

**WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD!  
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# LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 31, 1949

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## Quick Repeal of T-H Act Snagged On Delay Tactics in House, Senate

By SUSAN GREEN

While the center of the Washington stage was occupied by President Truman this week, noteworthy developments were taking place in the wings. Labor is most interested in what has been going on with respect to the Taft-Hartley law, which the Democrats, it is still remembered, have pledged to repeal at this session. What has been happening in the closed sessions of the Senate Labor Committee to date worries the labor leaders who have pinned their hopes to Democratic campaign promises.

The division of forces in the committee is about as follows: there are the left-wing Democrats, headed by Senator Pepper of Florida, who want T-H repealed immediately with the simultaneous restoration of the Wagner Act. This, by the way, is the po-

sition of the CIO and AFL. Then there are the "other Democrats," with Senator Elbert D. Thomas, chairman of the committee, as their spokesman, whose attitude is, "What's the hurry?" Finally, among those vociferously heard from, are the pro-Taft-Hartley Republicans, most important of whom is Senator Taft himself.

On January 19, Senator Pepper gave notice that at the next session of the committee to be held on January 21, he would compel a showdown on procedure. He holds to the view that no hearings are necessary in the committee because the electorate unequivocally voted to repeal T-H. He wants the committee to report out to the floor of the Senate at once a measure repealing T-H and simultaneously restoring the Wagner Act. Senator Thomas, stalling for time, feels that action on T-H should be held over until other legislation of a less controversial nature is moved along. Thomas points to such legislation as the bill for federal aid to education as an example of what should be tackled before the very hot T-H issue. Pepper retorts that even the federal aid to education bill has produced divergence of opinion, instanced by the fight over whether or not federal aid should go to private and parochial schools as well as to public schools.

### DELAYING TACTICS

At the January 21 meeting of the Senate Labor Committee, Senator Pepper was absent and his showdown did not materialize. Instead of a showdown on the Pepper proposal for immediate action, the Democratic procrastinators gained ground. Most of the Democratic members of the committee, while of course in favor of "speedy action"—because didn't they promise that in the campaign speeches?—felt they should not attempt a revision of T-H without "at least limited hearings." On Friday Senator Thomas seemed more optimistic about delaying decisive action on T-H by giving priority to federal aid to library service, to establishing a national foundation for scientific research, to federal aid to education—all of which more or less worthy causes were not the main issues of the campaign.

In the meantime, Senator Taft has defined the strategy that the Republicans will pursue. He will offer in committee amendments "one by one." "If necessary," he says, "I will offer all the main provisions of the Taft-Hartley law as amendments." While he expects to be defeated by the Democratic majority, each amendment will require discussion and entail interminable delay.

Senator Pepper retorts angrily: "It's a filibuster. This is the first time Senator Taft has appeared as the champion of filibuster. . . . Whereupon Senator Taft hotly denies the charge: "It's no filibuster. It is rather an attempt by Senator Pepper to impose a gag rule on the Labor Committee."

When the Senate Labor Committee meets again on January 24, this edifying battle of words will continue. In the meantime there have been various predictions as to the earliest date the T-H issue may be expected to reach the floor of the Senate, April 1 being a pretty optimistic prediction under the circumstances. And Drew Pearson learns from his "con-

fidential sources" that the labor leaders who staked their all—rather labor's all—on the promises of the Democratic Party, have hit the ceiling. What did they expect? Perhaps the view up there will be conducive to sober reflections.

Among the many hundreds of bills (Continued on page 2)

## UAW Conference Discusses Pension Plans, Political Activity; Hears Labor Party Plea

By KEN HILLIER

MILWAUKEE, Jan. 24 — The immediate formation of an independent labor political organization in every city and town of the United States, composed of members of the trade unions, was the outstanding proposal presented to the more than 2,000 delegates to the annual UAW-CIO educational conference which closed its sessions here on January 23.

The proposal was enthusiastically greeted by the progressive UAW militants in particular as an outstanding step forward. It may have the most far-reaching consequences for the political future of the American labor movement and the working class as a whole, even though it still falls substantially short of the urgently needed Independent Labor Party.

This is the first report that has come to us directly from participants in the UAW educational conference. It suggests many things of considerable significance in the spheres of political activity, pension plans, etc., which require greater elaboration and analysis. Unfortunately, press reports of the conference were too meager to allow us to fill out the story for this issue. We hope to be able to do this in our next issue. In the meantime, we should like to add this information to the report here printed: 105 copies of the Ranger pamphlet, "Next—A Labor Party," recently published by the Workers Party, were sold to delegates.—Ed.

Other problems of key importance were closely considered by sessions especially devoted to them, above



WALTER REUTHER

all the problem of social security and a pension system in the auto industry.

### MANY VIEWS PRESENTED

The proposal for an independent labor political organization, separate and apart from the Democratic and Republican Party machines, was first made in the opening address delivered to the conference by UAW President Walter P. Reuther.

The panel on political action heard different points of view. These ranged from the former Socialist Andy Bie-miller, who begged the delegates to work within the Democratic Party through PAC, through PAC Director Jack Kroll, who advocated "reward your friends and punish your enemies," to outright advocacy of a Labor Party, and an outline of the projected formation of independent UAW political action by Jack Conway, administrative assistant of Walter Reuther.

While the delegates in the main still adhere to the formula of considering the Democratic Party the proper place for political action, the

growing realization among great numbers that a Labor Party is essential, prevailed throughout the conference.

### LYND DISCUSSES CLASSES

A great impetus toward Labor Party support was offered in a speech delivered Saturday, January 22, by Robert S. Lynd, author of the famous sociological study, Middletown, and a professor at Columbia University. To say his speech rocked the conference would be putting it mildly. He came out directly for a Labor Party. He told the leaders pointblank that playing ball, as they do, with the Democrats and Republicans, both of which are controlled by the capitalist class, was leading down a blind alley.

His speech also dealt with the dangers of bureaucratic degeneration of the trade unions. He attacked the steel union for working too closely with the steel industry, the garment unions for working too closely with the fashion racket. He said all this to warn the workers to guard against bureaucratic degeneration because of the historic importance of the labor movement.

Lynd mentioned the fact that we are too loose in our terminology in the unions. Lynd charged that class stratifications were glossed over. "I am sorry to say there are classes in the United States. There is a working class, a middle class, and a capitalist class." Lynd spoke in detail on the NAM's new plan of action, to go into effect on February 1. The plan is to capture the minds of the people. Lynd likened this development to the rise of fascism and the aid given it by the capitalists of Germany.

Outside of some innocent remarks in his speech about "democratic planning," his speech, which will soon be printed by the UAW, should be read and studied by all militants.

### PENSION PLAN

The panel discussions on social security and pensions revealed that while the UAW is well prepared on the health insurance aspect of the fourth round, the pension plans have

not been developed at all. Such questions arise as: how many will be able to retire right away? where will the initial money come from? will there be a fund corresponding to the mine workers' fund or will it be company-wide? if it is company-wide, will it not chain the worker to the company? how will small plants accomplish pensions? at what age to retire? These and many others are unanswerable at this time.

The membership was determined to go back to their locals and fight for the program outlined by the IEB. However, the directives will have to be more explicit and a central strategy adopted. The first in negotiations are to be Ford and John Deere.

The stimulant toward independent political action resulting from the conference must be followed by the UAW militants. The leadership must concretize its rough formulations. The March board meeting provides such an opportunity.

### Forced to Look For New Tricks

Two weeks ago Bevin played his last major card when he attempted an international "incident," using the five British flitters shot down over an Egyptian-Israeli battleground as the "cause." A real hysteria was whipped up, depicting the threat to the Suez Canal and all of Western European imperialist lines of communication. This was primarily aimed at getting U. S. support against Israel.

This maneuver failed. The U. S., which had always swayed with the tide of battle, decided to support the military victor. In addition to power politics and Jewish votes in the U. S., the U. S. government was eyeing the January 25 elections in Israel. Washington was determined to use all its influence to get the most pro-Western government possible in Israel—the strongest power in the Near East (except Turkey). Since Italian elections last year, U.S. foreign policy has learned to key its actions to influence elections. As predicted by LABOR ACTION of January 17, a series of

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ERNEST BEVIN

## Britain Compelled To Recognize Israel As Maneuvers Fail

By AL FINDLEY

In the absence of an orientation by the Israeli government toward the Arab masses, peace in Palestine depended on the relations between the Israeli government and the governments of Britain, Transjordan and Egypt. Developments have taken place this week involving all three.

