

The Big Brass Takes Over

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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Wage Fight-Top Point on CIO Agenda

By Art Preis

Congress and Truman have left the unions no alternative but to launch a new wage fight, if workers' real wages are not to suffer a further 10 to 20% slash in the next six months.

The misnamed "anti-inflation" bill passed by a majority of both Democrats and Republicans in Congress, and signed by Truman on Dec. 30, was obviously a cheap last-minute gesture. Even the capitalist press admits the bill is worthless.

Industrial executives, whose views are reported in the Dec. 21 N. Y. Times, unanimously expressed "fears that the Government effort may have just the opposite effect and spur higher prices and large-scale buying. No one could cite a single product in which lower prices are expected as a result of the latest anti-inflation program."

Philip Murray and the other CIO leaders, who held forth the hope of a government "rollback of prices," have been forced to the reluctant conclusion that a "third round" of wage increases is now the top point on labor's agenda.

But what their wage program is and how they intend to achieve it remains a deep-dyed mystery to the union rank and file. "They have raised no concrete wage demands. They have initiated no preparations for a serious struggle. They have failed to take the elementary steps of developing a unified strategy.

The CIO's national organ, the CIO News, presents no wage pro-

L. A. Unionists Urge Lewis for U. S. President

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 30.—The name of John L. Lewis as candidate for president of the United States was thrust into the rapidly developing third party formulation last night by a group of trade unionists and others active in the campaign to place the Independent Progressive Party of California on the ballot in 1948.

In a letter to Hugh Bryson, chairman of the organizing committee for the IPPC, the candidacy of Lewis was counterposed to that of Henry A. Wallace.

The letter warns against a tendency to commit the Independent Progressive Party of California to support of Henry Wallace for president, pointing out that only a properly constituted nominating convention of the party has the authority to make the decision as to who will be its candidate.

As for themselves, the signers of the letter stated, Lewis, not Wallace is their choice. "We believe we express the feeling of broad layers of American working people when we propose that Lewis, rather than Wallace, would represent a real break with the policies of the Democratic and Republican Parties, the only valid reason for forming a third and independent party."

Signers of the letter were Louis Ciccone and Jack Shepherd, members of the executive board of the Trade Union Comm. for the IPPC; Edward Gurske, Milton Sniffer and Jean Simon, members of the Trade Union Comm. for the IPPC; and Eugene Purnell and Julius Merlino, members of area organizing committees for the IPPC.

EVENTS IN GREECE, CHINA, SPUR U. S. IMPERIALISM'S "COLD WAR"

The "cold war" between the United States and Russia is getting hotter. Hostilities flared to new heights in Greece and China, while French capitalists balked a little at the harsh terms of Wall Street's so-called European Recovery Plan.

The Stalinist-led Greek partisans proclaimed a Provisional Free Government and launched a well-prepared attack on the important city of Konitsa. This battle, which has been raging for days, has become a battle for the whole Province of Epirus.

The American-supported Greek Government rushed its troops, armed with U.S. guns, artillery and tanks, into battle. At the same

time, it intensified its reign of terror against the Greek masses. The Communist (Stalinist) Party and all its "sympathizers" were outlawed. Secret arrests have been renewed on a wide scale. In Athens alone, the Government admits 500 secret arrests. Trials are before special military courts previously set up. The savagery of these courts is notorious. Even before the setting up of the Partisan Government the penalty for strikers was death.

All actions of the Tsaldaris-Sophoulis regime were taken after conference with the British and American diplomats. Without Wall Street's arms and money the present Greek regime would topple in a matter of days.

It was not revealed to what extent U.S. Army officers were directing military operations against

WALLACE'S MOVE SPOTLIGHTS NEED FOR LABOR CONFERENCE

Post-War Housing



Mr. and Mrs. Alphonse Leboeuf and five children were evacuated from their apartment in the midst of the recent snow-storm. The only shelter they could find to shield them from the Massachusetts winds was a burned out "mansion." One of the children (right) brings the family groceries up a slippery ladder—the only way to enter the make-shift hovel.

Federated Pictures

Truman "Loyalty" Purge Sets Up Gestapo System

Details of the sinister Gestapo methods of Truman's "loyalty" purge among two million federal workers were disclosed on Dec. 27 by Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Loyalty Review Board of the U. S. Civil Service Commission.

This board was set up under Truman's Executive Order of last March 21 as a final appeal by government employees fired for suspicion of "disloyalty" or association with so-called "subversive" organizations. These labels were recently tagged to a blacklist of working class political, fraternal

and educational organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, issued by Attorney General Tom Clark.

"Evidence" against accused workers will be supplied mainly by the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI). Richardson said, FBI agents will function as secret political police, ferreting out intimate details of the private activities and opinions of federal employees.

All proceedings, including so-called "hearings," says Richardson, will "be kept entirely secret." At these kangaroo "hearings," accused persons will be denied the elementary right to confront their accusers and detractors and "will not be permitted to examine or inspect" FBI reports.

"In the majority of cases," says Richardson, "we apprehend that disclosure of evidential sources to the employee, and the resulting opportunity of cross-examination of such sources by him will probably not be practicable." Such methods however, are "practicable" for frame-ups.

Richardson confesses that these methods are so alien to democracy and so abhorrent to the American people that "it has been strongly urged upon us by responsible persons, that, rather than permit such a situation to exist, the entire loyalty program should be abandoned."

These objections, says Richardson, "while important" are "not controlling." He then bluntly states that the government has the right to fire any worker without "any hearing whatsoever" on the "mere suspicion of disloyalty . . . however remote."

The spy and the stool-pigeon are to be set loose to spread a cloud of terror over freedom of thought and expression. Thus, democracy at home becomes one of the first victims of Truman's drive to foist Wall Street's "democracy" on the world.

Having eliminated its two main economic rivals, Germany and Japan, in the second world war, American imperialism is now putting the squeeze on 58 "sovereign nations" as part of its drive to enslave the world.

With the help of the industrial countries of Western Europe, enticed into its orbit with the bait of the Marshall Plan, Washington is forcing all the industrially undeveloped nations to set aside all restrictive laws that interfere with the aims of the American colossus.

For several weeks the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment has been meeting in Havana, Cuba, with the purpose of setting up a permanent International Trade Organization. A majority of the 58 countries participating in the conference are economically backward. These under-developed countries are insisting that the projected charter for the ITO be amended so that they can protect their infant industries from the competition of the American monopolists. But under the hypocritical slogan of freedom of trade, Wall Street demands that the smaller countries remove all import quotas, quantitative restrictions and preferential tariff agreements.

MAILED FIST

That was the signal for American imperialism to reveal its mailed fist. Claire Wilcox, acting chairman of the American delegation, threatened the opposing countries with ruin if they dared challenge American imperialism and its world plans. "They cannot sell to us until they modify policies we do not like," said Wilcox.

