

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

# LABOR ACTION

JULY 26, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## VOTE SOCIALIST! FORM LABOR'S PARTY! Special Session Promises Gabfest, No Action

### CP Machine Set to Make Control Main Behind-Scene Issue at Wallace Conclave

By JACK BRAD

The Wallace-Stalinist Party holds its convention this week in Philadelphia. Problems of program, on which there are many differences, or of the selection of candidates, will not in all likelihood disturb the convention's proceedings. It is very likely that the primary problem of the convention will never even reach the floor except possibly in some disguised or oblique form: that is, the question of party control.

The Stalinist party can adapt itself to any program. It will hardly fight over differences, despite its criticism of Wallace's ideology in the party's internal bulletins and resolutions.

Thus the May 1948 issue of Political Affairs, Communist Party organizational magazine, describes Wallace's labor and economic program as "absurd on the face of it" (page 409). Surely a man's program for labor and for the American economy is important enough to debate openly; yet this will probably not happen. Similarly on Wallace's opposition to lifting the embargo on arms to Israel as stated in his Los Angeles speech of June 5 (quoted in PM and detailed in full in LABOR ACTION) and point 2 of his open letter to Stalin. The New York American Labor Party and the CP are for lifting the embargo.

These are only two of many crucial political questions. It is doubtful in the extreme if these matters will become issues. For so long as Wallace remains the public spokesman for a new Munich with Russia and continues his full support of central Stalinist policy (as in his latest book, Toward World Peace), he fulfills the necessary requirements for Stalinist support and all else can go by the board. With one other important provision—that he does not balk at CP domination of his party. And there lies the rub.

Nor is the matter of candidates in doubt. As long ago as July, 1945, Jacques Duclos, leader of the French CP, gave his special blessing to Wallace as the man who could lead the fight against "monopoly and fascism" (Political Affairs, July 1945). Since the Stalinists are in full control of the convention, and since they are supporting Wallace and Taylor, that matter is settled. With amazing crassness, the convention agenda schedules the nomination of Wallace and Taylor on Saturday and the adoption of the program a day later. No other party

### WP Opens Petition Campaign To Place Geltman on Ballot

The Workers Party congressional election campaign will get under way on Monday, July 26, as friends and members of the WP begin circulating petitions in the Lower East Side 19th Congressional District.

All friends of LABOR ACTION and of the Workers Party who possibly can do so should come to the City Office at 114 West 14th Street to take petitions.

Object of this campaign is to get 6,000 signatures on the nominating petition to put the name of Emanuel Geltman on the ballot. Comrade Geltman is the editor of LABOR ACTION. His articles have appeared in LABOR ACTION since the founding of the Workers Party in 1940, under the pen name of Emanuel Garrett. He has been a militant fighter in the Socialist and Labor movement for over 20 years.

With the world under the lengthening shadow of atomic war the Workers Party in New York has determined that the voice of socialist working class solidarity shall be heard this year against the war mon-

would dare to separate leadership from program so openly.

#### BEHIND-THE-SCENES STRUGGLE

This will be a controlled convention then. Program and candidates are known in advance. Program differences will be ignored or generalized out of existence under the heading of such desirable abstractions as "Peace, Freedom, and Security." This will be a far less democratic convention than the Democratic or Republican. There will not be factions fighting over serious matters. It will, in all probability, not be a convention, but a political rally to ratify formulae already decided upon in closed committee rooms of the CP steering committee.

Nevertheless, the road will not be a smooth one, even though the convention, on the surface, may appear unified. For a serious struggle for control is taking place in the New Party between Wallace and the Stalinists. Whether or not this decisive matter will reach the convention floor is doubtful since neither side can afford a break at this moment. The struggle over control will, nevertheless, be the real convention issue, the decisive one, the one to be decided in the closed and secret conferences between Wallace and the CP representatives, the issue which alone will determine the fate of the party.

For a long time there have been signs of growing differences between Wallace and the Stalinists. Two weeks ago, in New Hampshire, Wallace stated, "If the Communists would run a ticket of their own this year, we might lose 100,000 votes but we would

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### Israeli Gains Prompt New Bernadotte "Cease-Fire" Order

Jewish Rightist Government Takes Step Backward in Relations With Palestinian Arabs Within Own Borders

By AL FINDLEY

The end of the thirty-day truce in Palestine on July 9, has been followed by two important developments. One was the Jewish offensive that captured Ramallah, Lydda, Tira and other strategic towns. Second—the passage by the UN, not of a new and extended truce, but of a permanent cease fire order, until a settlement is reached.

The military situation since the middle of April has steadily been shifting in favor of the Israeli forces. It was the change that caused the U. S. to return to its earlier position in support of partition and led to the recognition of Israel by Truman. The

Today, in a year when the nation will choose its President and political leaders for one of the most crucial periods that it has ever faced, the labor movement is confronted with what is apparently a disastrous political setback—but what is really an immense opportunity.

Labor faces the 1948 presidential election with no candidate of its own, with no party of its own, in actuality without even a political policy of its own.

The line of political action which it has followed for decades, never more vigorously than in the last sixteen years, has blown up in its face with the nomination of Truman and Dewey by the old capitalist parties.

It makes no difference whether some or most or all of the official labor leadership decide to hold their nose and plump for Truman anyway, caught in the trap of their own oft-repeated theory that it is "practical politics" to support the "lesser evil" no matter how evil it be.

#### THE END OF A ROAD

There can scarcely be a thinking worker or union militant in the country who does not know that this is the end of a road.

After all these years of attempting to build a "liberal," "pro-labor" wing in the Democratic Party—after all the hard work and sacrifice and PAC dollars which have been poured into this fruitless effort, the labor movement emerges with . . . NOTHING.

More exactly, it emerges with the choice between a Dewey and a Truman, between the representative of Republican reaction and big business, and the little man who brought government strike-breaking by injunction back to America.

We have insisted before this that the CIO-AFL policy of supporting capitalist politicians, who owe no allegiance to labor, can only lead to a blind alley.

While the Great Depression was still raging, and while Roosevelt was extending his left hand to labor in a desperate tacking and veering to hold the declining economic system of capitalism together, the labor leaders felt they were "getting somewhere." We can now see just where they were getting.

So disgraceful has been the debacle of official CIO-AFL politics in 1948 that these "practical" labor politicians could not find a single candidate around whom to rally even for a continuation of their blind-alley policy.

Lowest point in labor and liberal politics was reached a while back when trade-union leaders (and Americans for Democratic Action) joined with the Southern crackers, Boss Hague and the other city machines to plug the candidacy of a four-

accelerating rate of military superiority by Israel had also shifted British plans. The British had hoped for a stalemate that would give them the opportunity of making a settlement in favor of their puppet, King Abdullah of Transjordan. The shift in military strength has led Britain to change to diplomacy to achieve this end. The ill-fated Bernadotte plan had its inspiration in 10 Downing Street. British insistence now on peace, is of a kind with its sudden insistence on "order" in the last weeks of the mandate in an attempt to save Jaffa for the Arabs.

The Bernadotte plan would have given Abdullah all of Arab Palestine, Jerusalem, and part of the Negev in return for part of Western Galilee. In addition, it would have limited Jewish immigration after two years and provided for some sort of Common Council of the greater Transjordan and Israel to administer an economic union and other common interests—possibly defense, foreign policy, etc.

The only gainer in this diplomatic maneuver was obviously Abdullah and his sponsors, the British. The British and Abdullah were therefore in favor of continuing the truce. The

other Arab countries and Egypt in particular were to be left out in the cold. The extension of the truce broke down with the beginning of an Egyptian offensive.

The end of the truce and the contents of the Bernadotte plan were the direct causes for the proclamation by the Arab League of a new All-Palestine government, composed of members of the Mufti's family, but minus the Mufti. This new administration was to replace the local administrative set up by the various invading armies. How it would exert authority as against the armies was not made clear. Announced on Friday, the new government was annulled on Saturday, under Abdullah's pressure. A new statement was issued, reducing the government to a liaison committee between the local populations and the armies.

In the Security Council the British joined the U. S. in supporting the demand for a cease fire. They also applied pressure in the form of withholding subsidies, threatened resignation of Glub Pasha, etc. In return, the U. S. gave its full support to those terms of the original truce that limited Jewish immigration and kept the embargo on arms to the victims of

Arab aggression. This was done on President Truman's orders, at the same time that Harry S. Truman was hailing the Democratic platform which calls for lifting the embargo on Israel.

The U. S. resolution adopted by the UN, "orders" both sides, aggressor and attacked alike, to stop fighting within 24 hours in Jerusalem, and within three days in all of Palestine. Failure to obey will be punished under Chapter 7 of the UN charter, providing for diplomatic, economic and possibly military sanctions. It

continues the terms of the old truce and gives the mediator full power to make any settlement. The Russians abstained because they opposed the powers given the mediator whose plans favor Abdullah. The proposal of a new UN cease-fire order met with divided council among the Arabs. The British and Abdullah urged its complete acceptance. Abdullah promptly accepted that portion that called for cessation of fire in Jerusalem.

At the last moment, the rest of the

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Workers Party calls for Socialist protest vote in presidential race—against Truman, Dewey, Wallace; advocates labor take first steps toward forming Labor Party by calling national conference of unions immediately.

general whose views on labor or any other social question were completely unknown—except that he supported the draft, universal military training and a Jim Crow army; of whom it was not even known whether he was a Democrat or a Republican; and who finally kicked them all in the face anyway.

For years these "practical" strategists have been arguing: We cannot afford to split from the Democratic Party, lest the Republican reactionaries get in. Now—it will take a heavy dose of either hypocrisy or stupidity for any of them to pretend that there is much of a choice between the one or the other.

#### THE WALLACE-STALINIST PARTY

Meanwhile a split has taken place from the Democratic Party, in the form of the Wallace movement. We are as firmly opposed to this creature of the Stalinists as we are to the old capitalist parties. But this should not blind us to the following FACT:

The mere existence of the Wallace-Stalinist third party has exerted stronger pressure on the Democrats from the "outside" than the whole labor movement has been able to do from the "inside."

