the double threat of the commissar and the storm trooper" . . . "the outlook is bleak" . . . "the middle, which is our proper ground, is being blasted out . . . in the bitter crossfire of totalitarian extremes."

Does Reuther think labor is helpless between the capitalist reactionaries and the Stalinist tyranny, and sees no other course but to stay on the middle ground of "liberal capitalism" even though it is "being blasted out"? It is not true that there is no other alternative but to remain to be blasted out. Actually a single step would take the labor movement, and with it the mass of discontented people, onto firm new ground. The step is into an independent Labor Party, aiming at workers' government to end capitalist domination, and at the democratic socialist reorganization of society—the exact opposite of Stalinist statism.

WILL BACK TRUMAN

No such step was taken by the labor leaders at Philadelphia. Instead, one may well predict, the "Lib-Labs" of ADA are going to support the Democratic Party, in spite of playing hard to get. The convention closed without endorsing Truman, and in fact his supporters at the convention got a cool reception. The delegates

adopted the statement: "It is the sense of this convention that ADA should take no action with respect to a Presidential choice until both major parties have held their nominating conventions, and that the organization's positions then be established on the basis of the respective nominees, the vice-presidential nominees, their records and their party platforms."

This may well be a bid for a vice-presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket to suit ADA's taste. Also, actually, ADA is not so far from endorsing Truman. Its support of a candidate, it has been stated, depends on his stand on the Marshall Plan, on civil rights, on anti-inflation measures and on Palestine partition. At least Mr. Truman's recommendations and speech-making record can be said to meet the first three points. If something is also patched up for Palestine, supposedly Mr. Truman will meet the minimum requirements set by ADA for its support. Indicative of the way the wind is blowing is that the CIO News has already started the Truman build-up.

It will take forceful and unrelenting pushing from the rank and file of organized labor and the masses nearest it to move their politically weak-kneed leaders off the middle ground onto firm new ground—or out of their positions of leadership.

Too Many Typos In Labor Action

I noticed lately a number of typographical errors in your paper, of an especially irritating kind. Lines are either missing or misplaced.

An example, take S. Green's article in a recent issue, entitled "Green Copies NAM, etc.". Your printer put in the line reading: "ideas in inflation, not necessarily his," in the wrong place (sixth line from beginning of article), thus confusing the meaning. Throughout the paper there are other mistakes. Hardly any excuse for them. Your printer or proofreader should be more careful.

M. Rador.
(We too are irritated by the errors. We try our best with our limited resources. And we'll try even harder in the future.—Ed.)

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On Signing the Affidavits And the Situation in UE

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The Workers Party has expressed the position more than once in LABOR ACTION that those unions which are holding out on the signing of the Communist Party affidavits, as required by the Taft-Hartley Act, are not unions which have advanced the most progressive programs of the labor movement. The unions which have not signed include the miners (UMWA), steel workers (USA), printers (ITU) and electrical workers (UERMWA). To take an uncritical position on the attitude of these unions as non-signers and to lump them all together as progressive militant organizations, is to be extremely naive, uninformal, opportunistic or irresponsible and factional.

There is no unanimity of motivation among the four unions listed above as the basis for concerted action, for instance, in refusing to sign the affidavits. The International Typographical Union has not signed and has engaged in a strike and in long drawn out court action and litigation with the NLRB. The prime procedure of the ITU was not in connection with the affidavit question at all, but in connection with its efforts to win the strike. Lewis is also against signing, but it would be very difficult to establish that his reasons have a progressive character. Nothing has come from the mouth of Lewis since the AFL convention, and since he very bureaucratically took the miners out of the AFL, to indicate that Lewis is motivated by any principles in connection with his refusal to sign the affidavits. Furthermore, Lewis and the ITU both can be very brave and independent in this matter. Who and what union will take over the mines and the printing plants?

Murray's steel workers also have not signed. Why not? One guess is as good as another. But here too Murray can also be brave. What organization will come forward to oust the USA from the steel plants? The steel workers don't sign but it is all right with Murray if the automobile union signs. He agrees for the UAW to sign and for the NMU and the UE not to sign. Murray's principles are broad and very elastic.

MOTIVATIONS ARE NOT THE SAME

We have already dealt adequately with the problem of the electrical workers (UE) in previous issues of LABOR ACTION. All we need do here is to contrast the UE with the other non-signing unions. We have already pointed out that the UE Stalinist bureaucrats do not refuse to sign for the same reasons as Murray, Lewis, Curran and Randolph (ITU). We emphasize that all of them proceed from differing premises and motivations. They cannot be lumped together as a group of "progressive" unions which are opposing the Taft-Hartley Act. It is particularly necessary that the Stalinist leadership of the electrical workers' union (UERMWA) be isolated from the others and exposed in the proper manner.

This is necessary for the reason that all of the other CIO unions with the possible exception of the NMU are in no danger of being disrupted by raids from the AFL, the unaffiliated machinist union (IAM) or mushroom independents. As we have said, the UMWA and the ITU are certainly in no danger. If such a danger existed, neither Murray, Lewis nor Randolph would be taking the position they are against signing the affidavits. No native labor bureaucrat would take any chance on having his union as an organization endangered through refusal to sign affidavits saying that he was not a member of the Communist Party and that he did not believe in "the overthrow of the government by force and violence." When one contemplates Murray, Lewis and Randolph refusing to sign and affirm such a position, it is very difficult to keep from laughing, even in one's sleep.

This is the reason the Stalinist bureaucrats who lead the UE must be condemned and exposed particularly. Murray, Lewis and Randolph are mere prating demagogues, playing at being "radical" when it costs them nothing and when no harm can come to the organizations which they head. The Stalinist bureaucrats who head the UE, however, refuse to sign in a different way and for different reasons. Not only this but they do not have the same kind of interest in the maintenance of the unions as economic organizations of the workers, as the American labor bureaucrats of the type of Murray, Lewis and Randolph. The native bureaucracy has its roots in the union. Its base is in the union. It has no base any other place. The AFL-CIO-Railway Brotherhood bureaucracy has no refuge save in the unions, no protection, no prestige and no influence except that which it gets from the labor movement.

This is not the situation or the position of the Stalinist bureaucrats who head the UE. They attempt to make the UE membership believe that they are opposed to the signing of the affidavits, from a real position as radicals, socialists, and that they are taking a real progressive and militant attitude on this question. These bureaucrats apparently induce many thousands of workers to believe this.

