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LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 25, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Truman Out to Break UMW Militancy!

DEFEND THE MINERS UNION!

CIO Statement On Stalinism Straddles Issue

By DAVID COOLIDGE

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 18 — The eighth constitutional convention of the CIO opened here today with the usual ceremonies and organizational details which are associated with trade union conventions. The meeting was opened by Carl Holderman, who, in the course of his introductory remarks, told the convention that he hoped that Philip Murray would be drafted for another term as president of the CIO. This, of course, was the opening gun in the "draft Murray" movement. The election takes place on Friday morning and, of course, no one has any notion that Murray will not "choose to run" or refuse to accept, as there is no candidate for him to run against.

Demands Agreement



In his opening speech Murray said that this will prove to be a unified convention. How true was this prediction was to be demonstrated a few hours later in the day. He said that the most important question to come before the convention was the matter of wages and collective bargaining. He reviewed the history of last winter's strikes, taking them union by union to demonstrate that not only had industry refused to bargain properly with the unions but that these same industries had "refused to accept the recommendations of their government."

the biggest threat to "free enterprise" and to the country was the estimated corporate profits for this year of 15 billions of dollars. Industry would get this huge profit while labor was working for wages \$13.04 below March of this year.

HARMONY REIGNS

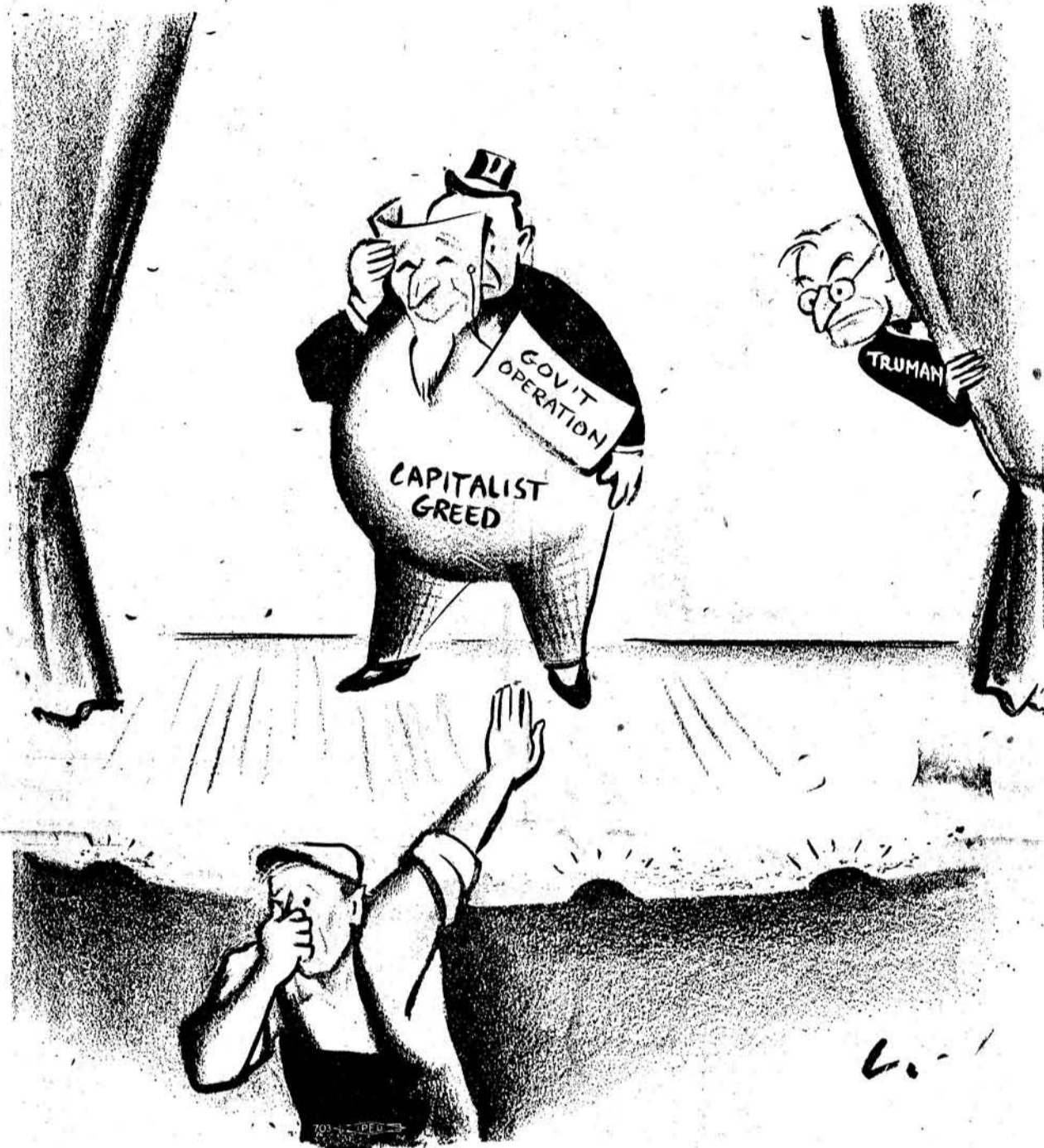
The big event of the day and the matter which brought the delegates back to life after the boredom of MacDonald's report on the Officers' Report, was the resolution on "Declaration of Policy." (See page 2 of this issue—Ed.) This was the resolution against political "interference." Murray made the only speech on the resolution. He said that in the past few months the CIO had been denounced and slandered as being communist. This campaign of vilification had been waged, he said, in order to get votes at the polls.

Without consulting any officer or member of the union or anyone else he had decided to lay the matter before the executive board. In the board he had expressed his convictions about communism. There was no disagreement in the board with his expressed convictions. The committee of six which he had appointed (three Stalinists and three non-Stalinists) to work out a policy on this question submitted a unanimous report to the board. This statement was unanimously adopted by the board.

Murray said that he wanted to make it clear that the statement on policy was not a legislative document. Legislation on this question properly belonged to the various CIO internationals. The resolution was rather

(Continued on page 2)

This Is Where We Came In!



By EMANUEL GARRETT

With 100,000 miners jumping the gun on strike action in defiance of a court injunction secured on the application of Attorney General Tom C. Clark, the three-cornered fight between the United Mine Workers of America, the government and the operators moved to a swift showdown this week.

There is no comment by union officials available at the moment of writing, but the long tradition of the mine workers in building their union and resisting all attacks on it, is reason to believe that the UMW will not back down under this bald species of anti-union intimidation. The miners want the operators to sign a contract, grant a wage increase and a change in hours; and it is certain that they will act to get it.

SWP Expels 2 Leaders Of Minority

Word has reached us from the convention of the Socialist Workers Party that Felix Morrow and David Jeffries, spokesmen for the SWP Minority Group, have been expelled from the party and that their followers have received a "severe warning." Morrow and Jeffries have been leading a fight inside the SWP against the bureaucratic Cannon leadership and in favor of the unification of the two Trotskyist groups in America, the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party, which the Cannon leadership of the SWP rejected. They have also presented a number of differences in political line. The plans of Morrow and Jeffries are not yet known; nor have we any report as yet as to the steps that will be taken by members of the Minority Group not expelled. LABOR ACTION hopes to print additional information on this matter in a forthcoming issue.

When Attorney General Clark, acting on instructions from Truman and his political advisers, sought the injunction from Judge Alan T. Goldsborough of the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia, he reversed an opinion which he, the Attorney General, had stated earlier; namely, that the miners were within their legal rights in terminating the contract.

According to the New York Times, November 18: "Attorney General Clark, several weeks ago, held informally that Mr. Lewis had a right, as the union chief insisted, to reopen the Krug-Lewis agreement of May 29 last. Mr. Krug had been insisting that this agreement could not be reopened because it was written for the period of government possession of the mines."

WANT TO BREAK UNIONS

Behind that change of opinion is a calculated attempt by the government to break the power of the miners' union. Several weeks ago, Lewis, acting for the union, announced that the union considered the contract terminated, and called for the opening of new negotiations to discuss wages, which have been cut by rising prices, and hours, which are now 54 per week. Secretary of the Interior Krug was busy at the time "inspecting projects" in the Midwest. On the assumption that the "projects" would run away if left unattended by his casual visit, Krug refused to return for the reopening of negotiations, but the government did appoint a committee to meet with the miners' representatives. It is now clear that Krug delayed his return to Washington in order to give the government time to consider the nature of its campaign against the mine workers.

Former Secretary of Interior Ickes recently revealed in the newspaper column he writes that last year he had gone to Truman with a proposal that they smash John L. Lewis—their way of saying: Smash the Mine Workers. Truman at the time did not dare challenge the powerful mine workers, whose militancy is unequalled in the labor movement. Today this head of the Democratic Party is willing to undertake the assault on the mine workers, counting on the support of the Republican majority in Congress.

Though ostensibly directed exclusively against the miners, Truman's (Continued on page 2)

Truman-Landlords Plan Rent Raid on People

Landlord Lobby Gets Government Backing in Latest Price Steal as Step Toward Dumping Rent Ceilings Entirely

By SUSAN GREEN

The next raid on the wages of workers and on the pockets of the people as a whole has been well organized, and the raiders are about to pounce. Truman and the OPA, yielding to the power of the real estate industry, are going to beat the new Congress to it in raising rents all along the line.

What are the tenants, the mass consumers of housing, doing to meet the onslaught? Unless they organize in their apartment houses, unite in their blocks and communities, to resist by planned action, they will be

defenseless against the landlords and the government.

"REQUIRED" FOR WHOM?

When Truman declared the end of price control recently, keeping it only on sugar, rice and rent, he forecast, however, that "It may be that some adjustment of rents will be required." Why required? Have not the landlords enjoyed the greatest bonanza in history? Have they not rented every hole in the wall and uninhabitable hovel at top rentals? Have they not given in return a minimum of service? But the landlords covet more than that.

They want to squeeze every dollar

of profit out of the great housing need of the people. What is this nonsense of rent control, when the extreme scarcity of dwellings places landlords in a position to mark up their commodity as their own greed dictates, since people must have a place to lay their heads! So, taking a leaf out of the recent history of the meat industry, the real estate industry is striking against the people.

According to Housing Expediter Wilson Wyatt, some 2,000,000 dwellings should be under construction this year. However, by the end of September only around 800,000 dwellings were begun. Today government

officials report, and real estate interests admit, that building is at a standstill. The only activity is in the field of converting old structures into some kind of living space. Different from the strikes of workers who fight FOR a decent life, the industrial powers strike AGAINST the attainment of a decent life by the mass.

LANDLORDS CONFESS GREED

At the same time the landlords and realtors make known their greed in no uncertain terms. Robert R. Watson, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, at the Atlantic City convention of the National Association of Real Estate

Boards, demanded a fifteen per cent boost in rents "to save thousands of landlords [poor things] from bankruptcy." This, it might be said, is by way of a minimum demand.

The real estate interests desire the complete elimination of all controls on rent and of all ceilings of new dwellings. Boyd T. Bernard, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, called upon members of his organization to "wait for the new Congress on the Capitol steps with a proposal for cushioned decontrol of rents."

Not that these profit-poachers are (Continued on page 8)

PCI Polls 60,000; Shows Increased Strength

PARIS—France has elected its first National Assembly under the new Constitution of the Fourth Republic. The third election in thirteen months, including referendums, has everyone, candidates and voters alike, exhausted. Meetings of all parties in this campaign were much smaller than in June. Despite the normal growth in the voting population, the number of votes cast declined considerably in comparison with the June elections. The percentage of non-voters went up from 18.2 to 21.6, making a total vote of a million less than in June.

Of the more than 19 million votes cast, the big gainers were the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which went up from 5,203,046 to 5,575,955, and the reactionary bloc (PRL, Union Gaulliste and associates) which went up from 2,623,679 to 3,013,630.

The biggest losers were the Socialists, whose vote declined from 4,198,110 to 3,454,080. This three-fourths of a million loss went only in part to

the CP. A good number of these voters simply stayed away from the polls. The MRP, the Catholic center party, went down from 5,589,130 to 5,035,430, with most of these votes going to the reactionaries. The other centrist party, the Radical-Socialists, once France's leading party, presented fewer candidates than in June, and went down from 2,179,087 to 1,971,660. However, in doing so they concentrated their efforts on the areas where they did run and thus increased their number of deputies by seven.

As a result of the increased number of deputies running for office in comparison with June, and to elections laws designed to help the largest parties, the CP and MRP got a larger share of the deputies; the CP increased its representatives by 19 and the MRP remained stationary. The Socialist Party lost 25 deputies, while the Radicals gained 7. The Rightist bloc increased its deputies by 18, of which nine represent the Gaullist Union. The combined Social-

ist-Communist votes and the number of their deputies both declined as the reactionary parties gained. But the latter are not yet stable.

PCI REGISTERS GAIN

The largest proportional gain in the voting was made by the small Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Trotskyist), French section of the Fourth International. The PCI increased its vote by one-third from 44,911 to 59,084. This gain was made at the cost of tremendous sacrifices of energy and funds by the PCI. In this sixth vote in little over a year, the PCI ran many candidates to help bring its revolutionary program to the attention of workers and peasants in sixteen election areas in fourteen departments (states) in various parts of France.

The most sensational gain of the PCI took place in part of the "Red Belt," the workers' suburbs ringing Paris. Here, in the Seine-et-Oise first sector, the PCI ran for the first time. Its candidates, headed by Yvon Crai-

peau, general secretary of the PCI, carried on a vigorous campaign. Meeting after meeting, despite Stalinist attempts at obstruction, won over hundreds of workers to the revolutionary socialist program of the Trotskyists. Many joined the party at the meetings and it is expected that five or six new branches of the party will be formed in this region.

The PCI received 13,890 votes in this district. This vote, being over the three per cent required by law, the party will have returned to it the 20,000 franc "caution" per candidate—180,000 francs in all for the area.

With the exception of the Stalinist party, which is very strong there, the other parties did not greatly outdistance the PCI. The CP got 119,304 votes, the Socialists 53,874, the MRP 96,296, the Radicals 44,539 and the PRL-Rightist bloc 23,924. Thus for the first time the PCI had the support of a considerable section of the working class.

Although most of the lists of the PCI which were run in the same

areas as in June got slightly less votes because of the spreading out of candidates, the increased number of lists, from 11 to 16, brought the name of the party to millions of new workers, as for example in Marseille and the mining area around Lille, (2,527 and 4,481 votes respectively).

The 16 lists with 121 candidates cost the PCI 2,420,000 francs, since it is necessary to put up a complete list each time for the total number of deputies to be elected by that region. Besides the three areas mentioned above, the PCI received the following votes:

Paris, three sectors out of six: 13,246; Finistère: 3,937; Tarn-et-Garonne: 1,045; Gironde (Bordeaux): 3,120; Marne, 3,060; Isère: 2,484; Puy-de-Dome (where the party waged a vigorous campaign against Stalinist slanders that its leading candidate, Gerard Bloch, a former concentration camp inmate, was a so-called Nazi agent): 3,591 (as against 2,896 last

time); Rhone first sector: 2,683; Savoie: 1,392; Creuse: 662; Loire-Inférieure (Normandy): 3,614.

Since no two of the parties have an actual majority, it can be considered a certainty that there will be either a tripartite or quadripartite government. The CP people want the Radicals in the government and would like to see the MRP out. But this conflicts with the Socialist Party policy which, while not opposed to the Radicals, clings to the MRP. At the same time the CP is still much too strong both in the labor movement and in the government for a government to be formed without them.

The new Assembly is now more permanent, being elected for five years—unless it is dissolved beforehand. For one thing, there is the question of the President of the Republic, to be elected by the Assembly and Council (Senate). The entire center and right are known to favor the election of France's would-be Bonaparte, de Gaulle. Since these

parties, providing they can hold the shaky Radicals in line, have 289 out of the 544 seats in Metropolitan France, they can put "le grand Charlie" in.

Furthermore, the Socialist and Stalinist leaders have both been doing some cooing in the would-be dictator's direction, and it is likely that the former, under MRP pressure, might abstain rather than vote against him. That is where the constant line of backing down before the capitalist elements has led the weakened Socialist Party.