The big-city Democratic machines have made no secret of the fact, for example, that they were for even considering Douglas for the presidential and vice-presidential nominations only in order to counter Wallace strength on a local scale, even though they had little or no hope of actually electing him.

And this is true in spite of the Stalinist taint of which the third party reeks; in spite of Wallace's own crackpotism; in spite of his lack of labor support!

#### TIME WE FORMED OUR OWN PARTY

Workers need only ask themselves: Suppose we had our own party in the field, based on our trade unions, capable of expressing the interests of all the little people, backed by the power of the greatest labor movement in the world, with no leading strings to either Rockefeller, Pendegast

and Hague, or the Stalinists—. We could give them a run for their money in 1948, and then—"

But labor has no candidate of its own. It is only in a blind alley, it has bumped its nose against the stone wall at the end and bids fair to be ruefully rubbing it until November.

And this eye-opening shock has not occurred because labor has grown weaker. Far from it! Organized labor has steadily grown in strength and in political consciousness.

This has occurred because labor's leaders have been following the wild-eyed utopian, visionary dream of reforming the Democratic swamp and "capturing" it!

It is time to become practical about independent labor politics!

It is time that we of labor's millions formed a party of our own—a Labor Party, separate from and independent of the old parties, based on the political strength of the men massed in the plants, on the assembly lines, in the mines and mills, on the land—one that belongs to us and is run by us!

Think this over as you wonder whom to vote for in 1948—Dewey or Truman, Truman or Dewey—tomorrow, perhaps, Taft or Forrester, Forrester or Taft—

AND THEN GET TO WORK FOR A DECLARATION OF LABOR'S POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, THE BUILDING OF A GENUINE PARTY OF LABOR BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS AND CONTROLLED BY THEM!

But what shall we do now? There is something to be done, and most especially right now.

Walter Reuther, president of the Auto Workers Union, has come out for the formation of a new party also—only he adds: as soon as the elections are over.

To be sure, it is no longer possible for labor to participate in this presidential campaign for a candidate of its own. The presidential campaign is already lost for labor, no matter who wins. Nor, probably, is it possible at this late date to form a Labor Party to participate in the congressional elections.

#### WE CAN TAKE STEPS NOW

But why wait till after the elections to take the FIRST STEPS?

What we propose is that now—not after the elections—the trade unions call a nation-wide conference to take the first steps toward the creation of labor's own party.

NOW—while the lesson is fresh and ranking. NOW—while it is clear that the old policy is

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### Gives Labor New Chance to Press For Own Demands

Though called exclusively to promote the presidential campaign of the Democratic Party without any serious legislative intent, the special session of Congress summoned by President Truman to open on July 26 offers the labor movement an opportunity to press its demands—and to cut itself free from the capitalist parties.

The Democrats have made no bones about the purposes of the special session. It is designed to embarrass and expose Republican pretensions. A noteworthy objective in itself, though intended to buttress the Democratic campaign.

The Republicans, indignant over the special session, but not daring to attack it too vigorously, will seek to use it to embarrass and expose the Democratic Party's pretensions. Equally a noteworthy objective. Whatever the capitalist parties do to tear each other down, is all to the good from our point of view, provided we use the occasion to indict both capitalist parties and to promote our own programmatic ends.

As now indicated, though any changes are possible before the session is formally opened, the civil rights planks will be presented to Congress first. The intention here is to put the onus on the Republicans who made a big point of this in their convention oratory.

#### TALK, NO ACTION

It is Truman's hope that the Republican-controlled Congress will refuse to or be unable to enact the civil rights planks that were adopted at the last moment by the Democratic convention under pressure of the Americans for Democratic Action group, the big city machine bosses who realized that they needed these planks for the campaign.

The Republicans are not exactly unwilling to pick up the challenge on this point, hoping that the Southern Democrats, through filibuster or other means will make it possible for them to toss the responsibility back onto the Democratic Party.

The civil rights planks may conceivably be passed in the process, as a kind of accidental result, but it is certainly not the intention of either the GOP or the Democrats to use them now for more than campaign capital. Thus, U. S. News & World Report sums up the aspect of this extra

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### Stalinism Crisis Still Rumbling

Czech, Italian CPs Prepare for Purge; Yugoslavia Sits Tight

By RICKIE SAUNDERS

All available evidence to date points to the fact that Yugoslavia has not yielded one inch in its struggle against complete Russian domination.

Borba, the official newspaper of the Yugoslav Communist Party, in summing up the case against the Cominform defended the party leadership against all charges leveled against it and made it clear that all leaders excommunicated by the Cominform will be returned to power. The UDBA, the Yugoslav counterpart of the GPU, is on a smaller scale apparently as efficient as its prototype, and within Yugoslav borders has effectively dealt with all Russian agents as well as working-class oppositionists.

The only news indicating a possible alteration of the present rift appears in a very small item in Monday's New York Times to the effect that Izvestia praised Yugoslav railway builders who completed a new line in Montenegro. It was the first account of internal developments in Yugoslavia given by the Russian press since the Cominform's original denunciation. The dispatch was phrased in "friendly terms." The Russian press also reprinted editorial comments in Borba which condemned the attempted denunciation of Togliatti.

This might indicate that Russia is considering some sort of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. It is obvious that the present situation cannot remain at a standstill indefinitely. While Tito's assertion of independence from Moscow could not go unchallenged by Stalin, the latter faces many difficulties in countering it. Among these are: The entrenched power of Tito, his efficient secret police, the solidity of his Communist Party in face of the attack upon it; the present crisis in Berlin which Russia cannot possibly face with ease; and last and perhaps most important, Stalin knows that despite the puppet-like performers of the Stalinist parties of the other Eastern European countries, the lesser Titos would like nothing better than to be in a position to do exactly the same thing, namely assert their independence.

These factors make any military intervention a highly dangerous and explosive thing for Stalin. The ruling classes of each of these countries now have state power and if, by alliance with Tito, they felt able to achieve their much desired independence from Moscow, there is no question of the fact that yesterday's denunciations would be replaced by paens of praise and the possible formation of a

Balkan Federation. In addition, the reported rift in the Stalinist bureaucracy of Russia might possibly widen and present Stalin with a situation too tough to handle.

This does not mean that Stalin will or can yield to Tito. The very nature of Stalinism militates against the existence of any power in the satellite countries which does not derive from Moscow. At best there can be a compromise: a period of watchful waiting during which Stalin ceases overt attacks on Tito and at the same time awaits a more propitious moment for the next attack and a more capable and efficient GPU which will be better able to combat the Yugoslav UDBA.

#### RUMANIAN REPARATIONS

An interesting sidelight has been thrown on the problem of why the bureaucracies in the satellite nations must be a constant source of difficulty for Stalin, and why it is wellnigh impossible for him to consolidate his empire. In a letter to the Times, printed last Sunday, the former prime minister of Rumania, General Radescu, discusses the reparation taken from Rumania by Russia.

Moscow recently announced with

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# Ford Workers Stand Ready to Strike

By GIL MORROW  
DETROIT, July 19—In the absence of a wage agreement between the Ford Motor Company and the United Auto Workers, 100,000 Ford workers throughout the nation are grooming themselves for strike action.

Already every Ford local in the country has supported the strike call with the exception of Highland Park Local 400 which will complete voting Tuesday, July 20. At a mass membership meeting of Rouge Local 600, held here yesterday, the vote was over 40 to 1 in favor of strike action.

In general there is wide strike sentiment, stemming from: (1) the increased cost of living; (2) the bad bargaining position of the company as a result of the overwhelming defeat it suffered in the union shop election last month; and (3) its weakness as a result of the model changeover. With approximately \$100,000,000 invested in the new model, the company wishes full production, and the situation is consequently a splendid opportunity for the Ford workers.

The union's demand includes a 14 cents an hour increase, company contribution to a hospitalization plan to the extent of 1 1/2 cents per hour per man, increases in afternoon and mid-night shift bonuses, etc.

The company has offered 13 cents an hour and little else. The hospitalization plan offered by the company would give a worker with a family over \$8 a month. The biggest insult in the company's offer is that it proposes to extend the present contract for two years. This the union is absolutely unable to accept.

Among the burning issues at Ford is that of the speedup, or, as the company calls it, "Work Standards." The present agreement gives the company sole discretion over work standards so that the speedup is attaining pre-union proportions. To continue such a condition for two years is more than the workers can support.

### ESCALATOR CLAUSE

The Negotiating Committee first met with the company shortly after the GM settlement which included an escalator clause. At that time, there was still universal suspicion about this clause among the secondary leadership. Consequently, the Committee began negotiating for a straight raise instead of a "sliding scale."

Today, with the GM workers already due to get a three cents an hour increase as a result of the rising cost of living, many of the secondary leaders are feeling a little sick and have begun to change their point of view about the escalator clause.

There still is no widespread feeling

that the 14 cent demand should be dropped to be substituted for by an escalator clause, but if the strike should begin and last for a few weeks, it is likely that the demand for such a clause would develop as the cost of living rises.

### CAN ASK MORE

One of the bad features of the situation as it stands today is the fact that the top leadership is conveying the impression that a strike will be averted. The Negotiating Committee has watered down the demands of the union so much that this seems easy to believe. Many leaders feel that a settlement will be reached based almost entirely on the company's "final" offer, but excluding the two-year contract extension.

If the settlement is reached on this basis, the opportunity of the union to win some genuine economic concessions will have been missed. The company cannot afford a lengthy

strike. Hence, many victories could be gained. One of these could be the hospitalization-social security plan which was originally proposed by the union.

This plan would be financed generally by the company, but the union would have equal say in the management of the plan. When this was proposed, Bugas for the company stated, "You guys can go ahead and strike." But Bugas and Henry H would be a little more willing to listen to reason if their \$100 million investment is jeopardized.

The present demands of the union are really too small considering the profits earned by the company during and after the war, and the bad bargaining position of the company. If the strike comes, there should be a general revision of demands UPWARDS instead of down to meet the company. Only in this way, with the addition of an escalator clause, will the Ford workers achieve a substantial salary.