ABJECT SUPPORTERS OF KREMLIN POLICY

We have already discussed the fact that these Stalinist totalitarian bureaucrats have no other principles than their support of the politics of the Kremlin. The Marshall Plan is inimical to Russian interests. The ERP is projected in the interest of U. S. imperialism but that is not the reason the U. S. Stalinists are against it. They are against the ERP (Marshall Plan) because U. S. imperialism is in conflict with Russian imperialism and the American Stalinist bureaucrats in the labor movement are partisans of and the most abject supporters of Russian imperialism. They are only against U. S. imperialism when that imperialism is in conflict with the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. They demonstrated this

decisively during the war, as the Workers Party has emphasized again and again.

We say that the Stalinists in the U. S. are "abject" supporters of Russian imperialism. We mean by this that they bow the knee and make obeisance before all the twists, turns and changes in political line as ordered from the Kremlin. This is precisely what is transpiring these days in the UE. Since the Stalinist labor leaders are only formally trade union leaders, but actually and in practice mouthpieces in the unions for the Kremlin bureaucracy, their chief aim is to use the labor movement to advance the totalitarian political program of the Russian police state. The foreign policy of Stalin is the program which the Stalinist bureaucrats connive to get adopted by the unions. They are for Roosevelt's foreign policy but against Truman's. That is, they are for Roosevelt's foreign policy as of after June 22, 1941.

The Stalinists in the unions do not concern themselves primarily with the question of maintaining the unions, as unions, to take care of the economic demands of the workers. The unions to them are places where you get political resolutions passed which, having just been cabled in from the Kremlin, to the GPU agent in charge of the party in each country. They need a big union only to get large per capita payments. This is useful in the maintenance of the expanded Stalinist staffs of bureaucrats, stooges and hangers-on, which infest every union under the control of the Communist Party. Aside from this financial aspect the Stalinist cops, in the unions, are satisfied with a small select group to attend union meetings, conduct negotiations and edit the union paper.

WILL MEMBERS PERMIT IT?

The problem before the UE today is whether or not the members of this international will permit their union to be wrecked by their leadership under the cover of being progressive and militant, when the fact is that this leadership is totalitarian and completely reactionary.

Is the UE membership going to remain asleep and let their Stalinist leadership get itself out of a trap by selling the UE down the river? This they can do by several types of betrayal which the Stalinists are experts at. This leadership is capable of coming to agreements with Westinghouse and General Electric which will shackle these workers and set them back for many years. This leadership can play around with its present criminal policy and create all manner of dissension and disunity in the UE. Already there are signs of unrest and some locals and shops are contemplating leaving the UE for the UAW. There are rumors that other international unions are looking with hungry eyes toward the UE. It is certain that the machinists (IAM) will become more and more aggressive in the matter of raiding the UE.

We believe that in the present circumstances the UE must sign the affidavits and place itself in position to preserve its integrity, resist raids from other unions and protect itself from the machinations of the employers who can certainly use the Taft-Hartley Act against the union.

WHAT MAKES A PROGRESSIVE?

These observations have been prompted in part by reading the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party on this question as contained in The Militant. The SWP is enamored of the militant attitude of all the unions which have refused to sign the affidavits. John L. Lewis is their darling and, according to The Militant, the real spearhead of the attack on the Taft-Hartley Act.

In its articles in The Militant, the SWP forms the unions which have refused to sign the affidavits into one militant and progressive front against the Taft-Hartley Act, led by Lewis, Murray, Randolph, Curran, Empack-Mattis and their captive Fitzgerald. There is no analysis of the role of the Stalinists, of Stalinism in the UE or of the probable effects of the Stalinist policy on the future of the union. Inherent in the attitude of the SWP, as expressed in The Militant, is support of Stalinism in practice while carrying on a literary campaign, of sorts, against the Stalinists.

The SWP and The Militant keep up the tirade against Reuther as a reactionary in tow of the ACTU. This is just as nonsensical as to say that Lewis is progressive because he is not hitched to the ACTU. The fact is that Reuther is not being led around by the ACTU. The UAW program, wage increases without price increases, certainly did not come from the ACTU. But not only is Reuther reactionary, according to the SWP, because of the ACTU leading strings but also because the UAW signed the affidavits. Similarly, according to that position, the UE has not signed and this, of course, makes the Stalinist bureaucrats progressives in the labor movement. This is really a tough morsel to chew and digest.

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WORLD POLITICS

The Czech Disaster

The seizure and rapid consolidation of totalitarian state power by the Czech Stalinists has brought disaster to more than 12 millions of unfortunate Czech and Slovak peoples who must now suffer the consequences of yielding to Stalinism. The reaction of the thousands of Czech students who, defying the Stalinist police armed to the teeth, poured into the streets and demonstrated their hostility to what was occurring, under the slogan of Long Live the Democratic Republic, was the only possible and correct reaction.

Sensitive to the meaning of totalitarian dictatorship, with its crushing of all democratic liberties and rights, and sensing the similarities between the recent Nazi occupation of the country and the rapidly emerging Stalinist dictatorship, the Prague university students acted in the heroic tradition of active struggle for living democracy. Their cause must be championed, and they must be defended against the Stalinists who would arrest their leaders, forbid their demonstrations and purge their university in Nazi style. The tragedy of Czechoslovakia is that great masses of workers and middle class people did not instinctively come to their aid and support.

HOW "THE MILITANT" REACTED

Outside of Czechoslovakia, more than one political organization and movement has found itself tested by the meaning of these events. While it has not been our custom to conduct polemical discussions against political opponents in this column, the importance of the Czech issue compels us to set that aside for this week at least. We are concerned here with the reaction of The Militant, the newspaper reflecting the political ideas of the Socialist Workers Party (Communists) to these happenings. The article by Paul G. Stevens in the current Militant dealing with Czechoslovakia can be described as nothing less than a disaster—a disaster on a truly gigantic scale, involving as it does, elements of fantasy, grotesquery, stupidity and unintentional humor. The author of the article has carefully composed the following account of what happened in Czechoslovakia.

