

Work for a Workers World;
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LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 3, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Local Elections Produce New Crisis in France

By HENRY JUDD

Municipal elections held in France's 38,000 communes over the two preceding Sundays have been anything but the typical local and unimportant events usually associated with similar elections in America. So delicate and easily disturbable is the French political climate that the character of such elections far transcends their immediate purpose and becomes instead, in effect, the equivalent of a national election or referendum on fundamental political trends and international relations.

These elections have precipitated a new crisis in France, or rather a new phase of a crisis in permanent existence since the war's end. Already, Socialist Party Premier Ramadier has revised his Cabinet and has reconvened the National Assembly for a special session, to consider the desperate economic crisis and "the threat to the Republic." Talk of an imminent showdown between "Right and Left," with a solution by force, is widespread. The spokesmen of de Gaulle, headed by the particularly despicable writer and ex-revolutionary Andre Malraux, who is now the General's campaign organizer in chief, have openly challenged the "legitimacy" of the present Assembly and demanded new national elections long before the constitutional eighteen months' lifetime of the present body has expired.

The Stalinist party, seeking to maintain its leadership of the workers in their more than just economic demands, has already felt its way with mass transport strikes in shipping and the Paris subway system, and appears set to pursue and broaden out its strike strategy program.

Clearly, France is in a new and yet more dangerous phase of its revolutionary development.

MAJOR POLITICAL SHIFT

What happened in the municipal elections? In essence, a major political shift within the camp of the Right took place. The former supporters of the liberal-Catholic MRP party went over en masse to the party of de Gaulle, indicating that—psychologically and ideologically, at any rate—they are prepared for, and desire, a more drastic and openly reactionary solution to the question of France's social problems in general and the Stalinist movement in particular.

The MRP vote declined from a high of 28 per cent of the popular vote (November, 1946) to a minute 10 per cent—a veritable avalanche overtook the party! The MRP leadership, from the lackadaisical campaign it carried out, clearly desired such a result. The de Gaulleist Reunion of the French People (RPF) received 33 per cent of the popular vote in the first Sunday's elections. In a word, the entire camp of conservatism and reaction, including substantial segments of the middle class and richer peasantry, shifted solidly to de Gaulle. He has thus become the center of French reaction, pro-Americanism and imperialism. A vast consolidation has taken place in France, heralding the approach (although not imminent) of an inevitable trial of strength.

The same trend is indicated in the Paris and Parisian suburbs results. The de Gaulleist party received 1,032,000 votes, reducing and wiping out the MRP to a mere 147,672. Here we see the same massive loss of the modern (Cont. on p. 3 in World Politics col.)

Will Special Session Act on Rising Prices?

Convention Marks New NMU Stage

NOT EVEN A DECENT INTERVAL OF MOURNING!

NEW YORK, Oct. 22—The end of the sixth annual convention of the National Maritime Union, which met for 24 days, marks a turning point in the development of this vital waterfront union. The narrow, but undisputed, defeat administered the Stalinist wreckers at the convention, signalled the approaching end of the rule of a bureaucratic machine that has strangled the union for many years.

On every major question brought before the convention save one, the Curran forces obtained a majority. This was true in the case of the appeal for reinstatement of Joseph Stack; it was true in the vindication by the convention of the New Orleans officials against whom the Stalinists had brought entirely unsubstantiated charges; it was true again when Curran sponsored constitutional changes which restored policy-making prerogatives to a membership referendum. The major case where Curran was defeated was when he sponsored a resolution barring organized political or religious groupings from working in the union. A sizable number of Curran supporters voted against him on this issue. For one thing, they deemed it unwise to endanger the existence of militant groupings in the union at the hands of bureaucratic cliques that may arise in the future.

One does not have to dig too deeply to uncover the reasons which led an enraged membership to turn against Stalinist misrule in the union. During the war years, and even before, the Communist Party conducted a consistent policy of class collaboration. Many an NMU member was revolted by the sight of leading officials of the union backslapping with the shipowners during the war. The Stalinists succeeded in inserting "no stoppage" clauses in all the NMU agreements. Many of them even insisted on a permanent no-strike pledge. In every possible way they sought to undermine the militant basis of the union. This friendship with the shipowners caused stabilization of working conditions aboard NMU contracted vessels at the level of 1939, while the conditions aboard other union contracted vessels showed a progressive development.

Many an observer has asked why, under these conditions, the membership (Continued on page 2)



Reuther Files \$500,000 Suit Against Slanderers

With the convention of the United Automobile Workers Union - CIO scheduled to open in Atlantic City on November 10, the severe factional struggle which has wracked the union is coming to a head. Walter Reuther, union president, who is running ahead of the Ades-Thomas-Stalinist bloc in delegate strength, on October 17 filed suit in the Wayne County Circuit Court of Michigan for \$500,000 damages against the publishers of FDR, the faction sheet of the Ades bloc. Named specifically as defendant is C. A. Aaron, as publisher of FDR.

The brief accuses Aaron and his backers (by whom Reuther means the Stalinists but whom he impermissibly and dangerously persists in identifying as "minority political groups" as though there were anything wrong with "minority political groups" as such) of "engaging in a campaign of malicious vilification and defamation against this plaintiff," and publishing libelous statements.

Reuther's brief specifically charges that the defendant deliberately printed a false story which purported to show that Reuther had the endorsement of America's leading fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith. It further charges that the defendant and his Stalinist backers are responsible for the invention that Reuther was going to run for Vice-President as Taft's running mate in the next national elections.

The Stalinists, as LABOR ACTION has repeatedly pointed out, have stopped at nothing in their campaign in the UAW. However, the slanders that they circulated in their campaign boomeranged, and may have had much to do with the sweep registered by Reuther in the voting. (For further details on this see last week's issue of LABOR ACTION and preceding issues.)

After quoting the text of a photograph which appeared in the September issue of FDR, and which purported to be a "special confidential bulletin" sent to "key workers" by G. L. K. Smith, the brief charges that:

"3. That this plaintiff alleges that said reproduction of the bulletin hereinbefore referred to is a false document and was known to be such by the defendant. This plaintiff calls to the attention of the court the following circumstances which establish said bulletin as a false document:

"a. In a caption appearing below said bulletin, it is stated that the signature on said bulletin was examined by a handwriting expert, therein mentioned by name, and compared with the signature of Gerald L. K. Smith, and that the signature was pronounced by said handwriting expert to have been signed by the same hand.

(Continued on page 4)

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(Continued on page 4)

Ask Write-in Vote For Jack Rader In Philly District 5

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 27—The Philadelphia branch of the Workers Party has renewed its plea to the voters in the Fifth Councilmanic District to cast a write-in vote for Jack Rader on November 4. This action was made necessary by the refusal of the State Supreme Court to hear, before Election Day, the appeal of the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party protesting the decision of the Election Board to remove the two working class parties from the ballot on flimsy technical grounds. Since write-in votes must be made in a prescribed and uniform manner, the campaign committee gave voters the following instructions:

When you face the voting machine, the first printed line is the list of officers. Look across this line until you come to the office of City Council. Directly above these words, in the elongated slot, write the name of Jack Rader.

Voters in the Seventh District are urged to write in similarly the name of Irene Le Compte, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

GAINED SUPPORTERS

The refusal of the State Supreme Court to act on the Workers Party and Socialist Workers Party appeal ended one phase of a long and costly legal defense by the two groups through the Defense Committee for Political Rights. Despite the able services of Defense Attorney David H. H. Felix, the corrupt and anti-democratic capitalist parties, acting through the County Election Board, headed by Morton Witkin and through Court of Common Pleas Judge Harry S. McDevitt, succeeded in hampering the formal phases of the campaign activity. However, the Workers Party has gained many supporters in the election district through personal contact, LABOR ACTION and rallies and forums.

The last of the pre-election forums, held in Labor Action Hall on Wednesday, October 22, attracted the largest crowd of the series. Candidate Rader dwelt at some length on the campaign of slander, muck-raking and name-calling being engaged in by the Democratic and Republican majorly candidates, Richardson Dilworth and Bernard Samuel. Dilworth, in a series of street rallies, has attacked the personalities and practices of the rotten Republican machine which has seated its majorly candidate every four years since 1894.

Rader pointed out that charges that a Republican controlled City Hall results in unfavorable odds in the "numbers racket" do not constitute a campaign in the interests of the working people. Only a socialist program as offered by the Workers Party on fair employment practices, price control and adequate housing is geared to the people's need. Moreover, this program contains provisions for effective control through neighborhood and union committees.

The Workers Party also announced that services of their lawyer are available to those voters threatened or intimidated by the Republican and Democratic ward heebers. Lies have been spread that the Workers Party is an affiliate or front organization of the Communist Party. These fabrications for the most part fell on deaf ears, for the voters are aware of the consistent struggle of the Workers Party in the community and in the unions against Stalinism. Some voters were threatened with loss of jobs.