"They may discover when the attempt to sell in other markets that we have been there first to freeze them out."

The economically backward countries are now consulting their governments on what to do. Most of them will probably succumb to Wall Street's threat for they realize that it can make good on its boast.

The projected charter for the ITO was introduced by the 18-nation Preparatory Committee formed under American leadership at Geneva last summer. There Washington lined up the industrially developed countries behind its program of smothering the infant economies of the backward countries. 40 additional nations were invited to ratify the

Charter at the Havana conference to ratify the

"Amnesty" Keeps 623 COs in Jail

Only 3 Conscientious Objectors Released As Christmas Gesture

The real reactionary character of the Truman administration was again shown up in its phony "amnesty" declaration two days before Christmas. The newspapers had the gall to play up this "amnesty," which released THREE conscientious objectors. All the others pardoned had completed their jail sentences.

Truman's action leaves in jail over 600 conscientious objectors. Jehovah's Witnesses and other opponents of the Selective Service Act. Pardons were denied to everyone acting from political or ethical opposition to war.

PARDON-SELLING

Truman's harshness towards the opponents of war stands in glaring contrast to his scandalous leniency to political crooks. Everyone still remembers how at the beginning of his administration he pardoned the Kansas City ballot-stealers, who had been convicted of election frauds. This past Thanksgiving Day Truman, a machine man himself, pardoned the notorious Mayor Curley of Boston, who was serving a sentence for using the mails to defraud. The Curley pardon reeked of pardon-selling since it was timed

to Truman's Christmas

Amnesty

See Editorial

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because the American workers while strongly organized economically, possess no broad national political organization of their own through which they can defend their interests against the political attacks of the ruling class. But such a party must be an expression of the organized working class, that is, of the trade union movement, and responsible to it.

CAPITALIST PARTY

That is exactly what the Wallace party is not.

Its main base is not the labor movement, but the Stalinists and their liberal fellow-travelers.

Its control is not in the hands of the union movement, but of a

small group of wealthy financiers.

Although the Democrats are trying (with quavering voices) to dismiss the importance of the Wallace

party, serious opinion holds that he will draw a strong vote. Because in the absence of a Labor Party, Wallace will exploit the deep-going mass discontent with postwar conditions.

While his program is vague to an extreme and fails to provide an effective alternative to the evils of

capitalism, it does denounce those evils and calls on the workers, Negroes and small business to join in a political struggle against that illusion.

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Six Months of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law

Six months of the Taft-Hartley Act have proved conclusively that the unions cannot "live with" this labor-shackling law—contrary to the notions spread by many top union leaders.

During recent weeks the Truman administration has intensified its Taft-Hartley attacks against the unions. The spearhead of these attacks is the National Labor Relations Board. Truman's hand-picked group of Wall Street operators, corporation lawyers and "industrial relations experts."

The Board's most dangerous and sweeping decision thus far is its recent ruling in the Remington-Rand case. The NLRB rejected a petition by the company for a collective bargaining election to decertify the CIO Electrical Workers on the grounds that the UE has not signed the "yellow dog" anti-communist oath and therefore, automatically has no legal status under the Taft-Hartley Act. Remington-Rand promptly abrogated its union contracts and ended all relations with the established union of its workers.

What this decision means was spelled out by the Dec. 13 Business Week. "U. S. Steel Corp. no longer has to deal with the CIO. Owners of the coal mines are no longer under any legal responsibility to treat with John L. Lewis. General Electric and Westinghouse are

maintaining relations with the union of their production workers on their own choice. So is Gimbel's. So is Macy's. So are the longshore firms on the West Coast waterfront. So are all employers in interstate commerce whose unions have failed to qualify for access to the National Labor Relations Board under the Taft-Hartley act."

In short, the NLRB has invited employers of some three million union members to tear up existing contracts.

Divisive Tactic

The NLRB has followed up the Remington-Rand ruling with two other far-reaching decisions. One would help employers to carve up existing industrial unions into numerous craft set-ups. The other would extend NLRB jurisdiction and the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act to workers employed by even the smallest local plants.

On Dec. 24 the NLRB ordered separate craft union elections in two plants whose employees have been exclusively represented for many years by CIO industrial unions. The cases involve the Harnischfeger Corporation, Milwaukee, under contract with the CIO United Steel Workers, and the Westinghouse, Cleveland plant, organized by the UE-CIO.

The AFL Pattern Makers asked for the elec-

tions. Both CIO unions are excluded from the ballot because of refusal to sign Taft-Hartley affidavits. The NLRB ruling is based on a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act that says the Board may not rule any craft unit "inappropriate" even if a prior decision recognized the industrial union, "unless a majority of the employees in the proposed craft unit vote against a separate representation."

This decision is almost certain to lead to a drive by craft unions, in collaboration with employers, to splinter the powerful industrial unions and restore the divisive and weakening craft set-ups.

In the case of a local beer dealer in Bridgeport, Connecticut, the regional NLRB director has been instructed by NLRB General Counsel Denham to accept jurisdiction of the employer's complaint against Local 40 of the CIO United Brewery Workers, although the Taft-Hartley Act is supposed to apply only to cases involving interstate commerce.

Recent Rulings

Denham stretched the NLRB's jurisdiction to include the Bridgeport beer dealer on the grounds that he bought his beer from brewers whose home offices are outside the state. By this definition of "interstate commerce," the Taft-Hartley Act can be extended to corner

groceries and cigar stores. These are but the three most important of scores of recent NLRB rulings and actions designed to implement the Taft-Hartley Act and drive its bars into the living flesh of the American labor movement.

Meanwhile, the NLRB is preparing the way for a decisive assault against union security and the closed shop in hearings involving the AFL International Typographical Union. The ITU is conducting 18 strikes against newspapers, including six Chicago dailies, for refusal to negotiate wage increases unless the union signs open-shop contracts.

Forced Labor

Even before the NLRB hearings began, "Hartley Czar" Denham publicly upheld the complaints of the publishers in an address to the National Association of Manufacturers convention. If the NLRB rules against the ITU, it will declare, in effect, that a union can be compelled, on the demand of an employer, to sign an open-shop contract and that union workers may not withhold their labor if non-union men are hired.

Thus, the ITU case involves not only the question of the closed shop but of forced labor. If the ITU can be forced to sign an unacceptable contract, then any union can be compelled to

sign the contract demanded by an employer. This is what makes the Taft-Hartley Act a Slave Labor Law in every sense.

As yet, the NLRB has scarcely brought into play its potent strikebreaking powers, although it has already tested its authority to invoke injunctions against picketing unions for so-called "secondary boycotts" and sympathy strikes. In several instances, it has ordered union men to work on scab products and help undermine strikes.

Wage Slash

Next spring, if a real wage struggle begins, the NLRB will have an opportunity to show all its fangs. It can charge striking unions with violating "public interests" and demand injunctions to halt strikes. It can force unions to go through interminable hearings and red tape.