When Britain evacuated Palestine, it did so in the hope that in the battle between Jews and Arabs a stalemate would ensue which would weaken both sides and allow Britain to step in as mediator of a peace assuring Britain the bases it wants in the Negev. For the major portion of the struggle, Britain was benevolently neutral toward the Arabs. The victory of Israeli arms and especially the last campaigns in the Negev entirely destroyed this policy. England began an active policy of aid to the Arabs.

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### Forced to Look For New Tricks



ERNEST BEVIN

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As the Nanking Kuomintang Regime Falls Completely Apart

## China CP Aims at Coalition; KMT Cliques Quarrel

By JACK BRAD

The great metropolis of China, its modern centers of Shanghai, Nanking and Hankow, are about to fall to Stalinist armies. It is now clear that there will be no real, genuine, stable peace until the Stalinists have completed the conquest of all China north of the Yangtze from its estuary on the China Sea to the great Szechuan plain in the west, one of the most fertile and richest areas.

The problem of the CP is how to achieve hegemony over the rest of China from this continental boundary in the most economical, speedy and politically satisfactory fashion. For this objective, military victories by themselves will not be sufficient. The primary strategy must be political. In this strategy, peace negotiations will be of major importance.

However, confusion and collapse has taken hold of the central government of China. With Chiang out, the new regime of Li Tsungjen depends for its life on Stalinist recognition of its peace offers. Barring such accep-

BULLETIN: JAN 26 — Late dispatches indicate the willingness of the Stalinists to negotiate with the peace commission set up by Acting President Li Tsung-jen. The formula for these negotiations, however, is complete surrender as in Peking. What the Stalinists are demanding is not negotiations but capitulation and Li is hardly in a position to organize a struggle against it.

ance by the CP, the vice-president, who has accepted the fallen mantle of Chiang, has no more reason for remaining than did his predecessor. With his name on the CP "war criminals" list, it is probable that he will not be considered sufficiently pliable for peace negotiations by the Stalinists.

### Cliques Bicker

The government announced last week its intent to move to Canton, but it has not as yet been able to do so formally, although its troops, generals, bureaucrats and money are flee-

ing there at an increased pace. In fact the government has been unable to do anything, not even to function, since its mandate to rule no longer depends on the military, which is loyal to Chiang or the warlords, but has no loyalty basis to the present rulers. With Chiang out, and T. V. Soong also, large amounts of capital fled as confidence in the regime tottered.

With Chiang no longer at the helm, the various cliques and factions of the Kuomintang (KMT) are openly struggling for posts and power. Chiang's strength was his position as "first among the many" clique leaders. As such he carefully balanced himself and maintained an equilibrium among the antagonistic groups. But Li Tsung-jen is only the leader of the Kwangsi clique, to whom no allegiance is due. His sole salvation lies in his ability to open negotiations; that can be the only source of his mandate, and precisely that is questionable at this time.

Nor is the military situation any brighter for the KMT. The best nationalist troops which remained in government areas were troops whose commanders gave allegiance to Chiang rather than to the state. Most of these officers were graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy, a source of recruitment to Chiang's group. Chiang had ruled through control of this

army for 20 years. Suddenly it is leaderless. The passion for peace is no longer contained by the strong hand of the ruler and it overflows freely. Soldiers and junior officers are fleeing in all directions, back home where they can hide from Stalinist wrath.

Political defeatism has seeped into the army to become disintegrated. Li will have great difficulty re-establishing a loyal military cadre for his state. His own chief military support comes from the Kwangsi army of General Pai, now at Hangkow, but not committed to defense of that greatest industrial heart of the Yangtze basin. Pai will retreat, if necessary, to Kwangsi Province where his strength is greatest.

Inside the KMT, Chiang's departure has loosened all the passions of ambition so long restrained. Li himself is looked upon, and rightly, as one who succeeded to power only after considerable intrigue. With Chiang and T. V. Soong out as governor of Canton, there are many plums to be divided. The C. C. (Chen brothers) clique, headed by the notorious Chen Li-fu, with its powerful secret police and connections with the Shanghai underworld, was a Chiang ally. This group is still to be reckoned with. "The Liberal Forum" clique of Sun Fo, who is still premier, is now reduced to impotence. Li faces the problem of re-

assembling the scrambled eggs, of establishing some balance among the ten or more major cliques whose first allegiance is to themselves. At the same time he must judiciously dispense the best patronage to his personal clique who have supported his struggle for 20 years.

### Li and the U. S.

The inability of Li to move the capital in time is symptomatic of the inner rot and lack of will. His is a government in name only. It must now move the political capital in a desperate hurry in order to avoid outright capture. This last-second-effort will prove extremely difficult, physically, financially and psychologically. For several weeks, financial stringency has immobilized various government bureaus. The railroads are not functioning, falling into Stalinist hands or being commandeered by terrified groups of soldiers.

When the new political center is established in Canton the reassembling of the different elements of the state will be a dubious task. Chiang's fall removes the final facade before the putrefying void that the KMT has been for many years.

Li Tsung-jen does have one asset which Chiang did not. He has the support of U. S. Ambassador Leighton Stuart. Stuart pushed the candidacy of Li for the vice-presidency last year

at the National Assembly over Chiang's vehement opposition. Li won on a program of "reforming" the KMT so that it could be more effective in the civil war and therefore a more effective American instrument.

Ironically, every attempt to effectuate such a reform movement now could only further accelerate the centrifugal forces and political confusion. Li has been a "peace" advocate for many months now, as has U. S. policy. Chiang's exit is in large part a consequence of the cold war that Washington waged against him—its refusal to grant him credits, refusal to issue a statement of support and, finally, refusal even to act as an intermediary for peace negotiations.

Li's elevation is in good measure due to the same source as Chiang's fall—the U. S. However, this very factor, his base of strength is also his Achilles heel, for the CP has clearly indicated that he is PERSONA NON GRATA precisely because of his American connections. Thus again U. S. policy is too late and again is helplessly adrift without a suitable instrument. Since the political key is in CP hands, Li can only hold power for a brief moment. His position is completely insecure. What is most probable is the rise of a new constellation of leaders who will perhaps have those virtues which will give them access to the CP.

For the CP will make peace with some KMT elements. It will not reject every bid from every group. Alliance with some sections in the KMT is indispensable to the political conquest of south China. Its chief slogan is for a coalition government because it cannot and dare not attempt to rule all China alone. It requires allies in order to establish a facade of all-nationalism, unity of the whole country and also to avoid responsibility for the economic distress which is certain to ensue.

### No People's Victory

Economic dislocation, especially in the great coastal cities, is inevitable. The CP without an urban base could not commence to establish any more than a shadow power by itself. As a result of the flight of capital, collapse of transport, and bifurcation of city-country economic ties, shortage of raw materials, there will be unemployment, hunger and discontent in the great cities. Decline in foreign trade will immobilize the ports.

These elements of distress will be accentuated by certain specific consequences of the Stalinist victory as such. First, since its victory is a conservative bureaucratic one, achieved by military means, it has not roused the vast energies of the people and

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Labor Leaders Worried by Congress Stalling

# Block Quick T-H Repeal --

(Continued from page 1)  
introduced in the Senate and House in these first three weeks since Congress convened, is a proposal for a guaranteed annual wage. This is a bi-partisan affair sponsored by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican from Massachusetts, and by Senator McMahon, Democrat from Connecticut.

Both Senators have said some very fine things in support of their measure. Lodge thinks it imperative to take up the problem of the worker who is "constantly haunted by the worry as to where he'll be or how he'll be living by the end of the year. Man wants to make his plans by the year. The education of chil-

dren, the acquiring of a real home, the planning of recreation and vacations—all the things which give life meaning and make for permanence and dependability—involve the ability to plan by the year."

Senator McMahon sponsors the bill on the theory that "The time to repair a leaking roof is when the sun still shines. The time to make plans for avoiding unemployment is when our people are working."

The provisions of their bill do not, however, exactly tally with the fine words spoken. For instance, their bill, if enacted into law, would affect only businesses contracting to supply the federal government with material or supplies in any amount exceeding \$10,000 a year.

Why limit the scope of the law only to businesses having contracts with the government? Even though the government is the biggest buyer from industry, there are many concerns with which it does not deal directly. Besides the government's role as a buying contractor is a changing one, depending on world and domestic affairs. Why not cover all industry in a law guaranteeing an annual wage?