As to the Stalinists, they have up to now been very successful in throwing most of the blame for their policy of collaboration with the capitalists against the workers onto the sagging shoulders of the Socialists. But their general gains did not stop them from losing 4,684 votes in the "Red Belt," where the vigorous PCI campaign showed those and nine thousand other workers that there is another road, the road of labor action against the capitalists.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Progressives Win in Akron Local 5 Vote

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, Nov. 12—Results of the election of officers for Local 5, URW, have been announced. In the four top offices no change took place. George Bass was re-elected president, Art Dockery vice-president and Gideon Lowe recording secretary, all from the Progressive, or as it is popularly known, the Bass Caucus. Jack Delaney was re-elected treasurer from the Saylor-Delaney right wing caucus.

In the right wing caucus the strategy was to run Saylor, former president and former member of the International Executive Board, for recording secretary against Gideon

Lowe. Saylor and those who formulate the policy of the caucus knew that if he ran against Bass his chances would be slim indeed. So they ran James Davison, chairman of the Engineering Division, against Bass with no hopes in anyone's mind except Davison's for victory. They were fairly sure of re-electing Delaney, since he is the only treasurer Local 5 has ever had. Therefore if Saylor were elected they would control two of the four top positions in the local.

While this strategy failed, it came closer to succeeding than would normally have been expected because the right wing of the Bass caucus itself was reported to be comparatively uninterested in re-electing Dockery and Lowe.

ANTI-NEGRO BIAS

The Saylor-Delaney-Davison right wing caucus made its usual contribution to the campaign by attempting to stir up race hatred among the union membership. Many representatives of their group openly criticized the Bass caucus for the support which it enjoyed among Negro members. As in the election for delegates to

the recent international convention, they recommended their slate as the one with no Negroes on it. They also attempted to cash in on any prejudice that the returned veterans might have by attempting to represent their slate as a GI ticket. Many veterans, however, were hoodwinked into supporting them on that basis.

Despite this abominable conduct, the right wing Saylor group was decisively defeated. It was expected that Delaney would retain his post. The closest they came to capturing any other office was in the race between Gideon Lowe and Saylor himself and even there Lowe won by a clear-cut and comfortable majority.

Results in the election for Executive Board have been decided for only three positions. The other four positions of the seven-man board will be decided this week in a run-off election. There too the indications are that it will be a decisive victory for the Progressive Caucus.

The Progressive Caucus has no clear-cut or stated program. In that respect it differs very little from the right wing Saylor group. But it does have some impressive figures in the records of its administration. It took

a local that had been decimated by the Saylor administration and built the membership from around 8,000 to more than 15,000 in less than a year. It won \$10,000,000 from the company in wage increases and adjustments during the last year. For the most part it handled grievances in a militant manner. Therein lies its appeal to the great majority of the membership. With a clearly stated program it could control the international.

CIO Convention - -

(Continued from page 1)

a statement of policy designed to chart a course. It was not to be used as a repressive measure. He was opposed to repression in any form. While this was true, Murray said that the resolution must be adhered to after adoption. The CIO does not care to be bothered with and will not tolerate interference, not only from the Communist Party but from other political parties. The CIO is a trade union and must attend strictly to its affairs as a trade union, as an American trade union, giving allegiance to no other country except the United States.

NO DEBATE

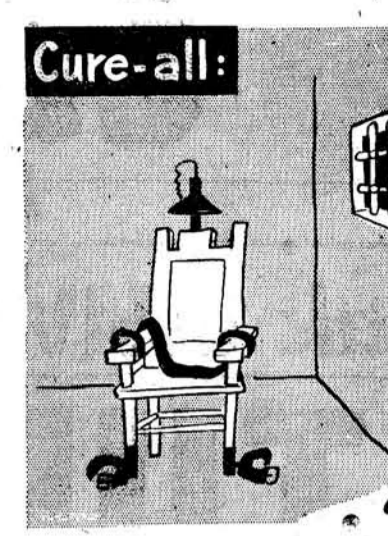
Murray closed his speech by telling the delegates that since the EB had already passed the resolution unanimously, he hoped the delegates would respond unanimously by a rising vote. He hoped that there would be no needless debate.

It can be said most emphatically that Murray got his desire. There was no needless debate. There was no debate at all. Not one delegate took the floor. They had abundant encouragement from Murray to accept the decision of the EB without even asking one question or making one remark. When the vote was taken three delegates voted against. There was a rumor going around that later they had recanted. (The press so reported—Ed.) A remark was made that "the party [Stalinist] got on the job in a hurry."

The way this question was handled was extremely interesting. While one can understand Murray's concern over having a "unified convention," it is very difficult to understand how he expects to develop any worthwhile unity from such a bureaucratic procedure. It is easy to understand Murray's apprehension over a terrific factional struggle which might do

harm to the CIO. But what kind of unity is it which comes from saving such an important resolution adopted in so sheepish, submissive and undemocratic a manner.

The Boss's Dictionary



NOTHING SETTLED

Furthermore, did not the delegates have the right to know why three delegates voted against the resolution? Didn't they have the right to hear the arguments which caused the EB to vote in favor of the resolution? Didn't the delegates have the democratic right to hear the position of the Stalinist members of the EB on this question?

One leading member of the EB, who had voted for the resolution made the remark, off the record, that the resolution settled nothing. This is all too true. How can it? For one reason, what is interference in the affairs of the CIO? Someone might have asked the question whether or not the Democratic Party had ever interfered in the affairs of the CIO. But perhaps Murray thinks that the Democratic Party is not a political organization.

At any rate, the adoption of this resolution ended the first day of the convention.

Text of CIO Convention's "Declaration of Policy"

(See page one of this article for report on CIO convention and adoption of resolution printed below. Next week's LABOR ACTION will subject this resolution to further critical analysis.)

The Congress of Industrial Organization is an American institution dedicated to the attainment of its well defined social and economic objectives within the framework of American political democracy.

The basic reason for the organization of CIO was and continues to be the organization of the American workers into trade unions for the protection and enhancement of their legitimate aspirations in regard to wages, hours and conditions of employment. The CIO in pursuit of these aims and to protect the security of its members has encouraged its membership to exercise its rights and obligations as citizens of the community by supporting progressive legislation affecting their economic and social well being.

RECORDS CIO EFFORTS TO RAISE LIVING STANDARDS

The CIO records with pride its achievements in protecting and enhancing the interests of its members and in providing leadership for the labor movement and the common people in the struggle for a better America. The record of the CIO in raising the living standards of its members, in promoting the well being of all the people, in support of the war effort, in the projection of national plans for the orderly reconversion to peacetime production, in its program of an economy of full employment at decent wages and full production is unequalled by any other organization in America.

In our efforts to win economic security and social justice and to unite our movement against the forces of reaction and the enemies of democracy, we reaffirm our faith that these goals can be achieved for the American people through the democratic process and without sacrificing any of our basic human freedoms. The CIO as an American organization has no interest apart from the interest of our people and our country. We stand opposed to all forms of oppression and in favor of the Four Freedoms—freedom of religion; freedom from fear; freedom from want; and freedom of speech for everyone—everywhere.

"RESENT AND REJECT" THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We stand unwavering in our loyalty to these principles which America symbolizes and will resist with all our might every attempt by elements from within our country or from without to undermine or destroy our free institutions.

In the words of our great President Philip Murray: "We must devote our lives as trade unionists toward the upbuilding of a better life for Americans, and we must pledge only one national allegiance, and that allegiance is to our own country, the United States of America. There can be no difference in point of view regarding those phases of the situation. There should not be. There must not be."

In pursuit of the principles set forth herein and adopted by the CIO Executive Board we, the delegates to the Eighth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organization, resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO. This convention serves notice that we will not tolerate such interference.

UAW Leader Sees Labor Party Need

DETROIT, Nov. 11—In the midst of the obvious dismay and demoralization of many top UAW-CIO and PAC officials over the results of last week's elections, one UAW-CIO leader sounded a call for the immediate formation of a Labor Party.

Emil Mazey, regional director of the UAW-CIO, climaxed his sharp analysis of the New Deal and Truman administration fiascos, speaking at a dinner of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation Sunday night, with a call for labor to break completely with the Republican and Democratic Parties, and form its own party.

"Now is the time for a third party, based on the trade unions, including CIO, AFL unions, Negroes, working farmers and minority groups," Mazey told the enthused gathering of over 300, which consisted mainly of leaders of the UAW-CIO unions in this area.

He stressed the need for a nationwide party whose aim must be "to take power and control the means of production."

Mazey pointed out the inconsistency of the PAC policy which in 1944 hailed the election of the 79th Congress as a major triumph, and one year later called this same Congress the worst in history. He excoriated the Truman administration and reviewed its anti-labor role, step by step, from the GM strike, the railroad strike, to the OPA struggle. He also outlined the contradiction in the UAW policy which at its 1943 convention criticized every Roosevelt agency, and then passed a resolution endorsing Roosevelt.

Since Mazey is a delegate to the national CIO convention as a member of the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO, it will be interesting to see if he fights for those views at the national convention.

Matt Hammond, state chairman of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, announced that it aimed at running an independent slate for every office in the 1948 elections.

DETROIT WP GATHERS FEPC SIGNATURES

DETROIT, Nov. 16—Today was FEPC Day in Detroit. Mayor Jeffries was supposed to proclaim FEPC Day on the steps of City Hall. It was raining and cold, and in spite of the fact that the Mayor did not appear, 16 members of the Workers Party and Socialist Youth League set up two tables in the heart of downtown Detroit to fill initiative petitions calling on the State Legislature to enact an FEPC bill in Michigan.

During the short afternoon, 500 signatures were obtained for the petition. Copies of the Workers Party—SYL statement on the drive were distributed to all signers. In addition, 55 copies of LABOR ACTION were sold. Other literature was also sold in small quantities, due to the constant rain, which forced the salesmen to keep the literature covered up.

Sell Labor Action At River Rouge Strike Meeting

DETROIT, Nov. 17—As thousands of workers from the Ford River Rouge plant flocked into the Masonic Hall in Detroit at 9:30 this Sunday morning, they were met by two distributors of The Militant, two distributors of the Daily Worker, and four people distributing literature of the Socialist Labor Party. All of this literature was being distributed free. In spite of the severe competition, Ben Hall, Detroit organizer of the Workers Party sold 50 copies of LABOR ACTION in the hour preceding the meeting. It was unfortunate that the Detroit bundle was already sold out previous to the Ford meeting and that only 50 copies remained, for another 50 could have been sold too to the Ford workers.

Mesabi Range Vote Turns Left Though GOP Wins Minnesota

HIBBING, Minn.—In the recent elections, the Republican Party made an almost clean sweep of Minnesota. The only exception was the Eighth Congressional District of Northern Minnesota, which takes in the upper or Eastern Mesabi Iron Range as well as Duluth, Hibbing and other industrial towns. In this district, veteran John Blatnik, Democratic candidate who ran with labor support, defeated the reactionary Republican candidate, Pittenger, by a margin of 7,000 of the 80,000 votes cast. In only one other place—the Third Congressional District in the Twin Cities—were the Republicans defeated.

Blatnik piled up terrific majorities in the Iron Range. Practically his entire margin came from the Range. In Chisholm, for instance, his majority was nearly four to one. In Stuntz—which includes the Hibbing-Kelly Lake mining locations—Blatnik gained a 2,500 majority.

Despite the fact that he was the candidate of a capitalist party, Blatnik gained support on the Range largely because he was the favorite of the PAC local machine. While in other areas of the country PAC influence either remained static or declined, in the Iron Range it went up. The PAC is a new development here, having been organized less than one year ago in the Mesabi. What was true of the PAC nationally before the 1944 elections, namely, that great masses of workers were becoming

more conscious of the importance of politics and would rally to their own political organization or what they thought was their own political organization, was true here locally. A period of local collaboration between the PAC and the capitalist political outfits will antagonize many workers here, as it has nationally; but that stage not having yet been reached, most of the Mesabi workers went for the PAC.

An interesting and encouraging local development was the excellent vote which Grace Carlson, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, received in the Mesabi. She received 315 votes out of the 17,114 votes in the Range and near-Range area, which comes to 1.8 per cent. In the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, in which the SWP has concentrated for years and in which nearly all of its recent campaign was conducted, she received only .9 per cent of the vote.

The trend toward PAC support and the SWP vote point to the considerable possibilities in this mining area. An independent Labor Party boldly and militantly conducting its own fight and refusing to make any election deal with the capitalist parties, would be greeted here with considerable enthusiasm. Supporters of the Workers Party in this area, as well as large numbers of the many LABOR ACTION readers in the Range, intend to press the fight home for such a party.

Miners Fight - -

(Continued from page 1)

action is in fact a test of how far he and a Congress that will be more reactionary than the reactionary Congress that preceded it, will dare go against labor generally in the battles that are shaping up for this winter.

ALL LABOR MENACED

The extent of the government's scheme is indicated by the rumors that are flying around Washington. Columnist Drew Pearson, for example, has circulated the story that the government will seek to arrest Lewis. It is rather doubtful that the government would do that, for the net result would only be to make the miners that much more determined to stick by their guns. The miners are not known to be the kind who flee in fright every time the government sneezes. Their famous challenge to Roosevelt that he dig coal with bayonets is too well remembered.

But if Truman can get away with this strike-breaking, union-busting action, exceeding the scale of his strike-breaking role in the railroad strike, every union in the country will be menaced. The miners are therefore carrying the ball, as they have many times in the past, for the entire labor movement. It is to be expected that a considerable section of the labor movement will rally to the miners' defense. Unofficial reports from the CIO convention now in session say that the CIO will back the miners.

The immediate background of the present crisis is the agreement signed last spring by Lewis for the mine workers and Krug for the government, granting the mine workers an 18½-cent hourly boost, now wiped out by inflated prices, a safety code and a welfare fund. With some operators refusing to sign the agreement, the mines remained in government possession—though this did not interfere with the operators' profits in the slightest degree.

The agreement signed by Lewis and Krug provided that it would remain in effect "for the period of gov-

ernment possession." BUT it also provided that clauses in the earlier contract, not changed by the agreement, would also remain in effect. This earlier contract provided for reopening of the contract. Thus, the legal basis of the mine workers' claim is clear. Krug maintains that the clause is suspended by the "possession" clause.

MINERS WILL FIGHT

That should be sufficient to dispose of the government's virtuous legality. It distorts and twists the interpretation of the law to suit its own reactionary ends. That the mine workers are on a solid legal ground is, however, the smallest aspect of the case. That case rests primarily on their needs as workers, and their rights as union men.

Labor fought for its right to have unions and its right to strike. It is not going to yield those rights easily—not even for the fiction that labor can't strike against the government (who said so?—the government said so, the bosses said so).

There is consequently every reason to believe that the mine workers, although they may have to stage a momentary retreat and skirmish for a while in the courts, will emerge triumphant in the end. So long as their union fights for their interests, they will fight to defend it—and not all the mouthings of government officials, Congressmen and assorted reactionaries will change that.

NOTE:

The New Address of THE WORKERS PARTY LABOR ACTION THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, New York

Baltimore Forum Hears Gates on Election Results

BALTIMORE — The Baltimore branch of the Socialist Youth League and Workers Party held its monthly forum on November 8 at 21 W. Preston St. Its speaker was Albert Gates, member of the editorial boards of LABOR ACTION and The New International. The forum discussed the effects of the election upon the working class, and the need of an independent labor party.

Contradictions were shown to exist within our two largest political parties. As an example, it was pointed out, that southern reactionaries and northern liberals' exist side-by-side in the Democratic Party. Equally contradictory forces were lodged in the Republican Party.

Albert Gates made it clear that there existed no class conscious, mass labor party in the U. S. Another feature elaborated upon was how the Political Action Committee (CIO) indulged in contradictory procedures of fighting for the welfare of the masses. It fights capital within the plants, that is through its member unions, and then turns around and elects the servants of capital to Congress. These same congressmen in turn pass laws contrary to the welfare of labor.

After Gates delivered his speech, questions and discussion came from the floor. The significance of Wallace in the next election was touched upon. Choosing the lesser of two evils has always been a tragic mistake for the people. When liberals are in a crisis, they almost always turn to the side of reaction. For that reason, the working class movement would benefit greatly by severing its relationship with any figure or organization having its basis in capitalism. Consequently the leadership of Wallace should not be sought.

An appreciable increase in the number attending the Baltimore forums have been noticed. As a result the membership of the Baltimore Socialist Youth League and Workers Party is growing. Likewise its list of sympathizers is enlarging. At all times literature of the Workers Party is sold to the public.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

One of the best chapters in Lewis Corey's book of a decade ago, "The Decline of American Capitalism," was that early one wherein he listed scores of optimistic quotations from leading American capitalists and politicians, uttered just before the 1929 crash, showing the complete unawareness and ignorance of the social and economic forces which these men purported to control or at least to understand.