# Steel Plans Price Rise to More Than Offset Overdue Wage Raise

By WYATT LEE

A wage agreement reached last week between the United Steelworkers, CIO, and the United States Steel Corporation gave 170,000 workers raises ranging from 9 1/2 to 25 cents an hour. The negotiations ended a stalemate that had lasted since April when Big Steel refused to grant any increase. Once the auto workers had cracked through industry's no-raise stand, steel couldn't possibly hold out.

Bound by a contract that forbade striking for wage demands, the policy committee hailed the outcome as a "great victory." Under terms of the agreement, the contract is extended until April, 1950, with the questions of wages to be re-opened in July, 1949. Next time the steel workers will be able to strike if necessary, as the

union negotiators insisted upon that right.

"Little Steel," as such mammoth corporations as Bethlehem, Republic and Youngstown are known, is expected to follow the wage pattern laid down by the negotiations with Big Steel. These lesser companies had backed U. S. Steel's adamant stand against wage increases.

### WILL RAISE PRICES

The official statement of U. S. Steel in announcing the agreement opened with a pious attempt to justify its previous refusal to raise wages. "Prices had been reduced on many steel products which have a bearing upon the cost of living," the statement read. Then it goes on to list the higher costs of raw materials, scrap metals and railroad transportation.

"Now follows a further very substantial direct increase in our employment costs . . . on top of higher costs in our coal operations. U. S. Steel can only pay these increased production costs out of the money it receives from the sale of its products. These higher costs can be met only through increases in steel prices."

That these projected price increases will be many times higher than the estimated \$200,000,000 industry-wide wage increase goes without saying. IRON AGE, trade journal of the industry, predicts increases of \$10 a ton. But this statement is calculated to put the onus of increased prices directly on the unions of the steel workers and the coal miners.

The economic fallacy of citing wage increases as the cause of inflation has been dealt with before in the pages of LABOR ACTION. A brief review of the immediate past of U. S. Steel and the steel industry in general will quickly scotch the pretensions of these new guardians of the cost of living.

The statement mentions the price reductions of April but is careful to avoid mentioning a price increase in February. It was along about that time when the grain market took an encouraging downward dip and tycoons like Charles E. Wilson of General Electric were making the front pages with talk about "stabilizing prices." The man in the street, the fellow who had to pay the prices, was even beginning to hope that the dizzying price rise might be slowing down.

At this juncture, Big Steel officials announced a sweeping price rise all along the line. To them, it was a routine matter; they had been raising their prices steadily since the end of the war and no one had complained. But for once Big Steel got a bad press. Everyone denounced them, including their blood brother, the National Association of Manufacturers.

### SQUEEZE PLAY

Partly to counteract this bad publicity and partly to forestall the wage demands of the CIO, the subsequent price reduction, more limited in scope, was made in April. Since then another development, consciously engineered by these same guardians of the consumer, has raised the price of steel. The Federal Trade Commission handed down a decision against the "basing-point" system of pricing as used by the portland cement industry. This ingenious idea was fathered by the steel industry and has been widely copied by other monopolized industries.

Prices are computed as if the product was shipped from some arbitrary shipping point. Roughly speaking, steel made in Pittsburgh, Pa., cost the same as steel made in Pittsburgh, Calif., whether the user was located in Portland, Me., or Portland, Ore. This system, which padded the profits of the monopolists and stultified the growth of industry, such as steel-making on the Pacific Coast, has been condemned for years. When the FTC outlawed it for the cement industry a few weeks ago, the step was hailed as a boon to small business and the cost of building in particular was expected to be sharply reduced.

Business observers expected proceedings against the steel industry and expected Big Steel in particular to contest the action. With high-powered legal talent at its disposal, U. S. Steel could drag out the litigation for years. Instead, U. S. Steel did not even wait for the FTC to act. It blandly announced that from now on the basing-point system was abandoned. All steel would be sold at a f.o.b. price. But this f.o.b. price was the old

basing-point price with the freight costs added. Instead of a reduction, the steel users were faced with a raise. Big Steel knew nothing of the "phantom freight" charges these consumers had been paying for years; it merely regretted that the government would no longer allow them to "absorb freight costs."

The whole thing is nothing but an audacious squeeze play against the government. Congress is to be black-mailed into legalizing the basing-point system. Big Steel knows who calls the turn in its government. If a minor agency such as the FTC dares step out of line, the whip will be wielded. That this unwarranted price increase threatens to further unbalance the national economy means little to the steel masters.

### LIMIT PRODUCTION

This total disregard for the economic needs of the nation has been arrogantly displayed by the industry as a whole during the postwar period. Faced with an unprecedented demand for steel, literally enough to rebuild the war-shattered world, the steel industry has refused to significantly expand its production facilities. The tremendous profits piled up during and since the war are being held to weather the next inevitable "decline in demand," as the steel industry apologists call a depression.

These masters of the capitalist world do not have enough faith in their own system's future to invest their money in their own industry. The way to overcome inflation, any capitalist economist will tell you, is to increase production. But if the steel industry, on which modern economy is based, refuses to increase production . . . ?

The economists have no answer to that, too. Blame it on the workers, those unreasonable fellows who dig the coal, mine the ore, roll the steel and make the autos. They demand increased wages and thus cause inflation.

## FRIENDLY SOCIAL CLUB MEETINGS VERY FRUITFUL

BROOKLYN — On June 20, the Friendly Social Club gave a Tea at the home of Kate Colon, one of its members, which served as an introduction to the Bedford Stuyvesant neighborhood. About 30 people gathered to have a good time. Cool refreshments were served. We were entertained by two youngsters, Georgia and Sarah Ivy, who played and sang. Irma Welch gave an interesting account of how her group was formed. A Calypso dance by Norma White was much enjoyed.

Susan Green introduced the guest speaker, Jack Brad, New York Organizer of the Workers Party. Jack Brad gave an informative talk on Civil Rights. He said, in part, that education in itself, which does not recognize the existence of the evils of Jim Crow—discrimination—is a useless accomplishment. He compared the attitude of the Supreme Court on the question of Civil Rights to the position of the Workers Party. He ended by saying that workers of a white skin cannot be free, while workers of a black skin are not.

On July 13, a meeting of the Club was held at Elvina Willoms' home. After a short business meeting, Al Findley gave a short but interesting talk on Palestine which was enjoyed by all. Questions and discussion followed. The meeting ended with a better understanding of the problems involved in Palestine.

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# Win Westinghouse Jobs—

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The corporation had given no reason for the suspensions other than receipt of a letter from the Bureau of Aeronautics, Dept. of the Navy, directing that the men be denied access to "classified material and to restricted areas." The sit-down lasted until Tuesday morning when it turned into an active strike at the beginning of the first shift. Later in the day, on receipt of news of the scheduled meeting in Pittsburgh the Executive Board voted to ask the membership to return to work. The 6500 members returned to work at 4 P.M.

### NAVY BACK-TRACKS

In a release to the N. Y. Times the Navy stated that they had not requested that the men be removed from the plant. Also, despite the fact that the individuals had been told by the Navy that charges were "confidential," a Navy spokesman in Washington reported to the Philadelphia Inquirer that the men were labeled "poor security risks" because of their political beliefs (Both Carner and Lewin are well known in the union as anti-Stalinist militants.)

Since the suspension on July 1 of Frank Carner the Westinghouse Corporation was firm in its policy of removal from the plant. Westinghouse refused to make a joint appeal with the union and refused at every step in the grievance procedure to give the aggrieved any job anywhere in the South Philadelphia Works even though the majority of the work there is commercial and not classified or restricted.

The corporation excused its action on the basis that they would be certain to lose their Navy contracts since they stated that the terms of the contracts are: "that they are restricted as

to employment; it being a privilege and not a right to have access to such information." The extension of this attitude and action to the entire industrial field would remove the means of livelihood to thousands of active and politically conscious unionists.

The Executive Board of Local 107 headed by president John Schaefer and Bradley recognized that these cases of suspension involved both issues of violation of union contract and of civil rights. The majority of the membership actively supported this viewpoint. Therefore the local took immediate steps to broaden the fight. District 1 and the National Office of the UE were involved.

### CAREY INTERVENES

On Tuesday, July 13, a delegation from the local and the district visited James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, and acquainted him with the facts and nature of the case. As a result of this visit Carey wrote on July 15 a letter to John L. Sullivan, Secretary of the Navy. A copy of this letter was read to a membership meeting of Local 107. The letter said in part:

"The instance is one which reveals in startling detail the highly provocative procedures toward working people of industrial management, and in this instance the Department of the Navy must be charged with a full share in the provocation. . . .

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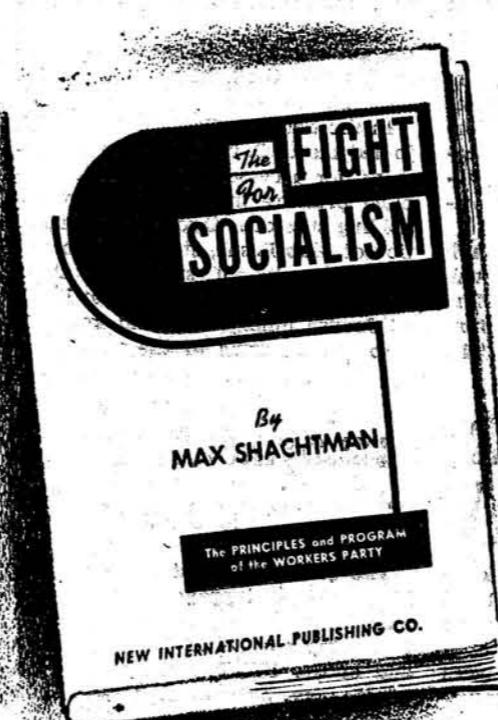
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# Arrest 24 for Planned Protest Against Jim Crow Tennis Courts

BALTIMORE — Twenty-four young men and women, white and Negro, were arrested in this city, charged with the crime of playing tennis together on courts in a city park.

The tennis match had been organized by the Young Progressives of Maryland as a test of the park procedure which requires race segregation on tennis courts set aside for white people. There is no objection if colored people bring their white friends to play with them on courts set aside for colored people. There is no city regulation, and not even a written rule in park procedure. It is merely a well enforced "custom."