Another serious criticism of the proposal is that it would call for a guarantee of thirty hours of wages for each of forty calendar weeks in the twelve months. A thirty-hour work week is fine but only if the pay is as if for a forty-hour week. Otherwise, what becomes of the standard of living of the worker and his family? Furthermore, there are fifty-two calendar weeks in the year, not forty. It is unfortunate but true that the average worker cannot afford a vacation without pay of twelve weeks in

twelve months.

Whether or not this Lodge-McMahon bill will get to the floor of the Senate at this session is not known. It is clear that labor unions must stir up interest in the question of a guaranteed annual wage, press for debate on the measure and also concretely propagandize for amendments to the Lodge-McMahon bill to eliminate its bad features.

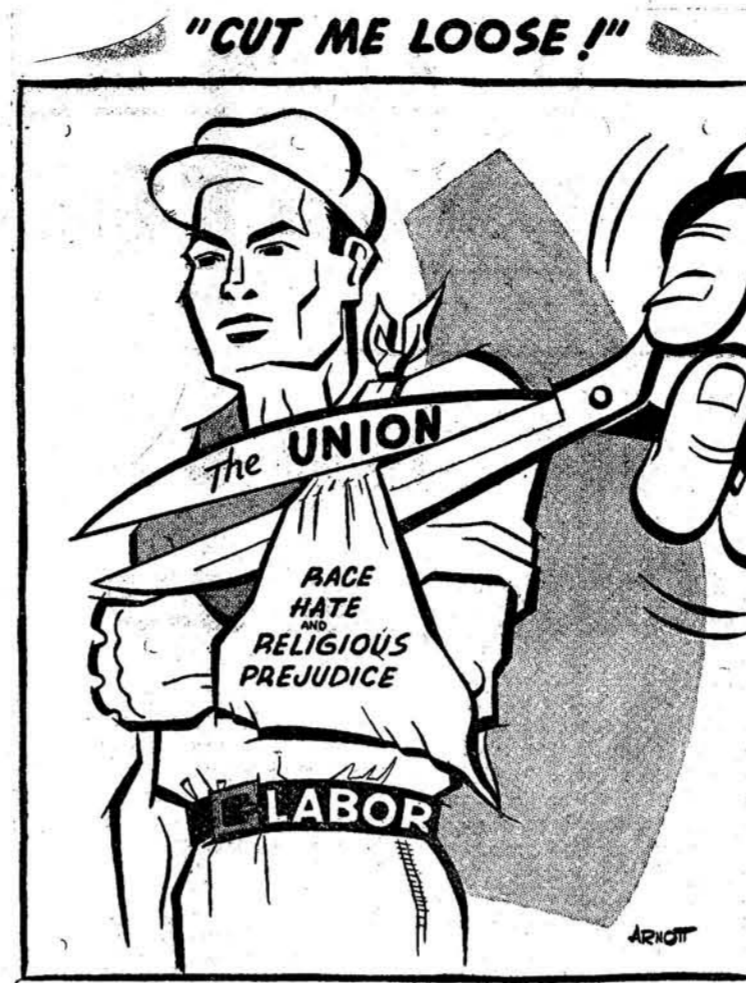
**HEALTH BILL**

Another bill of some importance to millions of Americans is the bipartisan federal health aid bill introduced by Senator Hill, Democrat from Alabama, and sponsored by four other Democrats and five Republicans. It is a bill designed to correct the "shocking deficiencies in health protection which result each year in 200,000 needless deaths, in sickness, poor health and tremendous economic loss."

Here are some revelations Senator Hill makes about this deplorable situation: "Most Americans take for granted their local health departments. They do not know that less than 10,000,000 of our 146,000,000 people have professional, full-time health departments to guard their water, milk and meat supplies from contamination, to supervise disposal of sewage and garbage, and control of communicable diseases."

Yes, it is hard to believe that these elementary health guards are not enjoyed by the great majority of our people—hard to believe when the government spends 42 billions a year, 32 billions for war and its aftermath. It is hard to believe that in this field of the people's health "sweet shop salaries" are paid to the personnel so that in the last six years the turnover among state health officers has been 75 per cent.

The Hill bill, with its bipartisan sponsorship, has a good chance of being passed. Undoubtedly federal aid to localities will bring commensurate improvement. The danger in the Hill bill for federal aid to public health is that it may direct attention, perhaps even with design, away from the issue of individual health insurance from cradle to grave, which is an altogether different matter.



## UE District 1 Stewards Hear Report on Situation of Union

PHILADELPHIA — More than 500 shop stewards and local officers in District 1 of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, gathered on January 19 in Bakery Workers Hall to hear International Representatives discuss current problems and activities of the union. James Matles, Organizational Director, reported that 80,000 union members are at present unemployed and other thousands are working only part time. The impact of this unemployment on coming contract negotiations was the main subject of discussion.

Contrasted with the spirited discussions at a similar meeting last year, the recent meeting, although well attended, was apathetic. In particular, the legislative report by Russ Nixon, UE's Washington representative, inspired no more than lukewarm curiosity.

The present course of the UE leadership in toeing the National CIO line of discipline has evidently temporarily silenced the "pro-CIO policy" opposition forces. The chairman, District President James Price, and the two speakers, expressed a preference to face the present and the future rather than to talk about old quarrels. For this evening both major groupings in the UE were content to let old wounds heal.

The Washington report summarized activities of the new Congress and evaluated prospects for passage of pro-labor legislation. Russ Nixon reported that the anti-union forces had won an initial battle by maintaining control of most of the vital commit-

tees. The big-business lobbies have so far been successful in delaying action on labor's demands. On the vital issue of the Taft-Hartley Act, Nixon reported that the repeal might be delayed until after May 1. This action would force unions to open fourth round negotiations under adverse conditions of the Act. The UE spokesman predicted that rent control, a 75 cent minimum wage, and broadened social security would be enacted. However, also forecast was no general price control or rollback and a greatly delayed and emasculated civil rights legislation.

Matles' remarks on the wage-price picture clearly showed the failure of the union to maintain wartime living standards for its members. One eighth of the UE members are now unemployed. In January 1945 the average weekly wage in the UE was approximately \$52. Today that average has been raised to only \$59. The effect of the three general wage increases totaling 35-40 cents per hour has been largely offset by shorter hours, demotions, and labor turnover. In the same period consumer prices have increased about 35 per cent; so that the goods costing \$52 in 1945 now cost almost \$70. Thus, even allowing for the slight decrease in income tax, the real wages for UE members in the four postwar years has dropped almost 20 per cent.

Here is proof that the failure of the UE and of the other unions to set up an effective political arm to control profits and prices has cost the union members dearly. Under the most favorable of conditions, the unions have failed even to hold their own in the economic struggles with the bosses. The only attempt made by Matles to explain these losses was the statement that the membership did not mobilize itself sufficiently well for the wage drives.

Reference was made in the question period to the UE's resolution in favor of the 30 hour work week without loss of pay. The UE will attempt to effect this shorter week program in bargaining this year, but the success will be obviously limited unless all of labor can be mobilized into a drive for a standard 30 our work week. The gigantic war program and its effect in heavy industry makes such a general drive for the shorter work week highly improbable.

In addition to the shorter work week demand the UE expects its main arena of bargaining to be around the welfare issues such as pension and insurance plans although as yet no general social security patterns have been set as models for negotiations.

**MINIMUM WAGE**

In the House the question of the minimum wage is coming to the fore. Representative John W. McCormack, Democratic floor leader, hopes that the House and Labor Committee will quickly bring out a bill to raise the minimum wage to seventy-five cents. Republican floor leader Martin of Massachusetts opposes quick action. He believes that "a bill of this magnitude" should be carefully considered in the committee. Mr. McCormack reminds his opponent that the issue has been "heard and re-heard many times." Indeed, who but the rank and file exploiters of labor needs more arguments on the need to raise the floor on wages!

### New York SYL Announces Classes

**NEW YORK SYL CLASSES**

The New York units of the Socialist Youth League have planned three study classes which will begin on January 31. There will be six weekly sessions of each class. The classes are as follows:

**I. The Principles of Leninism**  
Classes will be held every Monday night beginning January 31 at 7:15 p.m. The instructor will be Hal Draxler, editor of America's leading Marxist magazine, The New Internationalist.

**II. An Economic Analysis of Capitalism**  
Classes will be held every Monday night beginning January 31 at 8:00 p.m. The instructor will be Abe Kimbay, economist and lecturer.