The campaign committee, denounced these undemocratic and totalitarian practices in a widely circulated letter. One can see little distinction between the lies broadcast by the capitalist parties' committeemen and the post cards sent by fascist groupings to the candidates of the WP and SWP during the contempt of court proceeding saying, "Hitler was too good to you Jews," "Why don't you go back to Russia," etc.

FINAL RALLY

On Saturday evening, November 1, the campaign closes officially with a rally and social at 1139 West Girard Avenue. Candidate Jack Rader, Campaign Manager Joseph Davidson and National Secretary of the Workers Party Ernest R. McKinney will speak. There will be professional entertainment, dancing and refreshments.

Although 5,000 copies of the special Philadelphia election issue of LABOR ACTION have been distributed in the district, campaign workers will continue personal contacting of voters, urging them to vote for Jack Rader on November 4. The write-in of Rader's name will be the only means the voters will have of showing that they prefer an independent labor candidate with a socialist program to the reactionary Republican and Democratic candidates.

UAW ISSUE—

Next week's LABOR ACTION, which will appear in time for the UAW convention, will contain a special series of articles on the UAW by E. R. McKinney, Walter Jason and others.

Form United Front to Protest Polish Arrests

Chicago Organizations Hold Conferences to Plan Action in Defense of Socialists Persecuted by Stalinists

CHICAGO—With the active participation of the Workers Party, a united front to organize mass protest action against the arrest of scores of leaders of the Polish socialist and labor movements by Stalin's Quisling government in Warsaw has been organized here.

Two conferences have been held to date. The following organizations were represented officially: Polish American Labor Council, Workmen's Circle, Youth Division of the Workmen's Circle, Social Democratic Federation, Workers Party, Socialist Party and Young People's Socialist League. At the second conference, the Polish American Congress and the Socialist Workers Party were represented by observers.

All organizations officially represented at the first conference agreed that, notwithstanding political disagreements, a united effort must be made to mobilize as many people as possible to fight for the freedom of the men imprisoned by the Polish "Bezpieka"—Stalin's GPU in Poland. It has been tentatively agreed that

the protest will take two forms, first, the organization of a picket line in front of the Polish Consulate and, second, a mass meeting with speakers from all organizations.

The next conference will be held in two weeks and by that time it is expected that many other organizations will be represented, including the Chicago Federation of Labor and the CIO Council.

NEW "MOSCOW TRIALS"

Those organizations already in the conference are determined that Stalin will not get away with these new murders without a mighty voice of protest being raised. Those familiar with the workings of Russian "justice" have little hope of staying the hand of the Kremlin butcher. However, they will make every effort to make it known that the new trials being prepared for the leaders of the "Polish socialist and labor movements are as fake as the "Moscow Trials."

The names of only eleven men of the many who have been arrested are known. The charges are fantas-

tic and follow a familiar pattern. It is the same pattern as that followed in the case of Heinrich Ehrlich and Victor Alter. Alter and Ehrlich were executed in Russia in December, 1941, on the monstrous charge of working for Nazi Germany. Today's victims are charged with "maintaining close contact with the Anders intelligence network . . . supplying a foreign (?) intelligence service with espionage material . . . provoked strikes of diversionary character, sent agents into workers' mass organizations, caused unhealthy unrest, indulged in anti-Soviet whispering campaigns, provoked war-mindedness, etc."

Scapegoats have to be found for the wave of strikes which took place in Poland in 1946 and the spring of 1947 against the hunger and the Quisling regime of Beirut. The foreign country (?) mentioned in the charges will be made to coincide with the needs of Russia's foreign policy at the time of the trial or execution.

PUBLIC TRIAL

The imprisoned men whose names

we know are those who carried on the fight against the Nazis in the years of occupation of Poland by Hitler. They were the leaders of the underground. Among the arrested men are:

Kasimierz Puzak—63 years old, ex-secretary general of the PPS Central Committee (since 1921), prisoner of Stalin and the Czar (spent seven years in solitary confinement in fortress of Schluselberg), chairman of the underground parliament.

Tadeusz Szturm De Sztrem—underground PPS and its deputy secretary general, an outstanding Polish economist.

Josef Dziegielewski—leader of the underground fighting squads of the PPS, twice arrested by the Germans, secretary of the Warsaw branch of the PPS.

Ludwik Cohn—chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth after the 1926 coup d'etat, led fight against the dictatorship.

All of the eleven men are known as working class leaders and are be-

ing removed by Stalin, who fears the working class above all else.

In a recent press interview, M. K. Rusinek, the present Minister of Labor in the Warsaw government, announced that the trial will be held in public. This is the direct result of the limited protests made thus far.

The Joint Committee for the Freedom of the Imprisoned Polish Socialist and Labor Leaders, the name of the Chicago organization, is determined to focus the light of publicity on this case, so that all will be able to see Stalin's crime.

(Continued on page 3 in edit. col.)

Labor Must Mobilize Its Forces

Having avoided the issue as long as he could, President Truman finally decided to interrupt the six-month Congressional vacation. In a nationwide radio address on Friday, October 24, Truman announced that he was calling a special session of Congress, to begin on November 17, with the purpose of working out a program on rising prices and aid to Europe.

It is high time that such a special session was called. Not that we are particularly interested in putting the Congressmen back to work just so that they can "earn" their keep. In many ways they do less damage when they are vacationing. However, there are urgent matters that need immediate consideration. And, if the Congress will do little or nothing for the people and much against the people, when left to its own devices, it can be driven into legislating necessary measures by the whip of organized labor pressure.

The demand for a special session arose from two distinct sources. There was, first, the agitation of those concerned with implementing and effecting United States imperialist policy, particularly as it applies to conflict with Russian imperialism in Europe. There was, second, the insistent cry from all sections of the country that something be done about the impossible price situation. The Republicans for the most part balked, but out of consideration for the first, they too generally agreed on the need of a special session.

When talk about a special session started, the question of prices was not included. The special session was to concern itself only with such matters as the Marshall Plan. However, it quickly became apparent that a special session could not skip the problem of prices (along with the problem of food for Europe) without encouraging an uncontrollable storm of protest and action.

What Truman intends to propose to the special session is not yet known. Truman being what he is, it is not altogether inconceivable that he himself does not know what he intends to propose—beyond advocating Congressional endorsement of plans to buttress the economies of European nations outside the Russian orbit, and beyond offering vague generalizations on checking the price rise.

The foreign line is already worked out in its major outlines, and despite the harsh language they exchange, Democrats and Republicans are generally united in using dollars to influence European politics in an American direction. With a few exceptions (Continued on page 3 in edit. col.)

Turn to Page 4

—for an article by A. Rudzinski on the Polish Political Emigration.

Also: Carl Davis on the Movie Probe.

See Page 3 for Workers Party stand on issues before New York electorate.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

NMU Marks New Stage at Convention

(Continued from page 1) ship did not rebel sooner. Curran provided the clue to the solution of the problem when, at the final meeting of his caucus, he defended the policies of the Communist Party...

however, sought in every way possible to further isolate the Negroes and Spanish-speaking members from the union as a whole. For instance, he and Chester Young brought the unsubstantiated charges of discrimination against the Port New Orleans officials in an attempt to widen the gap between the minorities and the general membership.

Smith agrees with Hitler in one thing, namely, that if a lie is big enough and it is repeated often enough, someone is bound to believe it. Smith accuses the rank and file caucus of being more disruptive than the old Mariners Club...

The 24-day-long convention completely exhausted the union's convention fund, and made inroads into its general fund. The cause of this was the stalling tactics adopted by the Stalinist faction on every procedural point.

In the October 17 issue of the PILOT, Ferdinand Smith, Stalinist hack and Secretary of the NMU, sought to place the blame for the convention delays upon the shoulders of the pro-Curran grouping.

Smith, in his article, attacked the convention for failing to develop a well-rounded program on Negroes and other minority groups.

Now that the NMU convention is over and the militant Rank-and-File has come out on top, the shipowners are seeking to intervene in union affairs in such a fashion as to completely disrupt and destroy the NMU.

The truth is the opposite of what the shipowners report in the Times. The real victor at the convention was the rank-and-file that defeated the Stalinists, laid the basis for a militant development in the future, and is capable of defeating all attempts at shipowner disruption.

While the NMU convention laid the basis for the elimination of Stalinist domination of the union, the task is far from completed. The Stalinists are still in office in the union, and only the continued coordinated efforts of the Rank-and-File caucus can result in their defeat at the next referendum election.

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RANKS WERE VICTORS Since it is a lie that the Curran group will be less militant than the Stalinists were, the immediate purpose of these remarks can only be to give the kiss of death to the Curran group and to assist the Stalinists in prolonging the disunity within the NMU.