A crowd of several hundred watched and supported the tennis players while they were defying the park police instructions and attempting to play. Some of them were arrested for protesting against the arrests of the tennis players and several more were arrested from the even bigger crowd that followed the patrol wagon and gathered around the police station where the demonstrators were booked.

At the hearings the following morning, I. Duke Avnet, counsel for the group, stated that the charge of refusing to obey park policemen as required by the city charter under which most of the 24 were held, was a violation of the 14th amendment of the Constitution. Several were held

on disorderly conduct charges. Counsel asked for a grand jury trial, and for issuance of warrants against the arresting officers, charging them with false arrest. The trial will probably be held in September.

The whole test demonstration seemed to be very well planned and carried out. It attracted the support particularly of large numbers of young Negroes, many of whom joined the Young Progressives at a party held following the demonstration. The whole affair served the purpose of focusing the attention of the city, and the entire Washington, D. C. area also, on the segregation problem.

One concrete evidence of that was shown in the action of the young "legislators" in Maryland "Boys State" which was sponsored by the American Legion. They passed a law outlawing racial segregation in public property in the State of Maryland, and stated that the arrest of the tennis players was a shameful incident that played right into the hands of America's enemies.

Though the action against the tennis court segregation was good, it is unfortunate that it was completely under the control of the pro-Stalinist elements of the Wallace movement in Baltimore, which of course means that it will be exploited for the purposes of the Wallace campaign rather than in the interests of the Negro.

would otherwise be a totally hopeless cause (his re-election), does not change matters one iota.

The special session must be used to promote our own legislative needs. At the same time, we have here a wonderful opportunity to use the session on the equivalent level of the Democratic and Republican politics—as campaign material. With the added advantage that in so doing we will be applying the realtest kind of pressure for OUR immediate legislative objectives.

By which we mean two things: (1) Taking from the realm of promise, and bringing into the realm of reality, the proposals that are being kicked about, notably in the UAW, for a labor party of a kind after 1948—at least to the extent of calling conferences while the Congress is in session to plan the launching of the party in 1949;

And (2), indicating everywhere we can, every chance we get, that we are not deluded by the purposes of the session, and that we refuse to have any truck with either of the capitalist parties, or with the Wallace-Stalinist party.

We can make it clear that in November we will cast a socialist protest vote against the entire rottenness of this system and its governmental servants by voting socialist, by voting for one of the socialist candidates on the ballot. (See Workers Party statement, page 1.)

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# Special Session Gabfest - -

(Continued from page 1)

session as, "Lots of talk, little action."

Similarly on prices and housing, which are the other two big issues slated to come before the Congress. Truman has indicated that he will put forward the essence of his anti-inflation program which, readers will remember, asked Congress to give him authority to impose limited price and wage controls. Readers will also remember that Truman did mighty little to press for, to insist upon enactment of his program (except insofar as a practical attempt was made by industry to enforce the anti-labor feature of his program—wage controls), that, in fact, he shifted and twisted, made noise and kept silent from week to week.

Again, it is merely campaign stuff, without any serious intention of producing results—except, possibly, wage controls in one form or another. And the Republicans? They'll be hard-pressed, though their nominee, Dewey, may try to dissociate himself from excessive congressional obstructionism on this score.

So too on housing. Truman has said he will call for passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill which was passed in the Senate and is now in the Rules Committee of the House. Inadequate though it is, the TEW bill does at least propose to do something, and we hope it will be passed in this special session—as the two sides maneuver to outsmart each other.

### LABOR'S OPPORTUNITY

Where it is sufficient for the Truman and Dewey forces to use the special session to foster their campaign, it would be idiotic for the labor movement to leave it at that. The Democrats and Republicans have sufficiently demonstrated themselves to be the capitalist instruments they are.

The special session has another and entirely different value for the labor movement. Namely, it can be used as an occasion to lay the law down to both sides though the pressure of organized labor, for such legislation (repeal of T-H, price controls, etc.) as labor deems necessary. What exactly needs to be done will

be seen as the session unfolds. Whether such pressure is required as the mobilization in Washington of a mass march of unionmen demanding repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act can be determined later. (The Democrats are "committed" to fight for repeal of the act according to their election platform. Which is as good a time as any to record the traditional skepticism about campaign promises.) The main thing is attitude.

Congress will be in session. If the labor movement sends its representatives hat in hand, begging for a few crumbs on civil rights, housing prices, etc., it will get nothing or, at best . . . a few crumbs.

If demonstration were needed that an aggressive attitude is the only one capable of achieving results, it was again provided only a few weeks ago with the auto union wage victories. The UAW refused to accept industry's stand against wage raises, and made industry back down—with the result that other industries have followed suit, including the steel industry which normally seeks to set the wage pattern.

And if the labor movement sends its representatives as the stooges of the Democratic party it will get nothing or, at best . . . those trifles which are tossed to stooges. The labor leaders have given every indication that they will be supporting Truman one way or another, actively or passively. This won't do. They may try to obscure Truman's record as an injunctivist, but it won't work, at least not to the benefit of labor.

They will try to say that willy-nilly, Truman is asking this or that piece of desired legislation. Well, we are reminded of a cartoon that appeared in a New York newspaper. It showed Truman dreaming of what he would do if president about prices, housing, civil rights, recognition of Israel, etc. The caption under it read: "Wake up, Harry!—You ARE President!"

### CAMPAIGN MATERIAL

Truman IS president. There is much that he could have done on all these issues, and without congressional action. That he fancies them now as good campaign material in what

# Cast a Socialist Vote, Says WP Statement--

(Continued from page 1)

washed up, and before anyone has a chance to forget it.

NOW—while everyone is going through the quadrennial spurt of interest in political issues and problems, not after the November decision when political interest generally lets down.

NOW is the proper PRACTICAL time to call a conference of ALL trade unions, CIO, AFL, railroad brotherhoods and independents, to set up the machinery to put labor into the political picture, to dig the foundation.

There is no better way than thus to say to the old parties, in the course of the campaign itself: We mean business! Watch your step! We are no longer tame dogs to be patted on the head every four years! We're breaking loose on our own!

You want to use labor's strength to put pressure on the politicians in the campaign? There is no better way to mobilize such pressure than this. Now—while the politicians are busy making promises.

Labor has been taking a beating on the political field. NOW—serve notice that we are going on the offensive!

This is the most important way in which labor can participate in the 1948 election campaign.

But how shall we vote in November?

A vote for Truman or Dewey is not merely a wasted vote: it is worse than a wasted vote.

If Truman can still depend on getting labor's votes after all that he has done (and not done), why should he ever be moved to do better? Every working-class vote that Truman gets now can only serve to convince him that labor's demands can be ignored with impunity.

### NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW!

The only kind of vote that has any meaning in 1948 is a "protest vote."

We do NOT mean a vote for Wallace.

To be sure, the vote for Wallace will be a protest vote of a kind. Although the Wallace movement is organized, led, masterminded, and endowed with its appeasement-of-Russia program by the Stalinist machine (without which it would be a shadow), the bulk of Wallace's vote will be sucked in, not from Stalinists alone, but from little people who are not willing to waste their vote on the old parties.

But it will be a "protest vote" which, willy-nilly, is a protest in favor not of the people of this country but of the interests of the Kremlin. It will be a protest against the activities of the Washington imperialists at home and abroad, but NOT against the activities of the Moscow imperialists. A one-sided protest, only half a protest—and therefore not at all a REAL protest in behalf of America's working people.

This is so not merely because the Stalinist apparatus runs the Wallace movement and has up to now led Wallace himself by the nose. It is so because of Wallace's PROGRAM, based as it is on a pro-Russian policy of appeasement and of an imperialist division of the world between the Big Two.

A big vote for Wallace means: joy in the Kremlin; a strengthening of Stalinist totalitarianism in Eastern Europe, just as it is now beginning to spring cracks and leaks under the impact of the Tito split; an impetus to Stalinist confidence and growth in Western Europe and everywhere else. This far outweighs and cancels whatever effect a big Wallace vote might have in acting as a warning to domestic reaction.

Both Truman and Dewey represent Wall Street's drive for conquest of the world. The Wallace movement, regardless of Wallace's own befuddled intentions, is the American arm of Moscow's drive for expansion. We say: NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW can answer the yearning of the peoples of the world for peace, democratic progress and well being!

The only way to vote in 1948 without helping the enemies of the people is to—

CAST A SOCIALIST PROTEST VOTE!

### WE CAN VOTE SOCIALIST

We of the Workers Party will have no candidate of our own in the presidential election. All the socialist groups in the United States, the Workers Party included, are small and as yet do not represent any mass workers' movement. This fact is symptomatic of the general political backwardness of American labor, just as the fact that the labor movement as a whole has no party of its own is symptomatic of this fact.

But nevertheless, three small socialist groups will have a presidential candidate on the ballot, at least in many states. They are: Norman Thomas for the Socialist Party, Farrell Dobbs for the Socialist Workers Party, and Edward Teichert for the Socialist Labor Party.

VOTE FOR A SOCIALIST CANDIDATE!

We of the Workers Party cannot endorse the programs of any of these candidates or their parties. We have no doubt that, though for varying reasons, many of the workers we are addressing cannot do so either. Just as we do not support any of these parties, so also we are not asking anyone else to do so either.

That is why we propose only that they, or rather any one among them, be used as the vehicle for a PROTEST VOTE—but a SOCIALIST protest vote—under the circumstances of the 1948 election.

Nor is it politically possible for us to recommend any one of the three above the others. To use the term employed on many occasions by the CIO, AFL, and other organizations, we present the three names and state: NO PREFERENCE.

### AGAINST THE CAPITALIST PARTIES

As far as we are concerned, it will not be the vote for Thomas alone which, when counted in November, will represent the number of socialist protest voters; nor the vote for Dobbs, nor for Teichert. We, like most other people, will add all three together to arrive at the figure of those who have decided, as best they can in 1948 elections, to—

VOTE AGAINST THE OLD CAPITALIST PARTIES, AGAINST THE WALLACE-STALINIST PARTY, AND FOR THE WORKING-CLASS GOAL OF A DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' WORLD, A SOCIALIST REORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY!