Lets' start keeping tabs on some of our current heavy thinkers.

Here's a prediction by John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury: "The nation is on the road to a continuing high level of prosperity."

And here is one from Civilian Production Administrator John Small: "A recession will not come next year if business generally acts to maintain a high level of production."

U. S. CONTROLS THE OCEANS

The United States, which in 1939 had only 14 per cent of the deadweight tonnage of the world's merchant fleet, today owns more than 60 per cent, a recent survey compiled by the Maritime Commission shows. The U. S. fleet increased from 1,379 ships in 1939 to 4,961 vessels in 1946. The British Empire fleet decreased from 30 per cent of the world's deadweight tonnage in 1939 to 24 per cent today. All the other nations showed reductions in merchant fleets except Russia, which had a one per cent gain. Percentage declines in tonnages were: Norway, from 9 per cent to 4; Netherlands, from 4 per cent to 2; France, 4 to 2; Japan, 9 to 1; Germany, 6 to 1; and Italy, 5 to 1. Actually, U. S. domination of the world merchant fleets is even more pronounced than these figures indicate. Approximately 8 per cent, or 526, of the vessels in foreign fleets are owned by the U. S., although included in the statistics of the fleets of other countries.

WHO DELAYS HOUSING?

Untold quantities of such scarce housing materials as white lead paint, toilets, soil pipe, plumbing fixtures, nails, veneer and plywood lie hidden away in War Assets Administration warehouses in six central states, according to a navy veteran who just spent three weeks investigating the situation in Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Enough building material is stored in government warehouses to complete all unfinished houses in the area and to build thousands more, said Arthur Marcus, the investigator, and member of the national committee on veteran housing of the American Legion.

In one warehouse was 11,361 feet of conduit pipe, enough for 100 homes; another had 92 toilets; a third depot contained 2,000 toilets, 500,000 square feet of plywood and veneer, and enough nails to build 12,000 houses.

Marcus, obviously a Republican, charged that the Truman administration was holding the materials off the market in an attempt "to delude veterans into the belief that their only salvation is government housing." Such a charge is fake. One of the many rotten policies that helped defeat the Democrats was their miserable failure to solve the housing shortage, though it was in their interest to make some kind of a showing.

A further investigation would show that the big insurance companies and banks, who own such a large proportion of the nation's housing, together with the building materials trust, are responsible for holding such materials off the market, in order to smash rent ceilings and increase the value of their present holdings. This section of big business DOESN'T WANT THE HOUSING SHORTAGE ALLEVIATED, and both boss parties connive with it.... The stall in new housing has been successful, and it is now certain that rent ceilings will be further lifted.

What a joke Housing Expediter Wilson Wyatt's program has been. Despite repeated warning from veterans, he insisted upon concentrating on the building

of houses at a cost of about \$10,000 and up, rather than construct low-cost housing projects. Wyatt's program wasn't designed to help the veterans at all, for how many of them can spend \$10,000 to house their families? Rather the program was aimed to help the upper middle class.

NEW U. S.-CHINA TREATY

U. S. intervention in China is now beginning to pay off—for the wealthy. On November 1, the United States signed an extensive 5-year treaty with the Chinese government, broadening the rights and privileges which American corporations can exercise in China. The State Department "emphatically denied" that conclusion of the pact at this time is a move to strengthen Chiang Kai-shek's central government. In the language of diplomacy, "to emphatically deny" means "to affirm." By terms of the treaty, which must be ratified by the U. S. Senate and the Chinese Yuan, American corporations are permitted to "reside, travel and carry on trade" in all parts of the country—including the so-called Chinese Communist territory which Chiang does not control. They can carry on "commercial manufacturing, processing, scientific, educational, religious and philanthropic activities," can "acquire, hold, erect, or lease and occupy buildings and acquire land." Merchant ships of one country can travel in the territorial waters and put in at the ports of the other....

This treaty obviously gives Washington a big stake in keeping Chiang or some puppet dictator like him, in power, for the treaty does not necessarily expire after five years, "or ever," says the N. Y. Journal of Commerce. Once past the five-year date, the pact will be ended only one year after one of the countries announces its intention to terminate it. Obviously, it is to the interest of American big business to see that no Chinese government ever takes power which might abrogate such a juicy treaty.... Coincident with signing of the treaty, there was announced in New York the formation of the first American trade association devoted solely to the promotion of U. S. commerce in China, the China-American Council of Commerce and Industry, designed to produce "a unified and authoritative voice pressing the viewpoints and interests of American business."

Washington is already objecting to Britain over sections of the British-Argentine economic agreement, on grounds it violates promises Britain made the U. S. in obtaining a \$3,750,000,000 American loan. One provision of the British-Argentine pact prevents Argentina from spending blocked sterling where she desires under certain circumstances. The U. S. State Department has also told Britain it dislikes the long-term exclusive basis of the four-year meat agreement with Argentina. Britain has similar exclusive meat pacts with Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

TUESDAY, NOV. 26

MAX SHACHTMAN 9:00 p.m.
"Eclipse of Britain"OSCAR WILLIAMS 7:30 p.m.
"The Miners Strike Back"at
LABOR ACTION SCHOOL
114 W. 14 St.

Republican Congress Plans A Boost for Big Business

By ALBERT GATES

THE whole country is now deeply interested in what the Republican Party will do on January 3 when the new congress convenes. This is understandable, especially in light of the type of election propaganda which characterizes political campaigns in this country. The Republicans were wisely silent about their program and their plans in the campaign itself. Lacking a finished and common program, they concentrated on the chaos of the past period and the incompetence of the new Democratic administration. Their campaign slogan was designed as a catch-all for votes: "Had Enough! Vote Republican!" And there was no question that millions in the country felt they had had enough of the Truman administration.

In the absence of a bona fide labor political party, a party that could speak for and represent the overwhelming majority of the people, the choice between Truman's Democratic Party, whose strongest base is the reactionary Southern leaders, and the reactionary, big business Republican Party, could not have been one based on program and policies. That is why it is correct to say that the vote was largely against the Democrats rather than for the Republican Party. The bankruptcy of the Democratic Party was epitomized by the fact that its campaign featured the playing of records of speeches by the deceased Roosevelt and by the silence of its "leader," who was prevented from making a single speech in behalf of his Party by its political big-wigs. Thus the vote of a large section of the electorate was a protest vote, but it was a protest vote going in no particular direction.

PROBLEMS THE REPUBLICANS FACE

The immediate problems which the Republican Party will tackle are already clearly indicated: foreign affairs, the budget and taxes, labor and emergency war powers. With the election over, the party congressional leaders are already approaching these questions with considerable caution. The reason for this caution is to be sought in the precarious nature of the world and domestic situation, the former fraught with extreme danger, the latter relating to the problem of labor, the boom and the prospect of a crisis.

However reactionary is the interest of the Republican Party in the welfare of big business and in maintaining the high profits of American capitalism through domination of world trade and the curbing of labor at home, these must be achieved with a minimum of international and domestic disturbances.

The Democratic Party and the befuddled PAC talked a great deal about how the Republicans threatened to wipe out all the achievements of the New Deal and to return to the conditions which existed during the Hoover days. This is nonsense. Reform legislation was long overdue in this country. The economic crisis of the Thirties merely hastened the enactment of social legislation, much of which was supported by the Republican Party. But it is necessary to distinguish between social legislation of the New Deal and the general political course pursued by Roosevelt through the successive Administrations. The Roosevelt of 1941-44 was not the Roosevelt of 1932.

The New Deal Administration was liquidated by Roosevelt himself during the war years. What

remains of the New Deal is the social legislation enacted during the crisis and its basic achievements will remain even under the Republican Administration. That the Republicans will amend some of this legislation goes without saying; but in this they will have considerable support from the Democrats, counting among them some ardent Rooseveltians. The lessons of the Thirties have not been without their effect on the Republicans.

WILL NOT RETURN TO ISOLATIONISM

The same holds true in the field of foreign affairs. The Republicans cannot, and do not want to, return to the isolationism of the pre-war years. To believe that this is possible contradicts the characterization of the party as the instrument of an interventionist big business. The Hot Springs conference of Republican leaders and the heads of some of the mightiest monopolistic enterprises in the country which met to consider the problems of foreign trade, prices, wages, prosperity and depression, the role of the Stalinist Party in this country, can hardly be characterized as an isolationist group.

That the party has its own type of "extremists" is obvious. A man like Rep. Taber of New York, who still lives in the dead era of the Twenties may stump for the "fiscal policy of the '20's" because "you won't get a '29 depression from any of the policies of the Coolidge administration," will not set the tone for Republican financial policy even though he will be fighting for the dead past.

No, the Republican leaders Taft, Vandenberg, White, Wherry, Martin, and others have already met and mapped out the general course they will pursue in the next session of congress. If it is permissible to have said that the Roosevelt Administration was "friendly" to labor, that is, gave some concessions to labor in exchange for its unstinted support, the new congressional power will be more avowedly big business and anti-labor. But it will not seek to destroy the labor movement, for it will not dare to rouse the wrath of the organized labor movement. But it will aim to destroy some of labor's power by legislation—and here labor will have to be strongly organized.

A SUMMARY OF GOP POLICIES

At present the following appear to be GOP policies:

1. **Emergency War Powers.** The GOP will introduce a resolution declaring the end of the war. Government control and presidential extraordinary powers will terminate gradually. The statements about "returning power to the states" are propagandistic nonsense, as are those which declare that "business will now be free."

2. **Foreign Affairs.** There will be no policy change in Republican control of the Senate and House committees on foreign affairs. The Republicans, no matter how many differences they may have on concrete policies with the Democrats, or how vigorously they may prosecute "American interests first" will continue the main line in foreign policy pursued by the Democratic Administration.

There will not and cannot be a repetition of the 1920's when the United States, under Republican leadership, withdrew from participation in the League of Nations which Wilson helped to

initiate. American policy in foreign affairs will be decidedly interventionist whether it is led by Republicans or Democrats.

3. **Budget and Taxes.** The Republicans will cut the budget by several billions and eliminate some Democratic projects. But there will be no substantial change in the main expenditures outlined by the Democratic Administration. While the Republicans have talked a great deal about tax cutting, they now warn that they will be guided by caution. They are aiming at a \$30-31 billion dollar budget against the present one of \$41 billion. In relation to the federal pay roll, which will be reduced, Senator Bridges has already said that "they will do it scientifically, and not with a sledgehammer." Slated to become the chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, the senator also indicated that he is not even certain that his party will carry through an "across the board" 20 per cent tax cut. Government needs growing out of the war and the struggle for world domination compel the Republicans to conduct themselves carefully.

4. **Labor.** On this question the Republican Party is clearer than on any other. They will seek to enact curbs on the labor movement, trying to compel unions to register their funds and make public financial reports. They will very likely enact a new version of the Connally Act or seek the reintroduction of the Case anti-strike bill. Whatever form anti-labor legislation will take, either through the above, or by amendments to the Wagner Act, anti-union curbs will emerge from a Congress dominated by big business' party—unless labor acts in such a way as to force them to retreat.

PROOF OF LABOR PARTY NEED

So far as other important questions relating to social problems are concerned, the Republican Party will bury most of them or prevent the enactment of positive legislation. These are bills on housing and medical aid. Since the Truman Administration has already taken the lead on raising rents, which in effect means the end of rent control, the Republicans will find their job cut out for them. As for the rest, not even the Republicans are sure what they will do.

We are faced with a new Congress dominated by the reactionary party of big business. In a fundamental sense, as a capitalist party, it is in no principled sense, a different party from Roosevelt's or Truman's. But it is more OPENLY big business than the Democratic Party. The next Congress will therefore be a reactionary one whether it will be more reactionary than the one just ended which was controlled by a bloc of Republicans and Southern Democrats will not alter things fundamentally.

In the light of what has happened in this election and the political prospects of the coming year, the criminal policy of the labor movement becomes abundantly clearer. Tying labor to the needs of the Democratic machine (the CIO-PAC) and the reactionary Republican Party (the AFL bureaucracy) has resulted in a defeat for the labor movement. The elections have supplied additional proof, if anyone was needed, that the political hopes for the working class lies through the establishment of its own political organization, an independent labor party.



Lack of Labor Tie and Stalinist Infiltration Cloud AVC Future

By STEVE PARKER

During and after the recent war, a great many veteran organizations were founded whose aim was to challenge the old organizations, such as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, for leadership in the World War II veteran field. In the subsequent struggle for survival most of them have disappeared. Of those that survived and showed the greatest strength is the American Veterans Committee.

The reason is that the AVC has shown an alertness to social problems absent in most of the other organizations. If a new organization is to remain in the highly competitive veteran field it cannot be a mere duplication of the Legion and the VFW. Why should any veteran join it when he could join the "real thing," which has a membership of millions, as well as tremendous political power and backing, a powerful lobby, and millions of dollars of assets?

To the credit of the AVC it must be said that it has been striving for something new and unprecedented in veteran life. One need simply contrast its activities with that of the

other veteran groups. And one need simply contrast the character and tone of its meetings, the real interest and concern with political questions. It is then clearly evident that we are dealing with a new type of veteran organization.

Although these are positive trends, the AVC also has many defects. For one thing, its composition is not good. In the main it has not succeeded in winning over labor unionists to its ranks, especially in the mass production centers. Its composition is predominantly lower middle class with an especially large quota of the lawyer-doctor-dentist kind of intellectual. Although it is generally pro-labor, it still opposes what it calls "the special interests of labor." It fails to understand that any real future for it lies in common action with the labor movement.

AURA OF RESPECTABILITY

Then again the leadership seems overly concerned with the aura of respectability. Although it is interested in social problems and has instilled this interest into the organization, its own methods of solving these problems are conservative. It avoids the

methods of mass pressure in favor of finding friends among the various capitalist politicians. And to a large extent it is this concern for its mantle of respectability, its fear of being labelled "communist" if it embarks upon militant actions, its failure to identify itself with the labor movement and its incredible naiveté as far as the Stalinists are concerned, that has created the present crisis in the AVC.

For a crisis it is! The immediate future of the AVC hinges on its solution of the Stalinist problem. The AVC leadership consistently underestimated the strength of the Stalinists until it discovered that the Stalinists had practically taken over the organization. When the present liberal leadership of the AVC defeated the Stalinists at the Des Moines national convention of the AVC, they thought it signified the end of the Stalinist threat. Little did they understand the Stalinists. The Stalinists then started to take over one locality after another. Today the Stalinists have control of the AVC in New York, Chicago and other large population centers.

If they haven't taken over the entire organization as yet, it is simply because it doesn't suit their present interests to do so. Perhaps they fear that they would only capture themselves if they took over the entire leadership. Yet on the other hand, the Stalinists are sorely tempted to take control of what is now an established organization that has made a name for itself and that could be a perfect instrument for forwarding the CP line. Probably at the next national convention of the AVC they will try to take full control.

ROLE OF LIBERAL LEADERS

It would be a sad mistake to assume that it makes no difference whether the liberals or the Stalinists control the organization. The liberals for all their errors and stupidities have at least established an organization that provides an arena for the veteran seriously to discuss his problems in an atmosphere of democratic discussion. Wherever the Stalinists rule AVC chapters, there is usually the dull, stultifying, totalitarian atmosphere that characterizes Stalinist control.

The liberal bloc by itself cannot be expected effectively to defeat the Stalinists: it lacks an attractively militant programmatic basis; it is timid and ineffectual; and it is uninterested, by and large, in establishing that contact with the militants in the labor movement who can provide both the backbone and the program to smash the Stalinists. The liberal leadership of the AVC cannot provide effective direction, but its continued organizational domination is preferable to that of the Stalinists because it allows a democratic internal life, something which is hateful to the Stalinists.

In the face of the threat of Stalinist control, what methods has the leadership of the AVC adopted to counter the Stalinist maneuvers? Belatedly the so-called right wing has begun to organize a caucus. Descriptions of the functionings of these caucuses at the New York and Chicago metropolitan area conventions have

(Continued on page 5)

Vito Marcantonio's Rise to Power:

A Profile of a Political Demagogue

By IRVING HOWE

On the night before election, in the heart of East Harlem—that polyglot slum where poverty-stricken Puerto Rican and Italian families crowd into tiny apartments—there was a large mass-meeting. The man who shrieked over the loudspeaker was small, swarthy, his face pinched and sharp; he spoke in a torrent of words and shifted from Italian to Spanish to English. Invariably he referred to his political opponents as "dope bums"; in the foreign languages he used less genteel expressions. He had a phenomenal ability to sustain his high-pitched harangue with which he pummeled his audience, occasionally breaking into hysterical falsetto. But there was no denying his effectiveness; his audience responded. The speaker was Vito Marcantonio, Congressman from New York's 18th district, accomplice of Stalinism and therefore experienced political chameleon; former buddy of fascists; ruthless political boss and ally of Tammany Hall; and skilled, dangerous though limited political demagogue.