**III. Readings in Marxism**  
This class will be organized on a seminar basis with particular emphasis on student participation. Classes will be held every Tuesday night at 8:30 o'clock beginning February 1.

The tuition fee will be 25 cents for each session and one dollar for a series ticket to six sessions of one class.

For more information about the classes write to: Socialist Youth League, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

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### WORKERS PARTY BULLETIN

Three more issues of the Workers Party Bulletin are now out, containing documents and discussion articles in preparation for the coming national convention of the party.

These are:

No. 6: Minority amendments to the draft International Resolution, and discussion articles on the same resolution; documents of the Jewish Bund movement (presented for information) on the Jewish question.

No. 7: Draft resolution on the Situation in the United States and Our Next Tasks.

No. 8: Statement of Ernest Erber giving his reasons for resignation. (Reply by Max Shachtman to follow.)

As announced in LABOR ACTION before, the first five of these convention discussion bulletins are also available. Bulletins are fifteen cents each, or you can subscribe to all (beginning with No. 1) at \$1.50 for ten issues. Order directly from Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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## See Fresh Leads in Pushing Inquiry on Tresca Murder

NEW YORK CITY—New information which may help identify the killers of Carlo Tresca, courageous anti-totalitarian editor, and the instigators of his murder, has lately come to the Tresca Memorial Committee as a result of an appeal for such aid made at its recent commemoration of that tragedy.

"In honoring Tresca on the sixth anniversary of his death," Norman Thomas, committee chairman, said on January 26, "we asked that if any persons in the audience had information, however fragmentary, which might throw light on the Tresca slaying, they communicate it either to District Attorney Frank Hogan or to us. We have been encouraged by responses from both friends and strangers. These new leads will be carefully looked into, and any data that promise to be useful will be passed on to Mr. Hogan's office."

Mr. Thomas would not say in what direction those clues pointed, nor whether they were in line with the contentions of Benjamin Gitlow, once high Communist Party official, in a current book, that a feud with Enea Sormenti, now Communist chief in Trieste, Italian political storm center, was a contributing factor in the Tresca slaying.

am not at liberty to give details of Mr. Hogan's reply, but I am confident his office will do an exhaustive inquiry into these new leads."

Mr. Thomas emphasized that his committee had always kept an open mind about the identity of the guilty in the Tresca case. "From the beginning," he said, "various friends of Tresca have believed strongly that this was a fascist crime, while others, with equal feeling, blamed the Communists. He had bitter enemies in both camps. We draw no final conclusions from Mr. Gitlow's statements; and will withhold judgment on any evidence until the guilty actually have been brought to justice."

**FRESH LEADS**

Reasons to be hopeful that the mystery of that crime might be solved soon were indicated in a statement by Mr. Thomas to the Tresca memorial meeting, attended by more than 500 persons in Labor Temple, East 14th Street, on January 11. This hope was based on fresh leads being investigated by the District Attorney's office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Thomas told of recent correspondence with Mr. Hogan, in which he urged the prosecutor to ask Mr. Gitlow to testify before the Grand Jury and tell all he knows about the Tresca killing and the apparently related Juliet Stuart Poyntz disappearance. Gitlow, who has offered to help in any way he can, declares in his book that Miss Poyntz, described as a disillusioned agent of the OGPU (Russian secret service), was ordered "liquidated" after she began writing about her experiences. He asserts she was lured into a limousine in Central Park, driven north, and murdered and buried in a woods near the Roosevelt estate in Dutchess County.

Gitlow attributes the killing of Tresca to two factors: "1. He dared to buck the OGPU on the Poyntz case. 2. He tried to foil Stalin's plans in Italy by keeping the Communists out of the Italian-American Victory Council."

Tresca testified before a federal grand jury, charging Miss Poyntz was kidnapped and murdered. And at that time, Gitlow avers, "there was open talk in Communist circles that Tresca would pay with his life for his treachery."

"On January 1 I wrote Mr. Hogan again," Mr. Thomas stated, "asking about the possibilities ahead, especially one suggestion that Mr. Gitlow be given opportunity to appear before the grand jury. Mr. Hogan answered at some length, assuring us close attention had been given to the Gitlow statements and that they would be investigated thoroughly. I

**TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY**

Tribute was paid to Tresca's memory by old friends at the memorial. They spoke of his refusal to compromise; his readiness to defend the underdog; his many-sided generous nature; his active part in the widening battle against racial discrimination; his braving of danger in big industrial conflicts in the steel and coal regions; the great debt owed to him by the labor movement for his valiant service through many years. . . . Those friends spoke, too, of the long and puzzling delay of the law in solving this case.

Donald Harrington, Workers Defense League national chairman, presided that night, and the speakers included: Dorothy Kenyon, former Municipal Court judge; Dr. Broadus Mitchell, lecturer in economics at Rutgers University; Dr. Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy; Frank Crosswaith, chairman, Negro Labor Committee, and general organizer, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; John Sala, organizer for the Shirt, Leisurewear & Robe Workers Union; Travers Clement, author and editor; David Martin of the International Rescue and Relief Committee; and John Nicholas Bettle, who worked with Tresca on both the Sacco-Vanzetti and Athos Terzani defenses.

Two guests from Trieste spoke about the present political strife there; told of many opponents of totalitarianism being wantonly killed. The two were: Prof. Giuseppe Dulci, editor of La Voce Libera, and Dr. Attilio Coen, both representing the Socialist Party of Trieste and the Union of Non-Communist Political Parties there.

Judge Kenyon recalled that special prosecutors had worked intensively and acted effectively in crime-troubled areas in the past. Why not in the Tresca case? she wondered. But she and the others were not without hope. David Martin told of the progress of the Carlo Tresca Home and School, established and operated by the International Rescue and Relief Committee in a coastal villa thirty miles from Rome. This was designed specifically to aid orphaned and half-orphaned children of the democratic resistance in Italy.

Henry Reese, good friend of Tresca, sang two memorable songs that Carlo had sung in his youth in Italy—Bandida Rossa (historic socialist red flag song) and the Garibaldi Hymn. Miss Joan Bishop played a piano accompaniment.

Later that evening ninety men and women (largest number yet) attended the annual ceremony of dropping red carnations at the spot where Tresca was killed in the 1943 dimout—northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 15th Street. Brief speeches about the meaning of his life were made by Nicola Cuneo, long one of his associates, and Sidney Hertzberg, writer and member of the Tresca Memorial Committee.

### What Month in 1920?

"I am interested only in seeing this great nation assume its position of responsibility, which God Almighty in 1920 intended that we should assume and which we did not assume."—President Truman at the Electoral College dinner, January 19.

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THEY POINTED THE WAY TO FREEDOM

Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg

By PHILIP COBEN

We socialists are not hero worshippers. But we have our heroes.

Socialists are not hero worshippers because the very essence of socialism—far deeper than demands for specific social reforms or changes, or demands for nationalization, for any specific PROGRAM—is the idea that the emancipation of the working class can only be the job of the working class itself.



KARL LIEBKNECHT—as member of Reichstag at outbreak of World War I, voted against war credits; jailed for organizing anti-war demonstrations; leader of the revolutionary Spartacus League; murdered by the forces of the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske social democratic government on Jan. 15, 1919.

January is the month of heroes for us because it commemorates the death of three who, more than any other, believed with all their hearts and souls and intellects that this wretched, degenerating madhouse of a world could be changed only when the people no longer leaned back watching the powers that be manipulate the reins but when they surged forward and took charge themselves, conscious, aware, moving and suspicious of "do-gooders."

These were three of the greatest socialist fighters of all time—Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. By birth a German, a Pole and a Russian. (And though his name does not begin with L, and though January does not mark his anniversary, we would add a fourth who, in the memory of the socialist working class, stands out as a believer in the power of the people to free themselves—Eugene V. Debs, American.)

Today, when Germany is again—or still—the center of world attention, the cockpit of the tug-of-war between American and Russian imperialism, we point first to the two Ls who gave their lives that the German working class might be spared the horrors of war and oppression: Liebknecht and Luxemburg. They had something to say to American workers who are wondering which of the would-be saviors today will give them what they want and need.

Imperialist Powers "Wean" the Germans

Today the German people lie at the feet of their conquerors. But that has been true not only since the war and the defeat in war; that has been true since their defeat by the conqueror who preceded Eisenhower—Hitler and Nazism. For it was the German people who were the first victims of the Nazi power, before Czechoslovakia, before France, before Norway and the rest. Washington and London and Moscow triumphed over Hitler, after Hitler had first triumphed over the German people.