For ourselves, we wish to state briefly why we cannot give exclusive support to some one of the three socialist candidates. We do not believe that any of them stands for the consistent, fighting, democratic working-class socialism which alone can effectively counter capitalism and Stalinist totalitarianism.

Norman Thomas' Socialist Party represents the milk-and-water pink, "respectably liberal" socialism which, at the best, has never been able to make up its mind whether it is against American imperialism and its wars or not, whether it is for a class-struggle policy or not. The Socialist Workers Party, while it is anti-Stalinist, still proclaims its adherence to the view that totalitarian Russia is some kind of "workers' state" in spite of Stalin's crimes, and that this totalitarian monster must be supported in war. The Socialist Labor Party, while it glories in preaching "straight socialism," holds a point of view which all but puts it outside the labor movement in sectarian isolation: the point of view that it can support only the non-existent "socialist industrial unions" which it advocates, and not the bona-fide trade unions which actually exist.

These are OUR reasons. That is why we are seeking to build a socialist movement distinct from the ineffectual pinks; distinct from the half-way socialist opponents of Stalinism who still spread the disastrous notion that Russia is "something better" in some way; distinct from the hopelessly sectarian socialists who set themselves against the real development of labor through the real trade-union movement.

But it is not these differences, however important, which are at stake when you enter the polling booth in November. In spite of our own differences, in spite of YOUR differences—there is only one way to cast a working-class vote in 1948:

VOTE FOR A SOCIALIST CANDIDATE!  
CAST A SOCIALIST PROTEST VOTE!  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WP

## Motions Adopted By WP Plenum

The following are the texts of two motions adopted by the recent session of the National Committee of the Workers Party. See page 4.

### On the Fourth International

(1) The plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Workers Party endorses the report of its observer to the second world congress of the Fourth International.

(2) The National Committee declares that by virtue of the course adopted at this second congress, the Fourth International has forfeited any right to be considered the revolutionary International of the Marxist vanguard and has lost all opportunity to achieve that position in the future. The Fourth International has been reduced, as a result of the policy that it has followed and continues to follow, to the international faction of a centrist sect.

(3) The National Committee declares that the Workers Party will henceforth freely and independently intensify and systematize the work of reassembling, reorienting and reconstituting the international movement of the revolutionary Marxists by sympathetic and critical cooperation with all independent socialist organizations which stand generally on the principles of Marxism, whether they belong to the Fourth International or are unaffiliated with it. The first step in this direction is the establishment of the closest political relations with those organizations whose position on decisive and fundamental political questions is similar to the position of the Workers Party.

(4) We continue to hold to the objective of helping to restore a genuine and viable socialist International, and our work must be directed at all times toward the achievement of this aim. However, we do not attempt to form any new International in the next foreseeable period.

(5) The Political Committee of the party is instructed to make every possible effort to make available abroad the main documents setting forth the basic positions of the Workers Party on all controversial questions, as our contribution to the work of rearming, reorienting and reassembling the Marxist movement on a sound foundation, and to work for an active exchange of views with all Marxist groups which are prepared to discuss the basic problems confronting us today.

### On Unity with the SWP

The National Committee of the Workers Party, after reviewing the decision of the second congress of the Fourth International on the question of unity between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party, declares that by its resolution on the United States the leadership of the Fourth International has confirmed the fact that it is a factional instrument of Cannonism.

The NC further declares that this decision has formally approved the conception of a sectarian monolithic "party" by stating its belief that unity between the WP and SWP is excluded on the ground of the existing political differences, thus establishing a priori an insurmountable obstacle to unity.

In view of the fact, furthermore, that this conception has been the basis of the real position of the SWP leadership from the start, the NC of the WP states that the possibility of unification with the SWP has now been effectively destroyed by the Cannon group and its international associates and has thus been removed completely from the agenda of the Workers Party.

### Notes on the PPS-in-Exile Congresses

## Polish Socialists in Exile Map Fight

By A. RUDZIENSKI

Stalinist policy is driving towards the liquidation of the PPS (pseudo-Socialist Party of Poland) and its incorporation into the Stalinist Party, the PPR. The realization of this program signifies a complete "Gleichschaltung" of the Polish proletariat and the introduction of "monolithic" dictatorship in Poland. The Stalinists met with strong opposition among the workers in the pseudo-PPS as well as from the real Polish Socialists, the anti-Stalinist irreconcilables in and outside of Poland. It is from this point of view that we wish to discuss the recent congress of the PPS in England and Belgium.

The PPS congress in Great Britain had a preparatory character, preceding the general congress of this party in Belgium. Although the PPS in Great Britain has the oldest cadres and is the center of the party's activities, its congress only embraced the PPS organization in Great Britain. Important sections of the PPS exist in France, Belgium, Germany, etc. The Polish population in France and Belgium is proletarian in its overwhelming majority, with the miners standing in first place. In Great Britain, the Polish ex-soldiers, who have no desire to return to Poland today, have been incorporated in the mining as well as other industries, forming their own trade-union which is affiliated with the British trade unions.

The growth of the PPS among the Polish working masses in Western Europe and the British Isles is very significant, since the old Communist Party always had an important sector of its adherents among the Polish miners of France and Belgium. In the pre-war period, the mining areas of Northern France constituted a stronghold of the Communist Party, in which the Polish miners played an important part.

The importance of the PPS Congresses is indicated by the messages of solidarity sent to the British congress by the various Socialist parties, among them the Socialist parties of France, Holland, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia, the Russian Mensheviks, etc. Such Socialist figures as Saragat, Lombardo, Garosci, Marceau Pivert, sent letters of greeting to the congress in Britain.

The congress in Belgium called on the working class to resist the totalitarian "Gleichschaltung" and Russian imperialism, and maintain its loyalty to the independent PPS, leader of the democratic camp in Poland, in order to conduct a struggle for "national liberation and social change in accord with the interests of the laboring masses." In a resolution on the defense of human rights the congress protested against the forced labor camps in Russia, the Franco terror in Spain, and the white terror in Greece, calling for the liquidation of the concentration camps, the liberation of political prisoners, and the respect of human dignity and human rights.

In its international resolution, the congress condemned the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, asking a return to the Atlantic Charter. "The struggle for the liberty of Poland is a struggle for the construction of the world according to the Atlantic Charter, which the workers' movement accepted as its own, and is in accordance with the Four Freedoms which were proclaimed as the aim of the Second World War." The congress condemned the reactionary tendencies among the Poles, a product of the national defeat, and on the other hand also condemned "the betrayal on the part of the Western Democracies of those ideals for which the people fought Hitler and fascism, their indifference to the fate of the nations of Eastern Europe, who made great sacrifices in the struggle against Hitlerism."

In order to maintain peace, the congress called for the following:

1. Transformation of the United Nations into an association of the peoples, with executive power and the capacity to adopt resolutions by majority vote, without having to bow to the veto power.
2. Restoration of national independence to the oppressed peoples and their self-determination.
3. The unification of Europe within the framework of the UNO.
4. Extension of social changes.
5. Elimination of wars of aggression and control of atomic energy (Baruch Plan).

The congress also went on record as opposed to the differentiation among the Socialist parties, demanding the recognition of the parties of the Russian Zone, and the reorganization of the Socialist International.

As for the political tasks of the Polish Emigration, the congress opposed any change in the western frontier of Poland on the Oder and Neisse, at the same time rejecting the Eastern frontier embodied in the Curzon line, and demanding the reconstruction of Poland between its present Western boundaries and the Eastern frontier of Riga, that is, the 1939 boundary. The PPS considers the incorporation of German territories in Poland as just indemnification for the economic destruction of Poland by the Nazis.

On questions of internal policy, the congress declared the current president of the Polish government in Ex-

ile to be holding office illegally and against the will of the working people, and called on the Polish democracy in exile to reconstruct the democratic bases of political representation in the Polish emigration. However, the congress did not challenge the present London regime, and did not call for the formation of a second government or national committee.

The congress considered the principal tasks in the emigration to be:

1. To unite all the Socialists in the PPS.
2. To develop a free Polish and International Socialist thought.
3. Unification of the Polish democratic camp as a guarantee that after the liquidation of the puppet regime there shall be no return of the political and social reaction.
4. To carry to a finish the unbreakable struggle against Russian imperialism and its agencies in order to restore the independence and liberty of Poland.

In conclusion, the congress greeted the creation of the State of Israel and called for an end to the spilling of blood and the establishment of fraternal relations between the Jewish and Arab peoples.

Having reviewed the most essential parts of the resolutions of the PPS congress in Belgium, it is not difficult to see that these resolutions have a typical social-democratic character, with all the corresponding mediocrity, half-remedies and petty-bourgeois illusions. However, what is important in these resolutions is the call for an open and unbreakable struggle against the Stalinist reaction and Russian imperialism in Poland, and against the national enslavement of the country, worthy of the revolutionary traditions of the Polish working class. But in order to realize these aims the congress turns to the UNO and calls for its transformation into an association of free peoples so that the world may be reconstructed according to the Four Freedoms and the principles of the Atlantic Charter. How incurable remains the innocence of the social-democrats! They still want to reform capitalism and imperialism notwithstanding all the kicks they have received. We lament this tendency very much since it means that the PPS is irremediably sliding into the capitalist camp, although it strives to "unify Polish democracy as a guarantee against capitalist restoration in Poland."

In any case, the PPS remains a bastion in the struggle against Stalinism in Poland, a very powerful factor, the only real force in the camp of the petty-bourgeoisie and the

working-class. On the domestic terrain, the PPS struggles on two fronts, against Stalinism and against the Polish Right. International Marxism will undoubtedly view this position with sympathy and will support it despite all the vacillations and opportunist errors. But on the field of international politics, the congress did not maintain a "third position," sliding into the capitalist camp. And here we must define the positions and combat the pro-capitalist positions of the PPS, explaining them to the Polish workers in the United States and Europe.

The resolutions are the result of the struggle and compromise between two factions in the party—Arciszewski's right-wing and Zaremba's "left."