What makes Vito tick? Why has this cheap political trickster gained such a foothold in New York's East Harlem—so powerful that despite a heavily-financed Republican campaign, on top of electoral gerrymandering which put a German and anti-Marcantonio area into his district, he was still able to win the recent election?

Marcantonio's career is unique in American politics. Personally he is not very much; his mind is shallow and his personality lacks that boyish charm generally considered indispensable for the American politician. Yet he is the head of the New York County American Labor Party, has a strong influence in Tammany Hall and has built a powerful local political machine.

Marcantonio began, interestingly

enough, as a protégé of that falsetto windbag, F. H. La Guardia. When La Guardia was beginning to build his political fences in New York in preparation for defeating Tammany, he needed a slick lieutenant capable of corraling the foreign-language vote in East Harlem and of building a tight organization there on which La Guardia could count for support. Vito was the man. He did the job, but he did



STALINIST ACCOMPLICE

more; he began to build himself a personal machine. And like all political demagogues he was not too concerned about the political ideas he peddled.

In the early thirties Marcantonio flirted with the fascists. He was a frequent speaker before the Leonardo da Vinci art school, a front organization sponsored by Mussolini's consul; he spoke at Columbus Day rallies of Italian fascist outfits; and on one occasion, March, 1936, he denounced

the opponents of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia at the LaGuardia Political Club as "agents of the racketeering League of Nations." At this meeting, reported the Italian daily, *Il Progresso* of March 9, 1936, Marcantonio's entrance was greeted appropriately enough by the playing of *Giovinetta*, the fascist hymn. This was the man who was soon to become the darling of the Stalinists.

Marcantonio was clever enough to see, however, that if he continued to flirt with the fascists, he could gain the support only of that minority of New York's Italian population which actively supported Mussolini. A political future required other approaches. He dropped the fascists and began fronting for the Stalinists. In retrospect, we can see how clever that was. For a man like Marcantonio there was little room in the conventional capitalist political outfits like Tammany Hall where seniority plays such an important role and where he would have patiently had to climb the ladder of wardheeling assignments. But for the Stalinists, Marcantonio was just right. He had so little interest in or respect for ideas that he was ready to parrot almost anything he was told. He was a talented demagogue capable of rousing the masses in his area, though quite ineffective in other sections. And he was building his machine.

NATURE OF AREA

To understand Marcantonio's machine, one must know something about the neighborhood in which he functions. It is one of the worst slum areas in Manhattan. Its population is largely Puerto Rican and Italian—the immigrant groups which have been least "Americanized" in the city. The Puerto Ricans came from a country which, as a result of the benevolence of U. S. imperialism, is a vast slum with the bitterly oppressed masses kept deliberately illiterate. Upon ar-

rival in New York, they failed to find an economic niche for themselves, one reason for which was the constricting social, economic and education background with which they are cursed. They are therefore today a tightly-knit group, their children often speaking more Spanish than English; they are neither adapted to American ways nor have they succeeded in retaining an integral native culture.

As a result, they are particularly prey to superstition, fanatical religion and political demagoguery—the latter usually exploiting their legitimate desires for Puerto Rican independence. Most of them work at the lowest paid menial tasks, the women slaving in the poorly paying and non-union artificial flower and dress sweatshops which dot the area. Only a minority of the men who work as seamen have achieved the status of skilled workers. But since their union is the National Maritime Union, which is controlled by the Stalinists, that too helps Marcantonio.

The Italian group in East Harlem is somewhat better off than the Puerto Ricans, though here too one finds the conflict between a tenacious but doomed alien culture and a poorly assimilated American culture. The first generation children of immigrants are therefore at home in neither. Among the Italians there is also a strong nationalist tie to the homeland and on which Marcantonio capitalizes.

East Harlem is quite separated from the rest of the city. There are few movie theaters; one can walk several blocks before being able to buy a newspaper. The neighborhood is inbred. Fraternal clubs and innumerable "cellar clubs" meet in dingy stores which are the center of political and social activity. All the parasitic vices of the slums flourish here among these people ground down by

(Continued on page 6)

The Totalitarian Mind . . .



"Big business strategy for blocking labor's wage demands and exploiting U. S. domination of world markets was mapped out here in a three-day session attended by 65 of the nation's biggest big businessmen and one Trotskyite. The businessmen included Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce Averill Harriman, Irene and Lamont du Pont, Sewell Avery, Henry Ford II and chairman Carroll Reece of the GOP National Committee. The Trotskyite was Benjamin Stolberg." —From an article by Rob F. Hall, in the Daily Worker of November 18, 1946.

This is a typical piece of Stalinist slander written by a Daily Worker hack with a GPU-trained mind. It can hardly be news that the representatives of big business and their political agents should be meeting to work out their plan for running the country with the aim of maintaining the capitalist system and increasing their profits through domination of the national and world economy.

What is news is that Benjamin Stolberg, writer and journalist, is a Trotskyist. He attended this gathering of the grand viziers of Ameri-

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WORLD POLITICS

The New Status of Indonesia

An agreement has been reached between the Dutch empire and the Indonesians—called a "masterpiece of compromise" by Robert Trumbull, New York Times correspondent in a November 13 dispatch—which grants Indonesia the right to an "independent republic" within the framework of the Dutch empire.

Does this then mean that the Indonesians have successfully achieved their national independence, for which they have fought with such bitterness during the past period? We believe that, despite the formal rigmarole and the undoubted concessions granted by the Dutch—granted because of their own weakness and their fear that a stiff policy would result in even greater rebelliousness—the Indonesian people have not yet achieved their national independence.

"A ROCKY ROAD AHEAD"

What has happened in Indonesia is similar to recent political tendencies in India and the Philippines, however different the roads they travel. The restive populations of these colonial lands have forced indecisive nationalist leaders into struggles which, though not fully consummated, have gained for them a certain measure of political independence without in any essential way lessening the economic exploitation of the imperialist powers which made their rule so oppressive.

Thus Robert Trumbull writes in the above-mentioned dispatch to the N. Y. Times that "Foreign business interests with heavy investments in Indonesia are particularly interested in the agreement guaranteeing that foreign enterprises will not be taxed more heavily than Indonesian industries... the economic position of the Dutch in these islands will be little impaired by the new political status..." That last sentence is the key; for so long as the economic domination of the Dutch continues in Indonesia—as does that of the U. S. in the Philippines or Britain in India—no genuine liberation has been achieved.

That this deal with the Dutch will not be readily accepted by the Indonesians is indicated in the remarkable dispatch of Trumbull who, as so many other Times correspondents, reveals more than he thinks he does. Trumbull writes that "It remains for President Soekarno of the Indonesian Republic to sell this new point of view to the fervent nationalists. This Mr. Soekarno promised the commission he would do 'with the full power of my personality'..." The egotistical phrase about his personality reveals that Soekarno is cut out of the same cloth as the Nehrus and Quezons: vain, self-centered, strutting petty-bourgeois peacocks who see in themselves the center of history. But, more important, why should Soekarno have to "sell" this new deal with the Dutch—unless because it does not really give the Indonesians the independence they desire?

Trumbull writes further that "Neutral observers foresee a long period of tension and mutual distrust fomented by numerous extremists on both sides. The Republican government of President Soekarno and Premier Sjahrir, which accepted this compromise with the Dutch, has a rocky road ahead." Naturally, since the intransigent nationalists want to drive the Dutch "into the sea"—that is, out of their country—and those of their spokesmen who are fighting hardest for complete independence, like Tan Malakka and several hun-

dred of his followers, have been imprisoned by the Soekarno government. But the struggle for complete Indonesian independence, which means first and foremost the reconquest of the wealth of the islands at present in the hands of Dutch and British imperialists, will continue. Yes, indeed, the government of Soekarno faces a rocky road....

For the people of Indonesia have sacrificed too much, have spilled too much of their blood in the last two years of their independence struggle to be satisfied with this deal. They will understand that the deal provides them with many conquests, but not the complete national independence which is their aim and was within their grasp.

THE CEASELESS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

When the war in the Pacific ended, the people of Indonesia through their self-created organizations and armies seized control of large sections of their country. They imprisoned many of the Japanese leaders and put large parts of the Japanese army in internment camps. The British, however, upon their arrival restored many of the privileges of the Japanese army—to the extent of using Japanese troops to quell the mass Indonesian movement. The Christian Science Monitor was then moved to write that "The situation is unparalleled in history and the spectacle of the defeated Japanese army still being held responsible for the maintenance of law and order is not easily understood and is causing doubt in the minds of the Asiatics as to the future position of the white race in the islands." In polite language that meant that the Indonesians didn't want British or Dutch rule any more than Japanese.

For months the British conducted a full-scale war against the inadequately armed but brave nationalists and in their campaign of reconquest they were considerably aided by the timorous and compromising leaders of the Indonesian Republic. The British said they were conducting their vendetta in behalf of their "Dutch cousins," but they themselves had plenty at stake in Indonesia. British capital, through its domination of the Royal Dutch Shell Corporation, controls over forty per cent of the rich oil production of the islands, an investment estimated to come to twenty-six million pounds sterling. That this imperialist suppression was conducted by a Labor Party government only made it all the more shameful. And that the Nationalist Peoples Army of Indonesia had announced as one of its aims the nationalization of foreign-owned property, confirmed the British in their desire to help their "Dutch cousins."

Once the nationalist forces had been scattered and many of their leaders imprisoned, the British brought the hated Dutch back to Indonesia and, with a fanfare of democratic trumpets, announced their own withdrawal. Like the master hypocrites they are, the British even urged the Dutch to negotiate with the Indonesians!

The present agreement is the result. And what a vivid contrast it makes with the words of Soekarno who said a year ago that "We do not recognize any Dutch return to power and we will not deal with them." Today Soekarno has agreed to rule under Her Majesty, Queen Wilhelmina, and will exert the "full power of my personality" to sell this deal to the Indonesians.

But the Indonesian masses, aware that even the advantages of this deal were won by their struggle and not by Soekarno's negotiations, will want to fight through to the end with the aim of having their country as their own to do with as they will—without Dutch, British, U. S. or Japanese imperialism or any Indonesian quislings of that imperialism—I. H.

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

... And This Is a Boa Constrictor

Boa constrictors are nasty creatures, and, along with several sly Virginia Military Institute graduates we ran across in the ETO, are nothing a person would want to have around the house. But they are interesting reptiles to study, nevertheless. Any serious practicing capitalist must certainly find much to admire in them. They're so well adapted for the job they have to do.

For instance, the jaw of the boa can be unseated permitting it to engulf animals several times larger in diameter than itself. Of course, after having swallowed a whole pig, say, the huge snake is temporarily sated and lies around torpidly for hours on end blissfully digesting its meal.

And therein the snake reveals itself as inferior to the capitalist, whose appetite is insatiable. Not for pigs, of course, but for profits, which are the capitalist's food and drink.

The latest juicy morsel they are slithering up on is the last survivor of the OPA program—rent control.

What they want is very plain: "a 15 per cent overall increase in rent ceilings and immediate elimination of rent ceilings on new residential construction." This proposal has been taken under advisement by the OPA—which in more truthful language means that rent controls will be lifted shortly.

VETERANS TO BE HARD HIT

Veterans will be among the hardest hit for, in general, they have less money to pay rent increases with and are in greater need of new residences.

The Census Bureau recently conducted a survey in New York City and eight surrounding cities and towns which statistically shows the plight of the veteran. The results are revealing.

Of the 765,000 veterans covered by the survey "150,000 married veterans last summer were living doubled-up with friends or relatives or, in certain areas, in tourist cabins, trailers or rented rooms. Only three per cent of the married veterans owned their own homes, and one-third of them had purchased these homes following their discharges from service."

In spite of this crying need, however, only "18 per cent of the veterans said they could afford to buy or rent new quarters under prevailing conditions." Only two per cent "declared that they planned to buy or build homes in the next year if the present prices and quality of housing prevailed." What these percentages will be once rent controls are lifted is not hard to imagine, especially when it is understood that the veteran's average weekly wage at the time of the survey was \$40.

ACTION IS A PARAMOUNT NEED

There is dirty weather ahead for the consumer. Just how rough it's going to get depends upon how long the veteran and other consumers permit the big real estate operators and their congressional cronies to hold on to the helm.

Every veterans' organization worth its salt should now be drawing up a program to meet the coming assault. The rent strikes which have begun in the West, anti-eviction squads, the squatters' movement and militant actions for a national governmental housing program are steps in the right direction. Labor is the natural ally of the veteran and should be approached for the formation of a common front.

The veteran in the shop and in his union must popularize the movement for a sliding scale of wages, the escalator clause, the cost of living bonus, or similar measures designed to permit wages to keep abreast of soaring prices. He must know the history and the significance of the UAW program centering around the slogan, "Wage Increases without Price Rises" and introduce the concept into the active thinking of the union membership.

Hope, trust, and prayer have never yet stayed a boa constrictor intent upon gorging itself. Similarly, only direct action by the working class, supported by middle class consumers, who are likewise being victimized by the bounding prices, can put an end to appetites which know no limit.

Let's Get That General Out of That Hot Alpine Sun! At Plava, General Eisenhower inspected the First Battalion of the 350th Regiment. 'I heard you have been suffering such hardships,' the general said....

THANKSGIVING EVE BALL Greet Our Glamorous New Headquarters! Dance to the Hottest Music in Town! Have Fun at Our All-Night Housewarming!

Editorials

Tell All You Know, Mr. Budenz!

The press has made much these last few weeks about Louis Budenz's disclosures concerning the activities of a GPU agent, Gerhardt Eisler. There is a slightly humorous aspect to the sensation: namely, that the facts on Eisler have been public knowledge for at least two years. However, we leave that aside. We shall not comment on the manner in which Budenz made his disclosure, and only briefly on his purpose. Nor shall we comment here on the hypocrisy of the yellow press, and even on its more liberal sections—such as the Dorothy Thompson column—which waxed virtuously indignant because the scoundrel is a foreigner, as though a native assassin is better than one from abroad (or, conversely, as though a good revolutionist, which Eisler is NOT, is not as good if he comes from Paris instead of Pittsburgh). As we have said, we leave these matters aside for the present, because we want to put a few questions to Mr. Budenz, now that he has chosen to speak up.

But first a word on Mr. Budenz's history. For several years before the last one, when he saw the light of the Catholic Church and became a professor at Notre Dame, Budenz was the editor of the Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party—thus escaping from one totalitarian school of thought to another. According to his disclosure on the Eisler case, he presumably became acquainted with the facts of GPU bossdom in this country. We do not know how much the editors of the Daily Worker are let into the inner secrets of the GPU. They are, however, part of the entire GPU apparatus—Budenz when he was editor, as much as others who have edited it since. Very well, what we want to know then, Mr. Budenz, is this:

What else do you know about the activities and personnel of the GPU?

What do you know about the assassination of Leon Trotsky, plotted and carried through to execution by the GPU? In the investigation of the murder of Leon Trotsky, one of the chains in the GPU link was traced to YOU, Mr. Louis Budenz! Tell us, now that your soul is seeking redemption, what do you know about Trotsky's murder?

And what do you know about other anti-working class machinations and assassinations and hooligan attacks carried out

by the GPU against Trotskyists, and revolutionists more generally, in this country and others? You appear to know a lot about Eisler. Let us have ALL the facts.

So much for the questions to Mr. Budenz. We are little concerned here with the motivations of Mr. Budenz. This ex-servant of Russian imperialism is now the servant of another imperialist master, and in the strain of the U. S.-Russian relations it suited the purposes of his advisers to raise the cry about Eisler. We are not intrigued by the manipulations of one imperialist government against another, the spying they mutually engage in, their gyrations of hypocritical morality.

We are, however, vitally concerned with activities directed against the working class—be it the "democratic" strike-breaking of a Truman, the hate-mongering of a Gerald K. Smith, or the vicious counter-revolutionary murder activities of the GPU.