Baltimore Budget Committee Refuses Funds for Interracial Art Center BALTIMORE, Oct. 24—An attempt to get financial support from the city for an interracial art center was hastily and viciously shoved off for at least a year by the City Council Budget Committee at its hearings here today.

in and did the dirty work. First he demanded to know if Dorothy Blumberg, secretary of the Maryland Communist Party, who was present, was supporting the plea.

The drive for better and more housing is an important function, but not the only one, of the University Tenants Council. Organized last December, the Council has been successful in winning adjustment of scores of complaints brought to its complaint bureau by tenants.

In addition, the Council was very actively engaged in trying to stop the passage of the 15 per cent "voluntary" rent increase bill. When it was passed the Council held weekly open-air meetings in the neighborhood, informing the people of their rights under the new bill and urging them not to sign the two-year lease being requested by many landlords.

The Council has been a real force in the protection of tenants from landlords who have been wilfully overlooking their obligations. With its new plans it can hope to win healthy and adequate housing for the people in the neighborhood.

Such a plan could only be worked out with the aid of government subsidy and planning. The Council plans to conduct a campaign which will win the support of the city for its proposals and which will result in the initiation of a housing program for the whole Lower East Side.

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Map Housing Campaign in N. Y. East Side

NEW YORK, Oct. 25—At its meeting on October 7 the University Tenants Council made plans to conduct a housing survey on the Lower East Side. This survey is to be the basis of determining just what the housing needs of the neighborhood are in order to formulate a proposal for the immediate building of government financed housing.

The main problem that any group faces in planning new housing today is to avoid evictions and provide for resettlement in view of the shortage that already exists. One way to avoid this problem is to build on vacant land, wherever it may be in the city.

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Profiteers Plan Steel Shortage

By GERRY McDERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA, Oct. 21—It is cutting the pay of auto workers. It is slashing the income of coal miners.

It is robbing railroad workers. It is raising the prices every housewife pays, and starving kids in Europe.

"It is the steel shortage. And the steel shortage is not an accident, but the plan of the steel trust to guarantee its profits for years to come. Besides guaranteeing profits, this planned shortage also guarantees a depression. That is why the shortage has to be looked into.

Every auto worker has already felt the steel trust in his pocketbook. It has meant two and three days a week work for him in the past year. Or it has meant layoffs for one and two weeks at a time. Not enough steel.

The same is true of coal miners. Day after day, the bulletin board on the mine lamphouse has read, "No work today." There are not enough coal cars. And there is not enough steel to make enough coal cars.

The same thing strikes the railroad men. No cars, no trains. No trains, no work. In the farmlands, wheat has rotted on railroad sidings because of the car shortage. While the wheat rots, prices in the United States continue to rise. And the people of Europe starve.

PLANNED SHORTAGE

It is safe to say that every worker in America is affected by this shortage in some way. Newsprint is scarce. Lack of steel pipe keeps gas and fuel oil from being distributed. There is talk of a coal shortage this winter.

Why? The shortage is planned. It is planned carefully, deliberately and ruthlessly by the steel trust. The steel mills should be working to capacity. They are not. New steel mills to meet the needs of the increasing population of the country should be building. They are not as yet existing. Instead, mills are being closed. The industry should be expanding. Instead, the giant corporations are putting small steel companies out of business at an increasing rate.

What is the reason? Profit. So long as there is a shortage, prices will stay high. That means profit.

So long as new plants are not built, the industry will not have to dip into profits to erect new plants. More gravy. And anyway, the steel industry is counting on a depression whether they expand or not, so why build more plants? And they ask US to believe in "free enterprise."

The steel shortage is not going to get better. It is going to get worse. The UAW-CIO made a survey of steel needs for 1950. In order to have full employment then, the country will need 100 million tons of ingot steel. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Department of Commerce, and two reliable private research organ-

izations also made surveys. They all agreed at the figure of 100 million tons for 1950.

And the steel industry expects to produce only 77 million tons, according to spokesmen for the industry. Department of Commerce estimates say that 77 million tons in 1950 mean 14 million unemployed in 1950.

What can labor do in the face of this threat? The union contract is not much help. What good is a contract if you haven't got a job? For that matter, what good are the recent wage raises that the auto workers and miners have won, if they don't work forty hours a week?

Clearly the government must step into the picture. But the government won't do it. President Reuther of the UAW has presented the facts to a Senate committee. And he has written to Truman. Reuther got exactly the answer he deserved for going to the political representatives of the monopolists. Silence.

If the present government sides with the monopolists against labor, what government will side with labor against the monopolists? Clearly, only a labor government, a workers' government. And for that, labor needs a party.

The threat, then, of the steel shortage is a threat of depression and unemployment, with all that these things mean. The answer is a Labor Party. The labor movement does not have forever to prepare its answer.



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With the Workers Party

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

- AKRON: Write to Box 221. BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. CHICAGO: 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor. CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m. in Room 4, Slovenian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave. DETROIT: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. LOS ANGELES: 3314 So. Grand St. LOS ANGELES 7. LOUISVILLE: Write to Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville. NEWARK: 248 Market St., Newark 2. NEW YORK CITY: CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. YOUNGSTOWN: Write to J. E. Walters, Box 605.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Pullman Rights On Freedom Train

Your editorial on the Freedom Train, in Labor Action of October 6, is a rather clumsy and superficial comment on this topic. It is necessary to show so plainly your irritation over the fact that the sponsors of the train have robbed you of your best "class angle" by taking their stand against any kind of Jim Crow in connection with the train?

Revolution and the American Civil War are linked to all the great working-class struggles throughout the world. American workers and socialists, instead of ignoring that history, should be deeply interested in it and in the historic documents that reflect, even though imperfectly, the revolutionary spirit of the common people who gave the American character and institutions their best qualities.

ting "that good old socialist engine" on the Freedom Train and getting rid of the caboose (a good, proletarian car which, for some reason, you identify with "capitalist politicians"). At the risk of compounding a felony (and getting Gene Debs dragged into the discussion), let me extend the analogy: The trouble with most socialists is that they don't have the psychology of Pullman passengers on the train, with all the rights and privileges of Pullman passengers, including the strong inclination to raise hell whenever they don't get the service their ticket entitles them to.

Says We Must Protect Liberties Editor: It is not good citizenship to endure oppression in America meekly. A dear price was paid by our ancestors for our liberties. It is our duty to pass them on to the next generation.

I believe that now the City is doing better, but the citizens had no right to let it go on at all. In Michigan the first part of that Article Five is wiped out by the judges. They try persons without an indictment by a grand jury. Much injustice has been done. A case is being rushed to the state Supreme Court, and propaganda in the newspapers is building up for a decision by that court; that Michigan is free to ignore whatever part of the Bill of Rights it pleases.

Presents View On Partition Editor: Regarding Al Findley's letter on the Palestine issue, I wish to make the following comment: It is one thing to demand the independence of Palestine from British imperialism; but it is quite another for a minority which is NOT suppressed by the native majority to demand the partition of the country—and that by having the imperialist powers enforce it, obviously AGAINST the native majority.

gest, as does Al Findley, that either the Russians or the Americans would allow a "removal of direct imperialist rule" or could tolerate "immediate independence for the Arab portion of Palestine." There is no other way out of the Palestine dilemma BUT Jewish-Arab cooperation and the common struggle against British imperialism. It appears quite convenient for Findley to call the attention of the reader to the stand taken by LABOR ACTION on the Indian partition. LABOR ACTION at the time not only proclaimed the right of self-determination of the Moslems but also the victory of the Indian masses over British imperialism. But LABOR ACTION never showed that the Moslem masses in India actually desired separation or that they are a suppressed minority in India; nor has it been able to reconcile its proclaimed victory of the Indian masses over British imperialism to the terrible fratricidal strife that ensued upon Britain's withdrawal.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER TO LABOR ACTION 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Please enter my subscription to LABOR ACTION as follows: 6 month subscription (26 issues) for 50c. 1 year subscription (62 issues), together with pamphlet "Plenty for All," to be mailed to me, for \$1.00. Name (please print) Address City Zone State

To appreciate this irony you have to have some understanding of our early history and some genuine feeling of the revolutionary character of its main events. The American

We have a right to be proud of much of our American tradition—socialists above all have this right, because we are the true inheritors of the revolutionary tradition that the professional patriots try to forget about. All this is very neatly commonplace, but there is no suggestion of it in your editorial. And the omission is more significant than might appear. It's a symptom of a fundamental weakness of socialist thought, especially characteristic of people continually pushed around by subway guards. Your editorial ends with a slightly confused analogy about put-

Should Findley insist that the situation in Palestine is, generally speaking, analogous to that in India, perhaps he will concede that future developments in the former might be analogous with past developments in the latter—unless the depends upon the imperialist powers to prevent an Arab-Jewish blood bath. E. KELLER, New York

Editorials

Special Session And Prices--

Continued from page 1)

tions here and there, that is the line of United States capitalism, whose servant Truman is. The principal difficulties will arise over the domestic issues, in which Truman equally serves United States capitalism.