In spite of the revolt of the Right against Thomas Arciszewski, ex-chief of the Polish government, the congress did not decide to join Mikolajczyk in forming a national committee in the United States, dependent on the American State Department and opposed to the present right-wing London regime headed by Zaleski. Mikolajczyk's stock is not very high at the present time, and is opposed by the "independence" faction because of his capitulation to Moscow. Capitulation to Moscow has an odor which kills. This is why the PPS refrains from entering into alliance with Mikolajczyk and maintains an independent position towards the right wing London regime. There is much sympathy for Mikolajczyk and the Peasant Party in the PPS, but the decision of the Congress reveals Mikolajczyk's political isolation.

Similarly, the pre-congress proposals made by Zaremba for accepting the revision of Poland's Eastern boundary as a basis for an understanding between the Poles and the Ukrainians and White Russians was rejected by the congress which called for the Eastern frontier of 1939.

Nevertheless, Zaremba was elected President of the Party Council and a member of the Central Committee, which is composed of the following: Arciszewski, Pehr, Kwapinski, Ciolkosz, Drawiec, Bialas, Mrozkievicz, Zagorski and Polowicz. Outside the old guard, there are many new names hitherto unknown in Polish national politics.

In order not to abuse the readers' patience, we leave for another time a detailed analysis of the role of the PPS and its activities. But one thing is certain, the congresses of the PPS were a tremendous challenge to the Kremlin and a severe blow to Polish Stalinism.

## Stalinform Crisis--

(Continued from page 1)

much fanfare that it had cut in half the balance due on reparations from Hungary and Rumania. Radescu points out that, according to armistice terms, Rumania's obligation to Russia was supposed to amount to 300 million dollars. He claims that, to date, the total value of Russian extractions in cash, goods and services amount to 1,785 million dollars representing over 86 per cent of Rumania's national income from 1944 through 1948. He points out further that Russia has a 30 per cent controlling interest in Rumania's iron and steel works and a 66 per cent share in the largest coal-mining enterprise. On the basis of an agreement on economic collaboration, seven joint companies have been organized which control almost entirely oil, timber lumber, maritime transportation, air transportation, banking, motion picture, and highway transportation. Russia has a 50 to 51 per cent interest in these joint companies. While Rumania provides all the assets of existing enterprises, Russia's contribution is limited to "technical assistance" and pledges to deliver industrial equipment "when required."

The imperialist exploitation is so extreme, so rapacious, that for mere survival (that is, in order to remain a ruling class of a country in which there is something left to rule over) the satellite bureaucracies are forced to struggle for at least a modicum of independence and resist to some degree the encroachments of Russian imperialism. Certainly the Tito break is only the first wedge in the gigantic Stalinist edifice, which must crack and eventually shatter under the weight of its own contradictions.

Meanwhile, further evidence of crisis is indicated by the purge within Czechoslovakia in the state apparatus, in the country at large and in the Communist Party itself. A new frame-up trial is expected shortly of 71 persons arrested on the familiar charges of espionage, terrorism and assassination. Reports from London also state that a new underground press is springing up and that working-class opposition to the regime is increasing as a result of the introduction of a six-day work week and the speedup system. General Hasal, former aide to Benes, just fled from the country being the most important so far, of a considerable number of military deserters since the final Stalinist coup.

In Italy, the party purge pattern is

being pursued rapidly as a result of Stalin's reprimand to the Italian Communist Party for failing to prevent the shooting of Togliatti. The immediate response of the Italian CP was to attack the De Gasperi government for the attempted assassination; it called a general strike without defining its objectives or duration and demanded the resignation of the present government. The response was poor, and after the first day workers went back to their jobs. Stalin clearly indicated that he did not want any kind of showdown in Italy at this point and therefore thrust the blame upon the party.

Thus, after suffering a setback in the last elections and losing about 50,000 workers from its ranks because of its unwillingness to seize power when in a position to do so, the Italian Communist Party finds itself in an extremely difficult situation. The probable consequence of any attempt to seize power would be the outbreak of a world war, for which they are not at this point prepared. And so the Stalinists in France and Italy face the problem of trying to tread gingerly on some middle ground—fighting the consolidation of American imperialism on the continent which the Marshall Plan represents and trying to maintain their working-class support on the one hand, while on the other hand they are unable to take any decisive step because of the fear of war.

This contradiction which they face will probably mean a lessening of their influence over the European working class. This, combined with the imperial problems of Stalin, represents the most heartening prospect for revolutionary socialists, who, for the first time in many years, have an opportunity to regroup socialist forces in Europe with a positive third-camp position against both Washington and Moscow.

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## FINLAND

### STALINISTS SUFFER ELECTION SETBACK

By VALENTIN TOMA

Finland paid too dearly for her participation in the war on the side of Hitlerism. An exhausted and ruined country, she was compelled to evacuate 420,000 inhabitants of the regions ceded to the USSR, of Karelia and of the northern region, comprising 43,000 square kilometers or 12 per cent of the territory of the country. Twenty thousand families lost their homes in the bombed centers; 50,000 invalids and 27,000 war widows are the victims of this lost expensive war.

The armistice terms imposed heavy reparations upon the Finns: the delivery to Russia of various commodities, calculated on the basis of 1939 prices to the figure of \$300,000,000. The deliveries do not take into account the production and export capacity of Finland, just as in all the other former enemy countries.

For example, Helsinki must deliver reparations equaling 33 per cent of its wood products, 20 per cent of its naval constructions, 33 per cent of its industrial products, 14 per cent of various other products. The Finnish metallurgical industry is compelled, in a ruined country, to extend the output of its production regardless of the cost and in spite of all rules, while the export of timber remains behind hand. The result of all this appears in the form of an exceptional fall in the Finnish standard of life and in the scarcity of manufactured products on the domestic market.

The symbolic gesture of Russia before the Finnish elections, aimed at reducing the remainder of the Finnish reparations by 50 per cent, did not make any impression on the electorate. The value of the reparations taken from Finland sometimes exceeds, thanks to the devaluation of the national currency, the initial debt (six times the annual value of Finland's pre-war production).

### THREE DEFEATS IN ONE YEAR

Immediately after Prague was brought into line, there was an accentuation of the pressure on Finland, the only neighboring country and former enemy that enjoyed a relative independence.

The Stalinist party led by Leino tried to upset the political equilibrium between the non-Stalinist parties which have behind them the majority of the population and the Stalinists with their satellites who are the beneficiaries of Russian support. Neither of the two parties, as the last two government crises show, has succeeded up to the present time in destroying this equilibrium.

The Stalinist Popular Democratic Union has not succeeded, as it has in other countries, in colonizing and staffifying the trade unions; and, in general, all totalitarian control in the factories has been prevented. The strength of resistance of the Social Democracy to the Stalinist pressure has proved to be very powerful, and effective. The three small dissident movements which it experienced, organized by camouflaged agents, did not diminish the influence of this party; in fact, its influence has grown in recent times because of the extension of its always very significant working class base. Leino's party lost the battle of the trade union elections which restored the Socialist majority in the General Federation of Trade Unions, then lost the municipal elections and now the national parliamentary elections.

The latter have shown that the Stalinist parties of the Russian buffer countries are incapable, on the conditions of even relative democratic freedom, of maintaining the positions they acquired thanks to the military, diplomatic and economic predominance of Russia in the countries adjacent to it. The Finnish CP has lost almost 20 per cent of its votes and its position of first party in the political life of the country.

### THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE VOTE

The result of the Finnish elections shows us pretty clearly what would have taken place in Czechoslovakia if the CP of that country had not made a radical change in the political conditions by eliminating all opposition, that is, by overturning the relationship of forces. Instead of the 89 per cent of the votes, the CP and its satellites would have obtained a maximum of 30 per cent in the elections had they been held according to the democratic provisions of parliamentarism.

Will the Helsinki defeat, after the disturbing Yugoslav affair, provoke a Russian reaction? For the moment that is not very probable. The Finno-Russian mutual assistance pact has changed the situation of the country from the international standpoint. The Russians are able to break the most energetic resistance. They have at their disposal the military base of Porkkala in the immediate vicinity of Helsinki and, like everywhere else, they have the police machinery in their hands.

The Finnish elections will not change very much. Finland continues to be in the danger zone of the eastern buffer area, isolated from the Scandinavian countries with which it has common interests. It is not always the will of the people that triumphs under the inexorable conditions of the international relationship of forces.

## Station WEVD Reschedules Max Shachtman

NEW YORK—Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, will speak over station WEVD, 1330 on the dial (New York), on Friday evening, July 30, from 9 to 9:30 p.m. He will present an analysis of recent events, such as the Tito-Stalin break and changes in the French political scene, in the light of Socialist perspectives. The title of Comrade Shachtman's talk will be "The Future of Socialism in Europe."

Many friends who attempted to listen in on the previously scheduled talk of Comrade Shachtman were disappointed. Because of a technical breakdown, which took the station off the air for over an hour, this talk was not delivered. However, this new time has been set.

His talk will prove of especial interest to socialists and militant workers.

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# Stalinist Machine Control of New Party to Be Major Behind-Scenes Issue at Convention--

(Continued from page 1)  
gain 3,000,000. I know if the Communists really wanted to help us, they would run their own ticket this year and let us get all those extra votes." This is a far cry from the early honeymoon days of the coalition when he welcomed the Stalinists into the New Party, denied they were more than a handful, and an unimportant handful at that, and anyone who said otherwise was a red-baiter.

## ISOLATED IN HIS PARTY

In those days, Wallace did not advise the CP to run its own candidate and leave him alone. In March of this year he said: "Millions of Americans have rallied to the New Party." "If a few thousand American Communists support Glen Taylor and myself, they are supporting our program." (Newsweek, March 29). In those days Wallace wrote long statements in defense of the CP coup in Czechoslovakia. Today, he is notably silent about the Tito-Stalin break in Yugoslavia.

Wallace finds himself isolated in his own party. Aside from a handful of friends in top committees, he has no base, no support other than that delivered by the CP. Every section of the party is CP controlled, either through affiliated front organizations or directly through well-known Stalinist spokesmen.