Mr. Budenz is not interested in that; that is why he could participate until recently in its crimes; that is why he can grow indignant about Eisler only at this stage, and not at all because Eisler's work affects the working class of America. But we are!

No one knows the full list of GPU crimes. But enough of them are known: the murder of Rudolph Klement, secretary of the Fourth International movement, in Paris, 1938; the murder of Ignace Reiss, a GPU agent who broke from the GPU, refusing to participate in its counter-revolutionary work, in Switzerland, 1938; the death under mysterious circumstances of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov; the murder of Alter and Ehrlich, Polish labor leaders, in Russia; Andres Nin, Spanish revolutionist; and others too numerous to mention. The GPU is at this moment, through agents who are either foreign or native it does not matter in the slightest degree which—plotting against the revolutionary movement. We would like to know their names so that we can publicly pillory them before the labor movement, put labor on guard against them, cripple the effectiveness of their reactionary work.

Again we put our question to Mr. Budenz: What more do you know? Get out of the secret chambers of the FBI and Congress! Make your information available to the labor movement. Name names!

Chiang's Ersatz Assembly

Last week, 1,300 hand-picked delegates assembled in Nanking, China, and called themselves a Constituent Assembly to draft a new Constitution for war-torn China. It is doubtful if a more unrepresentative, undemocratic and politically narrow body of delegates had ever been convened. Not a single person had been elected by popular mandate, not a single person represented anything but the ruling Kuomintang Party of the Chinese dictator, Chiang, not a single spokesman from any labor, peasant, consumers' or popular organization was present. The so-called Constituent Assembly was nothing more than a rally of the Kuomintang faction, the landlords and bourgeois. Any Constitution it may draft will represent a political straightjacket imposed on an unwilling Chinese people.

So illicit and malodorous was this assembly that even General Marshall, representative of American imperialism in China, felt compelled to boycott it lest his efforts to negotiate a truce in the civil war be hampered. The opposition parties to the Kuomintang, headed by the Chinese Communist Party, refused to attend likewise. A new stage in the breakdown of efforts to arrange a satisfactory deal between the Chinese Stalinists and the Kuomintang government was declared by this action of the Stalinists. The tragic civil war between the two power-seeking governments

—tragic and futile so far as the Chinese masses are concerned—will undoubtedly deepen and continue now.

From a socialist and revolutionary standpoint, the situation in China is gloomy indeed. On the one hand, a hated, despotic and utterly unrepresentative dictatorship of the Chinese landlords and bankers; on the other hand, the Chinese agents of Russian imperialism seeking to direct the energies of the Chinese peasant and worker masses toward the creation of a Stalinized, totalitarian China. We cannot support either. China's road toward democracy, national freedom and the creation of a popular government lies along another road—the revival of the independent workers' and peasants' movements.

NEXT WEEK:

Koestler's "Thieves in the Night" By ABE VICTOR

The New Japanese Constitution By WILLIAM BRAD

Genocide or Socialism By IRVING HOWE

What Is There to Defend in Russia? By ALBERT GATES

Books You Should Know...

YOU AND MUSIC, by Christian Darnton. Penguin Books, 25c.

By DIXON ADAMS

This American edition of Christian Darnton's pocket book, You and Music, which was originally published in England shortly after the outbreak of the war, gives many remarkably acute observations on the interrelationship of music (both classical and popular) and the kind of society in which it is produced.

The development of the split between the now almost mutually exclusive worlds of art-music and popular music, as well as the rapidly disappearing folk-music, is related by the author to the widening class divisions of capitalist society. His observations on the degradation of our dance music to meet the profit demands of commercialization throw light upon the reason that popular composers today produce so much and yet so little.

Side references such as those to the revolutionary role of the medieval wandering minstrels and—in the past—of popular composers generally, give the reader a clearer understanding of the relationship of music to the rest of life than do most standard musical histories.

A PLUG FOR STALIN

Then, however, the author—a musician of no mean achievements—with impenetrable assurance offers as the alternative to capitalist exploitation of men and art... Stalinist Russia. Prokofiev and Shostakovich are cited as examples of a social order which, "having abolished privileged classes, is on the way to a classless society."

That Prokofiev deserves the recognition he is given we are not questioning here, nor are we discussing the art of Shostakovich's music, but as long as Darnton concerns himself with the interrelationship of music and social conditions, he would be more enlightening were he also to mention that Prokofiev during the years of militant Communism and world proletarian revolution preferred Parisian exile, returning to Russia only after the triumph there of bureaucratic degeneration and na-

tionalistic reaction. Shostakovich, too, for the last fifteen years has alternately enjoyed obscurity (and poverty) or fame (and wealth) according to the scowls or smiles which his music has elicited from the face of that well known art critic, Joseph Stalin.

The author concisely explains the technical development of music from the appearance of our present system of musical notation in the ninth century to the atonalism of Schoenberg, Webern and Berg, together with the development of our present instruments and their place both in or-

chestral and solo parts. All the reader needs to know beforehand is how to read notes from a simple piano score.

You and Music is well worth reading for an understanding both of music itself and of the influence of the economic base of capitalist society upon the musical superstructure. The author's apologetic tone, of the "I'm really not a highbrow even though I compose symphonic music" variety, is often irritating (at least to this reviewer) but should not detract from the technical knowledge and historical interpretation Darnton offers.

International Notes...

GERMAN CP SECTION HITS PARTY POLICY

A letter from Buschwiller, Alsace, quoted in Verité for October 4: "The Communist Party section of Buschwiller (120 party members in a small industrial town of 8,000 with a Communist mayor) has taken the initiative in opposing the political line of the leadership by sending the federal leadership a resolution voted unanimously demanding the withdrawal of the Communist ministers from the cabinet and a revolutionary class struggle political line. 'The assistant federal secretary called a general assembly of the section and wanted, with the usual arguments about confidence in the leadership, to correct the situation and the political line of the section. 'The same federal secretary privately requested one of the leading Buschwiller members to discreetly leave the party: 'You understand, you entered the party voluntarily in the first place... It would be better all around.' 'Better, indeed, for the Stalinist fakers to no longer feel that pressure of revolutionary elements in their ranks. The section's answer was to vote unanimously against the federal secretary and to maintain its position. The mayor will run in the elections only if the section's demands are satisfied. If the delegate of the

federal bureau was not thrown out the door of the meeting he called, it was only by a narrow margin."

REPORT LEFT WINGERS' DISILLUSIONED IN SP

The same issue of Verité carries the letters of resignation of six leading CP members of Montauban, Department of Tarn-et-Garonne, and announces the holding of the first PCI regional conference of this department, where not even a local branch existed a few months ago.

In addition, the endorsement of coalitionism by the "left wing" in the Socialist Party has disillusioned some of its supporters. Verité states that a number of letters have been received from these militants announcing their resignation from the SP and their adherence to the PCI.

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THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

By HENRY JUDD

Final results in the French elections of November 10, with the exception of 15 colonial seats yet to be accounted for, reveal the following division in seats for France's new National Assembly, the body that henceforth will govern the nation in accordance with the Constitution adopted in the October 13 referendum.

Communist Party	186 seats
Socialist Party	108 seats
Total	294 seats
MRP (Bidauld-Catholic Party)	162 seats
Radical-Socialist Party	63 seats
PRL and Gaullist Union Party	85 seats

Total	310 seats
In terms of the popular vote, the final results were as follows:	
Communist Party	5,576,000—28%
Socialist Party	3,454,000—18%

Total	9,030,000—46%
MRP (Bidauld-Catholic Party)	5,100,000—28%
Radical-Socialist Party	1,971,000—11%
PRL and Gaullist Union Party	3,137,000—17%

Total	10,208,000—54%
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NO DECISIVE SHIFTS IN FORCES

From the above statistics, it is clear that as yet no final, decisive shifting of forces and opinions has taken place in France, although significant tendencies are revealed by contrasting these reports with those of previous elections. Some of these symptomatic signs are the following:

(1) Whereas a year ago, as a result of the October elections to the Constituent Assembly, the reformist Socialist Party and the Stalinist Party—both together supported by the French working class—had a clearcut majority in the nation, this is no longer the case. At that time, these two parties had 282 seats in the Assembly, an absolute majority, whereas today they have together 16 seats less than the necessary majority. In October of last year, these two parties counted 9,700,000 votes—again, an absolute majority of the popular vote—as against 9,000,000 today, or only 46 per cent.

(2) Within the working class movement, however, the Stalinist Party has retained its support and influence. It has even grown slightly, at the expense of the Socialists. In three separate elections, the Stalinists received respectively 26 per cent, 26.2 per cent and finally 28 per cent of the vote. They also increased their popular vote from 5,100,000 to 5,300,000 and finally to 5,576,000. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, has declined steadily, losing to the Stalinists and the Catholic MRP. It has dropped from 4,600,000 to 3,454,000 (a mere 18 per cent of the popular vote) within one year, thus underscoring the severe crisis existing within that party.

ABSTENTIONS INDICATE RISING DISGUST

(3) Today, the bourgeois, conservative and pro-capitalist parties ranging from the middle-class, Catholic-liberal party of Bidauld (MRP) to the extremely reactionary, semi-fascist PRL and Union Gaulliste, have an absolute majority, both in popular votes and seats in the new National Assembly, revealing a basic transformation in the situation since last year. Most significant of all is the sharp growth in the PRL, the reactionary center of the French bourgeoisie, army, officers and pro-fascist de Gaullist supporters. This party has grown from 2,500,000 votes to 3,137,000 votes, an increase almost as great as the decline in the Socialist vote. But the fact that the vote of

the MRP has remained almost constant during the course of all elections indicates that the vast French middle class is still unwilling to throw its tacit support to any violent, militaristic solution to the impasse in French politics. Thus, while the parties of the left have received definite warnings, by no means have final, clear-cut positions been taken. The ebb and flow in the French political movement is bound to continue for the next period.

(4) Finally, it is worthy of notice to point to the gradual decline in the number of those who voted. Out of 24,000,000 Frenchmen eligible to vote, only 19,071,755 voted on November 10, signifying an abstention of 21.6 per cent of the eligibles. There were 600,000 more non-voters in this election than in October of 1945; 1,150,000 more non-voters in this election than in June, 1946. This indicates an increasing disgust and disenchantment with the coalition governments and, in general, with the ability of the existing parties to grapple with the permanent crisis in French economic and social life.

A NEW HYPOCRITICAL MANEUVER

With the elections completed, the most treacherous and hypocritical maneuvering has begun among the big parties (Communist Party, MRP, Socialist Party, Radical Socialist Party) for the purpose of arriving at agreement to form the new government and elect a president in January, 1947. The Stalinists have clearly indicated their willingness, in their own political interests, to continue the class collaboration coalition government with the MRP and the Socialist Party, and to even sit together with the Radical Socialists in a modernized variation of the 1936 Popular Frontist government.

These maneuvers are, of course, suitable at present to French Stalinist and Russian foreign objectives, since the present world situation does not favor any sharp break with its previous policies of stifling the militancy of the French working class. The declining Socialist Party can only serve as a broker between the Stalinists and the MRP, during the negotiations. If, however, the combined parties of the right (now wielding a clear majority) attempt to elect de Gaulle as president of France in January, then a sharp political struggle will ensue, the consequences of which cannot be seen.

In all likelihood, a coalition government will be formed, since neither political BLOC (right or left) is by itself capable of governing France, nor is either prepared for a violent resolving of the stalemate that exists. An unstable, semi-paralyzed "government of truce" will be created, marking a continuation in the drifting, temporizing and indecisive path of French affairs.

The real stimulus to the class struggle in France will come out of the ranks of the workers who, pressed forward by the undoubted partial revival in French economic life and production, will move into action—as the postal employees already have—to achieve their economic and social demands. But will not their efforts be sabotaged by the French Stalinists who, anxious to penetrate into every crevice of government and hold France in line for continued neutrality or active support to Russian foreign policy, have hitherto put the damper on all working class struggles?

PCI ACTIVITY A WELCOME SIGN

The problem of winning the French workers away from their present support to the Stalinist Party is, obviously, the key problem to the political situation in France. The fact remains, as borne out by the elections, that the French workers persist in their support to the Communist Party. There are many, varied reasons for this—this party has become a traditional party for the

French workers, "their" party; it is able to most skillfully and demagogically exploit the hopes and aspirations of the French workers; it can still pose as the party that led the anti-Nazi resistance movement; it can pin the blame for the continued difficulties in French economic life on the other coalition parties—the MRP and the Socialists—and get away with this hypocrisy; it can still appear, on necessary occasions, as the party of the Russian October Revolution, etc.

Furthermore, it must be recognized that the French working class and labor movement, thanks to years of Stalinist and reformist Socialist leadership, has to a considerable extent lost its initiative for class action along independent lines. Just as the German workers who supported the Social Democracy became lulled and corrupted by the years of exclusively parliamentary life on the part of their party, so the same process of deadening of class activity and self-reliance has affected the French working class. Parliamentary maneuvering by its two major parties has certainly had its reactionary effects, despite the undoubted militancy and desire for revolutionary action that exists. The task of winning over the French proletarians is no easy, short-range prospect.

In this situation, the growth and activity of the French Trotskyist Party (PCI) is a welcome sign. Its election vote, particularly in the Paris proletarian districts (see report on page 1), is REVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS THAT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE. But the PCI, unfortunately in our opinion, has neither understood the nature of French Stalinism, nor has it learned how to combat it. Instead of appearing before the French workers, whom it must win to its banner, as a clear-cut, anti-Stalinist revolutionary party, the PCI made the blunder of proposing an election "deal" to the Stalinist Party. In return for withdrawing all our candidates except one, and voting for your candidates, said the leadership of the PCI to Messrs. Stalinists Thorez, Duclos, etc., will you elect our one candidate?

AN OPEN ATTACK ON STALINISM

The clear purpose of this was to expose the Communist Party, and some comrades in France claim that it helped raise the PCI vote in the Paris suburbs. Why should any French worker, who belongs to or supports the Stalinist Party, lose faith and confidence in his party when the Trotskyists stand ready to endorse it (in exchange for what will appear to workers as a parliamentary crumb)? How can the true character of the French Stalinist movement be explained by such maneuvers? Why should French workers and Socialist Party members to whom the nature of Stalinism, as the world's most anti-revolutionary force, is first becoming clear, why should they join or support a party that proposes such "arrangements" with the CP? Instead of exposure there is confusion.

We believe a political error was committed by the PCI, but an error the implications of which are more serious than the act itself. For, while we completely support the present slogan of the French Trotskyists that the Socialist and Communist parties must break their present coalition with the capitalist parties and refuse to administer French capitalism, we consider this only a partial step on the road to unmasking Stalinism before the workers.

The PCI indicates it shares, to a considerable extent, the illusions about Stalinism that prevail among the French workers. Not by yielding either to Stalinism or these illusions will the PCI grow as a force, but only by rejecting such vain efforts at exposure and above all, by a forthright attack upon the French Stalinist Party as a non-revolutionary, totalitarian movement, despite its working class support.

Jan Christian Smuts - - the Pious Bilbo of South Africa

By CARL DAVIS

The hypocrisy of the imperialists is endless, and nowhere is this truth so firmly established as at the meetings of the UN. In a previous article detailing several incidents which bear out the above, we cited the case of South Africa. Under the leadership of Field Marshal Smuts, the South African government proposed that it be permitted to annex Southwest Africa, over which it held a League of Nations mandate. The demand of South Africa brought forth a torrent of criticism from the suspicious small nations, which properly understood the demand to be nothing else but the imperialist incorporation of one country by another. The uneasiness of the small nations can be easily understood: Their own independence is constantly endangered, directly by seizure and indirectly through economic and political pressure.

Native African leaders, joined by Indian delegates and others from Latin American countries were bitter in their denunciation of Smuts. The fact that South Africa is a "small power" did not deceive them because they understood that under Smuts and his ruling class supporters South Africa is a member of the British Empire and that the demand for annexation is part of the general aims of British imperialism.

Russia is the one big power to join the protest against South Africa. Is it the freedom of Southwest Africa which motivates Russian policy? Hardly. For an imperialist power which has already seized large areas inhabited by millions of people and subjected them to the rule of the NKVD, the interests of a small country with a tiny population cannot be of great moment. To tens of millions of people in Eastern and Central Europe, Russia's defense of the liberty of another country must be a grim joke indeed. But Russia's role in this situation can be understood only in the light of her struggle for power against the Anglo-American bloc.

