

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1947

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

First Grim Signs Of Coming Depression

By John G. Wright

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SENATE SPEEDS UNION-BUSTING BILL

Militarists Draft Secret Blueprint For A New War

By William F. Ward

The militarists and "merchants of death" are pursuing their deadly work on a larger scale than ever in Washington these days.

They are preparing the blueprints for World War III before the peace treaties of World War II have been drafted.

Startling revelations have been published in the April 30 Wall Street Journal and May 2 N. Y. Times regarding Wall Street's conspiracy to drag the American people into a new world slaughter. U. S. military agencies and Big Business representatives have just completed a master plan for gearing the whole of American industry into the war machine and are already carrying out the first steps in this vast "emergency" industrial mobilization program.

This program not only arms the President with far-reaching dictatorial powers and outlines what specific actions industry must take with the Army and Navy, as soon as a "state of emergency" is proclaimed. It also includes drastic provisions for regimentation and control of the workers by the government, draft boards, and the bosses.

PLAN HAS FOUR PARTS
There are four major divisions in this industrial mobilization plan for World War III:

1. Industrial Controls. This section specifies how the government, armed forces, and Big Business will collaborate in case of war. It gives directives on the construction and location of plants for war industry. It sets up a system for allocating materials and man-power on the basis of priority permits which enabled the corporations to amass such great power and profits in the last war. This part of the plan contains the provisions for shackling the workers to the war-machine.

2. Stockpiling. The government has tabbed 2 billion dol-

lars for purchasing and storing strategic raw materials, metals, minerals and fibers essential for war-production.

3. Coordination and Standardization. The plan provides for coordinating equipment purchases by the Army and Navy and standardizing weapons and supplies for the two branches of the military forces. Joint buying of food and lumber has already been practiced and this system will soon be extended to textiles, clothing, footwear and oil products.

4. Checkup on Foreign Economic Operations. The government's import and export policies are to be carefully scrutinized and supervised to ensure that supplies useful for war go to friendly nations and are kept from potential enemy powers, that is, those associated with the Soviet Union.

THE WAR PLANNERS
This master manual for World War III has been drawn up and is being carried out by the Army-Navy Munitions Board. This little-known agency, which has been exceedingly active since the war-drive has been stepped up, is headed by Richard R. Deupree, who divides his time between that post and his presidency of the soap monopoly, Procter and Gamble Co. Other Board members are Undersecretary of War Kenneth C. Royal and Assistant Secretary of the Navy John Kenney.

Deupree is chief liaison man between the top military staff and the directors of Big Business who are working closely together on this industrial mobilization scheme. He presented the highlights of the A.N.M.B. war plan before an unreported session of 2,500 members of the U. S.

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Detroit's Gigantic Rally Against Labor-Haters



More than 275,000 of the half million Detroit workers who downed tools on April 24, mobilized in Cadillac Square to denounce the Taft-Hartley slave labor bills and the efforts of Congress to crush organized labor. General Motors later fired 14 men and suspended 23 for participating in this rally.

Republicans And Democrats Put Knife At Labor's Throat

One-Day Strike Urged By UAW Foundry Council

"A national labor holiday of all members of the labor movement — CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents — in protest against anti-labor legislation and as a demonstration of labor's solidarity, unity and fighting determination to defeat reaction," was recommended by the Foundry Council of the CIO United Auto Workers at a conference in Cleveland, April 26 - 28.

This proposal was the climax of a resolution adopted by the conference against the Hartley and Taft bills in Congress.

"The anti-labor character of this legislation can be seen in the fact that the Hartley Bill was written by William Ingles, lobbyist for the Allis-Chalmers Co., the J. I. Case Co., and the Inland Steel Co., and Theodore Iserman, attorney for the Chrysler Corporation; while the Taft Bill was written by Gerard Reilly, former anti-labor member of the National Labor Relations Board," the resolution pointed out.

Besides calling for a national labor holiday in protest against the anti-labor bills, the delegates to the Foundry Council also recommended that the UAW International Executive Board "give full support to the current negotiations between the CIO and AFL for the unity of all organized labor to defeat reaction's drive to smash unions and destroy our democratic rights."