In New York the American Labor Party is the Wallace Party; it is a party from which every single non-Stalinist labor union has departed. It is the CP's electoral front in this state. On no issue has it differed with the CP. In California the Independent Progressive Party is mainly supported by Harry Bridge's Longshoremen's Union. The Stalinist-controlled Electrical Workers (UE) and those PAC groups which have split from the official body, support the IPP against national CIO policy. In California, the CIO has split wide open with only the CP dominated unions affiliating to this IPP. In Illinois the same is true. The UE, the Farm Equipment Workers (CP dominated), and some national minority CP organizations, such as the American Slav Congress, constitute the Illinois PP. Everywhere, largely through their control of the UE, it is the CP which constitutes and controls the New Party. The bulk of the labor and liberal movement is outside of this Stalinist creation.

## CP SCHEME FOR PARTY

The base of the New Party is narrow by deliberate design. Not that the CP was too small or weak to create a broader movement, but rather because, given its limited power and

resources, it had to create an organization that would be insulated from possible challenge by other leadership groups. It needed a creature capable of being manipulated for its own political purposes in the 1948 elections, and not an arena in which conflicting viewpoints would fight it out for allegiance of the membership. The CP deliberately isolated the New Party from the existing labor movement. In doing so it also isolated Wallace from his natural political allies and co-thinkers, in the ADA for example.

In order to explain this, the CP created a brand new theory about political parties. What they want is not a party based on a social class, but one based on controllable groupings and dedicated to the support of Russian foreign policy. "It is not a labor party, not even a farm labor party. It is a new type of people's anti-war and anti-monopoly coalition arising out of the new anti-imperialist and democratic people's coalition which is being created within the U.S.A. and which reflects in its own way, the struggle between the world camps of progress and reaction." (Political Report to National Committee of the CP by Eugene Dennis, Feb. 3-5, 1948).

What could be plainer? It is not, and has no intention, of becoming a labor party as long as the CP can prevent it. Even more interesting is the blatant admission that the "coalition" and the party that it has created is the American reflection of "the struggle between the world camps," that is, between Russian and American imperialism. The report emphasizes the New Party's differences with other labor and third parties. It points out that this party is different because, for example, "while the La. Follette movement was endorsed by the top leadership of the AFL and by the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Wallace presidential movement is condemned by the bureaucracy of labor." But by contrast it "is more influenced by the progressive labor movement" (read: CP controlled unions). Or again, "The Third Party and the Wallace movement have not yet the British Labor Party's formal tie with the majority of the trade unions. However, this new political alignment has developed under anti-fascist and anti-imperialist influences (read: CP) and not under reactionary, social-democratic and red-baiting influences." Isolation from the labor movement is applauded.

Again, the lengthy draft resolution of the coming CP national convention emphasizes this separation by calling for a deepening of differences with the official union leadership every-

where by continual political attack. "The chief obstacle to the working class establishing its leadership in the people's coalition . . . is the activity of the reactionary and reformist trade union bureaucrats and pseudo-socialist leaders of the AFL, CIO, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. They resist union for union against Wall Street at home . . . they use the poisonous divisive Hitler-weapon of red-baiting and anti-Communism."

How then shall the New Party be built? Thus speaks the resolution: "In view of the capitulation of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods and of the UMWA to the imperialist course of Wall Street, such united action today must be built primarily from below." That is, the CP does not propose to fight within existing union bodies for its New Party but "from below," by by-passing the leaderships to try to win the ranks alone. Thus, the CP would retain its monopoly of leadership of the New Party.

Simultaneously the CP resolution as well as numerous other CP writings, calls for the isolation of Wallace within the New Party by a campaign against his economic philosophy and a struggle for the hegemony of the CP. "It is necessary to expose the illusion that the abolition of monopoly rule in the U. S. will usher in a progressive capitalism. . . . Exposure of illusions of a 'progressive capitalism,' illusions that are prevalent in this country as well as in many circles of this New Party makes necessary a struggle against 'liberal' Keynesism. . . . It requires an ideological struggle against certain economic policies and illusions of major forces in the people's coalition of the adherents of cer-

## Stalinists Unearth "Liberals" At Democratic Party Convention

By WALTER WEISS

You may not believe it, but the "liberals" at the Democratic national convention could have thrown their support for the Presidential nomination to a genuine, New Deal, Rooseveltian progressive — a man, moreover, who had the further unusual qualification of being willing and even eager to run.

What is our authority for this statement? The Daily Worker, American organ of the totalitarian Stalinists. We quote at length from the issue of July 14:

"Sen. Claude Pepper, failing to find any substantial support for liberal principles, withdrew tonight from the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Both the CIO-PAC and ADA, which had protested their eagerness to find a liberal candidate, declined to endorse the Florida progressive. The hardened politicians, even those who swore undying allegiance to the traditions of FDR, were climbing on the Truman-Barkley bandwagon.

"Chastened and somewhat embittered, Pepper called a press conference in the old Eisenhower headquarters and issued a statement which included this paragraph:

"The present leadership of the Democratic Party has proven incapable of holding the party together. That failure is due not alone to its inability to follow in the footsteps of President Roosevelt. . . . But to an unwillingness to accept and carry out with real fidelity the high principles and purposes of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The failure in moral purpose led to the first breaking of party solidarity and the forming of a national third party."

## PEPPER'S PRINCIPLES

Now, as far as we know, besides uttering the words of praise for Franklin D. Roosevelt quoted above, Pepper showed his "liberal principles" at the convention in a few other ways:

(1) While ordinary stick-in-the-mud liberals were ready to draft Eisenhower without having any idea of the general's opinion on most important problems, Pepper went two or three better and proposed to draft Eisenhower as a "national" candidate without any obligations to the Democratic Party and to allow him not only to choose his own running-mate but even to write his own platform.

This open advocacy of accepting a dictator-savior for the Democratic Party shocked even hardboiled newspapermen, who branded it variously as "a fantastic proposal" and as "the low point in American politics over a long period."

(2) Pepper angled, somewhat hopelessly to be sure, for Southern support by describing Truman's civil rights program as "a snare and a delusion," which would hurt those whom it was supposed to help.

Why do the Stalinists, who profess to be fighting for civil rights legislation and who are certainly bitterly opposed to Eisenhower, cover up for Pepper and actually glorify him in spite of his performance at the convention! How can the fellow-travelers of the Stalinists explain this?

The truth is, of course, that the

tain New Deal theories" (The Worker, May 30, 1948).

Why this attack on economic theories of the New Deal in relation to the New Party when the Party publicly claims to be in the Roosevelt New Deal tradition. There are two reasons. First, the green light is thereby given to the Stalinists in the New Party to struggle for control and to isolate "liberal" elements. Second, to separate Wallace from those outside the Wallace-Stalinist arena who think as he does on basic economic matters. By constantly attacking the trade union leadership, and the liberals, the social-democrats and the ADA, the CP pitted Wallace against them even though they are virtually akin on all basic matters other than pro-Russia foreign policy.

Thus the New Party is not being built as an expanding, inclusive party of labor and liberals but is strictly exclusive. In this party Wallace has no connection with the lower organizations or the membership. He does not have an apparatus that is loyal to him or his ideas, as distinct from the CP's. More than that, the CP itself has limited the Party. That is why membership in this Party is so small as compared to its popular support. This convention will reflect it. The bulk of delegates will not be from Party branches but from CP-dominated organizations.

Wallace is becoming increasingly restive about the Frankenstein of which he is a prisoner, as well as increasingly disturbed about the isolation of the Party from liberals and the union movement. He is also probably disturbed by recent interna-

## Stalinists Unearth "Liberals"

### At Democratic Party Convention

Stalinists will whitewash and lie on behalf of any one who they think will be of use to them in their main objective: furthering the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy. Pepper has made many strong speeches in defense of Stalin in the past, and the American Stalinists obviously hope that he may serve their common master again in the future. After all, observe how helpful he is in explaining the origin of the Stalinist-Wallace party (see the end of the quotation above) as being altogether the fault of the Democrats. While the Stalinists regret that he doesn't draw the "logical conclusions" and join the Wallace movement, they express their confidence that his heart is in the right place.

It is worth observing that Pepper was not the only sympathetic figure found by the Daily Worker at the convention. In the issue of July 11 we are given the following "analysis" of the composition of the convention:

The delegates may be divided into six groups. For five of these—Wall Street manipulators, Southern Bourbon Democrats, big city machines, Americans for Democratic Action, and Catholic cliques—nothing good can be said, although the ADA may have some deluded followers.

## OTHER FINE FELLOWS

The sixth group, however, is composed of truly fine fellows—"the run-of-the-mill Northern Democrats." They are "ward and precinct committeemen, a few Congressmen and state legislators, mostly from urban areas with working-class constituencies." They are "solidly against such reactionary legislation as the Taft-Hartley Act or the Mundt bill." They aren't as happy in the Democratic Party as they used to be in the New Deal days. While they sympathize with Wallace's program, "especially the domestic program" (our emphasis—Ed.), they hesitate to join Wallace for fear of losing their jobs. "But they are eager for alliances with local third party movements, especially where they themselves are candidates for public office (our emphasis). From these people will come the chief progressive stimuli at the convention."

Isn't this something! Translated, it means the following: In the local political machines there are some Democratic hacks who are worried about the danger of losing too many votes to Wallace candidates and thus not being re-elected, now that Roosevelt isn't around to attract the voters. If these fellows don't have bad labor records (which would offend the workers), it will be all right for Stalinists to make "deals" with them, EVEN IF they voted in favor of the Marshall Plan—provided, of course, they didn't shout loudly against the Kremlin in the process.

Well, there you are! The Democratic convention may have seemed the last place in the world to look for the real progressive spirit, but the Stalinists were able to find it and exactly where no ordinary person would have thought of looking—under the hardened hides of professional politicians.

al events which have not always shown the CP or Russia in a favorable light.

The CP, for its part, had decided to push Wallace to the wall. This convention will be one step in this plan. Since Wallace is completely committed for the 1948 elections, the CP feels free now to show its hand more openly. The New Party cannot serve Stalinist purposes after the election in its present form because it would mean maintaining an empty structure at a great expense of money, time, and man-power, and without great gains since this party is virtually devoid of sizable non-CP groups.