In six months, the total effect of the Taft-Hartley Act on union rights, conditions and fighting powers has already been devastating.

Employers everywhere are engaged in systematic provocations against the unions and violations of contracts. Many abuses which the unions had previously wiped out by militant action are reappearing.

In a period of the fastest rise of prices in decades, there have been scarcely any wage advances. Strikes are at a post-war low, despite

increasingly onerous conditions in the shops and a big indirect wage slash due to rising prices.

One of the worst effects of the Taft-Hartley Act has been the internal division and weakening of the union movement. Through the "yellow dog" oath, the Act has driven a deep wedge into the unions. Unions which have signed compliance affidavits are in conflict with unions that have refused to sign. Instead of uniting against the employers, unions have been pitted against union in attempts to gain some small, temporary advantage under the Slave Labor Law. Backward craft unions and independent outfits have been encouraged to use the Taft-Hartley Act as a means of gaining recognition and chiseling members from industrial unions.

Many union leaders have narrow-mindedly signed the "yellow dog" affidavits because they hoped to gain factional advantage against internal opposition or get the alleged "benefits" of the NLRB.

It is now clear that such recognition of the Act has helped sanctify its over-all powers. It has aided the Act in one of its major purposes to split the unions and infect them with internal dissension. At the same time, it has fortified the NLRB as a ruthless agency of the employers.

The Big Brass Takes Over

By George Lavan



MARSHALL

The domination of the government by the brass hats has become so alarming that even a former spokesman of the General Staff has felt the need to protest. Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the N. Y. Times sees the specter of military dictatorship and sounds the alarm. In an article in the December *Harpers Magazine* entitled "The Military Move In" Baldwin details the unprecedented number of brass hats in government posts and their growing influence on national and international policy.

Baldwin proceeds to list some of the militarists now holding important government posts traditionally held by civilians:

Lieut. General Lucius D. Clay, Governor of Germany.

Maj. General William H. Draper, Under-Secretary of the Army.

Brig. General Frank T. Hines, Ambassador to Panama.

General Thomas Holcomb, Ambassador to South Africa.

Lieut. General Geoffrey Keyes, Governor of Austria.

Admiral Alan G. Kirk, Ambassador to Belgium.

Admiral William D. Leahy, intimate personal advisor to Truman and personal Chief of Staff.

General Douglas MacArthur, Governor of Japan.

General George C. Marshall, Secretary of State.

Brig. General Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary for the Army.

Brig. General Charles E. Saltzman, Assistant Secretary of State.

Lieut. General Walter Bedell Smith, Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Lieut. General Albert C. Wedemeyer, head of special mission to China.

There are also about 13 American military missions in South America as well as in Greece and Turkey. All these military missions exercise

great political as well as military influence.

MILITARY BLOC

The so-called unification of the armed forces under a new "super" secretary has in reality created four military departments. These four new secretaries — Air, Army, Navy and Defense — are of cabinet rank and receive cabinet members' pay. The unification act carefully left unspecified whether or not they were all to sit in the cabinet, but if the president wishes, they can. This would mean a cabinet with a solid military bloc of four members.

INTENSE SECRECY

The brass hats cover up one another's crimes. They are trying to create such public awe of the brass hat bureaucracy. Young men would be taught by officers drawn principally from the anti-labor upper classes. Instruction in "breaking up mobs of riotous strikers" would be given. And if necessary the 18-year-old draftees would be used to smash picket lines.

DAMNEDEST CRIME

The labor leaders, who are plumping so enthusiastically for the Marshall Plan and who shout themselves hoarse when Marshall deigns to address a union convention, would do well to remember this

it in the waste basket. This report was on the War Department's campaign for Universal Military Training. This subcommittee, which included ardent advocates of UMT, unanimously found that the Army had "engaged in propaganda supported by taxpayers' money to influence legislation." It was revealed also that the Army had made a special movie plugging UMT and entitled, typically enough — *Plan For Peace*. It had paid civilian speakers on tours of the country advocating passage of UMT. Lying UMT pamphlets had been printed and sent throughout the country.

Baldwin is so alarmed at these developments that he bluntly warns that the brass hat plan for military preparedness can be achieved "only at the cost of our whole way of life, our democracy, and our liberties."

The labor movement, particularly would do well to resist this growing dominance of the military. The military is a mortal foe of the labor movement. It is timely to recall that Truman tried to conscript striking railroad workers, and that in the maritime strike, he threatened the use of the navy and coast guard.

UMT would simply enlarge the powers of the labor hating brass hat bureaucracy. Young men would be taught by officers drawn principally from the anti-labor upper classes. Instruction in "breaking up mobs of riotous strikers" would be given. And if necessary the 18-year-old draftees would be used to smash picket lines.

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Employers Resist ITU Demands in Seattle

SEATTLE, Dec. 21 — 230 typographical workers were locked out by 40 employers who refused to comply with conditions of the ITU posted by Seattle Typographical Local 202. The lockout began Dec. 12.

The struggle of the typographical workers here is part of the national ITU fight. The outcome of the conflict in Seattle will have an important bearing on how successful the ITU will be in winning wage increases in other cities on the West Coast.

ITU conditions call for base pay of \$90 for a 35-hour work week and six paid holidays per year. The employers have insisted upon yearly signed contracts calling for the same conditions and pay as last year. They offered, in lieu of scale raises, to "permit" the printers to work 40 hours per week instead of 35.

The employers complained about the ITU posting wages and conditions, but immediately posted their own conditions of employment after the typos posted theirs. Furthermore, their offers were made not to the scale committee but to the rank and file — in an attempt to by-pass the elected committee.

The ITU in Seattle has actually had only nine signed commercial shop contracts. Bosses simply agreed orally to comply with the wages and conditions of the ITU. Now the bosses insist on written contracts to force the union to comply with all the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law.

The Seattle pressmen and book-

Call Off Strike



After a 12-hour negotiating session, leaders of three AFL unions agreed to call off a scheduled strike of 50,000 Western Union workers, and submit a determination of the facts to a 3-man fact-finding tribunal. The underpaid workers are still holding the bag. Left to right (seated) Pres. Adolph Brungs of Commercial Telegraphers Union, AFL, WU division; Federal Conciliator Cyrus S. Ching and WU official T. F. McMains. Standing is Pres. Hal Swan of Telegraphers Workers Union, Dallas, Texas.

Federated Pictures

Gay Christmas Party Held in Minneapolis

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 21 —

A gala children's Christmas party was held here today, sponsored by the Twin City Branches of the Socialist Workers Party. Forty children, along with their parents, were entertained at one of the gayest social events ever held in the headquarters.

From an amiable, real-life Santa Claus, down to the place cards on the supper tables, everything was designed to delight the little folks. A huge, shimmering, lighted Christmas tree with an array of beautifully wrapped gifts for all the children almost filled the fourth wall.