MAY 6—Passage by the Senate of the most savage anti-labor legislation in decades became imminent when a coalition of Republican and Democratic Senators on April 30 voted 59 to 35 to put through an omnibus measure rather than break it up into separate bills, some of which could not get by a presidential veto.

The vote was a triumph for Robert A. Taft, boss of the Republican steam-roller in the Senate and prospective candidate for the presidency in 1948.

Taft immediately pressed for inclusion of four provisions removed in Committee. These would grant employers the privilege of using court injunctions to break strikes classified as "jurisdictional," would end industry-wide bargaining and prohibit "coercion" of workers to join unions. They would also ban union welfare funds created from royalties out of profits such as has been won by the coal miners and musicians.

To line up the Republican minority, Taft indicated his readiness to make minor concessions on terminology and possibly give up the provision to outlaw industry-wide bargaining.

On May 2 the Senate voted 60 to 28 to include the so-called "coercion" amendment. This vote is an ominous indication of the strength of the Taft bipartisan machine. The Ohio reactionary needs to line up only four more votes to override a presidential veto — if Truman should exercise the veto.

Taft appears confident that he can succeed in pushing his legislation past a veto. The oppo-



SENATOR TAFT

sition in Congress to the omnibus anti-labor bill scarcely deserves the name. First of all, they agree in principle with the Taft bloc. As political representatives of Wall Street, they are solidly opposed to labor's interests. Most of them have flatly stated that they wish to pass laws against the unions. Some of them are afraid to go as fast and as far as Taft demands. They would prefer a slower pace. Some of them, fearful of what will happen at the polls, are closely watching what labor is doing to oppose passage of the legislation. If the unions put up a strong enough battle, this fear will increase.

But they are likewise fearful of the heavy pressure exerted by the powerful bi-partisan combination. Besides the virtually solid anti-labor Republican line-up, some of the most influential Democrats are swinging with the gloves off. These include Walter F. George of Georgia and Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.

LABOR IN DANGER
The labor bureaucrats now count on Truman vetoing the bill. But Truman has as yet given no indication that he intends to do so. He may let the measure become law without his signature. Even if he does veto, the House will certainly override him, and in the Senate the balance hangs by a hair.

Never has the labor movement been in such danger of losing all its hard-won gains at one legislative stroke. Only the most energetic action can save the situation. The 24-hour nationwide protest strike urged by the UAW Foundry Council and the Flint CIO would put great pressure on Truman to veto the bill and help convince Congressmen now wavering that they had better retreat.

Meanwhile union militants should ask themselves why American labor permits the intolerable Wall Street monopoly of Congress to continue. Isn't it time labor seriously set out to put a majority of its own representatives in office and to organize a Labor Party to beat back the union-busters?

AFL-CIO Unity Discussed At Washington Conference

The joint committees of the AFL and CIO ended their two-day conference on unification in Washington May 2 with a statement that their ten members agree unanimously on the need for organic unity and will hold other meetings in the near future to consider this and "other mutual problems." At these first sessions, however, each organization rejected the other's proposals for unification.

The CIO plan had four provisions:

1. The creation of joint emergency legislative committees to coordinate the fight of the two organizations against anti-labor bills.
2. An agreement against jurisdictional raids and disputes, effective at once.
3. Acceptance of "the following democratic trade union principles as the basis for further discussion of organic unity: (a) any new organizational structure shall give full and complete recognition to the principle of industrial organization; (b) the autonomous rights of the existing international unions shall be fully respected within a framework of the principles of the new national organization; (c) the new organization shall provide for the creation of effective labor political action machinery for advancing the legislative objectives of organized labor, between elections and at election time."
4. Meetings between committees of AFL and CIO unions in the same field to explore possibilities of joint action in carrying out the above program in their own fields.