WHY DOES SMUTS INSIST?

Taking advantage of the formal provisions of the charter of the UN, Russia has demanded that a trusteeship be established over Southwest Africa. The White Russian delegate, Frol P. Shmigov, declared that a trusteeship for Southwest Africa was obligatory under the UN charter. This, of course, is denied by the British and the South Africans. Although the United States has not taken a definite position on this dispute, its inclination is to hold with Smuts on the ground that legally South Africa is free to decide for itself whether or not it wishes to have a trusteeship established.

Why does South Africa insist on annexation? It is certainly not out of love for African natives. It is not just because it holds a mandate over this former German colony. The answer is twofold: it lies in the possibilities of an extended exploitation of over 300,000 Negro workers and in a consolidation of British imperialism in Africa generally. There is no other explanation for it. If one were to judge on the basis of the political superstructure of South Africa, it would seem illogical for a nation which practices Jim Crow and race discrimination as a matter of government policy to desire the incorporation into its borders of several hundred thousand more blacks whom it despises with a race hatred possessed by Southern bigots in the United States against Negroes or Hitler against the Jews.

Thus, Field Marshal Smuts and his government, who deny to the natives any form of democratic rights, can only have the interest in Southwest Africa described above. In justification for his demand, the aged and sanctimonious Field Marshal states that it is only in response to the desires of the "Southwest Africans themselves." A "poll" taken by his government has resulted in a majority of natives expressing a desire to become part of South Africa! One can well imagine what kind of a poll it was! No one knew anything about it. Obviously, this secret and sudden polling of natives, living in veritable concentration camps, was so constructed as to guarantee the result the Field Marshal desired.

SOUTH AFRICAN BILBO

In his rebuttal speech against the Indian delegates and Russia, Smuts said that thousands of Southwest Africans had flocked to his country in search of work and because of that his government was compelled to close the doors to further immigration from the mandated country. But all that Smuts revealed is that conditions in Southwest Africa under his rule are so unbearable that the Negroes were quite willing to go

even to South Africa and live under the slavery of his régime as an alternative to outright starvation in their looted and decimated country.

Equally as important as the above factor is the aim of British imperialism. Fully cognizant of the fact that the Mediterranean Sea is no longer the isolated bastion it was before the advent of air power, the British have been developing a "second line of defense" for the Empire. This second line of defense is situated in Africa, across its belly and around the Cape. The British are determined to keep control of these areas and will resist to the end any system of trusteeship which will bring rival powers into Empire areas and its environs.

That is why Smuts stated, according to the New York Times, that "his country would continue to administer Southwest Africa as an integral part of the union (South Africa) even if the General Assembly of the United Nations failed to approve the Union's proposal to annex this mandated territory." This is certainly clear enough. If the Assembly does not grant the demand, South Africa will keep the territory anyway!

But Smuts wasn't through with his statement at that point. He contrasted the "peaceful, well-ordered country" of South Africa to turbulent India. And he asked: "Is there a country in the wide world where there is more social discrimination between the communities and classes than in India? Is social discrimination not the very basis and pattern of Indian society?" So the spokesman for race discrimination and Jim Crow can resort to nothing else in defense of his imperialist policy but an attack on another country's abhorrent residue social relations which are the principal products of several hundred years of rule by British imperialism, relations which have been fostered and maintained by the British Colonial Office as a means of impeding the struggle for independence. Even the most recent riots between Hindus and Moslems which have dotted India are the direct product of British policy, which has cunningly supported Jinnah against the Congress in hope that independence would be stalled for another long period of time. The real point about India is that only complete independence and the ex-

pulsion of British imperialism can create the condition for eliminating the vestiges of religious and feudal conflicts. British imperialism only fosters them.

AN ORDERLY COUNTRY!

Smuts is lying when he says there are not race or class conflicts in South Africa because of his "orderly government." Such conflicts have occurred frequently in his "white man's paradise." But let us assume for the moment that what he says is true. How was it achieved? Listen to this South African Bilbo expound his defense of race segregation, discrimination and the ghetto. His country, he said, was trying "on fair, decent and wise lines to keep the different elements, as much as convenient and possible, apart and away from unnecessary intermixture and so to prevent clashes among them..."

While clashes are not prevented (attacks on natives by white gangsters and hoodlums and the vigorous and brutal suppression of strikes are frequent) the Field Marshal has openly espoused the cause of racism in these remarks. By "fair, wise and decent lines," Smuts meant that South African natives live in ghettos, subject to curfew laws, and are not permitted beyond their special camps without a pass given by police officials. By "convenient and possible" he meant insofar as the employment and exploitation of native workers compels them to have contact with whites. The interests of exploitation and profits prevents the Field Marshal from driving the black workers into the bush. But if these blacks are permitted to live in what was once their own country, it is only because they are a source of profit to the mine and plantation owners.

Southwest Africa is a tiny country with a small population. In relation to the big political and economic world problems it appears of small moment. But in the events surrounding tiny Southwest Africa is contained a big lesson in imperialist policy and an outstanding example of the imperialist character of the United Nations which is the arena in which the rivalries of the powers are expressed in diplomatic struggle. There will be no real freedom for the people of the world until imperialism is destroyed.

Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.

II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5000 annual minimum per family.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.
2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

IV. Tax the Profiteers

For a 100 per cent on all wartime profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.

V. Nationalize Big Business

For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

What Is the Future of the AVC? - -

(Continued on page 3)

appeared in LABOR ACTION. The fatal weakness of these caucuses is that, aside from their opposition to the Stalinists, they have nothing positive to offer the membership in the form of militant action to win the veterans' demands. Because of this, the Stalinists have been able to make hay on the claim that they "do things" and are the "militant fighters." This has enabled the Stalinists to win the support of many elements in the AVC who are not Stalinists, but who will go along with them because they seem to present a militant line.

HOW TO FIGHT STALINISTS

To fight them effectively, the anti-Stalinist opposition itself must propose a militant line. However, it must at the same time expose the pseudo-militant line of the Stalinists which, as every informed person knows, has its basis in their present policy of embarrassing American imperialism. This should not be too difficult a task. Let us take an example. Recently the Stalinist-controlled New York Metropolitan Area Committee sponsored a demonstration in the New York State Senate. Its purpose was to expose Governor Dewey and dramatically illustrate how little New York State has done about the housing situation. This was only undertaken because the principal propaganda line of the Stalinists in the recent New York State elections was to "beat Dewey." Nevertheless the Stalinists didn't propose a picket-line or some other dramatic action around New York's City Hall, which also has done nothing for the veterans on housing. This because O'Dwyer is a Democrat, and the Stalinists were in an alliance with the Democratic Party.

A militant program would have been to conduct housing action against ALL politicians regardless of their political affiliations. To expose the Stalinists one would simply have had to introduce a motion to conduct an action, similar to that taken at Albany, at New York's City Hall,

and then to observe the Stalinists squirm.

The right wing caucus has until now not been too effective. The leadership of the AVC, however, has discovered a new device for combatting the Stalinists. At the recent meeting of the National Planning Committee of the AVC, a resolution was passed which stated:

"We oppose the entrance into our ranks of members of the Communist Party and we shall strive to prevent them, when and if, by subterfuge, they gain such entrance, from attempting to use AVC as a sounding-board for their own perverse philosophy."

This certainly is not the way to fight the Stalinists. How prove, with the exception of a few known members, whether some one is or is not a member of the Communist Party? And even if one should prove it, this method has never been effective in combatting political ideas. In order effectively to defeat the Stalinists one needs a positive program based upon militant activities in cooperation with the labor movement. Also, a knowledge of the reactionary role of the Communist Party is required. This is the only means of decisively defeating the Stalinists and thereby saving the AVC.

Of all the veterans' organizations,

the AVC is still the most promising. Until the labor movement begins seriously to consider the veterans' problem and establish a national veterans' organization—which is not an immediate possibility—the AVC will remain the veterans' organization that will attract the most serious and politically conscious veterans. To give up the AVC would be an act of political stupidity. The duty of all socially conscious veterans is to join the AVC, to present a militant program, and to defeat the efforts of the Stalinists to destroy the organization.

CLEVELAND SYL CRACKS JIM CROW

Cleveland's Socialist Youth League unit has cracked one of Cleveland's outstanding Jim Crow dance halls by determined action.

Oster's Dance Hall, which in its former location had previously admitted Negroes, moved to a new spot and refused to allow Negroes. The Cleveland SYL, visiting the dance hall on a social outing, was turned away.

Taking up the challenge, the SYL prepared to "crack" the place. Legal advice was obtained, and this showed that the Jim Crow practice was clearly illegal in Ohio. The names of employees of the hall were obtained in case legal action became necessary. Then the SYL again revisited the hall in sufficient numbers to assure suitable witnesses should Jim Crow be tried again.

The ticket seller refused to sell tickets to the SYL, so the SYL spokesman asked for the manager. The manager tried a "No one with low heels admitted" gag, but that didn't work. The cool and determined argument of the League spokesman showed the manager that he was up against organized, determined action, so the SYL was admitted. There were no further difficulties as League members enjoyed an evening of dancing. As a result of the successful dance hall action, several non-members who participated with the SYL joined up.

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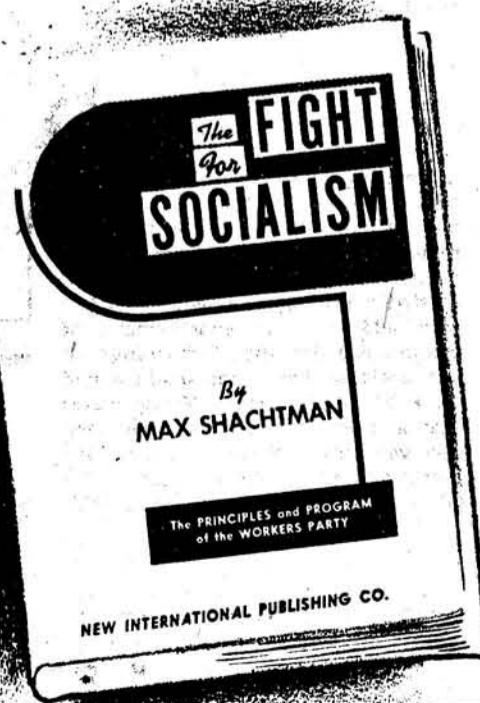
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A Portrait of a Town in Occupied Germany - II

By JACK PORTER

The attitude of German soldiers toward the Communist Party is in part based on a rejection of the practices of the Russian Communist Party and the Russian army, even though many Germans are attracted to the theories of socialism. Strangely enough, as a result of the tremendous hostility that exists toward Russia the local Stalinist Party, and it is true of many other branches in other cities, unofficially advocates a German brand of Stalinism.

"A dictatorship might be well and good for Russia, but we Germans," observes a leading Communist Party candidate for local office, "will have our own brand of Communism here." In the course of another discussion, she stated that there is no culture in Russia. "I know. I have talked with too many German soldiers who were at the Russian front." There is a dictatorship in Russia almost as bad as Hitler's brand, but the Social Democratic program is too weak to solve Germany's problems. Only a Communist program can solve our problems. "Anyone who has read the pitiful SPD program knows this to be true."

Unfortunately, many German Communists today remain Communists on the basis of the 1932 Communist model and have not been in contact with any other program. It is also known that the theory of German Communism is deliberately pushed in order to overcome the attitude of the German workers to the Russian army. It is interesting to note that although the Communist Party in town is small, the storekeepers will accept their posters and display their literature for fear that the Stalinists may take power when the American Army leaves. The fear of the GPU is even apparent in this small medieval town.

The Stalinist Party may be small in Hammelburg, but as usual, they carry on much more activity in the trade unions and in general make themselves more conspicuous than the Social Democrats.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The old Burgermeister, Adam Marterstock, is typical of most Social Democrats in Hammelburg and in Bavaria generally. Approaching 70, he had already spent 50 years in the party. His children had voted Social Democrat and so did his grandchildren. Nearly all his life had been spent in Hammelburg. He is a storekeeper. On a few visits that he made earlier in his youth to Nuremberg and Munich, he relates that he visited these cities to hear the great socialist leaders, Bebel, Diener, Kautsky and other old timers. Like many Socialists of Bavaria, he expressed provincial hostility to Berliners, whether Socialist or otherwise. Although acknowledging great reverence for Marx and Engels, it was obvious in conversation that Marterstock was a Socialist more out of habit and tradition and as a result of the activities of his earlier years than from a conscious understanding of the principles of Socialism. With the younger Social Democrats between the ages of thirty and forty, the reasons were more patent. They were Socialist in the same sense that Southerners are Democrats. They carry on the grand tradition of the family.

There is no doubt that the ideas of the Social Democrats have in the course of many decades penetrated into the smallest village and to the most backward strata of the German people. There is a much greater percentage of Protestants among the Social Democrats than Catholics. Nearly all the Hammelburg Social Democrats attend church and use the common Bavarian phrase of greeting, "Grüss Gott." The only atheists present are those from the big cities, mainly from northern Germany.

The young Polish Socialists have difficulty in receiving membership in the local party branch. The basis of the hostility against them was very simple: they are not Germans. At meetings they maintained a reserved silence in order to avert any antagonism. Recently the Polish Socialists left the party as a result of the hostility exhibited by the branch members.

This article is the second of two describing life in a tiny Bavarian hamlet, which was written by a friend recently returned from Germany. His account makes concrete and vivid the general idea of the social and political disintegration of German life as a result of the Nazi reign, the war and the Allied imperialist occupation. It should be remembered that the section of Germany which he describes has always been the most politically backward of the country.

Little information regarding the political parties of other countries has reached Germany. The Social Democrats were astounded to hear that the Communists had worked together with the NAM in America during the war. They found it difficult to believe that the Stalinists had broken strikes and in general acted as the agents of capitalism. To them the German CP has always been too far to the left. Their objections to the Communists were in many respects objections to the doctrines of Lenin. In Hammelburg as in many German cities, that support of a more radical program must lead to the KPD (Stalinist Party).

Many of the Social Democrats as well as many other people in Hammelburg, in spite of the imperialist arrogance of the Americans and notwithstanding the dictatorship imposed by the American Army, desire the latter to remain a good long while in Germany. Only a few militants among the SPD think otherwise. A prominent Socialist recently expressed himself in one of the newspapers as hoping that the Americans would remain fifteen years in Germany. This desire is motivated by the fear of Russia and the fear of the Nazis who still exert moral pressure and play an important role in the Christian Socialist Party.

The appointment of numerous Nazis to various municipal positions has of course increased the standing of the Nazis. The feeling is further emphasized by the attitude of suspicion and odium displayed by numerous Germans toward the *Kazetters*, the former concentration camp prisoners. The moral atmosphere is such that an ex-prisoner of a concentration camp finds it wiser to remain silent about his past. These conditions help many a quiescent and opportunist sell Social Democrats the desirability of advocating that the American Army remain.

The Social Democrats in their written as well as spoken propaganda stress that a program is not important today. What is proclaimed by their placards to be important is immediate rehabilitation of homes, schools and jobs. Like American politicians seeking election they avoid the issues and declaim against sin. Only recently has Shoemaker, the head of the party, offered critical remarks about the American régime. He, however, resides in the British zone.

POLITICAL LITERATURE

With the exception of a few topical pamphlets, political literature written by Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky does not exist. Hitler did a thorough job. Here and there one may find Marxian literature in a Socialist home. One old Socialist showed the writer some old pamphlets by Karl Kautsky that he had kept buried in the ground during the period of Hitler's rule. But few individuals dare to save their books. Such literature that is published consists mainly of magazines containing translation of articles of current modern writers.

The daily newspaper, the *Neue Zeitung*, carries articles by writers such as Malraux, Silone and other modern authors in a rather interesting literary section for a daily newspaper. But the newspapers, however, are greatly restricted by American censors who remove any article that might conceivably reflect on the military régime. The shortage of newspapers in Hammelburg is emphasized by the long queues that form to purchase them.

The most important political force in the town is the Christian Socialist Union. In Hammelburg it is dominated by Adam Kaiser, who, in turn, is dominated by the Catholic Church. It is well known in Germany that the thinking for the leaders of the CSU is done by the church fathers. Not only does the clergy do the thinking, but they carry on recruiting for the organization. The priests exhort the people to join the party from the pulpit and in the past two elections urged them to vote CSU.