Group singing and competitive games with prize awards were on the program for the first part of the afternoon.

The afternoon of festivities closed with picture-taking of as many children as could be gathered together in one spot at one time.

Wallace's Move Poses Need for Labor Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

single individual supported by the Stalinists and those unions influenced by them. Regardless of the support it may pick up from individual workers, it does not have the character of a Labor Party movement. It is a third capitalist party.

Our criticism of this movement has nothing in common with the attacks launched on it by the official union leaders — the Murray, Greens, and Reuthers. Their opposition is in part based on their support of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine and of Wall Street's program for war with the Soviet Union. We criticize the Wallace-Stalinist foreign policy from an opposite point of view; because it fails to oppose the Truman-Marshall Doctrine with a working class program to abolish capitalism.

The labor bureaucrats further denounce the Wallace movement because they are opposed to any third party, no matter what its character, no matter who controls it. That is because they are on the Truman bandwagon and intend to stamp the country trying to line up labor support for the Democratic Party. We, on the other hand, favor the formulation of a Labor Party, the kind that can arouse the necessary support and enthusiasm among the masses to defeat all the capitalist parties.

BUREAUCRATS' OPPOSITION

The opposition of the union bureaucrats to Wallace does not have any progressive content whatever. Instead of mobilizing the workers as an independent force on the political field, these bureaucrats seek to maintain the capitalist monopoly of politics which is responsible for the Taft-Hartley Act, high prices, housing crisis, racial oppression and the mounting danger of a new war.

Despite their opposition, the top union leaders have, in reality, made possible this Stalinist third party adventure. At a time when even Wallace must break with the discredited Democratic Party and admit that it can no longer be regarded as the lesser of two evils, the Murray, Greens, and Reuthers continue to

to maintain the capitalist monopoly of politics which is responsible for the Taft-Hartley Act, high prices, housing crisis, racial oppression and the mounting danger of a new war.

Now, when the whole political situation has been shaken up by the Wallace move, when political interests among the people is mounting to an all-time high, it is more than ever necessary for the trade unions to meet and to map out a program of united labor political action for 1948.

Now is the time for a United Labor Conference in Washington, to be attended by all the international and local unions, AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions. Now is the time for labor's representatives to get together and democratically discuss the union movement's attitude toward Truman and toward Wallace. Now is the time for labor to take its rightful place in the political field by launching an independent Labor Party and by running its own candidates for national, state and local offices.

under public scrutiny, should fail to mention or even allude to his true leanings is not strange. George Sokolsky, who can unearth a misplaced comma or a bated breath of a union leader twenty years back, is accommodatingly forgetful and nothing untoward can be excavated, in his slavishly toned memorials to "Nicholas Miraculous."

Norman Johnstone
Westville, N.J.

Prefers New Serial

Editor:

I am inclined to side with D. L. who writes in the Dec. 8 *Militant* that while the *Autobiography of Mother Jones* has its good aspects, the space it occupies could be used to better avail. The suggestion of a history of a more recent period of the American labor movement is an excellent one if it can be worked out.

Another possibility would be Trotsky's *Germany, What Next*, which contains material of tremendous importance for the American working class, is very readable, and has been out of print for quite a while. I would like to see this printed in such a way as to allow the reader to clip it and put it together in book style.

But perhaps the most logical work which could begin right after the next *Militant* sub drive, would be *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon. This pamphlet has had the greatest effect of any piece of literature it has been my privilege to bring to anyone's attention.

Meanwhile many of our "citizen" comrades (about 30) who were exiled during the mass-arrests of last summer have returned and work with greater energy.

George Dallas
Editor, "Workers' Saturate"
Los Angeles, Cal.

Athena, Greece

WORKERS' FORUM

Nicholas Miraculous' Loved Mussolini

Editor:

"Fascism is a form of government of the very first order of excellence . . . we should look to Italy (Fascist Italy) to show us

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"Once he has done with the anarchic forces of his own society man will set to work on himself, in the pestle and the retort of the chemist. For the first time mankind will regard itself as raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semi-finished product. Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race."

—Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932



LENIN

Anti-Imperialist Uprising in Panama

With one courageous act of defiance, the people of tiny Panama have ripped the mask of benevolence from mighty U. S. imperialism. Their refusal to permit Wall Street to maintain military bases on their soil shows with what distrust and hatred they regard their giant self-styled "protector."

Many people in the United States have been taken in by the propaganda that Washington pours out about how the Latin American peoples "love Uncle Sam" and welcome the "benefits" being lavished on them by their "Good Neighbor" and "Big Brother." The Panama "incident," as the capitalist press here calls it, should open the eyes of many to the true state of affairs.

The bitter opposition of the Panama populace to granting military bases to the United States is not surprising. The reasons are admitted even in the daily press. "First, there is still widespread anti-American feeling south of the border," says the Dec. 28 N. Y. Times, "partly a hangover from the 'Big Stick' policy of President Theodore Roosevelt, partly the result of what

The Pope's Christmas Message

On Christmas Eve, a time supposedly dedicated to "peace on earth and good will to men," Pope Pius XII issued a Christmas message which is nothing less than a clarion call for a new war.

Broadcasting to a world weary of war and longing for peace and a better life, the Vicar of the gentle Christ gave advanced blessing to the Third World War and sought to clothe the nefarious schemes and tyrannical designs of the Wall Street money changers with the trappings of religion, morality and high purposes. "Vatican circles said the Pontiff's statements could not provide a clearer endorsement of Washington's foreign policy," chortled the N. Y. Times.

The Pope's Christmas message was such a bald-faced war declaration that it aroused indignation in even American church circles. The Methodist Federation for Social Action demanded the immediate recall of Myron Taylor, the president's semi-official ambassador to the Vatican because of the "propaganda emanating from the Vatican, calculated to cause a full holy war on Russia."

That the Vatican is a political—and not a spiritual—institution, is no news to those who have followed its history and works. That the Vatican is a central directing agency of world reaction is also no news to the informed.

Truman's Christmas Amnesty

Who is the criminal against society—the capitalist politician guilty of mail fraud to line his own pockets, or the man who refuses to join the armed forces in an imperialist war because of religious beliefs or "intellectual, political or sociological convictions"?

President Truman has left no doubts as to where he stands on this score. Himself a small-time capitalist politician, who owes his high office to such crooked gangs as the Pendleton machine, he takes his stand with the corrupt capitalist politicians every time. He made this pretty clear in his 1947 pre-Thanksgiving and pre-Christmas amnesties.

Before Thanksgiving Truman pardoned Mayor James M. Curley of Boston, who had been given a 6-to-18 months jail term for mail fraud. The President commuted his term to five months and restored his civil rights in full. Before Christmas, this same Truman curiously denied amnesty and the restoration of civil rights to hundreds of politi-

Food Speculation and Hoarding

Harold Stassen, Republican presidential aspirant, has followed up his blast against commodities speculation by "government insiders" with a denunciation of food hoarding for higher prices.