The AFL committee would not accept these proposals, presenting instead the following propositions:

1. The CIO unions, "as they

Ask CIO To Call 24-Hour Strike To Protest Anti-Labor Bills

Text of the resolution adopted by the Greater Flint Industrial Council of the CIO, Michigan, April 26:

WHEREAS: The organized labor movement faces the greatest threat to its existence since its inception by the passage of vicious, anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS: The House of Representatives has passed the savage omnibus Hartley bill by a three-to-one vote, confronting the labor movement with the absolute necessity to fight NOW for its very existence, and

WHEREAS: The passage of anti-labor bills in state and national legislatures threatens to engulf the labor movement in a flood of legislative restrictions, and

WHEREAS: Labor must act immediately and with militant action to forestall the anti-labor drive, and

WHEREAS: Labor has organized counter demonstrations in Detroit, Iowa, Chicago, Pennsylvania and New Jersey to protest the NAM and Chamber of Commerce plot to wreck our unions.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED;
That the Greater Flint Industrial Union Council organize a joint committee of the AFL, CIO and independent unions in Flint for the purpose of demonstrating our opposition to this ruthless campaign against the unions, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:
That the Council request the National CIO to immediately call a 24-hour General Strike throughout the United States, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED:
Copies of this resolution be sent to the press, radio, all CIO locals in Flint, the State CIO and National CIO.

Telephone Strikers Stand Firm Despite AT&T's Split Tactics

By Alan Kohlman

MAY 6—The overwhelming majority of the National Federation of Telephone Workers stood firm in the fifth week of their strike, despite defections of non-affiliated unions in New York and two NFTW locals in Chicago.

In New York this morning, local operators wept openly as they walked through picket lines on orders of their unions which had voted to accept a \$4 week company offer. Bitterness against this breaking of the strike front was further expressed by two executive committee members of the New York maintenance men who denounced the return and brought a \$1,000 collection to the NFTW unions on strike.

George Myerscough, chairman of the New York central strike committee, commented as follows on the defections: "This is not the work of the rank and file of those four unions, and also is not the work of all the leaders."

In Washington, the 49 man NFTW policy committee ordered all NFTW unions to stand firm. Reports from various sections of the country indicate that the dent in the strike front has only further incensed the bulk of the strikers and renewed their determination not to buckle.

AT&T has cunningly engaged in splitting tactics by making different offers ranging from \$1-3 to \$2-4 in various sections of the country. The government mediators who sold the New York locals the \$4 settlement demonstrated how government agencies function to break the strike front and whittle down the unions' demands.

The long-lines sections of the NFTW agreed to accept a government offer of \$5.14 per week, but AT&T, obviously encouraged by its chiseling successes in New

York and Chicago, rejected the offer.

In Chicago, the acceptance by two NFTW affiliates of \$4 a week brought heavy fire from the NFTW leadership and the statement by President Joseph Beirne that he would recommend expulsion of their presidents when the NFTW convention opens in June. Beirne added that this crossing of the picket lines "does not dent the solidarity of the NFTW."

In New Jersey, the 11,000 members of the Traffic Telephone Workers who have stood in the front ranks of the fight against both company and state strike-breaking, renewed their pledge to stay out until they won a \$6 raise.

The 30-day stand of the phone workers against the mighty AT&T trust has inspired the entire labor movement. The defections of these few locals after a month of hard fighting only emphasizes how studiously the bulk of the workers have resisted the efforts of AT&T, backed up by government assistance, to cripple the phone unions.

Up to now the NFTW policy committee has insisted on a \$6 wage increase and has refused to be bludgeoned by the company or pressured by government "mediators" to accept lower offers. It has reinforced the original NFTW strategy of centralized strike direction and review of all settlements, and urged the phone workers to maintain nationwide solidarity until their demands are met.

Mid-West Camp Opens Season On June 29

The Mid-West Vacation Camp and School opens its fourth season on June 29 and will continue for nine weeks until September 2, the Labor Day week end. Conveniently located on Little Pleasant Lake near Jackson, Michigan, about 60 miles from Detroit, this camp has become a popular vacation spot for Militant readers and their friends.