The majority of people, especially women, can be found attending church on Sundays. The mass meetings of the Christian Socialist Union in Hammelburg are staged with churchly ceremonies. The speaker delivers his remarks in liturgical fashion, glances frequently to heaven; recites a prayer and frequently calls upon God's help.

In many ways the Christian Socialists are more critical of the military government than the Social Democrats; this despite the fact that the Christian Socialist Union receives much more support than the Social Democrats from the American Military Government. The Social Democrats still retain that respect for legality they so fatally exhibited under the Weimar Democracy. The church knowing that their hold on the people especially among the workers is constantly slipping, finds it necessary to be critical of the American regime to retain their influence. The AMG resorted to suppressing a bishopric letter issued one day before the elections that was strongly critical of American rule. The Vatican slipped around the American censorship by reading the letter over the radio. The local Nazis support the Christian Socialists and have honeycombed the structure of the organization. In some cities the extent of Nazi penetration into the party forced the AMG to suppress the Christian Socialists. When the Nazis in the nearby prison camp heard of the CSU electoral victory they gathered around to cheer and applaud.

The local Military Government officers consort with girls related to the CSU officials, giving the latter added access to the military officials. Appointments for jobs are procured from officers in the oldest of ways: through women. In the town of Hammelburg not one Military Government officer could speak German. They relied entirely on Germans for translations. The officer in charge of teaching democracy to the good burghers of Hammelburg was a youth who hailed from a model democratic state, Texas. His main interests were collecting "frauleins" and cameras, Leicas and blondes preferred. He was, of course, very friendly to the CSU.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

Hammelburg does not symbolize all of Germany. It does reflect the conditions in many small cities and towns in Bavaria.

In spite of their backwardness and provincialism, the Social Democrats have made many gains in these towns compared even to their palmy days before Hitler. They are terribly handicapped by the physical loss of their best leaders without the infusion of new blood. There is a rather vague tendency in the party that is critical of the old Social Democratic policies, but confused as to the correct program to follow.

The people as a whole are disillusioned with the Nazi program. They are critical of the American régime though they accept the presence of American troops as insurance against Russian domination. On the other hand, the Communist Party finds it impossible to make any real headway in Bavaria and will not do so for a long time. Many who adhere to the Social Democrats do so for traditional reasons; others adhere to the party because they accept it as the lesser evil.

The worker, the small farmer, the dispossessed, the displaced, all seek a way out. But the future seems black to many. Still there are those among the Social Democrats and disillusioned Stalinists who, if given proper direction, could form the basis of a revolutionary socialist party. Such a party would find many recruits among the Germans today.

Vito Marcantonio, Profile of A Political Demagogue

(Continued from page 3)

social conditions they cannot control or understand.

MARCANTONIO'S APPEAL

It is on this base that Marcantonio builds. He is, it is true, the accomplice of Stalinism; but it is not primarily that which makes him the local hero. Vito is, first, the local boy who made good in big-time politics and that makes the folks feel proud. He is one of them; not an Irishman or a Jew or a Yankee.

Secondly, Vito panders to their political prejudices. When he speaks in Italian or Spanish, he is much less cautious than in English; then he makes the most blatantly chauvinistic appeals; knowing well how to tap the emotional nationalism of unassimilated and poor immigrants.

Thirdly, he appeals to them not only on a nationalistic but also on a religious basis. When the saints' days come around—and there are many of them—East Harlem is lit up with colored bulbs strung across the streets; there are religious parades in the streets and Vito is right up in front,

boy agents. There is his organizational strength: the cellar clubs and fraternal organizations. While the Stalinists supply the political line and some experienced political workers, it is the local area which supplies the base of support. For the Stalinists as such are not very strong here; they have influence mainly on top of Marcantonio's machine. And so we find this strange alliance between an unscrupulous political demagogue with the Stalinists, resting on local political patronage and not occasionally above the use of a little hoodlumism to smash dissidents.

VITO AS STALINIST

Marcantonio has quite faithfully followed the Stalinist lead in national politics. When they were shouting that the Yanks Are Not Coming, Vito went along. After Stalin was forced into the war on the side of the Allies, the local Stalinists switched lines and became ardent patriots. Marcantonio was a little slow on the pick-up, continuing the old line for a few months;

THE FACE OF STALINISM

"THE ALTAR LAMP OF THE TERROR MUST NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED. THE PEOPLE MUST HAVE FEAR."—Moche Piade, member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist (Stalinist) Party as quoted by Cyrus Sulzberger in the New York Times, November 11, 1946.

piously parading barefoot, singing hymns and carrying a taper.

Fourthly, Vito appeals to their rightly bitter sense of poverty. For his appeal is not merely nationalistic; it is a kind of demagogic radical-nationalism. That this radicalism is merely the latest Stalinist shift in line, vulgarized by Vito's coarse intellect—well... Vito figures, as Hitler once said, that nothing is too stupid for mass appeal. And so he screams and shouts at his audiences, consciously and cynically manipulating their emotions rather than discussing with them. If political agitation is, as Lenin once said, "a dialogue with the masses"—or rather if that is what it should be—then Marcantonio has, like other totalitarian demagogues of our time, given it another meaning: a directive to and a performance for the masses.

Fifthly and finally, Vito "plays ball" with the local clubs; he gets a job for one of the boys; he drops a little patronage among his drugstore cow-

but soon he was straightened out and became an ardent flag-waver.

This is the background of Marcantonio's victory in the recent election. His opponent was a former army colonel, a stuffed shirt whose appeal was frankly snobbish. It seems to this writer quite unlikely, short of some cataclysmic event like a war with Russia, for Marcantonio to be ousted by a traditional capitalist party machine. Their blank conservatism has nothing attractive to counterpose to Marcantonio. Only a genuine, honest, patient revolutionary party able to surmount the barriers of language and tradition can break this political demagogue.

In the meantime, Vito is king of East Harlem—flanked by drugstore cowboys and hoodlums, in alliance with Stalinism, buttressed by chauvinistic backwardness. This cynical demagogue rides the wave; the product of a merger between a corrupt local machine and the international corruption of totalitarian Stalinism.

An Analysis of the Political Groups in Palestine Zionism

By AL FINDLEY

The sharpened political situation in Palestine remains unchanged. The reported secret deal in which the British gave the leaders of the Jewish Agency freedom in exchange for their help in pacifying the country, is doomed by the developing clash of political forces.

For months the British have been trying to create a clash between Jews and Arabs so that they could continue their imperialist domination over the country. For the first time in almost ten years they have succeeded in provoking an armed struggle, which occurred at Neot Mordecai on the northern frontier of Palestine, where a small group of Arabs attacked some Jewish settlers.

Denouncing the British for their part in causing this outrage is not

enough. What is needed is serious consideration of the problem of Arab-Jewish relations and how to achieve unity. The policy of reliance on British imperialism is now rejected, at least verbally, by all except a handful of Zionist leaders. The conclusion that the alternative is a policy of alliance with the Arab peasants in a struggle against imperialism has as yet not been consciously accepted by the Jewish workers. However, this problem is now beginning to agitate the more conscious elements of the Palestinian labor movement.

FACTS AND FIGURES

The Palestinian elections to the Zionist Congress this year were of the greatest significance because the elections revealed the political trends of an embattled population fighting a

war of resistance against British imperialism. The total vote was 200,000, divided as follows:

Labor (121,000 total votes):	
Mapai	74,000
Hashomer Hatzair	24,000
Achduth Avodah	23,000
Liberal and Conservative (46,000 total votes):	
Hapoel Hamizrachi	24,000
Mizrachi	5,000
General Zionist	5,000
Aliyah Chadasha	12,000
Reactionary:	
Revisionists	24,500

A mere glance at the figures shows how ridiculous is the claim of the many front organizations of the American Revisionists that they represent the second largest force in Palestine. The New York Post (which supports the Revisionists) gloated over the fact that the Revisionists received the second largest party vote and drew fantastic conclusions therefrom. But the Post carefully omitted to give any figures or to mention the absolute majority received by the working class parties.

WHO ARE THE PARTIES?

The General Zionists (liberal bourgeois) are rapidly disintegrating as a force in Palestine. The Mizrachi and its labor organization, the Hapoel Hamizrachi, represent the so-called moderate clerical groups. They hold a generally conservative point of view and can be considered to be analogous to the Christian Democratic parties of Europe. The extreme clericalists, Agudas Israel, do not participate in Zionism, refusing to recognize any form of secular organizations.

The Mapai is a federated Labor Party based on the Histadruth (the trade union organization) and has a completely reformist leadership. They generally follow the lead of the pro-British liberals in the General Zionist Party.

This year, the Hashomer Hatzair and the Achduth Avodah split from the Mapai to form independent organizations. The Hashomer is a central political group, formerly in close political agreement with the Independent Labor Party of England and the Amsterdam Bureau of Centrist Socialist Organizations. During the war the Hashomer was considerably influenced by Stalinism. One of the main points of its program is advocacy of bi-nationalism, based on the political parity of both Jews and Arabs, regardless of who constitute the actual majority of the population,

This bi-national state is to come into being after a 25-year trusteeship by the UN to "prepare" the population.

The Achduth Avodah Party (Labor Unity Party) is newly formed by a merger of the left Paole Zion and the Tenua L'Achduth Avodah. The left Paole Zion is a formerly revolutionary group, following Borochoff. It was a fraternal member of the Third International and was a legal party in Russia until the consolidation of the Stalinist dictatorship. They had a revolutionary position on most important political questions, including that of Arab-Jewish relations, calling for a united trade union organization and stressing the importance of land reform as a basis for winning Arab support. The Tenua L'Achduth Avodah (Movement for Labor Unity) arose as a confused left wing of the Mapai. The party, resulting from the merger of these organizations, has not declared itself on most issues of the day and of all Palestinian parties this one is most sympathetic to Stalinism.

The Ichud group, although numerically small and not participating in the elections, has great intellectual weight and is an indication of the trend of political thought. It is led by Dr. Magnes, famed in World War I as a pacifist leader in the United States, and Moses Smilansky, veteran Zionist leader. This upper class liberal group advocates population parity between Jews and Arabs, to be accomplished by controlled immigration so that the two groups would balance. They still have faith in the good intentions of the English and their program calls for a three-stage plan of trusteeship to achieve their bi-national state.

LIBERALS AND REACTIONARIES

The Haganah, the main armed body of Palestinian resistance, has a membership of 60,000, recruited mainly from the labor organizations and having the support of the liberals. It was founded as a defense organization by early Jewish settlers and expanded during the pogroms of 1936. The war gave it an opportunity to expand further and to arm itself. It also assumed the function of smuggling immigrants into Palestine and thereby came into armed conflict with the police and army.

Politically, Haganah is neutral, but in practice follows the orders of the Jewish Agency. For example, Haganah voted a civil disobedience campaign for Palestine, but backed down at the insistence of the pro-British

Weitzman. Dr. Sneh, accepted spokesman for Haganah, has declared for a change in policy toward making the struggle for an independent Jewish state the main focus of its activity. Whether he means a partitioned state or complete independence is not as yet clear.

The Irgun Zvai Leumi, although receiving most of its support from the Revisionists, does not directly participate in Zionist politics and attempts an independent role as a national movement. Their estimated membership is 5,000. The Irgun's declared goal is an immediate independent Jewish state.

Irgun has no clearly defined attitude toward the Arabs. Sometimes they say they are for a Palestinian state with "liberty, equality and social justice for all citizens, regard-

less of race, creed or color." How the establishment of a Jewish government, presently constituting a minority, squares with equality, is not explained.

The Revisionists talk of repatriation, of minority rights for Arabs. Jabotinsky, their founder, once declared that if necessary, "the Jewish settlers will have to deal with the Arabs the way the American settlers dealt with the Indians." The Revisionists are most correctly described as semi-fascists. They are violently opposed to trade unions, denounce Marxism in the same language as the Nazis, declare strikes and the class struggle to be treachery. Jabotinsky wrote much about the luxurious life of the Palestinian pioneers and the small rate of profit left for "capital." He praised Mussolini and said "Italy

is building a society without workers' influence. There is no reason we cannot do likewise in Palestine." Certain extreme revisionist factions have a full-blown fascist program, up to and including the "fuehrer" principle.

The semi-fascist, reactionary nature of the Irgun policies should not blind one to the source of their strength, which comes from their correct demand for a complete break with British imperialism and immediate independence. Their militancy, in carrying out their program presents them as the irreconcilable foe of British imperialism.

In this situation the task of the labor and revolutionary movement is to build a really effective anti-imperialist front of Jews and Arabs and take the initiative out of the hands of the Irgun and the Revisionists.

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Jake Vardaman - Missouri Boy

Jake Vardaman is one of Truman's boys. Yes, a Missouri boy, but only partly a Missouri boy. He really goes back to Mississippi, this son of old Senator Vardaman, who was perhaps the vilest of all the anti-Negro representatives to sit in Washington.

Little son Jake, however, is making his own mark in Washington. His big break came when Truman became president. He started out as the President's naval aide and thus became a commander. Then he was given a job on the Federal Reserve Board at \$15,000 a year for 14 years, seemingly as a reward for his failures as a private banker.

Now Little Jake has been put back on active Navy duty (still holding his post with the Federal Reserve Board and drawing his salary) and is trying for disability retirement which would give him a life pension, three-quarters of his base pay. He is presently being examined by a medical board. If he is retired from the Navy he will continue to draw \$15,000 for 14 years plus a \$3,000 pension which is tax free.

Drew Pearson, who publicized these facts about one of the members of the "Missouri gang," described how Vardaman got his disability in the following way:

"He was called to Washington for the hazardous duty of swimming in the White House pool and playing poker with other Missourians. Someone tipped him that an officer attached to a yacht, even one anchored in the Potomac, could draw sea-going pay—10 per cent more. Vardaman got himself attached to the Presidential yacht (this must have been a taxing effort—ed.), Williamsburgh. He never slept on it except when cruising with Truman weekends, but he got sea-going pay. "Vardaman ordered enlisted men to paint and repair his house in Georgetown—at taxpayers' expense, plus beer and sandwiches. This fiscal expert now helps fix the nation's financial policy on the highest economic board in the U. S. A."

"Note to Senator Donnell, of Missouri: The Navy doesn't particularly like Vardaman, but foxed you on his personal fitness record during your fight against his confirmation. The file on Vardaman was taken out and never replaced. He had it in his desk."

Little Jake Vardaman need not be ashamed of his record. He has joined a long list of illustrious predecessors from both political parties who operate on the theory and practice that milking the government treasury is one of the "divine rights" of capitalist politicians, i.e., part of the pay-off for helping to operate the political system of American capitalism.

WP and SWP in the Michigan Commonwealth Federation

Socialist Policy on the Labor Party Question

By BEN HALL

If you find it difficult to convince a man, mystify him! And how better to mystify than with the obscure or the unknown? What members of the Socialist Workers Party were ever intimately informed of their party's policies in the Michigan Commonwealth Federation in its active period more than two years ago? And, of these, how many were aware of the points at issue between the Workers Party and the SWP inside the MCF? Hardly a full half dozen!

Thus the author of the August, 1946, Internal Bulletin of the SWP, which draws up a balance sheet between the "revolutionary Marxism" of the SWP and the "petty bourgeois revisionism" of the WP, writes the following: "Obviously both we and the Workers Party have the same or very similar positions on the question of a Labor Party. . . . But even where we agree abstractly, as in this case, our approach is so different from theirs that we have never yet been able to agree on supporting the same candidate in any election! We advise the workers to vote one way; the Workers Party advises them to vote a different way. In 1944, both we and the Workers Party were active in the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, an embryonic Labor Party. It must be recorded as a fact that in every important debate that took place in this organization, our comrades were on the opposite side of the fence from the Workers Party."

In the MCF, therefore, we are afforded an opportunity to study the SWP's "revolutionary Marxism" as distinct from our "revisionism"—not merely in theory but in practice. Good. But having called our attention to this important fact, the author leaves us staring at a blank wall. This is all he has to say about the MCF. Caution dictates the omission of all details, of all real facts.

This is not the first such vague and misleading reference to the MCF. I intend here to fill in the relevant material which does in fact show a difference between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism. Let the reader judge which fits whom.

The New International and LABOR ACTION devoted many pages to an evaluation of the MCF and of the various trends within it. However, the actual events were taking place at that very moment and we did not want to be accused of "exposing" the members of the SWP or of making impossible its policy of "caution"; we were consequently unable publicly to give the SWP what was its due. Not only has the situation changed but the SWP itself has seen fit to raise the question.