On Dec. 1 Stassen disclosed that food being held in storage now totals 4,800 million pounds, the largest total on record. Meat, butter, lard and poultry—the highest priced foods today—are the biggest items.

By now it is no news that the phenomenal rise in food prices during the past year has been spurred by big speculators and hoarders. Truman—the target of Stassen's attack—was loud in condemnation of speculators months ago. But neither Truman nor Stassen propose anything effective to halt speculation and food hoarding for profit, and lower food prices.

Stassen's "solution" for hoarding, for instance, is a system of "inventory controls" by the government. Just how this would operate, or what it would do to get food at low prices into the hands of the people—Stassen has not made clear.

The truth is that this country's food supply is controlled by giant trusts. The biggest grain speculators, Secretary of Agriculture Anderson's lists have revealed, are the great flour and milling companies. The largest meat hoards are being held in the "deep freezes" of such outfits as Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy.

There is only one way to stop the food speculation and hoarding by these private monopolies—nationalize the food industry, take it out of the hands of the profiteers and operate it under workers control.

Can the Marshall Plan Rebuild Europe?—A Reply from Abroad

By Henri Frank

As all the daily papers announce, President Truman has asked the American Congress to authorize an aid program for Europe. Thus the famous Marshall Plan will probably go into effect—a gift of generous America to the starving peoples of Europe. According to the capitalist press, it should inaugurate a new era of capitalist prosperity; and already certain people are promising each Belgian his own little automobile.

However, if you examine the question objectively, without being duped by the official propaganda, you reach completely different conclusions. For there is nothing new about the Marshall Plan. Fundamentally this plan is merely a variation of the aid granted Europe by the U. S. since the end of the war.

Thus, from March 1945 till June 1947, more than twenty billion dollars have been lent to foreign countries by the U. S. The Marshall Plan will merely continue this policy in a more organized and conscious fashion.

So, if we wish to understand the aim of the Marshall Plan and its probable effects, we must draw on the most pertinent point of comparison; it is sufficient to refer to the aims and the results of the different U. S. loans made since 1945.

FIRST AIM

The American credits sought mainly to prevent the total collapse of European economy at the end of the war. Europe needed basic materials to start up its industry again and a minimum of food to satisfy the immediate wants of the masses and thus lessen the social unrest. Such was the first aim of the American capitalists.

Thanks to the aid supplied, the U. S. assured itself of key positions in post-war Europe. The Americans endeavored to re-establish economic free trade and to remove all obstacles to the free penetration of their products in Europe. Thus, at the time of the loan to Great Britain, they demanded the revision of the "empire preference" system. The same conditions were imposed on France. The recent trade agreements of Geneva are a new stage on this same road.

The American trusts were also setting up branches in Europe and acquiring greater participation in European concerns. Finally the United States laid the basis for its political domination over Europe and making important preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

Can the Marshall Plan rebuild Europe? Here American credits find their limits. The re-establishment of economic equilibrium in

New Left Wing Of French SP Votes to Split

PARIS—The new left wing organized at the last Socialist Party Congress around the "Rhone resolution" voted at a special conference held on Dec. 7 to break away from the Socialist Party.

In a unanimously adopted resolution, "Revolutionary Socialist Action," the name of the new left wing, pointed out that the SP Executive Committee "have continued and even aggravated the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie." The resolution goes on to score the collusion between the Socialist and deGaulist candidates and the participation of the SP in the Schuman government which represents a coalition of all the forces of reaction."

"Revolutionary Socialist Action" hits out against the SP for its strikebreaking role in the recent upsurge and for "participating in the vote in Parliament for criminal laws directed against trade union liberties and the right to strike."

In view of these facts, "Revolutionary Socialist Action" decided "to break all relations" with the SP and "calls upon all militants who remain loyal to socialist doctrine to join its ranks."

NEED LEADERSHIP

The SP left wingers declare that the recent experiences "reveal the absence of a revolutionary leadership of the workers' movements" and that consequently they aim to create such a new party based upon the following principles: No class collaboration; proletarian internationalism; support to the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples, particularly colonial peoples; peace through the efforts of the workers to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism on an international scale; the creation of a genuine workers' International.

For immediate purposes, "Revolutionary Socialist Action" called upon "all organizations and militants who agree with one or several points of the program to join in unity of action."

Not Welcome!



Frank T. Hines, U. S. Ambassador to Panama (center) meets newsmen after discussing the question of U. S. military bases with President Truman. After the Panama Government refused to renew leases for the bases, the U. S. announced it was evacuating its forces.

Federated Pictures

Europe—the basis of all prosperity—was not even attempted. This would involve the reconstruction of all the means of production in Europe to permit a considerable increase in exports. Only thus could the equilibrium of trade balances of the nations be assured.

Thus the economic reconstruction of Europe demands an equilibrium between production and consumption, which can only be realized by a general plan for production under the direction of the working class. To emerge from the present crisis, the workers must impose the only possible progressive solution: Political and economic unity of Europe; Planned production under workers' control.

NOT DIMINISHED

Actually the American credits have not hastened this reconstruction but were spent on purchases of basic necessities. The fundamental disequilibrium from which Europe suffers has not diminished. Some of the most dangerous effects have simply been alleviated. Furthermore, the American loans serve to mortgage Europe's future since their repayment will increase the unfavorable balance of trade.

The Marshall Plan is not intended to reconstruct Europe's economy in a sensible manner. It promises only a series of injections to take care of the most urgent needs. At best the collapse of European economy will be retarded as was the case with Germany from 1923 to 1929. And that probably only up to the next crisis in the U. S. itself.

Reconstruction of Europe is not, however, unrealizable. The resources of the Old World are numerous and diverse; the labor potential of the workers is intact. But to utilize these possibilities in an efficient manner an economic co-ordination of all Europe is necessary. And that means ending capitalist anarchy and the disorders it engenders. It is also necessary to ex-

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR

by Willard Motley, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1947, 504 pp., \$3.00.

When Nick Romano, the hero of Willard Motley's remarkable first novel, was a child, he saw a crowd watching a cat playing with a mouse, allowing it to escape for a moment and then slapping it back to its corner. Filled with pity, he picked up the mouse and took it away safe in his pocket.

For the reader that scene acquires greater significance as the novel progresses. For it illustrates the human impulses in Nick which his environment forces him to repress. Moreover, the reader soon sees that Nick himself is the victim of a cat-and-mouse game which capitalist society is playing with him.

An altar-boy at the age of twelve whose parents thought that he was destined to priesthood, Nick's whole life changes when his father loses his little business during the depression. A sensitive, gentle child, he is suddenly deprived of security and affection when his family moves to a strange, tough neighborhood in the slums and his parents become absorbed in their struggle for a livelihood.