Mid-West Camp is pleasantly situated on a charming wooded slope overlooking a large freshwater lake. The lake is well-stocked with fish and excellent for swimming. Outdoor sports include softball, horseshoes, archery, badminton, boating and hiking. Indoor games include pingpong, shuffleboard, chess, dancing and amateur theatricals. Picnics and barbecues are often held within a magnificent grove of oak trees.

The meals are delectable, wholesome and well-prepared by expert cooks. Since the camp is operated cooperatively and on a non-profit basis, rates are kept low to fit a worker's income.

Mid-West Vacation School and Camp not only provides healthful and pleasurable surroundings for rest and relaxation but also gives its guests unusual facilities for studying the problems of the labor and Socialist movement under competent instructors.

Courses will be given this summer on "The Role of the Trade Unions," "New Views on American History" and "An Introduction to Marxist Economics." There will also be special lectures on current topics and discussions on the history and ideas of the Socialist Workers Party. The teaching staff includes some of the best-known contributors to The Militant and Fourth International as well as experienced leaders of the union movement.

Since Mid-West Camp has a limited capacity, reservations should be made early. Rates are \$25 a week; \$15 for children. Write to Oscar Coover, Manager, 116 University Place, New York 2, N. Y.

34,000 Auto Workers Strike In France

(Special To The Militant)

PARIS, France, Apr. 29 — More than 30,000 workers of the nationalized Renault auto plants struck today for a wage boost of 10 francs an hour (equivalent to about 4 cents on the black market).

The strike movement began April 25. It was bitterly opposed by the Stalinist leadership of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). But as it spread despite their strikebreaking efforts, the Stalinist officials decided to issue a "cease work" order.

The Stalinists then sent a CGT negotiating committee to bargain with the management in which the Stalinists likewise hold posts. This committee bypassed the workers' demand for a 10 franc increase, substituting

a 3 franc demand. The management, however, rejected even this demand, referring it to the Minister of Labor, Ambroise Croizat, who is also a Stalinist.

When the Stalinist CGT leaders, Eugene Henaff and Albert Costes tried to present this as a "victory," the vast majority of workers scornfully refused to go back to work, while those who went inside the plants staged a sit-down strike.

Around the plant gates, the strikers hold continuous discussions that are virtually mass meetings. Main targets of the speakers are the Stalinist CGT leadership and the policy of the Communist and Socialist parties in the coalition government, particularly the wage freeze and the phony price controls that have operated to the disadvantage of the workers.

The general tenor of sentiment is as follows: "We have waited long enough for our leaders to act. Now we are taking things into our own hands. Two years ago we had arms and could have strengthened our everything. Our leaders, especially the Communists (Stalinists), persuaded us to lay down our arms and told us we would get everything 'peacefully.' Today we are worse off than ever. They tell us to go back to work, because otherwise we will starve. But we are starving anyway. We're not going back until we get that 10 franc raise."

The Stalinists launched a campaign of violent abuse against the young militants who started the strike movement. Their paper L'Humanite called them "reactionary anarchists" and "Fascist Trotskyists." The strike it-

self, they said, was a "provocation" to bring de Gaulle to power.

The strike leaders, however, have remained firm. On their proposal, the workers by secret ballot elected strike committees in all departments. In the noon mass meetings at the plant gates all shades of opinion were invited to take the microphone. Only the CGT leadership rejected this invitation, issuing instead leaflets calling for a "back to work" movement.

PARIS, Apr. 30. — With the Renault strike 100% effective, the Stalinist leadership of the CGT has executed another of its lightning turns, deciding to "adopt" the strike as well as the demand for 10 francs increase in wages. L'Humanite front-paged the story today and re-

vealed that Stalinist Minister Croizat intends to place the wage demand before the Cabinet.

The General Strike Committee of the Renault workers, however, refused to hand over leadership. They ordered the strike ma le general in the entire giant enterprise and called for the organization of picket lines "to prevent all provocations for sabotage."