Exactly what the CP plans are will not be known until after its own convention next month. It is possible that it may seek to convert the New Party into some new kind of "American League against War and Fascism" or, in any case, something more innocuous than the present organization. This 1949 model will be designed to serve as a wide open recruiting ground for CP influence. The success of this, or any comparable project, requires, however, the immobilization of Wallace. For the CP, which has never hidden its hand in the New Party, to come out even more openly in control and to manipulate it, it must either conquer Wallace completely, that is, convert him into a Lee Pressman or Albert Fitzgerald, or isolate him completely.

## WILL PRESS THE ISSUE

For the CP there are also international considerations. The Cominform split with Tito, the purges in the Hungarian, Italian and other CPs, the denunciation of Tito for subordinating the CP to the People's Front—these events have repercussions in the CP here. It too must come out more openly in the New Party; proclaim its place in definite terms. There is a tightening up in all the CPs and this process in the U. S. will include a more aggressive policy against Wallace.

This process is already under way as the above quotation from the May 30 draft resolution indicates. Under this pressure Wallace's uneasiness has grown to the point where, unable to repudiate the CP at this late date without accusing himself of red-baiting, he, in effect, asks it to leave him alone as in his New Hampshire speech.

What will be his state of mind when the CP strategists put the cards on the table to show him that there is no Wallace party outside of the CP and its controlled organizations? That will be the moment when all the CP's plans for insulation of the New Party and its isolation from possible opponents will reach fruition?

## New "Cease Fire" Order—

(Continued from page 1)

Arab League accepted the cease-fire for all of Palestine with reluctance. The main reason given was, of course, the pressure of all the big powers and the "treachery" of Great Britain. Some face-saving conditions were attached; i.e., they called for a time limit, a restriction of immigration and return of Arab refugees to Israeli-held territory.

The overriding advantage of peace to Israel has led them to welcome the new cease-fire, despite some disadvantageous terms. A formal attempt, however, will be made to change, or at least to modify these terms. However, it is clear that the acceptance of the truce by the Government of Israel was not, as the Irgunists and Stalinists claimed, a "betrayal" but the correct and only thing to do. In this connection we would like to point out that the Workers Party raised the demand of "cease fire" in December, fully two months before it was raised by any other group, either in or out of the UN.

## ISRAELI POLICY

The "Irgun question" in Israel has not been settled yet. A commission of seven was appointed to reach a new agreement. This commission, headed by Greenbaum, conservative member of the General Zionists, did reach an agreement with the Irgun, restoring all the military independence the Irgun had before the "Alteena incident." This agreement was turned down by the Cabinet, under the pressure of the labor groups. Negotiations are continuing and the right-wing forces are still endeavoring to save their military ally, the Irgun.

While the Government of Israel, led by the social democratic Mopar-Labor Party—has handled the military problems quite well, they have taken no steps to reduce the bloodshed by the political steps of attempting to win the support of the Arab peasant and worker. No attempt was made to introduce such elementary reforms as the abolition of usury, dividing or promising the division of Effendi lands, the introduction of private peasant ownership of the land, a legal minimum wage for labor, etc. These reforms would have a wide appeal to the masses in all Arab League states, and these could become an ob-

## Workers Party NC Decides Policy on ERP, Election And Other Issues of Day

At a plenary session held over the July 10-11 weekend in New York City, the National Committee of the Workers Party laid plans and held preliminary discussions looking toward the holding of the party's national convention toward the end of this year, and made a number of decisions on the important political problems which have confronted the movement during the past period.

Most important of the latter questions was that of socialist policy on the Marshall Plan, reported on in last week's issue of LABOR ACTION. The statement adopted also appeared last week, in full.

The NC meeting opened with a detailed report by National Chairman Max Shachtman on the recent congress of the Fourth International in Europe and on his work abroad. Following a discussion which revealed that no disagreements existed in the committee on the conclusions to be drawn, a resolution was unanimously passed on this point, plus a separate motion officially putting a period to the question of unity between the WP and SWP. Both the resolution and the motion are published separately on page 3 of this issue.

## ELECTION POLICY

The decision of the committee on the party's policy in the presidential election this year is also given separately, in the National Committee Statement published on page one. The controversial section of this question—what candidate, if any, to support—brought forth two points of view at the meeting.

The majority view, presented in the Statement, advocates casting a vote for one of the socialist candidates on the ballot. (Three socialist candidates are being put into the running by small socialist groups — Norman Thomas for the Socialist Party, Farrell Dobbs for the Socialist Workers Party, and Edward Teichert for the Socialist Labor Party.) While the Workers Party has important differences with these groups, as is briefly indicated in the Statement, it considered that a socialist protest vote—directed against the two old parties as well as against the Wallace-Stalinist party—is the best means available for a militant worker to register his views on the presidential race.

However, the Workers Party feels, the socialist protest vote cast in November will be made up of the total votes garnered by all three candidates and not by any one of them alone; and the National Committee stressed that there was no political ground for it to single out any one of the three candidates as in some way peculiarly deserving of being THE so-

cialist candidate. The point of view (raised in the preliminary discussion but not presented by any member of the committee to the meeting itself) of giving critical support to Norman Thomas as the vehicle of a socialist protest vote was decisively rejected in the discussion. There was also no motion presented to support Farrell Dobbs of the SWP.

The minority view on this question favored a policy of abstaining from supporting any candidate or candidates. This was defeated and the majority position passed by a vote of 10 to 4.

## PALESTINE POSITION

Two other specific political questions were acted upon, in both cases the policy of the resident Political Committee being approved. The first was the PC statement on the recent Italian election and the Saragat party in Italy. This will be published in a forthcoming issue of the Workers Party Bulletin, but its content is adequately reflected in the editorial on the subject which appeared in the July issue of the New Internationalist—the main point being the evaluation of the large vote cast for the Saragat party as a hopeful sign for the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in that country.

The second point was the endorsement by the National Committee of the position on the war in Palestine—defense of the Jewish state and of the Palestinian Jews' right to self-determination, in the context of a socialist program for the reunification of the land through a joint struggle by Jewish and Arab workers and peasants against their ruling classes. The vote occurred specifically on approving the general line of the article "How to Defend Israel—A Program for Israeli Socialists," in the July issue of the New Internationalist, plus a motion raising the slogan of federal union as a first step toward the reunification of Palestine, in the same way as that slogan has been raised by socialists for partitioned India.

Another section of the meeting discussed at some length the problems of organization confronting the Workers Party. The next national convention will take place during the Christmas-New Year's period at the end of December; the convention agenda and first discussion documents will be issued shortly. General discussions were also held on the perspectives facing the movement in the next period and the steps to be taken in fitting the organization for the tasks ahead; but no decisions were taken on these points, pending the presentation of written proposals in the pre-convention period.

## Dixiecrat Yell Will Prove Futile Confederate Squeal

By WILLIAM BARTON

Meeting in a revival atmosphere, replete with Confederate flags, rebel yells, and portraits of Robert E. Lee, "delegates" from several Southern states met in Birmingham, Alabama, last week-end to nominate their "states rights" candidates for President and Vice-President in opposition to President Truman. The organizers of the convention were primarily the same group of Mississippi and Alabama delegates to the Democratic National Convention who walked out of that assemblage after the passage of the civil rights plank in this year's Democratic platform. Their scheme is avowedly to upset the system of presidential electors in their states so as to give their candidates the official vote, and to work for the acceptance of their assured victorious candidates for Congress as the actual Congressional minority to the expected Republican majority.

Although the question of "white supremacy" is very dear to the hearts of most Dixie politicians, although they were in almost complete agreement in opposing the civil rights plank, and although the convention addresses and similar speeches were received with apparent enthusiasm in Birmingham, most observers expect the move to get nowhere. Apparently, a good section of the audience, official and guests, were a varied collection of hell-raisers enjoying a carnival. Outside of the Mississippi and Alabama groups, the representation of political leaders was poor.

Conspicuously absent were spokesmen from the resurrected Long machine in Louisiana, the Crump organization of Memphis, the rival Thompson and Talmadge factions in Georgia, any of the powerful groups in Texas, the cohorts of Senator Byrd in Virginia, or the highly important state of North Carolina.

## SLIM APPEAL

The wing of the Alabama Democratic Party led by Senator Lister Hill has likewise shown little sympathy with the "revolt." The nominated candidates, Governors Thurmond of South Carolina and Wright of Mississippi, come from the economically and politically least important states in the South.

The fear of being cut off from ad-

ministration patronage is only one of the reasons for the lukewarmness of the sager and more strategically placed politicians. An examination of the platform and the speeches reveals an automatic lack of dynamic appeal—except of the kind that produces rebel yells. The dangers of "mongrelization," the infamous term used by these Claghorns to describe the campaign for civil rights, can, unfortunately, achieve support from large elements of the Southern populace. But the more capable demagogues know that much more must be added to acquire the type of allegiance that permits bucking the national Democratic Party.

That is why, for instance, the younger Long and the junior Talmadge have thus far kept their hands off. The latter is as violently anti-Negro as they come, but he usually adds demagogic demands for the amelioration of the lot of the poor-white. The program of the current "rebels" does not even have a semblance of his type of phony promises.

## SOUTH IS CHANGING

Equally important is the evidence that the South is definitely changing. Trade union organization is spreading, undramatically but surely Southern capitalists, both those who are direct agents of Northern big business and those with some degree of independence, may still want to keep white and Negro workers divided, but not at the expense of a continuing backward economy and of political isolation from the rest of the United States.

The New Deal and semi-New Deal politicians, like Pepper of Florida, Hill and Folsom of Alabama, Johnson of Texas, are becoming more and more important, backed by a politically-conscious labor movement. The "defense of Southern womanhood" may be enough of a clarion call to get votes in the Mississippi bayous and the South Carolina lowlands, but it won't work in Houston, New Orleans or Raleigh.

More people are going to the polls, both Negro and white, even in the poll tax states. The old South exists only in romantic novels and in the minds of a few zombie politicians. Even they may become alive in the next few months.