- (1) The capitalist members of the coalition government resigned "in protest against alleged moves by Nosek, Stalinist Minister of Interior, to place the country's police under exclusive CP control." "Alleged!" Indeed!
- (2) The Stalinists and Social Democrats together now "... constitute a majority of 161 out of 300 in the Czech parliament and are thus in the position to meet the formal constitutional requirements." Nowhere is it mentioned that (a) the Social Democrats were deliberately split, that a substantial section opposed support of the Stalinists but that the Stalinists got this needed support by arrests, terror and threats, and (b) to guarantee their parliamentary majority the Stalinists forced parliamentary representatives of other parties to join them by employing the same methods.

But these are minor points compared to the disaster yet to come. Stevens tells us of the underlying causes of the crisis, which go much deeper. The Kremlin must integrate Czechoslovakia into its Eastern European bloc. So far so good—the Kremlin has already done that. But what else was involved in the Stalinist seizure of power? It seems that the Stalinist party has been faced with the danger of losing its popular support among the workers and people because "... continued exploitation of the workers by Czech capitalism, left intact by the fake 'nationalizations' has produced growing unrest and discontent." That is, the initiative has come from the workers, in a revolutionary mood, who have forced the reluctant Stalinists to swing into action against "Czech capitalism." Incredible, you say?

FROM IDIOCY TO IDIOCY

This "description" of the Czech workers dragging the reluctant Stalinists behind them is a polemical fantasy on our part? We quote Stevens further. "While the Stalinist leaders are basing themselves on masses

action, they are proceeding with a caution that reveals their fear of its revolutionary impetus." The stunning speed and effectiveness with which the Stalinist apparatus struck is "caution and fear" to this observer. His vulgar distortion of what occurred is made necessary by his desire to fit the events into the ridiculous theory held by the Socialist Workers Party, and so-called orthodox Trotskyists everywhere, that what exists in Czechoslovakia, as well as all other countries within the Russian sphere, is a capitalist régime with which the Stalinists are allied and to which they have consistently capitulated. The seizure of state power in this new country, the final nationalization of the 25 per cent of industry and economy hitherto not nationalized, the political destruction of the capitalist parties and their leader, Benes, all of this, in the eyes of Stevens and the Cannonites, nothing but capitulation on the part of Stalinism to capitalism! Do you think we exaggerate?

For our final quotation from The Militant we preserve a sentence that must absolutely be preserved, for history, as a monumental example of stupidity, ignorance and blindness. It is the final sentence, a prediction of Stevens, contained in his article. "But before this point (civil war) is reached, the Stalinists will make every effort to arrive at another compromise with Benes and Czech capitalists." Before the political disaster represented by Stevens, one can only bow his head with shame and humiliation that so-called "Marxism" and "Trotskyism" have sunk so low.

A VITAL ISSUE OF POLICY

But far more is concerned than the blunders of this spokesman for the SWP. In reality, aside from its distorted picture and false prognosis—all of which are related to the SWP's general position that the Stalinist movement is a genuine working class movement and Russia is still a workers' state—the Stevens article conceals gross cowardice and evasion of the real issue. What is his attitude toward events in Czechoslovakia? Everybody who reads LABOR ACTION knows clearly where we stand on this matter.

LABOR ACTION states bluntly that a disaster and tragedy to the working class not only of Czechoslovakia, but of the entire world, has occurred. LABOR ACTION denies that the Stalinist counter-revolution against the Czech people has anything in common with socialism or its liberating principles; that, in fact, it is precisely the opposite because the socialist organization of society is impossible without broad, popular working class democracy. Further, LABOR ACTION states that, consistent with its entire approach to the problem, if there had been civil war in the country, if an important segment of the population made up of workers, students, middle class democrats and liberals, peasants, etc., had resisted the Stalinists and taken up arms to preserve democracy in the country, we would have championed this democratic camp against the Stalinists. In a struggle between a popular democratic camp and the Stalinist totalitarian camp, we would have ardently supported the democratic camp.

But Stevens' article contains not one word on this, the real issue. By implication, not directly, it supports the Stalinists who, after all, did yield to the workers' will (if we believe Stevens) and did smash the capitalist parties and complete nationalization of the remaining industries. Why shouldn't the SWP and Stevens support Gottwald? It would be perfectly in order, from their viewpoint. Will they? We do not know. If they do, it will again emphasize what has become clearer than ever—the politics of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party is utterly opposed to the politics of The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party. In the meanwhile, we can only insist upon a clear and non-evasive reply to the questions raised by Czechoslovakia. Is what occurred in the interests of the workers' movement and socialism, or against it? Are you for a democratic struggle against the Gottwald dictatorship, or would you stand with its opponents? These are fair questions that demand answers. Like it or not, the SWP will be obliged to reply.

HENRY JUDD.

New Arrests In Greece - -

(Continued from page 1)

tries—then, why not protest about similar situations in Greece? Within a few days, Secretary of State Marshall will inform us that the arrests are an internal matter in which the U. S. cannot interfere, or he may forget diplomatic talk this time and add that he agrees with the arrests.

There may be some who question that these arrests are made to destroy all opposition that exists against the monarchy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece. To them let us point out these facts:

1. During the war, the monarchists worked hand in glove with the Nazi occupation forces. These Greek monarchists, many of whom hold influential government posts today, know that their goose is cooked if there should ever be a revolutionary democratic government in Greece, so they are determined to destroy everyone who may be an active participant in the struggle for a new government.
2. During the occupation of Greece, the Nazi Gestapo made up a list of "suspects." This list included thousands of non-Communists who fought the Germans and the Greek quislings. This same list, compiled by the Nazi Gestapo, is being used by the Athens police today to make its mass arrests. That is why members of Themistokles Sophoulis' own Liberal Party have been arrested. That is why the Athens police often search for an active "subversive element in the rear of the war front" only to find that the person has been dead for three years. That is why so many non-Communist ELAS fighters have returned to the mountains—because they know that their names are on the lists compiled by Hitler's men.
3. The island jails of Greece are full of anti-Stalinists. Our own Fourth Internationalist comrades, who would be the first to perish if the Stalinists took over in Greece, are rotting in the jails just as our comrades before them died in jail under the fascist dictatorship of Metaxas and Hitler. Socialists of various tendencies who are not sympathetic to the Stalinists are in jail by the dozens. There are hundreds of trade unionists with no party affiliation who are in jail because they fought for

elementary civil rights. Even the Archio-Marxist Party, which says very few things these days that would offend the government, has members dead or dying in the prisons.

4. A. Svolos, a leader of the Socialist Party (ELD) in Greece and prominent in the resistance movement, is not permitted to leave the country. It is known that Svolos is not a Stalinist and he would not defend the Stalinists if he went abroad, but it is also known that he would speak out against the American-sponsored and supported Sophoulis government—so he is denied the right of free movement.