When the Stalinist CGT bureaucrats announced this morning that the management had agreed last night to place the demands before the government (since it is a nationalized plant), the strikers greeted them with cat-calls and boos and voted full confidence in the Strike Committee elected from the ranks.

As picket lines were organized (Continued on Page 4)

Is The Communist Party A Workers' Organization?

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the sixth of a series of articles on American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.)

Stalinism, like every other force obstructing the emancipation struggle of the workers, thrives on confusion and assiduously disseminates it in the labor movement. The Stalinists also profit not a little by the confusion in the heads of some of their bitterest and most conscientious opponents. Their misunderstanding of the question arises in part from an emotional approach to the question. Hatred is permitted to obscure reason, and no good ever came from that.

Nothing is better calculated to lead the opponents of Stalinism in the United States astray than the simple description of this monstrosity as the agency of a foreign power, and in turn, the designation of this foreign power as an exploiting class, imperialistic to boot, which dominates more than one-sixth of the earth and is reaching out for the rest of it.

This conception, which would put the Communist Party in the same category as the unlamented German-American Bund, clashes with reality at every step and leads to tactics in the struggle against Stalinism which are futile and self-defeating every time. It bars a tactical approach to the masses of workers under the control and influence of the Communist Party, and thus inadvertently aids the Stalinist bureaucrats in consolidating and retaining this control and influence.

Such a theory would be absolutely fatal in western Europe where the Stalinists dominate virtually the whole working class movement. And it certainly is of no help even in the United States. Stalinism is relatively weak here, and for numerous and weighty reasons can scarcely be expected ever to play the dominating role it plays in Europe. Nevertheless, it is a serious obstacle to the development of a genuinely revolutionary movement, and consequently to the mobilization of the masses for resolute action in the class struggle which would lead objectively to the socialist goal. For that reason we should fight it. But in order to achieve success we must fight Stalinism with a correct understanding of its nature and role.

Workers Must Fight Stalinism

If the Communist Party were merely a "Fifth Column" and terrorist gang operating in America as the agency of a foreign "imperialist" government, then the problem would be considerably simpler and easier for the working class movement. And it would be no problem at all to the government at Washington, which is indeed imperialist and has the means to cope with foreign agents and spies. This was shown in the case of the German-American Bund. Fritz Kuhn's sorry "Bund" — equipped with "storm troops" and all — was easily isolated and could gain no serious influence in the American trade unions. The FBI and other governmental agencies had no difficulty in liquidating this fantastic Hitlerite agency when they got ready to do so. And it never once occurred to any working class tendency, faction or party to come to the defense of the "Bund."

The same prescription does not work, however, and will not work in the case of American Stalinism. Fascism and Stalinism, although much similar in their methods and practices, have entirely different social foundations on their home grounds where they wield state power, and this applies to their foreign extensions too. The rather widespread conception that the Communist Party is a formation similar to Hitler's "Fifth Column" and can be treated accordingly, is profoundly false. The Stalinists make the labor movement the main base of their operations, and it is there that they must be fought, and fought, moreover, with working class means.

The analogy which can best aid our thinking on this question is provided by the experiences of the Russian Bolsheviks and the early Comintern in the struggle against the Social Democrats. The German Social Democracy betrayed the proletariat in the First World War; and following that, after they came into control of the government, they employed the police and the army to slaughter tens of thousands of workers in suppressing the proletarian revolution. Besides that the noble Social Democrats were accountable for a substantial number of "unofficial" murders of revolutionary leaders, such as the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Despite these crimes, the Social Democrats retained a strong organization and influence in the labor movement, as do the present-day Stalinists—despite their crimes. A strong tendency arose among the revolutionary workers to regard the Social Democratic party as no longer a workers' organization, and to reject any kind of a tactical approach to its members. This characterization proved to be one-sided, too simple, and therefore false and harmful to the further development of the workers' revolutionary movement. This attitude had to be radically changed before the young Communist Party of Germany could make any real headway in the struggle against the Social Democratic traitors.