And now the new conquerors ask:



Rosa Luxemburg—became one of leading organizers and theoreticians of Polish socialist movement while still very young; active in German revolutionary socialist movement; fought for revolutionary Marxist principles against those who wished to compromise with capitalism; beloved by German working class; led Spartacus League; murdered with Liebknecht, her body thrown into a swamp, on January, 15, 1919.

What to do with the Germans? How shall we "re-educate" them? How shall we "bring democracy" to them?

How shall we wean them away from notions of world conquest?—This is the hypocritical question asked by the Big Two who, right over the backs of the Germans, are sparing for world conquest themselves.

How shall we wean them away from warlike pursuits?—This is asked by the Big Two who, using Germany as a no-man's-land, are girding for war at a pace unprecedented.

How shall we teach them that it is wrong to oppress other peoples and national minorities?—This is seriously spoken of by two powers, one of which is an outstanding practitioner of minority persecution (of the Negroes), and the other of which is the cruelest tyranny on the face of the globe in 1949; and both of them aiders and abettors of anti-democratic suppression on every continent.

THEY are going to teach them!

THEY are going to "bring democracy" to the benighted Berliners, for example! They are going to educate them in democracy by—keeping them disinclined in split-up zones against their will and national desire, by denying them their own government!

Counselled Road To Emancipation

Today Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, one the brain and the other the flaming spirit of the Germans' long struggle against tyranny and oppression, would say to their countrymen: You will be free only when you get rid of your foreign "educators," you can develop your democracy only when you kick out your hypocritical tutors, you will have peace only when these two organizers of the third world war are no longer on your soil! Take Germany into your OWN hands—in a united and independent Germany undominated by the capitalist West or the hideous despotism to the East!

Take your country into your own hands—in each country, in each period, this has to mean something different in the concrete. The United States is not occupied by foreign powers nor dictated to in foreign accents. But here in the United States a powerful labor movement—stronger in many ways than it has ever been before—sees (and its leaders even make speeches about the fact) that Washington is dominated and run by powers altogether alien to the interests of the people. The profiteers, the big corporations, the Sixty Families, the Dillon-Reed-Morgan-U. S. Steel economic rulers, fronted by fair-promisers and campaign pledgers, sometimes ticketed Democrat and sometimes Republican, run an American Military Government of their own in Washington, our native AMG.

They pass a Taft-Hartley Act, and the leaders of American labor look for salvation to a capitalist politician who, only two years ago, proposed a little Truman Act of his own to curb labor's rights and who now, after election, reiterates that he still wants it. They push up prices and raise a stop-signal on wages, and the leaders of American labor say: Wait for the Democratic Party to bring us what we want and need.

Take your country into your own hands: that goes for our labor move-

ment too. The first step is in front of it: it does not have to get rid of foreign brass, or kick out foreign uniforms. All it has to do is to organize its OWN political strength, organize its own party, put the name of labor in the political arena where it belongs, INDEPENDENTLY—organize its own Labor Party.

That is how the American working people can start on the road to their own emancipation as their OWN job.

"Peace" Becomes Horror of War

But for Lenin and Liebknecht and Luxemburg, as for Gene Debs, as for all people today, one horror stood out among all others as the outcome of the subjection of the people to powers above them and out of their control—the most terrible result of the subordination of the will of the people: War.

When the people want peace, but wait for peace to be arranged for them; when the people want an end to mutual slaughter, but merely content themselves with placing hope in one or the other of the "peace agencies" of capitalism—then their very yearning for peace becomes a means to push them into the pit.

War—for peace; war—for democracy; war—to end war; war—to preserve the sanctity of international agreements; war—to defend the United Nations, it may be; war—to stem Russia's expansion. It is a kind of jiu-jitsu. In jiu-jitsu the strength and momentum of the opponent are turned against him; in the politics of the capitalist democracies, the passive yearnings for peace are turned into justifications for war. Our modern warmakers are skillful navigators: they tack against the wind, but make their way to the appointed port of war for world conquest—in the name of peace. As long as the people are depending on THEM, and not on themselves.

Germany and Russia of twenty-five years ago had their liberals and "socialists" and even "Marxists" who were against capitalist war in the abstract. When it broke out, they had no difficulty finding the most "practical" and "realistic" reasons for supporting the Kaiser's government and the czar's government in the actual war. There were a handful, to begin with, who remained true to socialism and the anti-war struggle, and in the first place the three Ls.

"Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth, thus capitalist society stands. Not as we



Lenin—organizer of the Russian Bolshevik Party, leader of the Russian Revolution, died January 21, 1924

usually see it, playing the roles of peace and righteousness, of order, of philosophy, of ethics—as a roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilential breath, devastating culture and humanity—so it appears in all its hideous nakedness."

Rosa Luxemburg wrote that in 1915, and this:

"This madness will not stop, and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will down the bestial chorus of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor, 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!'"

They fought against the war. Only one country, then, lifted itself out of the war by its bootstraps, by the will of its people for peace, by their own

movement—the revolutionary Russia of Lenin and Trotsky. That revolutionary Russia has gone under, and in its place is the nightmare of Stalinism, but the fire of anti-war struggle and socialist democracy that it raised and fanned is still the only beacon in the world to keep our feet from the abyss of capitalist barbarization and Stalinist degeneration.

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inch nearer to the great goal of freedom.

Our heroes are not those who have promised to "do good" for the people, but those who have called on the people to take their fate into their own hands—called on them, stimulated them, lashed them into action and mass movement, pointing a direction and a way, a program and a road of struggle.

"THE DAY OF THE PEOPLE"

Eugene V. Debs on the Three L's

In commemorating the anniversaries of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, we present here a speech by Eugene V. Debs, the great American socialist leader who was sentenced to Leavenworth for his anti-war convictions. The original appeared in the Class Struggle, February, 1919 (Vol. III, No. 1).

Upon his release from the Kaiser's bastille—the doors of which were torn from their hinges by the proletarian revolution—Karl Liebknecht, heroic leader of the rising hosts, exclaimed: "The Day of the People has arrived!" It was a magnificent challenge to the Junkers and an inspiring battle-cry to the aroused workers.

From that day to this Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other true leaders of the German proletariat have stood bravely at the front, appealing to the workers to join the revolution and make it complete by destroying what remained



EUGENE V. DEBS

of the criminal and corrupt old regime and ushering in the day of the people. Then arose the cry that the people were not yet ready for their day; and Ebert and Scheidemann and their crowd of white-livered reactionaries, with the sanction and support of the fugitive Kaiser, the infamous Junkers and all the allied powers, now in beautiful alliance, proceeded to prove that the people were not yet ready to rule themselves by setting up a bourgeois government under which the working class should remain in substantially the same state of slavish subjection they were in at the beginning of the war.

And now upon that issue—as to whether the terrible war has brought the people their day or whether its appalling sacrifices have all been in vain—the battle is raging in Germany as in Russia, and the near future will determine whether revolution has for once been really triumphant or whether sudden reaction has again won the day.

In the struggle in Russia the revolution has thus far triumphed for the reason that it has not compromised. The career of Kerensky was cut short when he attempted to turn the revolutionary tide into reactionary bourgeois channels.

Lenin and Trotsky were the men of the hour and under their fearless, incorruptible and uncompromising leadership the Russian proletariat has held the fort against the combined assaults of all the ruling class powers of earth. It is a magnificent spectacle. It stirs the blood and warms the heart of every revolutionist, and it challenges the admiration of all the world.

So far as the Russian proletariat is concerned, the day of the people has arrived, and they are fighting and dying as only heroes and martyrs can fight and die to usher in the day of the people not only in Russia but in all the nations of the globe.

THE PEOPLE ARE READY

In every revolution of the past the false and cowardly plea that the people were "not yet ready" has prevailed. Some intermediate class invariably supplanted the class that was overthrown and "the people" remained at the bottom where they have never since the beginning of history. They have never been "ready" to rid themselves of their despots, robbers, and parasites. All they have ever been ready for has been to exchange one brood of vampires for another to drain their veins and fatten in their misery.

That was Kerensky's doctrine in Russia and it is Scheidemann's doctrine in Germany. They are both false prophets of the people and traitors to the working class, and we be to their deluded followers if their vicious reaction triumphs, for then indeed will the yokes be fastened afresh upon their scarred and bleeding necks for another generation.