5. Letters coming from Greece are coming unsigned. Many of these letters are from persons who despise the Communist Party and everything it stands for. Some of the letters are from people who express small and

insignificant criticisms of the present régime—and even these letters are unsigned for fear of the régime of terror.

DEMOCRACY NO EXPOET

It has been said of the British in many parts of the world where they rule, that "Democracy is not for export." Today that is the way the Greeks think of the United States. They even hear Clint Golden of the CIO Steel Workers' Union say that the trade unions in Greece, which are controlled by appointed government agents, have "enough democracy."

The Truman Doctrine is against any legitimate free government in Greece that may object to the use of Greece as an imperialist outpost for military objectives. The U. S. government will not object to anything that Sophoulis does as long as it will help keep the U. S. in Greece.

STRIKING PRINTERS CONTRIBUTE FUNDS TO AID CALIFORNIA FARM PICKETS

Members of Typographical Union Local 16 on strike against Chicago publishers, passed the hat on their picket line and collected \$351.26, which was sent to the National Farm Labor Union to aid the 1,100 farm workers on strike for five months against the Di Giorgio Farms Corporation near Bakersfield, Calif.

This action on the part of the striking printers of Chicago was hailed by H. L. Mitchell, president of the AFL Farm Labor Union. Mitchell wrote George Bante, secretary-treasurer of Typo Union Local 16 as follows: "We note that the Chicago Typographical Union is nearly 100 years old, whereas the Kern County Farm Labor Union Local is less than one year old. Your members are spearheading the struggle to save the gains of 100 years of the best in American trade unionism, while our members on the 19 1/2 mile picket line in California are seeking to bring some of the benefits of unionism to the last large group of unorganized workers in America."

AFL unions are rallying to the support of the first major strike of the National Farm Labor Union, newest AFL affiliate. On February 6, southern California unions sent a caravan of 300 cars and trucks containing food and clothing to aid the striking farm workers. On March 2, a similar caravan from northern California unions is scheduled to visit the longest picket line in the world, bringing gifts of food and clothing.

The strike of 1,100 farm workers in California is a showdown battle with the industrial farm interests of the nation and the American Federation of Labor to determine whether or not three million workers in agriculture may become members of a trade union.

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By JACK RANGER

Before commenting on the recent drop in grain prices, I'd like to point out a few more examples of the trend toward RISING PRICES for non-agricultural goods, as cited in my February 16 column. The most important of the increases since then has occurred in steel. Carnegie-Illinois, a subsidiary of U. S. Steel, has advanced its price of semi-finished steel by \$4.89 a ton. Other steel-makers quickly followed suit. The increases were made quietly and shiftily. What happened was that the steelmakers announced they were shifting certain price quotations from a gross-ton basis (2,240 pounds) to a net-ton basis (2,000 pounds). With this shift to the lighter ton, prices per ton even actually dropped—the only catch being that there are 240 fewer pounds to the ton. Adjustments in extra charges brought the average price increase for semi-finished steel to from \$7 to \$10 a ton. Smaller non-integrated steel firms are expected to boost prices on finished steel. Already, other grades of steel are rising. On February 20 Allegheny Ludlum added \$10 a ton to the price of its hot and cold rolled carbon strip. Prices of silicon sheets and strip were raised by \$15-\$25 a ton.

Everyone knows that a price increase in steel is followed shortly by increases in the prices of durable consumer goods—autos, refrigerators, washers, stoves, etc. Philip Reed, chairman of the board of General Electric, has already been quoted by the Wall Street Journal as saying that "there's no question but what steel price advances will have some effect on the costs of finished goods... depending on how much steel goes into the end product."

Other price increases announced since the February 4 grain market break include newsprint, up \$10 a ton; worsted wool fabrics, up 8 per cent to 12 per cent; brick, up \$3 a thousand; coach fares on the western railroads, up 14 per cent.

Draw your own conclusions as to whether there appears any hope of a significant drop in living costs in the next few months.

The deep swing in grain prices was a shock to everyone, but most of all to the Truman administration. Despite lip service to lower prices, that is just about the last thing Truman wants, at least until after the elections. It was extremely enlightening to watch the day-by-day attempts of the administration to rally the grain market.

Food prices had hardly begun to slide before Secretary of Agriculture Anderson was hinting that maybe the government might lift its grain export goals and begin buying heavily again by spring. A \$570 million program for aid to China was whipped together and announced—\$130 million would be used to buy cereals in the next four months, and \$193 million more for wheat or its equivalent in the early months of 1949—\$150 million for 750,000 bales of cotton, etc.

Then Secretary Anderson issued a "warning" that while the world grain situation had improved, it had not yet caught up with the world's needs. He predicted that next year the U. S. would have to export about 300,000,000 bushels of wheat and 100,000,000 of coarse grains. He further predicted the government would purchase between 30 and 50,000,000 bushels of new crop wheat next June from the early crop movement.

Then anonymous experts in the Agriculture Department let it be known that, not only is the price decline over but that prices are going up again, probably higher than before. "In speaking to housewives," shrewdly observed the Wall Street Journal editorially, "the agricultural experts were slyly speaking to farmers, too. In effect they are advising farmers not to sell their products at today's 'low' prices—wait awhile and prices will soon be up again."

It is too early, at this writing, to say definitely whether grain prices will pick up again. Farm produce prices in general have risen much higher in proportion to other commodity prices and at a certain stage an adjustment is going to be made. The prices of grains and livestock and dairy produce are going to fall in relation to steel prices, etc., or it could be that the prices of steel, etc., will rise beyond farm prices.

If grain prices show a substantial rally during the spring months, it would not be unprecedented. The same thing occurred in 1920 and again in 1937. In both cases, the rallies were followed by genuine economic collapses on a broad front.

POOR WON'T GET A BREAK
The one economic fact that is sure is that an industrial collapse will occur in the United States that will be heard round the world, and will have unimaginable reverberations, both here and abroad.

In the meantime—a union official would have to have a hole in his head as big as a head, to drop or soft-pedal union wage demands merely because the grain market fell off a bit, from the tenth to the eighth story, let us say. The dollar a week or so that the housewife may temporarily save in some cities on food, she will fork over in higher prices on clothing, rent, transportation, hard consumer goods.