Differ In Degree, Not Principle

By their program and their policies the Social Democratic parties then, as now, were petty-bourgeois and not proletarian parties. But by their tradition and composition, by the fact that they made their main base of operation the working class movement, and by the fact that the workers considered them to be workers' organizations — they had to be designated as such: more precisely, as an organized tendency within the labor movement which the revolutionary party had to combat by tactical means as well as by frontal principled struggle. The Leninist policy of the united front followed inexorably from this basic

analysis. This opened the path of the revolutionary party to the Social Democratic workers.

There are many differences between Social Democracy and Stalinism, especially in the domain of methods, but in our view they are differences of degree and not of principle. The Social Democrats substituted the program of class collaboration and reform for the program of class struggle and the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists do the same thing, on a far greater scale. The Social Democrats lied and sland-ered, murdered and betrayed. The Stalinists do the same thing, also on a far greater scale. Both confuse, disorient and demoralize the advanced workers and disrupt their struggle against capitalism. And they are able to do so precisely because they work inside the labor movement and demoralize it from within.

Traditional Social Democracy doesn't amount to much in the United States. Its place and its essential function is taken over by the official trade union bureaucracy. This bureaucracy also represents a tendency, although an alien tendency, within the labor movement, which also serves a foreign power—the government of the capitalists—and it is more firmly rooted, more influential, more powerful, and therefore a more formidable enemy, at the present time at least, than the Stalinists.

Our method of fighting this formidable bureaucracy in the American labor movement is and must be the method worked out by the Russian Bolsheviks to combat the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, and later taught by them to the young Communist Parties of the early Comintern. We oppose the reactionary bureaucrats in principle, and the main burden of our irreconcilable struggle against them must be devoted to denunciation and exposure of their perfidious role. Subordinate to that, but inseparably connected, goes the tactical approach to the vast masses of workers under their influence and domination.

Leninist Tactic Of United Front

This is the Leninist tactic of the united front. We demand of the bureaucrats that they break their alliance with the capitalist political parties and follow an independent class policy on the political field. We give critical support to the bureaucrats in all cases where they find themselves obliged to lead the struggles of the workers for the improvement of their conditions or the defense for their rights. We defend the unions and the individual labor leaders against any attack or infringement from the side of the government. The workers learn more from experience than from propaganda. It is only by participating in the struggles of the workers along these lines that we will win them over to an aggressive class-struggle policy and eventually to a socialist consciousness.

On the ground that the Communist Party is not a working class organization and not a tendency in the labor movement, a contention is advanced that we can have a different attitude toward the Communist Party, or to those trade unions or other workers' organizations under its control, when they find themselves in clashes with the capitalist class or its governmental agencies. To think so requires an absurd, subjectively-motivated denial of reality. Such a mistake can only lead its proponents, if they follow out the logic of their analysis, into the bourgeois camp. Unfortunately, that is precisely what has happened to the great majority of American anti-Stalinists.

Stalinism is a new phenomenon of the last quarter of a century, and is unique in many ways. But this does not change the essential fact that it is a tendency in the labor movement. It is rooted in the trade unions and wields influence over a section of the progressive workers. That is precisely the reason that it is such a great problem and such a great obstacle to the emancipation struggle of the workers. In our opinion, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle against Stalinism without proceeding from this premise. Stalinism is an internal problem of the labor movement which, like every other internal problem, only the workers can solve.

The gist of the matter, let us repeat, consists in the fact that the mis-named Communist Party makes its main field of activity the trade union movement; wields a certain influence there; and by a combination of demagoguery, machination, bureaucratic repression and gangster violence — aided no little by the stupidities of its opponents — has gained the controlled position in numerous unions and represents an influential force in others. And these unions, just like the unions under the control of the anti-Stalinist conservatives, by the logic of the class struggle frequently come into conflict with the employers and even with the government and find themselves involved in strikes.

Class Analysis Determines Tactic

Shall these strikes be supported on the general principle of class solidarity, or should support be withheld because of the circumstance that the official leaders are Stalinists? And should these leaders, in case they are arrested in the course of strike activities, be defended — also on the general principle of class solidarity against the class enemy? And should the legal rights of the Communist Party be defended against the red-baiters?