No serious attack can be made on the problems of supplying food to the hungry of the world and to the American people at prices they can afford, without invading the rights of "free enterprise." This, of course, Truman does not wish to do, and big business certainly doesn't propose that he or anybody shall do it.

What can Truman propose?

Nationalization of the basic industries, especially of food in this situation? This would indeed be a fundamental approach to the solution of the problem. It is hopeless to deal effectively with the most essential need of all, namely, food, so long as meat, bread, dairy products are in the hands of men who gauge production and prices primarily by their interest as profiteers. However, that would be a blow at "free enterprise" and that is the last thing in the world Truman wants to see.

Price control? Nothing could be more clearly indicated. Voluntary price reductions by industry and business through the normal working of supply and demand have resulted in . . . price boosts. The arguments for price control are unanswerable. The only argument against price control is that it would interfere with unbridled profiteering.

Some of his advisers are no doubt counselling reinstatement of some kind of price control. But Truman denounced both price control and rationing as "police state" measures not two weeks ago. In his radio address, he gave evidence of a retreat from his "police state" statement in the sense of indicating something more than voluntary measures. After reaffirming the virtues of "voluntary action by business men" in his speech, Truman added, "But the responsibility of the government extends beyond aiding voluntary action. The government must respond to the needs of the people."

Does this mean that Truman has heard the roar? Perhaps. But it is doubtful that he will recommend price control or rationing, though there is a rumor afoot that he may recommend some kind of allotment system for scarce commodities, which would constitute a limited form of rationing.

So much then for Truman. Little needs to be said about his Republican colleagues. They won't propose anything from which the people are likely to benefit. There is, however, a lot to be said about what WE can do.

The question of prices has been placed on the calendar of the special session in response to nation-wide demand. It now remains for us to see that the special session considers those matters that we consider most important, and considers them in our way. So far as we need to be concerned, a session of Congress is meeting, and we must exert our pressure for everything we want.

By pressure we mean organized pressure. By pressure we mean the kind of militant, country-wide activity which, at one and the same time, informs Congress of what the people want, and makes possible the execution of the people's wishes regardless of what Congress does.

Everything goes, or should go: action to repeal the Taft-Hartley law, to raise wages, to lower and control prices, to supply food for the people of the world.

We repeat that a basic solution lies in long-range action for the nationalization of the basic industries, UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. This includes the big food combines and such industries as steel on which we in the United States and the people in Europe depend most heavily. If the monopolists can't produce for the benefit of mankind, then let us place control of production in the hands of those who have the know-how and the interest: the working class.

Price control is a must. After our experience with OPA, it should be plain that governmental control machinery is not enough. Price control is a must, but its operation must be in the hands of those who really WANT price control—in the hands of labor and consumer committees.

Food for Europe is a necessity. As workers we ought to be particularly concerned with this, even to the point of sacrificing whatever is demonstrated as necessary. The rich are not doing without food in Europe any more than here. However, we dare not permit hunger to be exploited for imperialist motives. We have a right to demand that our unions control the distribution of food to all who need it in cooperation with the unions of European labor; and that food shipments be combined with assistance in rebuilding the shattered agriculture and industry of Europe, free of imperialist intervention.

A coordinated union campaign for wage increases WITHOUT PRICE increases, a guaranteed annual wage, and escalator clauses, would be of immeasurable value when the special session meets. This Congress that will meet is not our Congress; it is a Congress of our enemies, the monopolists, the employers. And it won't be our

Congress until we have our own powerful Labor Party, and our Workers' Government. Our Congress would not have to be pressured into acting in the people's behalf. This Congress must be so pressured. And we ought therefore to use every instrument at our disposal, every issue, to exert that pressure.

With this special session, as with almost everything else, labor has an opportunity to demonstrate that it alone can lead the people, that it alone can put forward a meaningful program on prices and other issues. We can make the special session a portent of the future if we mobilize our strength for it, if we make our voices heard in organized fashion, if we plan militant labor-consumer activities, simultaneous with our pressure on the Congress, so that there will be no mistaking our wishes and our intent.

Another Cent

Last week we headlined the one-cent rise in the price of bread. That cent rise in bread was matched this week in the New York City area with a cent rise in the price of milk. A cent more for bread or milk is, in our opinion, a news item of major importance. The pressure of other material makes it impossible for us to feature this item this week, though we think it warrants it.

We want, however, to call attention to one specific aspect of this price rise. The milk companies claimed that the rise was caused by a wage increase granted drivers last week. The milk drivers' union, however, disagrees. The drivers say that a half-cent rise, at most, would have paid for the wage increase, if every bit of it was passed on to the consumer. The drivers cite the profits of the companies as highly enough to absorb the wage raise ENTIRELY.

The case speaks for itself.

New York WP Asks Voters To Uphold PR

By R. SAUNDERS

Proportional representation is the principal issue to be voted on in New York City on November 4. The old Tammany Hall politicians and the Democratic Party district leaders are exerting every effort to reinstitute the old method of councilmanic elections by State Senatorial districts. This election method assures the Democratic Party an almost automatic majority in the Council and doesn't permit even the rank and file members of the Democratic Party to vote for other than machine candidates.

Voting by proportional representation assures the voters in the entire borough of a far more democratic choice of candidates and provides the greatest possibility of minority parties getting representation on the Council in proportion to the total votes cast for their candidates. The old system would re-establish the outmoded State Senate allotment to boroughs which, at present permits one Senate district to cast twice as many votes as another. The Workers Party asks that you vote NO on Proposition No. 4.

The Workers Party asks its supporters to vote YES on Amendment No. 1. This amendment would permit the state to borrow \$400,000,000 to pay New York veterans a bonus. Although the reactionary State Legislature has limited the bonus to the inadequate sum of \$250 per veteran eligible for the maximum amount and has already decided to pay back the loan through a tax on cigarettes and other consumer items, it is important that we first see to it that the veterans get the bonus and fight during the next session of the Legislature to increase it and to repeal the method of taxation which forces the veterans and the general public to shoulder the burden of financing the bonus.

We propose taxing the big real estate interests which can well afford to pay. The argument that the amendment should be defeated because the bonus is a very small handout, and that veterans would prefer a more substantial increase in low cost housing, is fallacious. The Workers Party maintains that New York State can afford all of these things, including the bonus, without taxing the low and middle income groups. Instead of counterposing housing to the bonus, we propose to fight for both.

Vote YES on Amendment No. 2 to extend absentee voting rights. Vote NO on Amendment No. 3, which would permit the Legislature to fix the salaries of the legislators. Vote YES on Amendment No. 4 to provide an additional method of removing incompetent judges. Vote NO on Amendment No. 5 to create a new Judicial District. Vote YES on Amendment No. 6 to permit the state to construct new ski trails. Vote YES on Propositions 1, 2 and 3, which provide \$135,000,000 additional funds for low rent public housing in New York, increases the State subsidy from \$9,000,000 in any year to \$13,000,000 and permits the State to increase a yearly subsidy from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000.

We urge all our friends to vote on November 4, particularly to block the reactionary attempt to repeal PR.

The only candidate the Workers Party supports in this election is Robert Williams, running for State Senate in the twenty-third district. He is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party and is running on a program of transitional demands which we support.

He is the only revolutionary socialist candidate in this election. Although we have serious disagreements with the program of the Socialist Workers Party, we recognize that a vote for Robert Williams is a vote for socialism.

WORLD POLITICS

(Continued from page 1)

erate bourgeois parties to the party of the extreme Right. What of the parties which presume to represent the working class—the Socialist Party and, above all, the Stalinist party?

In Paris, revolutionary heart of France, de Gaulle defeated the combined Socialist and Stalinist votes. The Stalinists received 710,000 and the Socialists 196,000 votes—less than a majority of the Paris vote. The same trend is revealed throughout the country, in the first Sunday's elections in the larger cities. The Stalinists, contrary to widespread predictions (including that of this writer!) held their voting strength at 29.3 per cent of the total vote. The Socialist Party, in the large cities, continued its decline and registered a bare 14.3 per cent of the total. Most significant factor of all is that while the combined vote of the two parties represented 50 per cent of the voting population a bare two years ago, the combination has now dropped down to only 43.6 per cent. Not only has the Right consolidated its forces, but it has swung many hundreds of thousands of former leftist middle class voters over to its camp. The ability of the Stalinists to hold their popular vote, although there has been a sharp decline in Stalinist-held administrative posts, is clearly due to the continued and deepened economic drifting and stagnation of the nation.