When Kerensky attempted to side-track the revolution in Russia by joining forces with the bourgeoisie he was lauded by the capitalist press of the whole world. When Scheidemann patriotically rushed to the support of the Kaiser and the Junkers at the beginning of the war, the same press denounced him as the betrayer of socialism and the enemy of the people. And now this very press lauds him to the heavens as the savior of the German nation! Think of it! Scheidemann the traitor has become Scheidemann the hero of the bourgeoisie. Could it be for any other reason on earth than that Scheidemann is doing the dirty work of the capitalist class?

And all this time the prostitute press of the robber regime of the whole world is shrieking hideously against Bolshevism. "It is worse than Kaiserism" is the burden of their cry. Certainly it is. They would a thousand times rather have the Kaiser restored to his throne than to see the working class rise to power. In the latter event they cease to rule, their graft is gone and their class disappears, and

well do they know it. That is what we said from the beginning and for which we have been sentenced as disloyalists and traitors.

Scheidemann and his breed do not believe that the day of the people has arrived. According to them the war and the revolution have brought the day of the bourgeoisie. Mr. Bourgeois is now to take the place of Mr. Junker—to evolve into another Junker himself by and by—while Mr. Wage Slave remains where he was before, under the claws of his master, and all he gets out of the carnage in which his blood dyed the whole earth is a new set of heels to grind into his exploited bones and a fresh and lusty vampire to drain his life-blood.

Away with all such perfidious doctrines; forever away with such a vicious subterfuge and treacherous betrayal!

The people are ready for their day. THE PEOPLE, I say. Yes, the people!

LET US PAY THE WAY

Who are the people? The people are the working class, the lower class, the robbed, the oppressed, the impoverished, the great majority of the earth. They and those who sympathize with them are THE PEOPLE, and they who exploit the working class, and the mercenaries and menials who aid and abet the exploiters, are the enemies of the people.

That is the attitude of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia and was of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, and this accounts for the flood of falsehood and calumny which poured upon the heads of the brave leaders and their revolutionary movement from the filthy mouthpieces of the robber regime of criminal capitalism throughout the world.

The rise of the working-class is the red spectre in the bourgeoisie horizon. The red cock shall never crow. Anything but that! The Kaiser himself will be pitied and forgiven if he will but roll his eyes heavenward, proclaim the menace of Bolshevism, and appeal to humanity to rise in its wrath and stamp out this curse to civilization.

And still the "curse" continues to spread—like a raging conflagration it leaps from shore to shore. The reign of capitalism and militarism has made of all peoples inflammable material. They are ripe and ready for the change, the great change which means the rise and triumph of the workers, the end of exploitation, of war and plunder, and the emancipation of the race. Let it come! Let us all help its coming, and pave the way for it by organizing the workers industrially and politically to conquer capitalism and usher in the day of the people.

In Russia and Germany our valiant comrades are leading the proletarian revolution, which knows no race, no color, no sex, and no boundary lines. They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them, scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers within our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber-class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death!

From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it. "The Day of the People has arrived!"

WORLD POLITICS

Truman Accepts:

In significance and quality, the President's inaugural address has been compared with Roosevelt's famous Chicago "Quarantine" speech and his 1941 "arsenal of democracy" talk. In the sense that the Truman speech attempts to define the role and place of America in the world today it is definitely in the historic tradition of such remarks as those of FDR, but actually it was much further advanced and developed. Some have compared it rather with the "American Century" doctrine of Luce, expressed several years back, and it certainly had a ring and stamp to it that could be associated with a slick Life magazine editorial proclaiming America's "destiny" to be world rule (in a benevolent sort of way, of course).

The Truman message was both ideological and political in nature. In his harsh ideological attack upon Russia and Stalinism (referred to as communism by him, of course), Truman indicated his acceptance of the concept that the struggle between American and Russian imperialism is first and foremost an ideological one, based upon two exclusive and contradictory social systems. It is easy enough to accept such a definition of the struggle's "terms of reference," but the Truman definition of the American ideology—"our people desire . . . a just and lasting peace—based on genuine agreement freely arrived at by equals"—has as little relation to the real issues and definitions involved as does the definition of a "people's democracy" by Matyas Rakosi, leader of Hungarian Stalinism, who has just informed the world that it is a "dictatorship of the proletariat, without the soviet form"! By "soviet form" Rakosi means, of course, workers' democracy.

It is impossible to expect any correct and honest definition of the social and ideological issues involved from spokesmen of either side, since ideology is used equally as a camouflage for both camps. The real significance of the Truman ideological attack was that, at the start of his new term of office, he gave a clear indication to Stalin that any fundamental settlement of the dispute is out of the question; that the cold war will continue and that, at best, temporary and unstable agreements on tactical and secondary issues (such as an Austrian peace treaty) are all that can be expected. In this respect, he aimed to cut short the rather phony and feeble "peace offensive" that several Stalinist wheel-horses, like Marcel Cachin of the French CP, have been pushing along in recent weeks.

AN "AMERICAN CENTURY" SPEECH

The more positive political aspects of the inaugural address are more interesting. The differences between the Roosevelt speeches and this one with which they have been compared lies in the fact that the former intended deliberately to involve American imperialism in world affairs while the Truman speech assumes this deep involvement (there is not even the usual reference to the departure and death of isolationism) and is concerned with the question: what form shall this involvement take, and how shall it best be organized and carried out? In this sense, it was an "American Century" speech, proclaiming the power and might of American imperialism both in words and in the roar

of the huge airpower armada display. Of course, no plans were made specific nor was their content filled in. The bulk of the speech, however, dealt with America's approach to the outside world—the program for combating Stalinism on a world-wide scale. A "dynamic" American leadership shall lead us in the struggle. The United Nations will continue to function, but new nations (from the colonial world) will be of increasing interest to American imperialism which shall attempt to establish solid relations with them not in the outmoded form of colonial occupation, but through the ties of business, commerce and economic loans.

The Marshall Plan, largely responsible for the temporary containing of Stalinism in Europe, will continue and at least \$4 billions will be advanced this year. To bolster the economic and political gains of the Marshall Plan, a North Atlantic pact in the form of a "collective defense arrangement" will be arranged. Those nations involved in it will be supplied by a new form of lend-lease material aid, an adjunct to the ERP program. It is a "companion piece" of the Marshall Plan.

STREAMLINING U.S. WORLD CONTROL

Finally, and the newest concept of all, Truman proposed a broad generalization according to which America will make "the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."

It is clear that here we have a general conception that may mean innumerable things—for example, the development of a special Marshall Plan for a future Asiatic anti-Stalinist Union. Its specific meaning was deliberately left out for many reasons, most notable of which is the fact that the entire Asiatic world, thanks to the victory of Chinese Stalinism, is readjusting its relations with the Western nations and nothing is yet clear.

Behind the whole Truman address is the recognition that economic factors will represent the new administration's most serious headaches in the future. Too many signs exist that the post-war boom period is over. The domestic market, in terms of capitalist economics, appears to have reached the saturation point or very soon will. Yet American imperialism is more productive than ever before! More than hitherto, it must turn toward outside markets and new areas for doing business. Conditions in Europe are such that no answer lies there. It is quite likely that an unprecedented stress may be placed by the new administration on capital investment and business relations with those areas of the world—Africa and southeast Asia—that have yet to come under Stalinist influence and can still be developed in capitalist terms. It is apparently this that Truman had in mind in stating his new world-wide economic paternalism.

To say that America and the imperial power it represents has its social, political and economic fingers in every part of the world has become an obvious statement of fact. Now begins the period in which the effort will be made systematically to organize, streamline and build up this power. This is the main task that Truman has set for his administration—the systematic extension of the network of complicated binding ties which American imperialism is weaving around the world.

Henry JUDD

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interest of Socialism Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Co. 114 W. 14th St., New York City 11, N. Y. General Offices: 4 Court Square Long Island City 7, N. Y. Tel: IRonsides 6-5117 Vol. 13, No. 5 Jan. 31, 1949 Emanuel Garrett Geltman, Editor Editorial Board: Jack Brad, Hal Draper, Henry Judd, Business Manager; Joseph Roan Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50¢ for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada and Foreign) Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1946, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874

# China Stalinists Demand Capitulation of KMT; Move for CP-Controlled Coalition Government

(Continued from page 1)

the working class. No new cadres of leadership are springing out of the great heart of the people because they remain unarticulate.