Those who say no, end the debate so far as we are concerned. By that fact they take their place in the camp of the class enemy. Those who say yes, thereby recognize implicitly the falsity of the contention that Stalinism is not a tendency in the labor movement, to be contended with as such. There is no getting around this question. It must be squarely faced and answered.

This question arose very acutely in last year's strikes of the Stalinized "UE" against Westinghouse and General Electric. And again in the long drawn-out strike of the auto workers at Allis Chalmers, which was indubitably dominated by a Stalinist leadership. And again in the recent strike of the National Maritime Union, which had been completely under Stalinist domination for years, and was still partly so. And it is sharply posed right now by the movement to pass legislation outlawing the Communist Party.

A clear understanding and recognition of the class nature of the Communist Party as a workers' organization — as a tendency in the labor movement — determines the tactical approach of the revolutionary workers to the problem. Stalinism cannot be disposed of by reliance on police measures of the bourgeois state — the very idea is ludicrous — nor by anathema and excommunication from the labor movement, when the power to enforce it is lacking. Nothing will do but an uncompromising principled fight, combined with a tactical approach which will enable the revolutionary party to win the workers away from its perfidious influence. From the revolutionary point of view, that is the heart of the problem of fighting Stalinism in a way that will lead to its elimination from the working class movement, not in fancy but in fact.

(Next week: The Prospects of American Stalinism.)

Oust Stalinist Ministers In France As Ramadier Bids For Truman Aid

By Joseph Hansen

British Troops Search Refugee



Removed from a refugee ship that tried to land in Haifa harbor, this Jewish immigrant is guarded by one British soldier as another searches his accordion for possible weapons. The execution of four members of the underground has set off another wave of violence. Federated Pictures

Paul Ramadier, "Socialist" Premier of France, has booted the five Communist (Stalinist) Ministers out of the coalition government without even waiting for approval from the National Council of the Socialist Party. Regardless of the attitude taken by the SP Council, this important political action by the Premier marks a new stage in the unfolding of the class struggle in France.

When Ramadier asked his fellow party member, Vincent Auriol, President of France, to transfer three Ministerial posts provisionally on May 4, he launched a policy the French "Socialists" have not dared to follow since the close of the war. Up to now they have refused to assume the damaging responsibility of conducting the government for the French capitalists unless the Stalinists likewise participated. What is the source of this sudden courage on the part of these "Socialist" Ministers and Deputies?

The source is Washington. When Truman announced his new "doctrine," every foul reactionary in the world took it as a go ahead signal. In France, de Gaulle, the candidate for a new dictatorship Bonaparte, came out of retirement. He had visions of unlimited funds flowing into his coffers from Wall Street as well as military supplies and government loans from Washington.

In the light of the Truman "doctrine," the French "Socialists" likewise feel stronger. Support from Washington, they calculate, will more than make up for any losses entailed by a rightward shift. They are, consequently, competing with de Gaulle to

serve as agents of Washington. The Communist (Stalinist) Ministers were ousted because they refused to give the government a vote of confidence for its wage-freezing policy. This vote appears illogical, since up to May 4 they were architects of this policy and among its most ardent advocates.

They found themselves compelled to vote against the policy they have been supporting up to now because of the rising militancy of the French workers. They obviously consider the strike in the key Renault auto works as a danger signal. The workers are beginning to break away from Stalinist leadership and to lift up a new, militant leadership from the ranks. The workers want decisive action to solve the acute problems that have plagued them since the end of the war.

The French Stalinists fear this growing domestic opposition which can undermine them in short order. But they would continue their past course of open betrayal of the workers despite this fear if they were so ordered by the Kremlin. Therefore, it is clear they have been given an OK from Moscow to make a shift.

The French Stalinist leaders have found it increasingly embarrassing to officially participate in a government engaged in putting down colonial rebellions. The popularity of the Indo-Chinese cause among French workers, for instance, caused the Stalinists great uneasiness, since their Ministers voted for arms to shoot down the Indo-Chinese. Until after the Moscow Conference, however, the French Stalinists continued to pursue their embarrassing dual policy of having their Ministers vote for the policy of suppressing the Indo-Chinese while the Stalinist deputies tried to maintain the party's popularity by abstaining.