FRANCE—A STALEMATED COUNTRY

Any analysis of the elections, then, must frankly admit a serious victory for France's consolidating reactionary forces. The aptly described Caesarian tendency of Charles de Gaulle has burst upon the scene in a startling, disturbing and dangerous fashion. That the French people themselves understand the significance of this is indicated by the preliminary results of the second Sunday's elections held in the small towns and communes of the nation. So sensitive to change and shock is the French nation that within the space of a week's time a reaction had set in against the threat of violence and civil war implicit in the early de Gaulle victory. A swing took place, but to the balance of power Socialist Party, rather than the Stalinists. The Socialists elected 15,500 councilmen—far ahead of both the de Gaulle and the Stalinists. No indication of the popular vote is available, but the de Gaulle RPF ran proportionally far behind its showing in the large cities. It is legitimate to draw certain conclusions from this sharp reaction.

France is a stalemated country—there probably has never been a great nation so completely stalemated, from a political and social point of view. Two vast wings of the population—the Rightist camp and the Stalinist camp—face each other, yet neither can make a move, for the time being. The Stalinists, for reasons we have often indicated, cannot move for power. The loose de Gaulle camp, held together on an anti-Stalinist basis, cannot precipitate civil war, despite its big talk. It has neither the forces nor the historic independence necessary to do so. Therefore? The likelihood is that the Socialist Party, together with weak remnants from the MRP and the Radical Socialists, will continue indefinitely to rule over France.

Every effort must be made, of course, to alert the

workers against any attempted move by de Gaulle reaction to mobilize for a coup de main, or to revamp the Constitution to smooth his path to power by "constitutional" and "legal" means. Unbridled fronts in defense of the workers' democratic institutions and unions are certainly in order. At the same time, the game of French Stalinism must be made clearer than ever. The typical Stalinist gangster happening of the election period, when Maurice Thorez struck a Socialist Party critic, should be played up to the fullest extent.

The role of American imperialism is clear in this situation. To carry out successfully the Marshall Plan, now fast becoming a reality, America must have full social peace in France. Neither de Gaulle nor Stalinism will permit this. A reluctant American government must, therefore, rely substantially upon the Socialist Party and hope that it can remain in power, acting as the wall separating the two camps while the economic functioning of the Marshall Plan are given the opportunity to do their expected work of reviving French economy.

A situation of a delicate balance thus exists, with the probability that it will be of long duration. While Stalinism held tight to its popular vote (without an increase, however), it has reached its peak and the decline has begun in the actual posts and administrative positions it holds.

THE ELECTIONS IN CEYLON

The barely noticed parliamentary elections in the distant island of Ceylon have produced one of the most remarkable revolutionary developments for many years. We refer to the amazing popular vote of about 500,000 received by the two Trotskyist parties of that country, the story of which was published in a recent issue of LABOR ACTION. This amounts to almost 25 per cent of the vote cast and places the Trotskyist movement of that country in leadership, so far as mass influence and working class popularity are concerned.

Despite our profound differences with the two Trotskyist tendencies of Ceylon, we wish to express our admiration and enthusiasm for the example they have given. The key to their success is undoubtedly the leadership they have given in their capacity to participate in the down-to-earth struggles of the island and their ability to appear before the Ceylonese people as leaders of the entire oppressed nation.

Most remarkable achievement of all was the campaign waged by Comrade Edmund Samarakody (Ceylon Unit, Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India) against D. S. Senanayake, leader of the Ceylonese capitalist class and Prime Minister of the government. In the Prime Minister's home constituency, a rural district of extensive landed estates and mahors, and against a highly organized voting machine (including use of bribery, thugs, terrorization of workers, etc.), Comrade Samarakody polled 10,773 votes against 26,700 to the winner. It should be emphasized that the party carried on its campaign in an open revolutionary socialist manner, and made no effort to conceal or water down its program to one of agrarian radicalism. These are revolutionary votes for parties deserving revolutionary support.

Inside Latin America

Attack on Labor Serves U.S.

By A. FERRARRA

The aims and interests of U. S. imperialism are being well served in the current drive against the Stalinist parties in Latin America. There is no doubt that Washington looks with approval upon the outlawing of the Stalinist party in Brazil; upon the expulsion of the Stalinists from the Chilean government a few months ago, and more recently, the sensational smashing of a Stalinist-led strike of 20,000 coal miners, as well as the wholesale arrest and detention in concentration camps of Stalinist trade-union functionaries; upon the wholesale arrest of Stalinist political and trade union functionaries now going on in Cuba; and upon the expulsion of the Stalinists from the Bolivian government.

As every school child knows, Latin America is an invaluable and irreplaceable source of such vital raw materials as tin, copper, oil, rubber, etc. In addition, Latin America disposes of a vast reservoir of manpower which can be tapped for military and industrial purposes. Latin American Stalinism, at the service of the Kremlin, represents an obstacle which can block U. S. imperialism's plan to exploit to the full all the rich resources Latin America commands, in the coming war with Russia. The attempt now being made to liquidate the Stalinist parties in Latin America, therefore, is an indispensable and integral part of U. S. imperialist preparations for the coming war.

This, however, is but one side of the coin. The Latin-American capitalists are serving not only the interests of their North American master, but their own predatory class interests as well. Under the guise of crushing the Stalinist parties, the various Latin-American regimes are unleashing a cruel offensive against their respective working-classes.

MASSES HARD PRESSED

With a relative slackening in American and world demand for their raw materials, and the inflationary rise in the price of those raw materials, food, and manufactured goods which they must import to sustain the national economy, the Latin American countries are caught in the grip of a full-blown post-war crisis. The Latin American ruling classes are intent on resolving the crisis at the expense of the masses, who are literally starving because wages cannot keep pace with the accelerated rise in the cost of living.

In this respect, Chile, where 20,000 miners recently went on strike for higher wages is a typical example. At the end of 1946 the cost of living since 1939 had gone up 300 per cent, according to the newsweekly, "Time Magazine," of December 16, 1946.

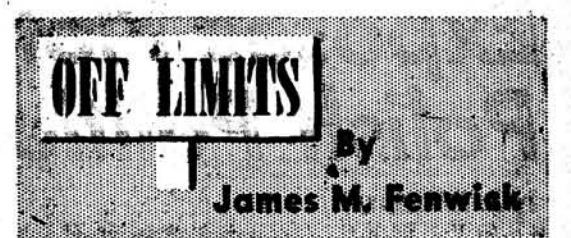
Another magazine, "World Report," states in its issue of September 7, 1947, that "Living costs in Chile are possibly the highest in Latin America. Supplies are short. Speculators hold commodities for extortionate prices. Farm laborers are unable to maintain even the subsistence level on which they usually have lived. Common laborers in the cities are starving and many of them have no shelter."

What is true of Chile is true of every other country in Latin America without exception.

STALIN'S ROLE

The economic misery and political disorientation of the masses in Latin America today, however, is not due solely to the rapaciousness of the native bourgeoisie and the economic dislocations which inevitably follow a war. The very same Stalinists who now shout to high heaven that the Latin American bourgeoisie are agents of Wall Street, yesterday made common cause with Varga and Dutra of Brazil, Videla of Chile, and Grau San Martin of Cuba.

In exchange for government posts and control of the trade-unions, in exchange for pro-Russian diplomatic gestures, the Stalinists energetically and faithfully served as agents for the native capitalists inside the trade-union movements, intimidating militants and preventing the working-class from striking off on an independent and militant path of struggle under favorable conditions. If, today,



HOW TO PREPARE A WAR

The Republican Party can quit worrying about a presidential candidate for the next election. We have found their man for them. We guarantee that he can hand out the same hokum to the American people as the present incumbent but with more brio and more imagination than Truman's Prendergast background permits.

Our man is Mr. Myriam Bowsler Franz, recently resident of Greenwich Village, New York City. Mr. Franz, pastor of the "First Church of the Aquarian Age, Inc.," is, unfortunately, currently not available for political activity. In fact, he is in jail.

Mr. Franz was arrested for practicing medicine without a license. "By manipulation of the big toe in connection with prayer and consultation of horoscopes," the New York Times informs us, "Franz attended his flock for infantile paralysis, sinusitis, muscular strains, hyperthyroidism, stomach cramps, headaches, neurosis and liver complaint."

It is obvious to us that a man who has made a fine living by such a simple device should have the opportunity to exercise his talents on a grander scale. Transferred to the national political arena, hokum like this would be transmuted into statesmanship of a high order of brilliance and originality.