It is the commonest of fallacies to believe that the poor can, in some way, get a break under capitalism. We can't. In periods of depressions, prices are low, but so are wages, for those who are working; in periods of war, jobs are plentiful, wages are "high," prices and taxes are higher, fewer consumer goods are available. In "good times" consumer goods are available, but at prices beyond the pocketbooks of most. Prices of some goods fall, but other prices rise. A general fall in prices brings not good tidings but only heartaches. Because a general fall in prices could only mean the start of a depression that would visit the miseries of unemployment upon millions of families.

A second common fallacy is to assume that the capitalists or their politicians can "cause" or control a break like that in the grain market. I have heard workers conjecture that the drop in grain prices was engineered by big business to take the wind out of the unions' drive for third-round wage increases. This is untrue, friends. Big business cannot "control" the market, for more than a few days. Government, even the most powerful in the world, with a world relief program to manipulate, cannot "revive" the market, either, for more than a brief period. Remember how Roosevelt sought to bring back prosperity—and utterly failed.

To assume that the capitalists or their political agents can control capitalism is to give them much too much credit. They cannot. It is an anarchical system, and cannot be harnessed to plans. That is why it must be succeeded by socialism, which CAN PLAN FOR HUMANITY.

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Independent Socialism, Building Workers' Confidence, Is Only Answer to Stalinism

Observations on the Events in Czechoslovakia

By IRVING HOWE

The hearts of all socialists were— it would be useless to deny it—sick with sorrow and apprehension last week. Who could watch the Stalinist coup in Czechoslovakia without suffering a sense of oppression? Who could avoid feeling that we are today repeating what happened ten years ago: a good part of Europe succumbing to the irresistible pressures of a mighty totalitarian power; the world preparing for war with that dazed, almost unfeeling response of a patient to whom pain and horror are so intimate that they are accepted as a natural part of the social landscape? And who, worst of all, could avoid the feeling of discouragement—to say it bluntly—which a socialist must feel about so many events in Europe?

For to be truthful and to avoid the various myopic and opiate forms of "official optimism," we must recognize that the world is today in a far worse state than it was ten years ago when Hitler overran Europe; and that the socialist movement is in an even weaker condition, less able to cope with the events in Europe than it was then. The very passage of time, of ten years from Hitlerism ascending to a world war to Stalinism ascending, is proof enough for this assertion. Only fools and scoundrels can keep talking about European politics as if all is well, as if the working class is reaching the peak of its road. The truth is otherwise.

And the recognition of this truth is the first essential for any discussion of what has happened. Only the most sober realism, only if you will, the most honest pessimism can possibly serve as a basis for useful discussion. The "official optimism" of the Fourth International suggests something far worse than we maintain: it suggests that the political situation is so bad that it will not do to face the truth. And so instead of simple facts, we find incantations and ritual rites. That is the really corrosive variety of pessimism—the pessimism of self-deception.

Even a quick glance at the European situation recalls the upward surge of Hitlerism. When Trotsky declared that fascism and Stalinism are symmetrical phenomena, he was offering a remarkably brilliant observation, the full implications of which have not yet been explored. For what he was suggesting by means of his analogy was that fascism and Stalinism were neither identical nor antithetical; neither simply part of a vague, nameless, unidentifiable terror such as the liberals would have it; nor enemies unto the death, as the neo-Stalinists would have it. Instead they represent parallel, but different, aspects of the decline of contemporary society.

Recent developments have shown conclusively how different Nazism and Stalinism are socially; most important of all, in their attitudes to capitalist society. Where the Nazis by and large have destroyed it in the countries they occupied. Those who saw "capitalist" property relations in the Stalinized countries of Eastern Europe or those who poked around the Russian farm collectives searching for "capitalist" property relations, will either have to face the simple facts or else retire once and for all to an arena of private fantasies. Wherever Stalinism takes state power, it expropriates the capitalist class. If we do not understand that, we are lost.

But—and here is the second essential point in our comparison—the more Stalinist policy shows itself to be socially different from that of the Nazis, the more does it prove to be profoundly similar in its human consequences and techniques of power. And this is not an accident, for if we follow Trotsky's suggestive remark that Stalinism and fascism are symmetrical we see that precisely through and because of the social differences do the totally reactionary

human consequence follow. For the element of symmetry within the social difference is that both are completely totalitarian movements the primary aim of which is to suppress mass initiative—to utilize the deep stirrings of the masses while simultaneously depriving them of all initiative and self-will.

These general remarks acquire immediate significance in relation to the Czech situation. When the Nazis conquered Czechoslovakia they did so against the general opposition of the Czech workers. When the Stalinists conquered Czechoslovakia they did so with the general support, it would seem, of the Czech workers. This is a highly distasteful fact for a socialist to swallow; but it IS a fact. No doubt many Czech workers were terrorized into giving unwilling aid to the Stalinists, no doubt others hate the Stalinists; but the pattern of recent events makes quite clear that the Stalinists had the active support of the bulk of the workers and unions. Otherwise they could not have seized power.

HOW CAN THE STALINISTS WIN WORKERS' SUPPORT?

Here we come to the central question: why do European workers support the Stalinists? Why did the Czech workers help the totalitarian bandits seize the government? For this is the first case, with the possible exception of Yugoslavia, where the workers actually seemed to favor the Stalinists—again, making all the allowances mentioned above. In Poland, to cite the sharpest contrast, the workers certainly did not support the Stalinists; they repeatedly showed signs of the bitterest opposition. If we can, to some extent, discover why the Czech workers supported the Stalinists, then we may also understand why the French and Italian workers do likewise.

I think the answer is that the support by the Czech workers of the Stalinists is based on a unique mixture of reactionary and revolutionary motivations.

It is certainly true that the workers of Europe still look upon the Stalinists as the inheritors of the tradition of the Russian Revolution and that this remains one of the Stalinists' most valuable assets. There can also be no doubt that in the eyes of the workers the "revolutionary" character of the Stalinists is underlined by the fact that they DO expropriate factories that they DO drive out private capitalists in the countries they take over. And is that not supposed to be a quintessential characteristic of socialism?

But merely to let the matter go at this is not enough. For if the support of the Stalinists by Europe's workers is explained on the basis of their desire for socialism and their belief that the Stalinists will bring socialism, then one has the right to ask: why do the workers still think that there is socialism in Russia? Why have they not learned that the Stalinists are totalitarian despots? Why have they not learned these facts from their numerous tragic experiences with Stalinism?