At school, the teachers, soured by their daily struggle to maintain order over unruly pupils in crowded classrooms, are vindictive and disagreeable. The understanding and sympathy which his stern, embittered father, his nagging, querulous mother and his spiteful teachers fail to give him, however, he finds in the companionship of Tony, the leader of the kids, from whom he learns to play hookey and to steal.

The gang is now Nick's home and school. He becomes successively a petty thief, muggler and hold-up man, until at the age of twenty-one, he meets his pre-determined end at the electric chair.

On at least two occasions Nick tries to break away from the path along which he is being impelled. Each time, however, he is thrust back by forces beyond him.

Nick's first attempt to alter the pattern of his existence is his resolution, after he is almost caught, to give up thieving. However, a stolen bicycle which he is keeping for Tony is found in his yard, and Nick, without informing on his friend, goes back to his old ways.

The admission of the German Social Democracy into the new International was adopted against the votes of the Balkan socialists and Pietro Nenni's Italian party voted against.

The admission of the German Social Democracy into the new International was adopted against the votes of the Balkan socialists and Pietro Nenni's Italian party voted against.

The conference was a clear expression of the prostration and ideological impotence of the Socialist Democracy and its division into two "blocs," one led by the British Labor Party and the other composed of the Balkan socialists linked to Stalinism. The Czechoslovak party and the Italian Nenni party constitute a bridge between the two blocs.

He leaves reform school, begins to frequent the pool halls and dives of West Madison Street in Chicago and thoroughly absorbs this way of life. At this time he meets and falls in love with Emma, a beautiful, sensitive girl who all her life has been treated from the squalor and poverty around her into a romantic dream-world. This might be the chance for both of them to escape from the de-

Trotskyist Candidate For Mayor in Toronto Endorsed by UAW Locals

TORONTO, Dec. 23—Ross Dowson, mayoralty candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), was endorsed by two UAW locals at membership meetings on Sunday afternoon; Massey-Harris Local 439, largest in Toronto, and the Amalgamated Local 252, comprising workers in Reo, Freigha, Trailor, and Westel. Labor candidates for other municipal posts were also endorsed.

Ross Dowson and Harry Clairmont, RWP candidate for Board of Control, were the only candidates to publicly condemn the city administration for scab printing of the election ballots. Over the protests of the Printing Pressmen's Union, which is on strike for a 28.2 cent wage raise and union security, the city maintained its contract with two struck plants.

Although 35 shops which had signed with the union were able to handle the work by election day, the Tory administration insisted there was "no time" to move the ballots. Both plants finally capitulated a few days after the RWP candidates raised the issue at election meetings and in press releases.

The election program of the RWP has been well received by thousands of workers at plant gates and at their homes. Police attempts to intimidate two distributors heightened the workers' interest in the Trotskyists. The distributors, a young woman and an auto worker, were shoved into a squad car on Dec. 14, held 20 minutes without explanation, and then released without charges.

Their literature, including copies of the party's paper, *Labor Challenge*, for the coming year.

and a leaflet exposing the record of the Tory machine in City Hall was confiscated.

The RWP last year contested only the mayoralty, receiving 3% of the poll, 3,201 votes. All indications are that the vote will be substantially higher this year, as a result of a broader campaign, and the widespread appreciation of the militant stand taken by the Trotskyists in the pressman's strike.

Belgian Trotskyists Hold Fifth Congress

BELGIUM—The fifth national congress of the Belgian Trotskyists was held in Charleroi, on Nov. 22 and 23. Thirty regular delegates, a representative of the International Secretariat, and fraternal delegates from the Dutch and French sections attended the congress sessions of the Internationalist Communist Party of Belgium. Political, trade union and organizational problems dealing with the period since the fourth congress, and resolutions outlining policy for the period ahead were under discussion.

The congress noted important political progress in the last year, as well as the active intervention of the party in the struggles between November 1946 and June 1947. The congress also undertook a thorough self-criticism of organizational weaknesses of the party, and its slow pace of recruitment. A plan of work was adopted for the coming year.

Workers BOOKSHELF

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For the reader that scene acquires greater significance as the novel progresses. For it illustrates the human impulses in Nick which his environment forces him to repress. Moreover, the reader soon sees that Nick himself is the victim of a cat-and-mouse game which capitalist society is playing with him.

Emma's suicide drives Nick to desperation. His motto had always been "Live fast, die young and have a good-looking corpse." Now an inner restlessness causes him to recklessly court death. The inevitable which he invites happens. In a gun-battle he kills a vicious and sadistic cop, the terror of West Madison Street, who has always been for Nick, without Nick's quite realizing it, the incarnation of the repressive forces of a society which has victimized him from an early age.

Nick's capture, trial and execution furnish a terrific climax to the novel. Up to this point we have been watching in fascination how Nick's character is being molded and his life is being shaped by his environment.

At the climactic finish, however, when Nick is caught like a cornered

rat and his life becomes the prize of a tense legal game between the opposing attorneys, he becomes more than an object of psychological interest for us. We identify ourselves with him, as the twelve-year-old Nick Romano had identified himself with the mouse when adults were watching with detached curiosity till he could stand its torments no longer. We share the fright which inwardly grips him as he tries to maintain his tough-guy exterior. We accompany him to the electric chair in what is perhaps one of the great death scenes in literature and, when the current jolts through his body, it seems as if a part of us has died with him.

Nick went out of life, blindly defying the society which claimed that he was paying his debt to it by his death, but which never acknowledged a debt to him for what it had deprived him of all his life. This society, which executed Nick for a crime of murder, itself daily commits murder by condemning millions of human beings to half-lives, robbing them of the full existence which their realized potentialities could give them. "Knock on any door down this street, in this alley" of the city, says Motley, and you will find those whose personalities have been twisted, like Nick's, or stifled or crushed, like his mother's and his wife's—and "the city is the world in microcosm."

—Paul Schapiro

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 3-5 p. m.; Sat., 2-4 p. m. BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Sat., 1-5 p. m. BUENOS AIRES—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU 3-930 p. m.

The Blight Upon the World

By Theodore Kovalesky

"Karpinski Brothers, Jewellers," advertise daily in the papers. They have "spot" commercials on the radio in between soap operas, and their name shouts down at you from a dozen billboards with pictures of a black-haired, red-lipped young man making love to a blond-haired, red-lipped young woman.

Their Karpinski Kredit Plan is an old, established institution in the steel town, and many are the boys from the steel plant who have bought diamond engagement rings from them over periods of time that were either long or very long, depending upon the size of the weekly payments. Diamonds are the specialty of "Karpinski Brothers, Jewellers."

I was in there the other day, but not for a diamond. I was having a new crystal put on my watch. But while I was there I saw something that made me think. It was a large, framed photograph on their wall, showing a diamond mine in Kimberly, South Africa.