We would like to see what he could do, for instance, with the current rather crude campaign in the United press exaggerating the strength of the Russian war machine. Armed Forces Talk, a propaganda booklet used in the education of U. S. troops, states this month that Russia is in a position to attack "in almost any direction, toward Europe, China, or by air across the Polar regions." The obvious implication is that Russia is capable now of prosecuting a full-scale war against the U. S. Kenneth C. Royah, Undersecretary of War for the Army, recently stated the same thing to graduates of the Command and General Staff College: "You must have definitely in mind at least the possibility of an immediate conflict."

Despite all the thunder and lightning in the press from both the United States and Russia, it is plain to any person with a rudimentary knowledge of military realities that Russia is in no position to wage war against the United States. Even before World War II, Russia's industrial potential was qualitatively and quantitatively inferior to that of the United States. The war delivered Russia blows from which she cannot possibly recover for many years. The United States emerged with her plant intact, and even expanded.

AN INKLING OF THE TRUTH

An article by Ansel E. Talbert, the aviation editor of the New York Herald Tribune, recently raised a sane voice amid the general hysteria. In a seriously analytical article he pointed out, among other facts, that in a field so decisive in modern warfare as long-range bombing, Russian development is backward in comparison with U. S. standards. The actual and potential advantage enjoyed by the United States in atomic bombs, guided missiles, aircraft and all other types of war material need not be dwelled upon.

The Review of Economic Statistics published by Harvard University will shortly publish an analysis of the notoriously limber Russian statistics. The aim is to deflate the glowing reports on production issuing from Russia itself and "many misconceptions about Russian industrial growth given currency in official reports by other governments and in private studies." One set of figures from the report will suffice to show the comparative economic strength of Russia and the U. S.: in 1940 the Russian gross national product was \$32,250,000,000; the figure for the same year for the U. S. was \$100,000,000,000.

That after stunning defeats in World War II Russia was able to emerge a victor was due to her industrial plant, geography, lend-lease and powerful allies. In the next war she will have no lend-lease and few and feeble allies.

The unvarnished truth is that Russia does not want war with the U. S. now or in the near future. This does not prevent her, of course, from squeezing every ounce of economic, political and military advantage from neighboring countries, short of precipitating the terrible conflict itself. In the meantime, her economy and her people are being wracked by military preparations which consume one-third of the national product.

Using as motivation the undeniable fact that the possession of such a total weapon as the atomic bomb places a high premium upon the initial assault, the present indiscriminate propaganda campaign has as its aim the preparation of a preventive war against Russian imperialism. "Manufacturers of ordnance equipment," said the New York Times last June, "are standing by ready to meet government demands for increased or altered production . . . because recent events in Washington have convinced them that larger demands upon their facilities may be made within the quarter."

They ought to know. It's their government.

WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member.

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Exposes Plot to Capture Polish Political Emigration

By A. RUDZIENSKI

In line with the increasing offensive of international reaction, we witness the growing arrogance of the Polish right wing. The most representative party of the Polish bourgeoisie, the National Democracy, has played a very sad role in Polish history. Founded in the post-positivist period, it countered the revolutionary program of Polish socialism with its slogan of capitulation to Czarism and the autonomy of Poland under the sceptre of the "Czar of all the Russians."

This party proclaimed its anti-Semitic program and organized the first pogroms together with the "Black Hundreds" of the Czar. It formed its yellow unions which played the part of strike-breakers in the revolution of 1905-06. It collaborated with Czarism in all the reactionary "Dumas" (Russian pre-revolutionary parliament). In the First World War this party proclaimed its loyalty to the Czar and its collaboration in the "Slavic" offensive against the Germans. In the independent republic, the National Democracy, with Pilsudski's help, liquidated the popular government of Lublin, presided over by the Social-Democrat, Daszynski, which laid the foundation of bourgeois democracy and the social rights of the proletariat.

The coalition of this party with the Peasant Right undermined the bases of democracy in Poland, clearing the way for Pilsudski's bonapartist coup in 1927 and the regime of the Colonels. The National Democracy was to be found in opposition on the Right against Pilsudski, ceaselessly combatting his regime. Its youth movement, "Revolutionary Nationalists," organized the university ghettos, the anti-Semitic pogroms, and anti-working class actions.

COUP D'ETAT CAPTURES GOVERNMENT

When in 1939, the regime of the Colonels, Pilsudski's heirs, was shattered by Hitler's blows, a coalition government was formed in France, over which Sikorski presided with the support of the National Democracy, the Peasants, and the Social-Democrats, that is to say, the entire anti-totalitarian opposition. In the interests of clarity, it must be stated that only the moderate wing of the National Democrats supported the government-in-exile, the fascist group, ONR (Bielecki's nationalist revolutionary organization) remaining in open opposition. When Sikorski died, governmental responsibility passed to the left-center, to Mikolajczyk's party and the PPS (Polish Socialist Party), with the National Democracy playing a minor role. When Mikolajczyk vacillated in his attitude toward Stalin in the days after the Warsaw uprising, the leadership of the government passed into the hands of the Social-Democrats whose attitude toward Stalin was uncompromising, with Tomas Arciszewski as Prime Minister. At that time the right wing accepted Arciszewski's nomination as the future president of Poland, as indicated in the official documents which were published at the time, signed by the President and the Parliament-in-exile. Arciszewski was the standard bearer of the Polish resistance against the Nazis, and of the Warsaw insurrection.

A few months ago, Poland's President-in-exile, Raczekiewicz, became very ill. During periods when Parliament does not function or in state of war, the President is empowered to designate his successor. The Right took advantage of Raczekiewicz's illness in order to seize political leadership of the Polish emigration. Under the pressure of the National Democracy, Raczekiewicz revoked his previous decision of 1944, and passing over the resolutions of the Parliament-in-exile and the Polish Underground, named as his successor Augusto Zaleski, spokesman for the Right, in-

stead of the Socialist, Arciszewski, as had been resolved. When the PPS voiced its objections to this maneuver, Arciszewski was compelled to resign as Prime Minister. With the support of the right wing, of General Anders, and of the governmental officials, a new government was formed, presided over by General Bor, hero of Warsaw.

Surely this coup d'etat of the Polish Right has international inspiration. The Right is preparing to surrender the policy of national independence to a capitalism and imperialism which is preparing for the war against Russia. This would signify a new movement of resistance against Russia, new uprisings in Poland, and new sufferings for the Polish people in the service of capitalism and under the banner of capitalist restoration.

"DEMOCRATIC CONCENTRATION" FORMED

The PPS was compelled to leave the political coalition of the government-in-exile. And as no populist party belongs to this government, it consists of the right-wing parties only (National Democracy and Christian Democrats) and the army, or more accurately speaking, of the body of Rightist officials. When leaving the governmental coalition, the PPS declared that "it is necessary to seek new bases for Polish political life in exile," and for the struggle for the national and social emancipation of Poland. As a consequence of this resolution, a "Democratic Concentration" was formed in England to which the following parties adhere: the PPS-in-exile (Social-Democrats led by Kwapiński, Ciolkosz, Zaremba, etc.), the Populist Party, "Freedom," which is opposed to Mikolajczyk's attitude toward Russia, the Democratic Party and the Labor Party. In spite of the fact that the latter three parties do not constitute major political forces, the political weight of the PPS is enormous, and consequently the "Democratic Concentration" of the Polish Emigration is a real force, which opposes not only the Stalinist reaction in Poland, but the Rightist reaction and capitalist restoration as well.

With all its vacillations and lack of consistency, the "Democratic Concentration" represents a new stage in the life of the democratic anti-Stalinist opposition in Poland. The Polish proletariat constitutes the base of this opposition. The strikes in Poland represent not only support for this force but indirectly (perhaps directly as well) stem from it. The deputy, Zulawski, the only independent Socialist in the Warsaw Parliament, is the standard bearer of this tendency inside the country. His popularity is so great that the GPU does not, for the moment, dare to "destroy him," to use the official Soviet term.

In relation to Mikolajczyk's peasant opposition, this movement, led by the PPS and sustained by the proletariat, represents a step forward, since in its front ranks stand the Polish workers of the industrial centers, disillusioned with Stalinist politics. Stalinism is panic-stricken before this opposition, fearing it much more than Mikolajczyk's peasant opposition, and for this reason persecutes the activists of the WRN (Freedom, Equality and Independence), intransigent underground group of the PPS.

SOCIALIST TASKS IN POLAND

The task of revolutionary Marxists in Poland is to point out to this complex movement the only road to liberation: the road of the socialist revolution over the corpse of Stalinism.