It is easy enough to dismiss such questions as "subjective," but I think they go to the heart of the matter. The workers support the Stalinists because they want socialism—that is certainly true; but they also support them because their conception of what socialism is has been debased and corrupted as a result of the cataclysmic declines and the barbaric experiences of recent history. In other words, the "revolutionary" kernel of their reasons for supporting Stalinism is encased in a reactionary shell.

There are sufficient reasons for this situation. Ever since the great historic opportunity for a total victory of socialism in the early 1920s in Europe was lost, humanity has paid the consequences. The terrifying experiences of the intervening decades have tended to destroy, first, the initiative

of the workers and, second, their conception of what the aims of their struggle was. More and more, as their self-confidence was shattered by the rise of totalitarianism, by the outbreak of war, by the development of the atomic bomb, the working class, and with it all humanity, has become an object of manipulation by totalitarian parties. That is the essential point of similarity between Stalinism and Hitlerism.

RECENT DECADES LEAVE REACTIONARY HERITAGE

The results of defeat are not merely the consolidation of the power of the ruling classes, but above all the disintegration of the initiative and confidence of the rebellious classes. The European workers, subjected to the dehumanization of Nazism, to the barbarism of the war, to the numbing demagoguery of Stalinism, are not the same workers who marched into the foreground of history thirty years ago. To deny this is to deny the movement of history... and the cost of defeat.

Furthermore, the entire trend of recent history has been toward the creation of gigantic bureaucratic structures that weigh on the backs of the masses and impart to them a feeling of helplessness. How can I, a solitary individual in a totalitarian state, watched by the janitor who is an agent of the secret police, watched in the factory by who knows how many agents of the party, supervised even during my few hours of synthetic culture—how can I do anything against that state, how can I do anything requiring the high degree of initiative of cooperating together with the man on the next bench? That is the feeling which totalitarianism imparts. For the modern totalitarian state has developed unprecedented techniques of oppression—the result of a situation in which technology has far outstripped humanity's success in controlling it for socially beneficial purposes.

This is the heritage the European working class has received from the past three decades. Stalinism conspicuously exploits this heritage. It denounces capitalism, for it knows that the workers of Europe, no matter what else, will never again be able to rouse any enthusiasm for capitalism. It promises socialism, for which generations have struggled. But it quite consciously and deliberately continues to handle the masses in precisely the same manipulative manner the Nazis did. It thereby exploits the still powerful yearnings of the workers for a new society within the context of the passive social responses inherited from the Nazi experience and the terror of the war where, as under the Nazi regime, the individual worker could only feel helpless before the power of exterior forces loosed against him from above.

In this sense, Stalinism is the legacy of Nazism; in this sense, it continues the decay of capitalist civilization begun by Nazism—driving it to the point where capitalist property relations are abolished while the worst social and human aspects of capitalism are extended to a point never before imagined.

And it is in this sense that it is necessary and permissible to lump capitalism, fascism, and Stalinism in one category: for all their great differences, they are all part of a general, total decline of modern class society; for all their great differences, they all subvert the independence and initiative of the masses.

Here, I think, will arise the supreme point of difference between a reform socialist movement and all defenders of class oppression: the revolutionary socialist will seek to restore the self-confidence, the democratic initiative of the masses of people while the bourgeois parties, the fascists and the Stalinists will wish only to manipulate them. Revolutionary, democratic self-initiative against all authoritarian movements—that is the central cry of the third camp of socialism. Until that is achieved, the

"revolutionary-reactionary" appeal of the Stalinists will continue to win the European masses, or to drive them to the opposite revolutionary-reactionary appeal of fascism.

In the light of these general remarks, the attitude of revolutionary socialists toward Czech events becomes a relatively simple matter. Once and for all we can put aside the preposterous ghost of "what is your attitude toward nationalization of industry per se?" There is no such thing as nationalization of industry apart from a social context. Undertaken by a Stalinist regime, such nationalization cannot be separated from the total context of Stalinist totalitarianism. It is, in that situation, part of a reactionary historical process. Undertaken by a democratic socialist regime, it is part of a genuinely liberating process. The casuistic, theological nonsense about nationalization "in and of itself" should finally be thrown into the ashcan: there is no nationalization, or anything else, in and of itself.

The Czech events will provide a central testing point for any possible reinvasion of the European and American socialist movements. The slightest support to the slightest ambiguity about the Stalinist coup is fatal. It removes those holding such a view—let us say it bluntly—from the arena of independent socialism into the arena of left-wing and at times not so left-wing supporters of Stalinism, than which NO position could be more miserable.

We have no yet seen the response of the "official parties" of the Trotskyist movement. Yet it seems hard to see how a position holding that Stalinist Russia is a "workers' state" (no matter how "degenerated") can lead to anything but support (no matter how "conditional") of the Stalinist coup. For have not the Stalinists driven out the bourgeois ministers from the regime? Have they not "taken over" the factories from their private owners?

Let us hope that for once inconsistency triumphs and the "official parties" do not take the logical—and catastrophic—consequence of their position.

As for us, we state quite without ambiguity that in Czechoslovakia we would apply the same position that we had for Poland in an analogous situation. We would protest together with all those who opposed the abolition of democratic rights by the Stalinist regime; we would march with the students, who protested the closings of newspapers. Let anyone make ing down of the bourgeois democratic of this what they will. But before any howling is raised, one question must be answered: when the GPU and its Czech assistants come to arrest oppositionists, be they Social Democrats or members of Benes' party or the students, would you stand with the cops or their victims, with the hunters or the hunted? For us, to ask this question is to answer it.

This does not mean, however, that we in any way give support to the political doctrines of the bourgeois democratic parties. For if the Czech events have anything at all to teach us, it is the complete paralysis and bankruptcy of the democratic capitalist parties.

In the eyes of the masses the parties of Benes and his counterparts defend the intolerable status quo; which is the truth. The bourgeois democratic parties have no social dynamism, no hope, no perspective. They merely repeat their hollow phrases about democracy, but they are unable to clothe these phrases with the reality of social program and accomplishment.

PARTIES OF CAPITALISM CANNOT HOLD MASSES

Was there anything ever more miserable than the way in which the bourgeois democratic parties col-

lapsed in Czechoslovakia and in all of Eastern Europe? And together with them, the Social Democrats, half of whom folded like men with paper spines and the other half simply sold out to Stalin?