At first I didn't know it was a diamond mine. For a moment I thought it might be a picture of Los Alamos where the atomic bomb tests took place. For the photo showed a great, gaping crater, with a dreary crisscross of flat-roofed buildings over the ground near the sides of the pit.

The picture didn't show too much. You couldn't see if the buildings were huts or part of the mining company. Probably they were both. What it did show was a scene of terrible desolation, the sort of thing you might see in a nightmare; a vague, doomed landscape with an unnamed horror hovering above it.

The Negro Struggle

Wallace and the Negroes

By Albert Parker

The prestige of Henry Wallace among the Negro people is greater today than of any prominent politician in the country. If present indications mean anything, he will draw a very large Negro vote in 1948; perhaps even a majority of the Negro vote.

The reason, of course, is that Wallace is the only capitalist politician who has taken a forthright position against Jim Crow and who has even staged some demonstrations against segregation at public meetings in the South. If Negroes vote for Wallace it will be because they conceive such a vote to be a protest against the system of race prejudice and all its evils.

Nevertheless, we want to sound a warning to all militant Negroes: Be careful! Don't accept any shortcut! Look this piece of merchandise over very closely before you buy it!

Remember this: Words are cheap, especially for capitalist politicians. Don't judge a man or a party only by what they say, but also by what they do; and not merely by what they say and do today, but by what they said and did in the past.

The first point to remember is that Wallace's friendship for the Negro struggle is of very recent origin. In fact, most of it, suspiciously enough, dates from the time he decided to break with Truman in 1946 and began to eye the presidential nomination.

But Wallace was in politics a long time before that. For something like 14 years before that, he was one of the leaders of the Democratic Party, and he never

A Case of "Malicious Gossip"

By John F. Petrone

General Eisenhower is getting a bum deal, and with a few "off the record" remarks during an after-dinner discussion on inflation. And this, according to Fulton Lewis, Jr., is what he said: The government should call in all the industrialists and have them agree to reduce prices for two or three years and to "eliminate all profits whatsoever"; and if they refused, Congress should tax all profits 100%!

It is easy to understand the gasps of horror that arose in high circles when this story made the rounds. Why, Eisenhower was un-American; as bad as any Bolshevik; even Henry Wallace had never gone that far.

A dirty lie! "Imputed to the general....are words he never uttered and a supposed 'program' to deal with domestic problems which he never proposed," cried Arthur Kroch of the N. Y. Times, who had been present at the dinner. The truth is, said Life, that Eisenhower spoke only "on the need for combating inflation by holding both profits and wages at reasonable levels"—a view repeatedly endorsed by Roosevelt, Hoover, Wallace, Truman, Taft and every last member of the NAM.

The Eisenhower boom is said to have sagged sadly since this incident. Wouldn't it be ironic, and yet a fitting comment on the times, if he lost the nomination—not because he is a puppet of the sinister military bureaucrats who are out to regiment the youth and to prussianize the nation—but because he was dowsed into insignificance.

It seems that Eisenhower was a guest at a private Republican dinner in Washington, and that he let go

Notes from the News

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SPEAKS—When informed by newspaper reporters that Wallace had decided to run for President, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said: "Oh, dear, oh dear."

VIRTUE REWARDED—Joseph Romeika, the Freeport cop who killed the two Ferguson brothers, won first place in the Christmas shooting contest of the police department. His name goes on the Sgt. David Pettigrew Memorial in the Municipal Building.

NO DIFFERENCE—David Coolidge, commenting in *Labor Action* on the fight over the Taft-Hartley Act at the recent UAW convention comes to an original conclusion. He states: "What was the difference in the two resolutions on the Taft-Hartley Act and the signing of the affidavits? There was no difference except the bare fact that one resolution was for signing and the other against."

BUSTING THE TRUST—A group of CIO fishermen were convicted on "anti-trust" charges by a Los Angeles judge. They wanted a higher price for their fish.

Anti-trust charges were thrown out of court against GM, Firestone and Standard Oil, who were charged with monopolistic practices in relation to a holding company over the Los Angeles Transit lines.

ANOTHER KING BITES THE DUST—26-year-old King Michael of Romania, issued a proclamation in which he abdicated his throne "in my name and in the name of my descendants."

King Michael is the last monarchical casualty of

the second world war which thus far has included the kings of Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Belgium.

KEEP THE SHIPS—The AFL Seafarers International Union protested the State Department plans to sell 200 war-built ships and 300 other ships temporarily transferred to countries participating in the Marshall Plan.

"What this will do is increase the unemployment of American Seamen," stated Paul Hall, union Port Agent in New York.

NO CONFIDENCE—Business Week reports that the big Wall Street traders are in the dumps. "Business has boomed throughout the year...obviously it's not lack of good news that's holding the market down. It's lack of confidence."

WHODONIT?—The capital was agog this week when it was discovered that the "anti-inflation" bill passed by Congress had disappeared from the President's desk. While the Secret Service was sleuthing for the original document, the Air Force flew a duplicate copy to Massachusetts for speaker of the House, Joseph W. Martin, to sign.

A reporter asked Mr. Ross, Truman's Secretary, whether he believed the bill might have flown into the stratosphere along with high prices. Mr. Ross did not answer.

LEGAL KIDNAPPING—Three young children are being kept from their father, H. Choolokian. The court instructed a Catholic orphanage and the New York Foundling Hospital to retain the children. The father's "crime" is that he and the rest of the family returned to Soviet Armenia.

If Stalin and Truman were to

THE MILITANT

PAGE FOUR

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1948

Youngstown 'Vindicator' Starts Red-Baiting Attack on SWP

Drive Pushed to Uncover Assassin Of Carlo Tresca

NEW YORK, Dec. 26—New moyes in the Carlo Tresca murder case, designed to spur the authorities to find and punish those who killed the courageous anti-fascist editor in 1943, will be made public by the Tresca Memorial Committee at the fifth annual commemoration of his death.

Friends of Tresca will gather to pay tribute to his memory at the crime scene, Fifth Avenue and 15th St., at 1 P.M. on Saturday, Jan. 10. Speakers will include City Councilman Edward Rager; Nathaniel Minkoff, Secretary-Treasurer, Dress Joint Board, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Miss Margaret Di Maggio, ILGWU organizer; John Sala, organizer for the Shirt, Robe, and Leisurewear division of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Benjamin F. McLaurin, international organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Roger N. Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Norman Thomas, memorial committee head, is to preside.

Tresca was shot down in the 1943 din-dun, beneath the windows of the office of his monthly journal *Il Martello* (The Hammer). For years he had bitterly attacked both the fascists and the Stalinists, editorially and in public speeches, and is known to have had numerous enemies in the two camps.