In order to liberate the Polish people, it is necessary to destroy not only Stalinism and Russian imperialism, but capitalism and Anglo-American imperialism as well. Against Stalin and against Truman. Against the imperialist war and against collaboration with the Stalinists or with the capitalists. Against the Warsaw government and against

MIKOLAJCZYK REPORTED IN FLIGHT FROM POLAND

By ABE STEIN

The Warsaw Quisling government has announced the "disappearance" of Stanley Mikolajczyk, leader of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL). According to the Warsaw Stalinists, Mikolajczyk, along with two other leading PSL officials, "escaped" from Poland about a week ago. If this statement is true, then the Stalinists have completed the conquest of one more objective in their drive to liquidate the democratic and socialist opposition inside the country. The Peasant Party will now be inundated by a host of Stalinist agents, and pushed into the pro-government bloc of shadow parties created by the Stalinists to perpetuate the fiction that the regime has popular mass support. It is significant that the news of Mikolajczyk's "disappearance" was reported to the puppet premier, Cyrankiewicz, by two leading members of the pro-government wing of the Peasant Party.

While it is impossible to establish as yet exactly what has happened to Mikolajczyk, whether he has really left Poland or has been arrested by the Stalinists, as was expected, there are no question marks about the consequences of Mikolajczyk's departure from the political arena. Having definitively liquidated the Peasant Party opposition, the Stalinists will now turn all their energies toward destroying the Polish Socialist Party opposition (PPS), which has the support of the Polish workers. As the readers of LABOR ACTION know, the Stalinists have already begun their criminal activities by arresting and holding for trial before military tribunals a large group of outstanding PPS leaders. However, they have not yet arrested the outstanding leader and fighter, Zulawski, who carries on the fight against the Stalinists in the Warsaw Parliament all by himself. Sooner or later, Zulawski and his collaborators will suffer the fate of the arrested PPS and working-class leaders. There is no doubt that the arrest and trial of these opposition elements is the preparation for a complete sweep of the entire working-class and socialist opposition.

the Rightist reaction in exile. Under the banner of Rosa Luxemburg, for a worker-farmer government for a Socialist Poland in Socialist Europe. This is the policy of the Socialist Third Front.

To bring about this new state of affairs in which the Polish proletariat and the European proletariat as well will stand in direct opposition to Stalinism and capitalism, it is necessary to give support to the democratic anti-Stalinist opposition of the workers and peasants, until this opposition develops beyond the democratic phase and turns toward the victorious socialist revolution.

*The Positivists were bourgeois ideologists who came to the forefront after the defeat of the Polish insurrection of 1863. They counterposed the program of developing the country's industrial resources to the socialist program of revolutionary struggle against Czarism. (Tr. note.)

**We use the slogan "the banner of Rosa Luxemburg" not in order to counterpose it to the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, but as the opposite of the "banner of Stalin," hated by the workers and the Polish people in general. The banner of Rosa Luxemburg signifies the old program and the old tradition of revolutionary socialism in Poland as represented by the SDKPL (Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania), opposed to the reformist and social-patriotism of the old PPS of Pilsudski. (A.R.)

Movie Probing Bigots Would Outlaw Freedom of Thought

By CARL DAVIS

The House Un-American Activities Committee, headed by Chairman J. Parnell Thomas, reactionary Republican from New Jersey, and vulgar publicity hound, is in the midst of its current investigation of "communist infiltration" in the movie industry. In the tradition set down by its former chairmen, Martin Dies and John Rankin, these new hearings are a vicious attack on ordinary democratic procedures.

The hearings are widely publicized. Special effects are produced by newsreels and a large coverage by the press. Chairman Thomas runs the hearings in the manner of a lodge potentate. Witnesses are called up with advance publicity and prepared comments and charges. These "witnesses" are permitted to make any statement that comes into their heads without cross-examination. The people accused have no right to challenge the statements made by witnesses. Thus the smear tactics of the House Un-American Activities Committee continues as one of the most ludicrous, and at the same time, one of the most dangerous manifestations of the reactionary wave in this country.

As readers of LABOR ACTION know, we hold no brief whatever for the Stalinists. We regard them as the "syphilis of the labor movement"; Stalin's American representatives are only capable of doing harm to the working class.

Nor is there any doubt in our minds that Hans Eisler, John Howard Lawson, Donald Ogden Stewart and others are Stalinists or Stalinist fellow travelers. It does not matter whether they actually hold party cards; it does matter that they represent Stalinist ideology which, in its essence, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary. But saying that in no way justifies the vicious, irresponsible witchhunt in Washington.

WOULD OUTLAW FREEDOM

The aim of the hearings is to outlaw freedom of thought and to create a censorship which, while it may begin against the Communist Party would spread like a prairie fire against the entire labor movement and genuine socialists. The whole atmosphere under Thomas' guidance reeks of reaction. Every progressive thought and act is denounced by the method pursued in the hearings.

Recall the list of witnesses: Adolphe Menjou, the Hollywood clothes horse passing himself off as an "expert" in Marxism and "Stalinism," to which he has devoted twenty years study; His testimony confirmed that, beneath an assumed democratic coloration, was a good bayer of totalitarian thought, as revealed in his statement that Texas would take care of all communists by shooting them before they could get started. One must understand that Menjou, like his co-witnesses and the House Committee, in referring to the "communists," have in mind not Stalinism as a distinctive anti-socialist movement, but revolutionary socialism which they falsely attribute to Stalinism.

Handsome Robert Taylor caused a sensation by his presence, not for anything he said, but by his "beauty" which provoked sighs in many a lady. He affirmed, too, that he believed there were many "communists" in Hollywood. But he couldn't really name them; he really didn't know. But thought there were such by their demeanor.

Ginger Rogers' mother, Adele, who believes herself a "political person" gave some wild and hysterical testimony of the "under the bed" variety, even denouncing a play as "communist" though she had never seen or read it.

And then, in a different and more sober vein, came three Hollywood trade unionists, Robert Montgomery, Ronald Reagan and George Murphy, Screen Actors' Guild leaders, who insisted that the union is not communist, but that there is a well-organized minority that could be termed "communist." Their testimony was clearly at cross-purposes with the desires of the Committee.

Then, of course, came Oliver Carlson, former CPer, Trotskyist, etc., and now contributor to the New Leader, who presented some testimony, the importance of which nobody has yet made out. We doubt that Carlson himself has discovered anything startling in what he related to the Committee.

REVEALS IMMORALITY

One thing the hearings did bring out: the utter immorality of the industry and its politics. This was revealed in the discussion on whether Hollywood produced pro-Russian pictures. Two were cited and made up the discussion. One was that vicious, lying picture called "Mission to Moscow," based on Ambassador Davies' fantasy on Russia and Stalin, which served as an apology for the Moscow Trials. The book revealed that Davies, in his great ignorance, was played the dupe.

Hollywood made a dreadful and dreary movie of the book and it served to justify the pact with Hitler and the Moscow Trials. Why did Hollywood film the book? According to Jack Warner, who apparently put ideas and movies on lend-lease, it was to prevent Stalin's surrender to Hitler in the tough days preceding

Stalingrad. Did he know it was a lie from beginning to end? Yes, but he did it to help along the war effort!

So, it becomes clear in the hearings, that much that was done in those days was because of the war effort and the necessity of tightening up the home front behind the rotten imperialist war.

It is only because of the present international political situation that the hearings take the form that they do. And what they reveal is that Hollywood, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, conforms to the larger needs of American imperialism, as expressed in the changing and developing policies of the State Department.

This is one aspect of the case. Another is the utterly reactionary policy of the investigators who are searching out "un-American ideas" in movies. By that they mean any movie which may denounce anti-Semitism, scabbing, profiteering, Jim Crow, or advocates such things as government housing, public power developments, etc.

COUNTER-CAMPAIGN

But the hearings are getting out of hand. The producers who approached the hearings with mixed feelings, thinking they could go along with the House Committee, are fearful of the trend: complete censorship of the movies and control, directly and indirectly. They have now replied to Thomas through their special counsel, Paul V. McNutt, who has denounced the hearings and the meth-

ods employed.

Various groups of film stars have also organized a counter-campaign against the hearings, deploring the methods and warning of the danger not only to the freedom of thought, but to art and culture in general. There is a question of civil liberties involved in an important and decisive way. For what is meeting in Washington is a Kangaroo court.

As a method of fighting Stalinism, the Washington hearings are ridiculous. In the general hysteria, it provides sympathy for them among large circles of the population. It is difficult for the erstwhile bed-fellows of the Stalinists now to open up an attack on them. Those people who hailed the Davies' book and made a motion picture of it, those who suppressed Trotsky's biography of Stalin during the long years of the war and refused to print Barmine's story of his break with Stalinism, can hardly be expected to conduct an effective struggle against Stalinism.

The way to defeat Stalinism is by a superior set of ideas and program, by a greater and more effective struggle on behalf of the working class and the people at large. And this can be done best only by the revolutionary socialists. If anything, the hearings in Washington prove that.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the evil of the hearings in Washington or to call it "absurd" and a circus. It is a circus; but it is a very dangerous one.