Why? Because they are congenial cowards? Perhaps; but not completely. For the truth is that the bourgeois democratic parties had lost their hold on the masses, especially the most militant, active and aggressive sections of the masses—those who will come out on the streets.

To depend on Social Democracy, to depend on liberalism as a means of stopping Stalinism in Europe, is to guarantee the victory of Stalinism. Absolutely and without the slightest doubt, it is to sign Europe away to Stalinism. These are the parties which cling nostalgically to the stable youth of capitalism, the parties that could shine in 1912, but which have proved themselves were paper dikes against the mass floods of fascism and Stalinism. These are the parties of the past: whoever wins, whatever happens, they are finished.

But if the phrases of a Benes—that wretched parody of Schuschnigg—cannot stop Stalinism, if the phrases of a Blum are equally helpless... then perhaps U. S. bombs may do better?

Here we must face the possibility that the rapid tempo of Stalin's conquests may result in war rather sooner than had been expected. Thus far Stalin has merely consolidated his power in those countries Russian troops had already occupied. That process of consolidation is now almost complete. If the Stalinists try to move further west, the possibility of a war in the immediate future becomes real.

What the compulsions forcing Stalinism to SUCH rapid expansion are, is at present impossible to say with any degree of definitiveness. Internal economic crisis? The hope of scurrying off with conquests when it is clear that the U. S. alone could use this weapon in case of war? Whatever it may be, the Russians seem to be forcing the issue. If they continue, it means war, quickly. For there are no longer left any "luxury positions" for the capitalist powers: Italy, Western Germany, France cannot be surrendered without a serious loss in power.

IMPERIALIST WAR WOULD BRING NEW DISASTERS

I know that there are many liberals and socialists of a sort who are flirting with the idea of war as the only way to stop Stalinism. I do not want here to argue this matter in detail, but only to ask a few, and not necessarily the most important, questions which arise from recent experience:

• If the U. S. were to launch this "sneak" atomic attack, which tempts so many disoriented anti-Stalinists, would that not drive the masses of Europe even more into the hands of the Stalinists? Would that not insure the ideological victory of Stalinism for a long time?

• The calculations of the "sneak" atom bomb theorists are that the Russians do not have the bomb. How do they know? Suppose the Russians do have it? Are they not playing with a notion that then means the virtual destruction of all civilization?

• What are the likely consequences inside the capitalist countries if they launch an atom war against Russia? What possibility is there of the preservation of democracy in such a case? The evidence from the last war is here insufficient: remember that this will be an atom bomb war.

One conclusion stands out above all: the evil of this world is indivisible.

Stalinism engages in a death-fight with capitalism; but they each reinforce the retrogressive features of the other. The masses who adhere to Stalinism cannot be broken from it by the empty phrases of the capitalist states. The capitalist powers have nothing to offer the European masses—not even the temporary half-rations of the Marshall Plan can revive the remnants of European capitalism. And those workers who still support capitalism can hardly be broken from it by a policy of half-support of Stalinism in Europe (or of playing footsie with the Wallace movement).

GUARD AND NOURISH SOCIALIST INDEPENDENCE

The evil of this world is indivisible. That is the premise of the third camp perspective of socialism, and that, we think, will prove its eventual basis of victory.

We wish to fool nobody—neither those who listen to us nor ourselves. The perspective for Europe is in the immediate future dark, very dark. Yet there remains in France and England, to cite but two possibilities, bases for socialist growth. In France, as it becomes increasingly a battleground between Stalin's Thorez and Washington's de Gaulle (or, at the

moment, Schumann), an INDEPENDENT socialist movement uniting all those who reject both imperialist monsters can grow... if only it will be INDEPENDENT. In this country, too, what is essential is a regroupment of all those—parties and/or individuals—who are ready to work for a democratic socialist future as against both capitalism and Stalinism without supporting either.

Yet... what are the chances? Does it not seem highly likely that the socialists of Europe will provide humanity with that one so essential example of the oppressed standing up as free men and taking their destiny into their own hands—before the war of the atom bombs breaks out?

That at the moment the war of atom bombs seems to be the more likely result of the current historical tragedy is, for this writer at least, too obvious to require iteration. But it is not inevitable, it is not unavoidable! It is still possible for men to act! Perhaps their action can forestall the atom war; perhaps it can only keep alive that spark of thought and hope that flickering but still beautiful socialist dream—with which those to follow us will try to rebuild from the ashes of the atom. But even if it is the latter perspective which will be realized, to nourish and guard that spark seems to us the most worthy and useful of dedications.

Crisis Reveals Secret Imperialist Agreements

By JACK BRAD

Each new crisis brings new wartime secrets into the open, revealing how the "democratic and peace-loving nations" fought to carve up the world. The Czechoslovakian crisis has not yet produced any additions to the "war of the documents" but the State Department has very carefully planted information on the contents of some interesting ones which may be made public.

On May 6, 1945, the American First Division occupied a line 50 miles inside of Czechoslovakia. The Russians were still several hundred miles short of the Czech borders. And throughout the country there raged a life and death struggle between the partisan Czechs, emerged from the underground, and the Nazi invader. On the morning of May 7 an order was issued halting all forward units of the American army from further advance.

SACRIFICED LIVES

How this order came to be issued is one of the black secrets which may be revealed. Information planted by the State Department claims that Eisenhower informed Stalin of the location of the American troops, only 50 miles short of Prague. Stalin replied with a request that the U. S. army stop where it was, even though Eisenhower was certain the army could occupy all Czechoslovakia before the Russians could reach its borders. Eisenhower complied with Stalin's request.

On the surface this appears to be identical to the arrangements made with the Russians for the joint occupation of Germany. But there could only have been one reason for Eisenhower's order on Stalin's request, and that is that it coincided with previously arrived at political agreements, probably at Yalta. It was at Yalta that spheres of influence were established between the "democratic" statesmen, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill.

An American correspondent, Russell Hill, reports in the Herald Tribune that for many days after the Americans bolted, fierce battles continued to rage inside Prague and other cities. That the Czech partisans, who had been expecting that the Americans would support their struggle, did not relish the useless continuation of their bloodbath while waiting for the Russian army to take over. This is easily appreciated.