That unique social phenomenon which is characteristic of every true social revolution which sees millions of yesterday's silent, oppressed, anonymous coolies come to life, learn with a rapidity beyond wildest imagining and grasp the subtlest social and political conceptions, taking to themselves the destiny of great nations, teaching the leaders, giving birth to hosts of new leaders and engaging in all those multi-form activities of power which were but yesterday the exclusive prerogative of the master class—this mighty charge of the people to the helm of history is not present in China today. This is at once the condition of Stalinist victories and is also deliberately fostered by them.

### Stalinist Policy

One example will indicate the bureaucratic character of the Stalinist reforms, precisely in that field from which it draws its main strength—agriculture. Mao Tze-tung says: "... do not attempt to eliminate the whole feudal system of exploitation overnight. . . . It is necessary further to differentiate between the various regions and stages . . . while in those regions which it is still temporarily difficult firmly to occupy, do not be in too much of a hurry to carry on agrarian reform but rather do some practicable work beneficial to the masses in accordance with existing conditions, pending a change in conditions. Differentiating between stages means that in areas which the people's liberation army has just occupied the tactics of neutralizing the rich peasants and small and middle landlords should be set forth and carried out, reducing the sphere to be struck to only eliminating the KMT's reactionary armed forces, hitting at big feudal tyrannical elements. . . . Afterwards, . . . step by step develop to the stage of eliminating the whole feudal system."

In old areas under CP control he advocates that "... neither the liberal bourgeoisie nor the industry and commerce operated by landlords and rich peasants can be infringed upon; special attention must be given to non-encroachment on middle peasants, independent laborers, professional people and new-type rich peasants. . . ." (China Digest, June 1, 1948).

Thus are the "stages" of land reform carefully designed. Where the CP armies have not yet firmly established their power, the peasants are not to be in a hurry "to eliminate the whole system of exploitation overnight. . . ." Self-activity is denied in favor of CP conquest. If there is to be "liberation," only the CP will do it, not the peasants themselves. After conquest, the CP seeks allies among all classes of the village so there too the reforms are carefully organized according to advance directives. And, finally, in old areas, where a new class of kulak, the "new-type rich peasant," who owes his new wealth and prestige to the CP becomes its chief economic and social ally. Class division, far from being abolished, is placed under the CP's protection, provided only that the party retains decisive political power and a position above all the classes in the village so that it can arrange the balance between them to suit its own needs.

The consequence is a paralyzed peasantry, not a popular national revolutionary movement in the villages. Instead of revolution in the village, in which feudal remains could be drastically uprooted by a people who would invest their new organs of power with their own authority to defend their self-won rights, the heavy hand of the CP manipulates social relations by stages, only as its own power is established and according to its own bureaucratic political needs. The peasantry become political dependents.

These peasants do not always appreciate the niceties of CP maneuver. A very recent report by one of the U. S. agencies for the Chinese CP writes: "When a landlord also has industrial and commercial holdings, the problem is more complicated. It is not easy for the poor peasant to distinguish between wealth derived from two different sources. When the peasants take possession of the land in the country it seems perfectly natural for them to move on to the town and confiscate the landlord's inn, his shop, or his factory. Such mistakes have been made in the past." (Letters from China, January 1948).

During and immediately after the war, when peasants attempted revolution in the country-side, the CP deliberately repressed them on at least three separate occasions.

### Lack Workers Base

In the cities, the situation is not different: Stalinist directives to the working class call upon it to wait for the army of liberation and not to act on their own. At the Harbin labor conference last summer the instructions were as follows: "The immediate . . . tasks of workers in Kuomintang areas were considered to be: (1) the consolidation of their own strength and expansion of their fighting ranks so as to prepare for the

arrival of the liberation army, (2) cooperation with the national industrialists in their common fight against the bureaucratic capitalists."

In no case are workers to rise up against their decades of coolie existence to create their own power. In decrees regarding the government of newly conquered cities, disobedience to CP military directives by any class or group is to be severely punished; the administrative machinery is to be left intact until the party apparatus takes over.

Stalinism is not an urban movement in China. It could not hope to administer cities, let alone organize trade and industry without allies. While it will try to organize the workers into organs which it can control and manipulate, it must seek political alliances with other classes. The nature of the bureaucratic revolution requires it at this stage. It is the only way this agrarian-based, bureaucratic party can extend its rule.

### Coalition Essential

Yet another disability presents itself as part of Stalinist rule. A socialist revolution would not accept Russian domination over Manchuria but would rescue the 75 per cent to 85 per cent of the entire nation's industry which is in Manchuria for Chinese use. Stalinism cannot do this because of its subordination to Russian needs. Stalinism alienates China from the rest of Asia, particularly from the rising national states of Southeast Asia. It cuts China off from vast physical and political resources in this area. Because of its Russian relations a Stalinist China would be cut off from this great potential for a coordinated, democratic socialist regional economy.

These difficulties and problems make coalition indispensable for Chinese Stalinism at this stage. Some KMT groups are necessary for such a coalition. In addition, available as the ace in the hole, is Marshal Li's anti-government "revolutionary KMT." His value to the Stalinists is not alone that of a well-known personage who could be a useful front, but also as a power in the southern provinces of Yunnan and Kwangsi, which he can possibly bring over to the coalition, thus diminishing the cost of extended and prolonged military struggle.

The necessity to shorten the war to conserve military power and begin economic reconstruction also forces Stalinism to search for coalition rule. As Mao has indicated in the above quotation, it may be possible to moderate the "stages" of land reform to suit the needs of local warlords.

### Won't Share Power

What has been described above are the means which Stalinism is at

this moment utilizing in order to achieve its objective of a bureaucratic collectivist society in China. The Socialist Workers Party makes the error of confusing these expedients with the end product and thus comes up with the fantastic conclusion that the Chinese CP is preparing to capitulate—to Chiang! Or perhaps to the Chinese bourgeoisie. Nothing could be more fanciful. Or are they preparing to become the servitors of the new kulak class?—a dubious honor at best!

Mao makes clear the Stalinist economic objectives: "After the nationwide victory of the revolution, the new democratic state will have in its hands enormous state capital which controls the economic pulse of the entire country, taken over from the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. It will have also the agricultural economy emancipated from the feudal system. Although for quite a long time the agricultural economy will still be basically scattered and individual, it will be guided step by step in the direction of co-operatives in the future. Under these conditions the existence and development of small and middle capitalist elements are not at all dangerous."

In typical jargon he then repeats these simple objectives in an unmistakable summary: "the economic structure of new China is: 1. State economy—that is its leading element; 2. An agricultural economy developing step by step from individual toward collective farming; 3. The economy of independent, small industrial and commercial businessmen and the economy of small and middle private capital. These are the entire economy of the new democracy." ("Turning Point in China," by Mao Tze-tung, December 25, 1947).

### Means to an End

The blueprint or goal is clearly established as Stalinist rule in a bureaucratized society. The means which is what current struggles in China are centering on, are those most suitable to this end, that is, those which create the least political friction. The CP would rather deal with a powerless capitalist or kulak class and make all manner of circuitous compromises with them rather than face the need of coping with an aroused people in city and village. That is why their means are as bureaucratic as their objectives. It is, for them, more economical this way.

However, some of their methods may even bear an outward similarity to those of revolutionary socialism because they share in common with it anti-feudal and anti-capitalist objectives. It is just as fallacious to ac-

cept such acts as good coin as to emphasize the compromises. The anti-feudalism of Chinese Stalinism has the same relationship to historic developments as the anti-capitalism of Eastern European Stalinism.

The summation of these objectives is embodied in the central political slogan of the CP today—for a new Political Consultative Conference (PCC). This would be a meeting of the leaders of various political factions to organize the division of power in the new state. The people would not be consulted until the central questions were disposed of. Only then would there be elections to provide the usual facade of Stalinist democracy. This entire program is sharply counterposed to the demand for an immediate election to a democratic constituent assembly.

Thus on January 15 Mao Tze-tung made known the CP's peace propo-

### Athenian Press Praises N. Y. Times

In their annual year-end round-up of review, forecasts, congratulations to friends, pats-on-the-back and such stuff, the newspapers of Athens, Greece, singled out the New York Times as the theonly foreign paper worthy of praise.

The Greek newspapers and their owners have every reason for being thankful to the N. Y. Times. The policies of the Greek government have been so reactionary and so corrupt that even the capitalist press has been forced occasionally to lift an eyebrow, to at least give the impression of objectivity to its readers—that is, all of them except the New York Times. So it is not out of order at all that the Times be recognized by its friend for what it is.