Stalinists in CIO Council Get Vote To Back Jefferies

By HERMAN BENSON

DETROIT—They did it!—the miserable political bankrupts and reactionary Stalinists who, sad to relate, control the Wayne County Council and PAC of the CIO (Detroit). At the last meeting of the Council, without warning to the delegates, and after carefully packing the meeting with close followers of the Communist Party, the Council officials introduced a motion TO SUPPORT JEFFRIES IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS against Van Antwerp. This motion was passed by a vote of about 60-30.

It was a "slander," said these flip-flop fakers, when LABOR ACTION and the members of the Workers Party accused them of giving passive support to Jefferies in the recent primary elections. But now, Nat Ganley, National Committee member of the CP, explains in detail to his supporters in the Council who listened in stunned silence, how natural and clever it is to support the lesser evil, Jefferies.

But the endorsement of Jefferies is not an "unqualified" one. Oh, no! How could it be? Jefferies has publicly denounced unions as "dictatorial"; his police shot scores of Negroes during the 1943 riots; he believes in racial segregation and Jim Crow and says so publicly. He closes his eyes to the housing emergency. No, let's face it; this man is not perfect. Fascist and union-baiting elements have always rallied to his support. Facts are facts. We must punish him for this record; we will support him but not unqualifiedly.

But why support him at all? Well, you see—the pitiful, belly-crawling officials and the disorganizing Stalinists tell us—his opponent has an anti-labor record. Now that is true, we grant it. But hasn't Jefferies the same kind of record?

Yes and no, they tell us. In the last two years, says Yale Stuart, Stalinist chieftain, Jefferies has had a change of heart. He hasn't been terribly, terribly anti-labor.

We are therefore faced with this choice: shall we support Van Antwerp, who is very, very anti-labor? Or shall we support Jefferies, who is anti-labor, but not so very, very? The answer is simple. The lesser evil is the man who is only anti-labor.

After all, Jefferies' police have not shot and killed any Negroes... lately. His police haven't sent any pickets to the hospital... lately. He hasn't come out openly for racial segregation... lately. Of course, it is true that he did protect scabs in the garage strike and the telephone strike. The police did club Peter Upper, vice-president of Local 212 and chain him to his hospital bed. The police have beaten Negroes recently who protested discrimination in bars. But let us be realists. The habits developed over years and years are not so easily broken, even by a mayor who has had a "change of heart."

This is the latest and most abject degradation of official CIO political policy. The policy of support to "friends of labor" of lesser evils, has its natural and inevitable result. Support Jim Crow, anti-labor, strike-breaking politicians, if only they are "lesser evils." Does this sound extreme? It is not. Aren't the highest of the high among the labor officialdom preparing to support Truman in '48 as a "lesser evil"? And isn't Truman the breaker of the mine strikes and the railroad strikes?

And we haven't seen to what depths they can take us. This going from bad to worse will continue until a new political policy is adopted by the labor movement.

Reuther Files Suit Against Slanderers--

(Continued from page 1)

"b. Plaintiff alleges investigation discloses that the submission to a handwriting expert was made by one Bert Cochran, Park Avenue Hotel, Detroit, Mich., at one time an associate of Homer Martin, discredited former president of the UAW-CIO, and that said expert was not given an original, but a photostatic copy, of the purported bulletin reproduced in FDR, together with what purported to be documents on which other signatures of the aforesaid Gerald L. K. Smith appeared.

"c. Plaintiff alleges that said photostat was photographed from a 'montage' or 'paste-up' of a bulletin prepared by defendant and his associates, upon which was superimposed a signature of Gerald L. K. Smith removed for that purpose from a document signed by him.

"9. Plaintiff further alleges that if said bulletin was actually prepared and signed by the aforesaid Gerald L. K. Smith, as represented by the aforesaid defendant, and he denies such to be the case, it was prepared as a result of a conspiracy between this defendant, his associates and the aforesaid Gerald L. K. Smith to discredit this plaintiff. Such conspiracy, plaintiff alleges, was entered into in an attempt to weaken and divide the UAW-CIO and the labor movement by undermining the confidence of the membership in this plaintiff, the president of the UAW-CIO."

PLANTED TAFT ITEM

With respect to the Taft business, the brief alleges that "these groups are also responsible for and have disseminated false rumors, which have appeared on the press and on the radio during the past week to the effect that this plaintiff is being sponsored as candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States in association with a presidential candidate whose views on economic and political matters are anathema to this plaintiff. This candidate, who is responsible for the passage of a pernicious anti-labor law, is a representative of reactionary interests."

As LABOR ACTION has previously reported, a press agent was hired, allegedly by the Addees-Stalinist forces, to promote Reuther on a Taft

ticket. This item was planted in a Drew Pearson news broadcast. LABOR ACTION has a copy of a press release sent out by P. H. Morris & Associates, at 211 W. Wacker Dr., Room 1120, which proposes a National Unity Ticket of Taft and Reuther. It is clearly a framed piece of shady business. (A report has been brought to our attention that Morris & Associates are employed by a Mr. Campbell, a District 50 UMW attorney, presumably collaborating with the Addees-Thomas group.)

Similarly, we have at hand several leaflets issued by the Addees-Thomas-Leonard caucus which refer to the Drew Pearson broadcast and pretend to make much of the fact that Reuther yelled "liar" but that Taft said nothing. The leaflet very "cleverly" says that the writers do not know if the report is true (though the report is alleged to have started with the

Local 86 Vote a Warning

By FAY NELSON and SIDNEY CARTER

AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 20.—Walter Turek, President, and O. D. Donella, Chairman of the negotiating committee of Local 86 UAW-CIO, running as representatives of the Reuther Caucus, were defeated in this recent election for delegates to the UAW Convention. Elected were R. F. Murphy, former President whom Turek had defeated in the last Local election, and John B. Drillion. Murphy and Drillion ran on the slate of the right wing Caucus. This right wing caucus is backed in a round-about fashion by Richard Reisinger, Director of Region 2 and member of the Thomas-Addees-Communist Party group in the International. He supports it through the active participation of one of his International Representatives, William Fowler.

Fowler, former Vice-President of Local 86 and allegedly a Stalinist fellow-traveler, is the leading figure in the right wing caucus. This same Fowler was active at the beginning of the war in an abortive frame-up against another officer of the Local; a frame-up which many of the participants have since admitted was worked in collaboration with the FBI in their drive to put all union militants who weren't super-patriots of the Fowler-Communist Party type into the armed forces.

Fowler, while playing a leading role in the right wing caucus, has not organized them officially around the program of the Thomas-Addees-Stalinist bloc. His main concern, like all petty bureaucrats, is to insure

support of Reisinger as Director of Region 2 and thereby to insure his own job. Indicative of this is his campaigning around the union hall on election day, according to reports from several members of the local, by telling people that if Turek and Donella were elected he would lose his job. Consequently, while Murphy and Drillion are undoubtedly pledged to support Reisinger, they publicly deny that they are pledged to support R. J. Thomas.

REUTHER CAUCUS PROGRAM

It is interesting to note that the only thing in the program of the Reuther Caucus, as listed on their slate, which caused a ripple in the ranks of that caucus was the sentence, "Against Communism and Fascism and all forms of Totalitarianism." This sentence, copied word for word from the national leaflet of the Reuther Caucus, in no way distinguishes itself from the usual formulation of red-baiters. It identifies communism with Stalinism, an identification deliberately fostered in the minds of the workers by the boss press. And then, in addition to identifying communism and Stalinism, it identifies them both with fascism and so confuses workers on these vital issues as to hamper the workers' fight against both fascism and Stalinism.

Stalinism in America masquerades under the title of the Communist Party. The Communist Party has nothing in common with communism. Russia has nothing in common with communism. There is more communism in the little finger of the average

writers of the leaflet), but goes on to "demonstrate" why there is reason to believe that Reuther and Taft could get together. UAW militants, of course, bought none of this, and the whole thing smacked so palpably of frameup that it worked against its inventors.

Whatever happens in the court, the charges are certain to be aired at the convention and a verdict rendered there.

steward in the UAW than there is in the whole of the Communist Party and Russia. The Communist Party acts in the UAW, as in all unions, according to what will best serve the totalitarian interests of Russia.

For example: When Stalin and Hitler were partners they were shouting inside the UAW and all other unions that this was an imperialist war. When Hitler attacked Stalin, they suddenly flip-flopped and began to shout that this was a war for democracy and a war against fascism. The Communist Party was then actively for speed-up in the shops and against any and all strikes, no matter how justified. All this because it was in the interests of Russian imperialism, with absolutely no regard for the welfare of the American workers.

To identify this sort of anti-working class party with communism, whose whole purpose is to raise the workers from privation and want to position of plenty, security and comfort, is a crime which represents a real danger in the Reuther Caucus.

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