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But the best example of the suspicious contrast between his past record and his present pronouncements is the stand he took during the war. Today, of course, he poses as an intrepid anti-war fighter, while a few years ago he was one of the biggest apologists and advocates of war. Now the questions we want to raise for consideration are these: Does any one remember Henry Wallace ever saying anything against Army Jim Crow and segregation during that whole war? Or doing anything against them?

How much reliance can you place in a man who kept his mouth shut in time of war, when it counted the most and when the Negro people were engaged in bitter struggles to win equality in the armed forces?

Just this brief look at the Wallace record is enough to show that you can't properly judge a man by what he says when he is running for office. But there is another and equally important aspect to the Wallace problem—the question of his program on Jim Crow—and that we will discuss next week.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party issued the following statement upon Wallace's announcement that he would run for the U. S. Presidency as an independent candidate:

NEW YORK, Dec. 31—"Organized labor should boldly enter the political field with its own independent party and its own Presidential candidate and not help clutter up the field with another splinter capitalist party like the Wallace movement," declared James P. Cannon.

"We reject Henry Wallace, but not from the reactionary standpoint of Green, Murray, Reuther and similar supporters of the war-mongering Truman administration," he continued.

"A Wallace party and its program cannot solve a single one of the burning problems before us today. The only force capable of averting war and the oncoming depression is the labor movement. It alone can effectively combat the militarization of America and the sway of political reaction, stemming from Big Business and promoted by the bi-partisan administration in Washington.

"Labor's immediate task is to convene a national conference of all trade unions and put forward a candidate that would represent and speak for the ranks of the CIO, AFL, railway brotherhoods and other independent unions."

There is no guarantee, however, that a Jewish state will be set up immediately. The matter is entirely at the discretion of the Interim Commission. There is also no guarantee that the new Jewish state will have jurisdiction over immigration. The Interim Commiss-

Fighting in Palestine



Fighting between the Jews and Arabs continues in Palestine, and arrests are regular occurrences. Here Jewish policemen and members of the underground army, Haganah, seize an Arab after he had pulled a dagger.

Federated Pictures

Zionists Face A Split Over Immigration Issue

By Irving Dale

The resignation from the Jewish Agency Executive of Moshe Sneh, one of the most important leaders of the Zionist movements, highlights the deep crisis in the Zionist movement. Sneh is one of the few Zionist leaders who is not ready to capitulate to Anglo-American imperialism on the immigration question. The immediate cause of his resignation is his opposition to the Jewish Agency to order some 15,000 refugees that they remain in the Black Sea ports.

Zionism needs immediate and large scale immigration into Palestine. Their main propaganda, and the basis upon which they are getting the support of the Jewish masses, is their promise to quickly alleviate the plight of European Jewry. But the facts are otherwise.

As a result of the partition decision, immigration into Palestine will be even smaller in the next period.

Under pressure from British and American imperialism, the Zionists have agreed to stop all illegal immigration. This permits the entry of only 1,500 Jews a month until the Interim Commission of the UN sets up Jewish and Arab states. This cannot be done until May 15.

NO GUARANTEE

There is no guarantee, however, that a Jewish state will be set up immediately. The matter is entirely at the discretion of the Interim Commission. There is also no guarantee that the new Jewish state will have jurisdiction over immigration. The Interim Commiss-

ion can decide that they will control immigration because the question so closely affects the peace and security of Palestine.

If this occurs, the standing which the Zionists have acquired as fighters for Jewish freedom would evaporate in the wake of incontrovertible proof of their abject sellout to the imperialists.

The Zionists also promised the Jewish masses that the establishment of a Jewish state would change for all time their political standing throughout the world. After selling partition as a victory and as proof that the UN is friendly to Zionist aspirations, they are in the unenviable position of having to lift a finger to carry out its decision. Zionist leaders like Rabbi Silver are asking the U. S. for arms as well as an international police force. Others are in London negotiating with the British (while the British colonial office foments anti-Jewish attacks).

A BLIND SPOT

In contrast to these Zionist leaders, Sneh sees the handwriting on the wall. He notes that Britain and American refuse to assist the Jews, but demand immediate cessation of illegal immigration. For him this is sufficient proof that the imperialists are not sincere in their declarations.

Where the majority of the Zionist leaders are taken in by grandiose promises of statehood and try to dazzle the Jewish masses with the same hope, Sneh's realism forces him to recognize the traitorous role of Anglo-American imperialism.

But what are his conclusions?

That the present Anglo-American orientation of the Zionists is incorrect, and that all questions regarding the Jewish state should be discussed within the framework of the United Nations. This, of course, means bringing Russia into the picture. It is not that Sneh is a Stalinist. He simply believes that the conflicting aims of the different powers inside the UN will provide the Zionists with more elbow room for maneuvering. For all his realism, his Zionist beliefs give him a blind spot. He cannot see that in all the maneuvering that takes place inside the UN, small and weak peoples are used by the major powers, and not vice versa.

Sneh is a representative of militant nationalism which wants to conduct a serious and uncompromising struggle for Zionist aims. (He should be distinguished from the militant terrorist wing of the Zionist organization which has a right-wing political orientation).

Sneh now wants to organize a "popular" party which will fight against the weak, opportunistic policy of the official Zionist leaders.

Sneh's conflict with the other Zionist leaders does not signify that there is a fundamental difference between the two. All of them adhere to the program of establishing a Jewish national state in Palestine at any cost. The socialist "ideology" of the left wing group that support Sneh is just so much window dressing; all of their concrete efforts center around the Zionist struggle.

The present conflict will thus take place within the confines of the Zionist movement, and the dissidents will follow Zionist discipline.

Anything the Vindicator writes is suspect to the steelworkers. They know it has always opposed any measures to benefit labor and is always plugging for the profiteering steel barons. It is now playing the bosses' game by trying to discredit the Trotskyists, intimidate union militants with a red-scare, and block independent labor political action.

Marshall Plan Includes Franco

The London Observer states that it has learned "on good authority" that the Foreign Ministers of the U. S., England and France had agreed at a private conference in London that Spain would be included in the Marshall Plan.

This is scarcely surprising. The imperialists have always bolstered Spain's bloody ruler, Franco. They pass pious resolutions against the Franco regime in the UN. Then they give him back-handed economic aid to maintain the tyranny against the Spanish people.

The persistent struggle inside the unions against the reactionary policies of their present leaders.

UNIONS ARE THE BASE

The previous crime of the Stalinists was that they joined with the union bureaucrats in denying the need for independent political action and helped to beat down the workers' demand for it. Their present policy, although more radical sounding, is no less criminal.

By telling the workers that they can have a truly progressive party without the participation and support of their unions, the Stalinists are undermining the fight to mobilize labor politically as a class.

The militants will reject Stalinist adventurism just as they reject the AFL and CIO bureaucrats' "lesser evil" politics of supporting capitalist candidates and parties. They will continue to press in the labor movement for the formation of a genuine party based upon and controlled by the unions.

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