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### UTILITIES PILING IT UP

Electric utilities are booming as they have never done before, and yet in almost every community they are asking for increases in the rates. The utilities signed up more than two million new customers last year. Sales last year soared to a new peak of over two-hundred billion kilowatt hours: Here is a chart showing how much the larger utilities took in during 1947 and the increase in 1948.

	Gross Revenues	
	1948	1947
Alaba Power (1) .....	\$38,042,000	\$28,546,000
Cleveland Elec. Illum. Co. ....	59,697,000	50,427,000
Commonwealth Edison (1) .....	175,002,000	161,029,000
Consolidated Edison of N. Y. (1) .....	276,056,000	247,683,000
Cons. Gas, El. Lt. & Pow. (1) .....	52,536,000	46,226,000
Consumers Power (1) .....	64,213,000	58,089,000
Dayton Power & Light (1) .....	25,029,000	22,950,000
Detroit Edison (2) .....	115,598,000	102,170,000
Georgia Power (1) .....	48,332,000	42,627,000
Houston Lighting & Power .....	26,807,000	23,061,000
Kansas Power & Light .....	21,781,000	20,675,000
Narragansett Electric (1) .....	17,492,000	14,208,000
New England Electric Systems (1) .....	77,991,000	69,970,000
New England Power (1) .....	20,595,000	16,629,000
Niagara Hudson Power (1) .....	102,716,000	95,447,000
No. Indiana Public Service (1) .....	31,986,000	27,967,000
Northern States Power (1) .....	50,292,000	45,352,000
Ohio Edison (1) .....	34,043,000	31,459,000
Pacific Gas & Electric .....	198,910,000	180,115,000
Public Service El. & Gas (1) .....	124,840,000	111,865,000
Southern California Edison .....	95,375,000	82,918,000
Tampa Electric .....	9,356,000	7,942,000
Texas Power & Light .....	22,070,000	19,361,000
Virginia Elec. & Power .....	49,231,000	43,655,000
Wisconsin Public Service (1) .....	13,370,000	11,794,000

(1) January-September. (2) 12 months ending September 30, 1948.

### THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED EACH WEEK

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## Greek Government Seeks Cannon Fodder in U.S.

A long, pathetic full page document entitled "Invitation" has appeared in the Greek language press of the United States. Despite its homey headline it is the official government call for recruits for the armed forces of King Paul. The language of the document is severe as it "invites" all to the colors for the country and for the faith.

The "invitation" informs everyone who was born in Greece that he must register at the nearest consular office. It also very delicately tells all those who have left Greece since 1939 that they may as well pack their bags and get ready to return to Greece. Those who left Greece before 1939 must also register. What for? The "invitation" keeps that as a surprise.

We have no last minute report as to the number of persons who have rushed to the consular offices in this country to register, but we are willing to bet an old crystal set that the exact number is about three persons.

### EVEN THE STYLE IS CHARACTERISTIC

The details in the document show clearly how these tin-horn, reactionary careerists behave. In Greece they issue these ultimatums and the citizens either obey or are shot. So, in the same fashion, and in the same language, these diplomats put out a declaration in this country, and expect everyone to be frightened, to run to the consular office, to be shipped to Greece.

The invitation goes into great detail as to how passage is to be paid. The passage will be paid by the government, it says, but use your own money. Consuls don't have much money on hand, and it involves a lot of bookkeeping. The money will be refunded when you reach Greece. If by any chance, you do not have the passage, don't let that stop you. The Greek government will make the bookkeeping sacrifices and permit its consul in the United States to pay your passage.

One would think that these instructions would be enough when a government is seeking cannon fodder. But not according to the Greek bureaucrats. They may as well teach this young fellow the spirit of nationalism before he returns to fight for "his" country. So the declaration informs him to be sure he sails under Greek "auspices" and to use foreign ships only if it is absolutely necessary.

The young man may as well know something about class differences, and he may as well learn that before his foot touches Greece. So, the "invitation" tells him that if he holds the rank of an officer he may travel in style and the government will pay his passage according to his rank. And a list follows, showing the rank of officers and the style of travel that the government will pay.

### WILL APPLY PRESSURE FOR RECRUITS

Although nobody will rush to the consular offices, nevertheless, the crime is that with the aid of the United States Government, the Greek fascists will pick up a few unfortunate persons in this country.

Anyone holding a Greek passport who does not report will have his passport cancelled by the Greek government. The way will then be open for the United States government to deport him. This includes dozens of students in this country. The wealthy Greek ship owners who now operate fleets flying the Panamanian flag will have the Greek sailors on these ships taken off and shipped back to Greece; and the ship owners will be happy to get rid of these militant men. The consuls of the Greek government scattered throughout the United States know the names of every person in their area who was born in Greece and who may have entered this country illegally. Is there any doubt what these consuls will do?

Thus the claw of the reactionary Greek government reaches outside of Greece to snatch more cannon fodder to keep itself in power.

## Recognition of Israel - -

(Continued from page 1)

pro-Israeli acts followed. Cuba, a UN opponent of Israel, was pressured to recognize Israel and, most important of all, a loan of \$100,000,000 was granted a week before election.

Such strong support resulted in a public clamor in England and gave courage to opponents of Bevin's policy in all parties. The result has been a change in British tactics. The detained immigrants at Cyprus were released and Britain announced that

she would recognize Israel. France, with revived ambitions in the Near East, jumped the gun and announced immediate recognition of Israel. Between the time of writing this article and its publication, other Western powers will have done the same.

One reason for the change of policy by Britain is that Bevin hopes for a joint British-U. S. policy that will insist that Israel give up Negev territory yard for yard in exchange for Galilee, Jerusalem, Jaffa and other areas not given to Israel by the UN. Britain hopes thus to recoup partially, through the good offices of the U. S., and by "friendship," what it could not get by hostility.

### PEACE TALKS

Peace negotiations between Israel and Transjordan have been going on for a long time. Abdullah has always been the one Arab ruler most anxious for a peace that would enable him to rule Arab Palestine and build a greater Syria under his rule. One of

### NEXT WEEK:

An analysis of the elections in Israel — by Al Findley.

the main reasons for the incompletion of this development was that Abdullah did not want to be the first to make peace and lay himself open to the accusation of betraying the fight against Israel—a charge repeatedly hurled at him by Egypt.

Last week, with the opening of the Rhodes conference between Egypt and Israel, the Israeli and Transjordan talks began to shift from the military to the political level. Dickerings are said to center on the partitioning of Jerusalem, the size and nature of the corridor to the sea, etc.

Egypt had hoped to come out of this struggle as the leader of Arab nationalism and had hoped to block Abdullah's ambitions by installing

the Mufti as ruler of all Palestine. The Negev battles completely destroyed the Egyptian armies in Palestine. As a result, Egypt, the most vociferous advocate of war, was forced to be the first to sit down at the peace table with Israel.

The Rhodes agenda included these points—status of the Egyptian garrison surrounded at Faluja for three months, withdrawal and reduction of forces and delineation of armistice lines.

### ARMED TRUCE LIKELY

The negotiations were secret, but it was announced that agreement on the release of troops had been reached. Optimistic statements as to ultimate success were circulated. But the conference and the release of troops were bogged down by the question of boundaries. Israeli officials seem quite willing to give Gaza and a small strip of coastal territory to Egypt, but Egypt insists on more.

It is fictitious in the present relationship of power to differentiate between armistice agreements and peace treaties. Lines drawn now will probably be the final ones. Since Egypt cannot give up all of the Negev without risking the violence of the Moslem Brotherhood, it is unlikely that any final agreement will be reached.

The most probable development is for an extended period of armed truce for a number of months with the Israeli government attempting to play Abdullah and Egypt against each other.

### BASIS FOR PEACE

Immediate peace in Palestine and its beneficial results of freeing the infant country from the burdens of war and allowing it to concentrate on the settlement of new immigrants can be greatly aided by the adoption of a line of action that will appeal to Arab masses and cut the ground from under the warmongers in the semi-feudal governments. Concentration on dealings ONLY with governments MAY bring ultimate peace but at a high price. A realistic policy of putting pressure on the governments by actions that will lay the basis for an Arab movement in opposition to the war and for peace that will serve the interests of both the Jewish and Arab masses will greatly hasten the arrival of a durable peace.

There is still time and a burning need for such action. In the first place, this means a reversal by the Jewish labor movement of the present governmental policy toward the Arab refugees. The refugees must not only be allowed back but a real effort must be made to WELCOME them. The useless sufferings of these people acts as a deterrent to peace and can poison the future relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

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