With the failure of the Moscow Conference, Stalin decided to permit the French Stalinists to make a turn. As an opposition party out of the government, their hands are free to oppose the pressure of Washington in France. Naturally, this opposition is aimed solely to serve the foreign interests of the Kremlin.

At the same time, the French Stalinists undoubtedly hope to polish up their damaged reputations, recoup their political losses, picking up what the "Socialists" lose, and with a gain in membership increase their bargaining power. In this game, the Kremlin considers the French working class nothing but a pawn.

How long the French Stalinists will remain out of the government remains to be seen. They cannot be trusted for one moment.

British Terror In Palestine Recalls Scenes Under Hitler

By H. Vallin

Once more the bridges and viaducts in Palestine are being blown up. Bombs are exploding in the British officers' clubs. In retaliation the English army of occupation decrees martial law; curfew is imposed. And in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem are repeated the scenes which the workers of Europe remember so well from the days of Hitlerite occupation: passers-by lined up against a wall to be searched for "weapons," military police detachments raiding homes, man hunts to capture members and leaders of the terrorist organizations, "Irgun Zvai Leumi" and "Stern" which are challenging the power and prestige of imperialist occupation.

Both the Jewish Agency, which is a sort of bourgeois government of the Jewish community in Palestine, and the Zionist Congress which recently met at Basle, have come out violently against terrorist methods. But this difference concerns solely the METHODS of their struggle and not the ends pursued.

It goes without saying that all class conscious workers must condemn without reservation the repressions which the British are directing for the moment against the Jewish population of Palestine and which will set the stage for beating down all the more savagely the Arab population at the first signs of revolt. When the apologists of imperialism allege that it is the terrorists who are "attacking" while imperialism is only "defending itself," each class conscious worker must reply:

"But why do the British troops remain in the country? Let England immediately withdraw its army from Palestine, and there will be no more reason for it to 'defend itself' against the Palestinian population!"

ANALYZE ITS AIMS

But in condemning the British repressions, the conscious worker ought not automatically to embrace the cause of the Jewish terrorists. He should, rather, carefully analyze the aims and the social origins of this movement.

The terrorists and their spokesmen abroad, the so-called "Jewish Committee for National Liberation," pretend to fight for an independent Palestine and to drive British imperialism from the country. They employ the vocabulary of the European resistance movements under the Nazi occupation.

But their true, reactionary and anti-labor character appears more clearly when one examines the declarations of the leaders to the effect that they are not in favor of free elections — until "the Hebrew people who are in foreign lands will have had the opportunity to re-enter their fatherland." These strange "liberators" and "democrats" in reality wish to impose on Palestine the dictatorship of a minority of the population (at present the Jews constitute only 25% of the Palestinian population) and to deprive the Arab population of its political sovereignty, just as British imperialism does.

The reactionary character of the terrorist movement stands out even more clearly in the recent attacks launched by its members on the locals of the extreme left Zionist workers party,

whatever in promoting the establishment of Jewish supremacy in Palestine. Quite the contrary.

Immediately after the war it was busy wooing the Arab feudalists, who were being courted at the same time by the American imperialists. In order not to lose the good will of the Arab feudal chiefs, the English government was ready to completely stop Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Such were the conditions under which the protest movement by world Zionism was unleashed. It is easy to see that this movement does not at all wish to drive from Palestine British imperialism, which is regarded as an indispensable ally against an eventual Arab revolt. This movement pursues the sole aim of EXERTING PRESSURE on the British government for concessions on immigration.

In order to demonstrate their "good will" towards imperialism, the Zionist leaders have suddenly abandoned the terrorists, whom they had clandestinely supported in past years. This explains the desperate fury to which the terrorists have been driven.

(This is the first in a series of articles on the Palestine Question by a Belgian Trotskyist. The second will appear next week.)

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