The effect of the American army's halt 50 miles from Prague was the same as the bolt of the Russians before Warsaw. In complete collusion with Stalin, American policy permitted the Germans to kill off hundreds of partisans while waiting for Stalin's army to march in and mop up over the weakened resistance. The horror that was Warsaw was also Prague's, even if a bit less bloody. And the finger points here to American imperialist policy.

YALTA DIVIDED EUROPE

A second matter was brought into glaring focus when correspondents from Paris reported the State Department "favored a protest along routine lines, feeling that Czechoslovakia was behind the iron curtain anyway and that the current political crisis was little more than an acknowledgment of a situation which existed already." This related to the three power protest of February 26.

There is more here than simply "real politik" or acceptance of the inevitable. It hearkens back to the established division of Europe agreed to solemnly by Roosevelt at Yalta. Thus, if Stalin is today playing Hitler's role in relation of Czechoslovakia, Roosevelt paved the way for

the present disaster and has a responsibility for it similar to Chamberlain's at Munich. Though the names have changed, the brutal, crass actions regarding the rights of the people are identical on both sides. The tragedy of Czechoslovakia is a consequence of the secret imperialist treaties of Yalta.

When the Stalinists then make as their central political slogan, "a return to the foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, as exemplified by Yalta," we understand that they are cynically referring, not to a "pact of friendship between two great powers," but to a ruthless plot against the peoples of Europe. And when Henry Wallace echoes, "We must continue side by side with Russia in peace on the basis of FDR's foreign policy," we can see that he too is proposing enforcement of the imperialist arrangements of Yalta.

War Fears

(Continued from page 1)

the Communist Party) to assume control over each of the seized factories.

Most clear cut of all has been the imposition of censorship over schools, newspapers, magazines and organizations (including the jazz, ping-pong and sports societies). The Stalinist-inspired GPU system reigns supreme over the unhappy land.

WAR RACE SPEEDED

The race toward a major war is now on full scale and the alarm must be sounded by the socialist and labor movements. All this adds up to the unmistakable fact that war, sooner rather than later, will be the end product if both camps are permitted to pursue their course with present breakneck speed.

While Russia moves primarily on the political and social front, capturing nation after nation by its manipulation of the masses and through its use of the Stalinist machines, America is proceeding rapidly in its war preparations by piling up atomic bombs, planning more and larger bombing planes—in a word, by direct military preparations.

Thus we see that less than three years after the end of World War II the preparations for World War III are in such an advanced stage as to cause universal fear and trembling. LABOR ACTION maintains its original analysis that war is not immediately in the offing; that is, it will not come within the next few weeks or months. But there is no denying the fact that the possibility and danger of its descending upon us within the foreseeable future increase with each passing day. If Stalinism continues its advance in Europe, American imperialism will resort to war—sooner rather than later—in an effort to halt it.

We are, in effect, back where we were in 1938 and 1939, as Anthony Eden informed the English people. Shall the war come now, as it did then? That depends entirely upon the actions of the European workers and people, coupled with the reaction of the American people to the threatened disaster.

If fear and trembling are the only responses, then the war is inevitable. If an open and clear challenge is issued to the war makers of both camps—Stalin and Truman, Molotov and Marshall—by the people everywhere, that can be halted. War is not inevitable; it can be halted in its tracks by the aroused peoples of the United States and other nations.

Branches Rush to Meet Fund Quota Deadline

By YETTA BARSH, Fund Drive Director

MARCH 1—Today marks the end of our Fund Drive. However, because all of our units are engaged in making collections up to the last minute (March 1) we are not in a position to record the final results of the Drive. The total collections for the past week amounted to \$895.50 and raise the sum collected to date, and received by us, to \$13,638.77—91 per cent of our \$15,000 goal.

We have received telegrams and special delivery letters dated February 29 and March 1 from San Francisco, Chicago,

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Do your share! Help us hit the 100 per cent mark early. Send us your contribution immediately.

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

Enclosed find a \$..... contribution to the \$15,000 fund drive.

Name..... Date.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

Seattle, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, New York City and West Virginia, all setting forth the amounts which have been collected and are being put in the mails. In accordance with our practice to report only sums which have been actually received, we are not recording any of these sums (despite the fact that we are confident that we will be receiving them tomorrow and the day after) until after they are in our hands. They will all be listed in next week's report, which will be the final one for the Drive.

Correspondence from a number of units leads us to believe that they will be collecting the balance of the pledges and running the last of their Fund Drive gatherings after the termination date of the Drive. Cleveland reports that there are still sums to be collected by them; Detroit writes that they expect to oversubscribe their quota substantially in the next couple of weeks; Newark is still collecting contributions from friends.

This week's collections include the following: Akron (which more than fulfilled its quota), \$91; Chicago, \$85; Cleveland, \$22; Newark, \$27.50 (which puts it in the 100 per cent class); Miscellaneous, 2.00; Philadelphia, \$49 (which raised its oversubscription to the sum of \$102.50); Reading, \$12 (over and above its fulfilled quota of \$75); National Office, \$130; New York, \$376; San Diego, \$11 (raising the total of its unexpected contributions to \$22.25).

We have every reason to believe that our final report next week will include substantial additional contributions from all of the units that have written to us and wired us.

Branch	Quota	Mar. 1	Pct.
Manhattan SYL	\$30.00	\$52.00	173
St. Louis	35.00	56.00	160

Buffalo	600.00	800.00	133	
Philadelphia	400.00	502.50	126	
Baltimore	100.00	123.75	124	
Connecticut	50.00	60.00	120	
Hibbing	5.00	6.00	120	
San Pedro	100.00	120.00	120	
Reading	75.00	87.00	116	
Streator	20.00	23.00	115	
Cleveland	500.00	540.00	108	
Akron	400.00	425.75	106	
Boston	60.00	60.00	100	
Detroit	800.00	802.00	100	
Indiana	50.00	50.00	100	
New York Misc.	20.00	20.00	100	
Newark	400.00	400.84	100	
Oregon	50.00	50.00	100	
New York City	4,000.00	3,704.98	95	
San Francisco	1,000.00	868.96	87	
Chicago	1,500.00	1,255.24	84	
Miscellaneous	40.00	32.00	80	
National Office	3,500.00	2,690.00	77	
Los Angeles	500.00	383.50	77	
Youngstown	200.00	125.00	63	
West Virginia	150.00	85.00	57	
Pittsburgh	25.00	13.00	52	
Seattle	400.00	200.00	50	
San Diego		22.25		
		\$15,000.00	\$13,638.77	91