ISSUES IN DISPUTE

What were the main issues in dispute between the SWP and the WP inside the MCF?

I—Bloc Affiliation: At the first MCF conference in March, 1944, provisions were made for bloc affiliation by unions. This rule militated against its becoming merely a reformist or liberal sect. The problem was to retain that provision, for the MCF leaders did not want the new party to be "dominated" by labor. Such "domination" would scare off the farmers and professionals, you see. At the founding convention of the MCF at Lansing in July, 1944, this rule was abandoned; bloc affiliation disestablished; and emphasis placed upon neighborhood clubs.

A host of reasons were cited by the leaders of the new party for this departure. But the real reason for the change was the fact that the MCF leaders, themselves second-ranking and third-rate officials in the CIO, feared that a fight in the locals for bloc affiliation to the MCF would bring them into conflict with the

higher officials of the CIO and with Reuther and Thomas. (At present when the factional scene has changed, the MCF after two years of stagnation is once again considering bloc affiliations.)

At the Lansing convention, the spokesmen for the WP defended the policy of bloc affiliation, stressed its importance, and proposed that it be inserted into the new Constitution. The leading speaker for the SWP on the other hand endorsed the proposal of the leaders to abandon the policy of bloc affiliation, giving their proposal a twist of his own. Bloc affiliation is unwise, he said, because it could be construed as a violation of the Smith-Connolly Act. (This "lawyer" forgot that the PAC was based upon bloc affiliation.)

This was one of the "important debates" in the MCF. The SWP and the leaders of the MCF won out against us.

II—Statement of Objectives of the MCF: "We both advocated the adoption by such a party of a program of transitional demands," says the SWP Bulletin. Where and when and how did the SWP fight for any ONE such demand or any variation thereof?

The convention Constitutional Committee proposed to state the "Object" of the MCF in typical liberal jargon: "To bring to our public life a new type of public servant"; "economic plenty and justice," etc., etc. The WP proposed a simple statement declaring for a "government of the working people." Where did the SWP stand? Arthur Burch, Detroit organizer of the party was present AS A DELEGATE. They did not speak or VOTE for our proposal.

ON NEGRO QUESTION

III—The Negro Question: The Declaration of Principles proposed to the convention made no reference to the Negro question. The WP proposed to incorporate a brief statement demanding complete, social, political and economic equality for Negroes and all other minorities. One need not be a revolutionary Marxist but simply a consistent democrat to endorse this idea. (The PAC platform for 1944 was far superior to the MCF declaration on this point for it called for full political, economic and civic equality for Negroes.)

I need not nauseate the reader by repeating the arguments used at the convention against our proposal. The leading SWP delegates were silent. They did not vote for our proposal. Burch remained quiet.

The proposed election platform included a section on "civil rights." We advocated an amendment which would demand that discrimination be made a criminal offense. As a result of our fight on the Declaration of Principles, a concession was made to us on the platform. The committee revised its report to include our amendment.

But we were "punished" for this victory. John Saunders, who reported the convention in The Militant (August 12, 1944) was aware that the WP alone had successfully raised the Negro question and therefore concluded that it was best for a "revolutionary Marxist" to overlook the whole thing. As far as he was concerned, it had no significance. His story did not so much as mention it.

But Charles Jackson, in his column in The Militant, "The Negro Struggle," thought otherwise. He said: "The flatfooted demand for laws making segregation of races by any public institution, private business, organization or individual a criminal offense is the fulcrum of the entire race question. A program must include this demand if it is to really pull up racial oppression by its vicious roots. Halfway platforms which take a few noisy steps but do not reach this bal-

ance point will not tip the board to the other side." (His emphasis.)

Who was correct in this "important debate"? Was it The Militant's reporter and the SWP delegates or The Militant's columnist and the WP delegates?

ON SUPPORTING CANDIDATES

IV—Against Veiled Support to Democrats: The MCF was officially on record in opposition to supporting candidates of any other party. In the given situation, this meant the Democratic and Republican Parties. The leaders of the MCF, however, were torn between two contradictory lines. They "personally" announced that they were supporting Roosevelt for a fourth term and that they endorsed the policy of the PAC which was for the endorsement of "progressive" candidates of the two old parties. Thus, they had two policies. In the MCF they gave lip service to the idea of independent politics. Outside the MCF they accepted the contrary policies of the PAC. To extricate themselves from this embarrassing position, they resorted to a series of crude maneuvers, which the representatives of the SWP supported and endorsed. As a result, the MCF could never adhere to a firm policy.

a) The founding MCF conference took place in March, 1944. In April, a convention of the Wayne County PAC was held. Ben Garrison, who was a member of the MCF State Committee and later one of its candidates in the 1944 elections, was chairman of the PAC Resolutions Committee and in that capacity reported out favorably resolutions endorsing "progressive" Democrats. All the MCF leaders were present as delegates. Not one spoke out against this policy. R. J. Thomas publicly revealed that "leading members" of the MCF at a meeting in New York with Sidney Hillman had promised to support the candidates endorsed by the PAC. "If that is their policy," said Thomas, "I can go along with them."

It is obvious that the MCF leaders had to find some formula whereby they could support independent candidates and at the same time not oppose Democrats and Republicans endorsed by the PAC. They worked out their formula with the help of the representatives of the SWP.

Note: Two members of the SWP were delegates to the PAC convention. One of them, X, spoke out against the endorsement of Roosevelt and called for the formation of a Labor Party. He discharged his duties as a revolutionary with honor. The other, however, was C, who went along with the Roosevelt stream. When we declare our support of Roosevelt's program, he said, we must make clear that we do not endorse those of his policies which are anti-labor. This same C, in a panel discussion at the March MCF conference, in reply to a clear-cut WP motion that the conference go on record "opposing the endorsement of any candidate running on the tickets of the Republican or Democratic Parties for any office," said that while he himself had no intention of voting Democratic or Republican, he would oppose any motion which meant opposing Roosevelt. (See LABOR ACTION, March 20, 1944.)

WHERE TO RUN CANDIDATES

d) Where to Run Candidates: For what posts shall the MCF run candidates in the 1944 elections? Involved here was the same problem raised by the PAC convention. Shall we follow a genuinely independent course in the state elections, or shall we give veiled support to "progressive" Democrats? This question was discussed publicly on two occasions at MCF gatherings. First, at a state-MCF conference in June, 1944. Second, at the MCF state convention at Lansing in July.

At the state conference the discussion beat merrily around the bush. Shall we run a candidate for Governor? Shall we run in this or in that district? Somehow, no definite decision could be reached by the leaders at this small conference. Finally it was decided to postpone the whole matter and to appoint a special committee which would "consider" the whole question and report a month later to the state convention.

The diffidence with which this subject was handled becomes quite understandable when we remember that the PAC had not YET announced its endorsements in the coming elections. The representatives of the Workers Party pointed out to the conference that the discussion on where to run candidates involved not some minor technical question requiring "investi-

gation" but the whole principle of independent politics itself. We must not only oppose "reactionary" Democrats and Republicans but also the "progressive" ones, even though they might have been rewarded for their "progressivism" by PAC support.

It was a terribly hot and humid summer afternoon. SWPer C, as always, felt compelled to defend the policy of the officials. I came here, he said, to discuss practical questions, but if I had thought that we would end up by discussing principles (pr-r-r-principles, with a rolling sneer), I could have spent my time more enjoyably at the beach. (Probably C resigned from the SWP to take that enjoyable swim.) But was the problem a "practical" one or a "principled" one? The state MCF convention gave the final proof, for by this time it was quite clear that the PAC would endorse the Democratic candidate for Governor and "progressive" Democrats for other posts.

After a lengthy discussion, the convention accepted the proposals of the MCF leaders and decided to run candidates in those places where they would oppose "reactionaries" but not PAC endorsed "progressives." Thus, the reconciliation between the policy of the PAC and that of the MCF which was so important to the MCF heads was finally effected.

The Workers Party proposed that the MCF run its own candidate for Governor, seeing in this proposal one means of blocking the policy of veiled support to the PAC-endorsed Democrat. Although our delegates received resounding applause for their efforts, we were badly defeated in the vote. The SWP adopted a policy of "diplomatic silence." Its delegates voted against us. The Militant was also silent. Saunders, reporting the convention in the issue of August 12, "forgot" the whole thing.

Other issues were debated in the MCF. However, on some of these such as the fight to change the name "Labor Party," the SWP and the WP were in agreement. In what is written above, I confine myself to the main issues in dispute, where the SWP and WP members of the MCF found themselves on opposite sides. Yes, it is true: "in every important debate" the WP and the SWP "were on opposite sides of the fence." For one good reason: we refused to follow the SWP representatives in their groveling, sycophantic, lick-spittle policy. These were the issues. If that is contested, I ask: "What else was debated in the MCF?"

REvolutionary "MODELS"

One thing remains. How is it possible that the local leaders of the SWP could follow so opportunist a course? Here we see that they are not only NOT rebuked, but are praised by the author of the Internal Bulletin. More: their conduct is mentioned as an obvious model of "revolutionary Marxism."

The answer, I believe, is two-fold: (1) In the bureaucratic atmosphere which dominates the SWP in general and the Detroit branch in particular, the rank and file finds it difficult if not impossible to correct and check its local leadership, which tends to opportunism. (2) On the other hand, the local leaders are the staunch defenders of the Cannon régime in their party. Therefore they must be protected by the national leadership. The policy is less important. And when the membership of the SWP is ignorant of the facts, the granting of protection becomes so much easier.

Let us hope that after comparing the pronouncements of the SWP leadership in regard to the MCF with the actual facts, the membership will be encouraged to seek the truth behind their fanfare and boasting.

With the Workers Party

AKRON

Write to Box 221 for information.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone—CHESPEAKE 5708. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

Workers Party Forum—Saturday, Nov. 23, 8:30 P.M. Jack Ranger, correspondent and columnist for LABOR ACTION, speaks on "The Republican Victory: Its Meaning to Labor." Discussion, refreshments.

On every Friday evening at 8 o'clock, discussion classes in Marxist classics beginning Nov. 22.

CLEVELAND

The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. in Carnegie Hall, 1220 Huron Road.

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tuesday—definite headquarters every Tuesday.

Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.

Buy LABOR ACTION and the New International in Cleveland at Wheatman's store, 719 Prospect Ave., downtown.

For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Sta. B., Cleveland, Ohio.

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).

LOS ANGELES

Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-3230. Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily, except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday and Friday.

Labor Action Forum at Embassy Auditorium, Studio Hall, on Friday evening, November 29: "The Three Germanies—America vs. England vs. Russia—Will World War III Start Here?"

LOUISVILLE

New International on sale at Eilers Bookshop, between Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.

For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party—Write Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

NEWARK

HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p. m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p. m.; Saturday—2 to 4 p. m.

Newark newsstands: 91 Barclay St., 168 Belmont Ave., Stand, Market and Mulberry, northeast corner.

NEW YORK CITY

It's completely new except the address. New York Local of the Workers Party invites all its friends to visit the newly renovated, redecorated beautiful City Center at 114 West 14th Street, third floor. All Workers Party literature, Marxist books, LABOR ACTION and The New International are available there.

A good time to visit the new City Center is to attend one of the classes of LABOR ACTION SCHOOL held there every Tuesday and Friday nights or the Sunday Night Forum.

A gala housewarming party is being held Thanksgiving Eve, Wednesday, November 27. Come to welcome the official opening of this center of political, educational and social activities of the Workers Party of New York City.

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 6 p.m.

Telephone: Chelsea 2-9681. You are welcome to attend all open branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

BRONX BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1339 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.

HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.), room 106.

CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

CHELSEA BRANCH: Meets every Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON BRANCH: Meets every Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH HALL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, EAST NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Meets every Friday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

For further information concerning the WORKERS PARTY, the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE and LABOR ACTION SCHOOL in New York City please write or visit the Workers Party City Center at 114 West 14th St., third floor, or phone Chelsea 2-9681.

READING

LABOR ACTION and The New International are sold at newsstand at Fifth and Penn Streets, southeast corner.

For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1671.

Regular class on "Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism" every Monday evening at 8:30.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Germantown Ave. (3rd floor). WP Branch meets Tuesday evenings at 8.

Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m. cents.

FALL FORUM SERIES at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Ave. MAX SHACHTMAN will speak on "Russia Since 1917" on Friday, November 29, 8 p.m. ALL readers and friends of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend.

LABOR ACTION on sale at following newsstands: N. E. cor. 11th and Walnut Sts., N. W. cor. 13th and Market Sts., N. E. cor. Broad and Arch Sts., N. E. cor. 15th and Market Sts., S. E. cor. 19th and Market Sts., N. E. cor. 16th and Seybert Sts., S. W. cor. Kensington and Allegheny Aves.

NEW INTERNATIONAL on sale at following newsstands: N. E. cor. 11th and Walnut Sts., N. W. cor. 13th and Market Sts., N. E. cor. Broad and Arch Sts., N. E. cor. 15th and Market Sts.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay Area, write "Labor Action, P. O. Box 455, Berkeley, Calif."

LABOR ACTION and New International may be purchased at 2059 Fillmore St., San Francisco; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd St.; McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St.

In Berkeley: Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

SEATTLE

For information regarding the Workers Party Branch and LABOR ACTION, write to Workers Party, PO Box 142, U. S. Post Office, Seattle 5, Wash.

For information of Workers Party addresses and activities in cities not listed above, write to Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

French Comrade Writes on Vote

Dear Comrade:

In the latest elections of November 10, 1946, the International Communist Party (French section of the Fourth International) which presented lists of candidates in 17 regions, received 60,000 votes.

Despite the relative progress (in the June 2 elections, the party received 45,000 votes), we must point out, in general, a retreat. If the party had presented lists only in the same regions as in June, it would have lost about 15,000 votes.

In my opinion, the cause for this is to be found in the parliamentary illusions deeply engrained in the workers, and which the French Communist Party has greatly fortified.

Many, understanding that due to the unfair electoral law, our party had no chance in practice of electing any people, voted for the French Communist Party so as "not to lose their vote." Others, seeing the "uselessness" of voting for us, have doubtlessly preferred not to bother themselves "for nothing," although

with these 60,000 votes we should have had at least one deputy, perhaps two. For instance, the French Communist Party obtained one deputy in the Hautes-Alpes for only 12,605 votes!

The number of votes cast for metropolitan France was 19,153,754, out of which the Communist Party (now the largest party in France) received 5,475,955. There were 735,000 less votes cast than in June.

We can, in two ways, give an idea of the number of votes that the PCI would have received if it had been able to present lists everywhere in France:

(1) By calculating with the percentage of votes obtained by the PCI out of the total number of votes cast (1.3%): 19,153,754 x 1.3 = 249,000.

(2) Or, what is perhaps more correct (it might be objected, indeed, that our lists were only in the large workers' centers, that is, where we had the best chances of getting votes—something that isn't entirely true), by calculating the percentage of votes received in relation to those received by the French Communist Party where we had candidates. That

is, 4.4 per cent, or 5,475,955 x 4.4 = 241,000. According to all probability, the PCI would therefore have received about 245,000 votes if it had been able to run everywhere in France.

(Here follows a record of the PCI vote which appears, condensed, in an article on Page 1 of this issue.—Ed.)

1.3% of total vote obtained by PCI 4.4% of votes obtained by PCF (Stalinists).

LEWIS E. BARTH. Paris, Nov. 12.

Bureaucrats Bar SYL Distribution

On Tuesday, November 5, Local No. 1300, Amalgamated Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees Union, AFL, was holding its membership meeting at the Plumbers' Hall, Baltimore, Md. At the main entrance were two young members of the Socialist Youth League (SYL) distributing sample copies of LABOR ACTION and also a leaflet announcing the monthly forum un-

der the sponsorship of the Baltimore (SYL) and Workers Party. After a half-hour of peaceful distributing, six strong-armed members of this AFL local came out of the union hall and tried to persuade the two young people to discontinue the distribution. Upon asserting his rights one of the two SYL members was seized bodily and removed from the sidewalk. Under further threats, the distributors left.

This action is unbecoming a labor organization which has always maintained the democratic right to distribute literature for educational and organizational purposes. Local No. 1300 is unconsciously setting a dangerous precedent which may have future adverse effects upon its own activities.

The Baltimore SYL and WP were merely announcing its forum to discuss the effects of the past national election upon the working class and the need of an independent labor party. The capitalist-like means resorted to by the said local to stop the distribution is a sample of the bureaucratic ignorance which gave labor no effective lead in the elections.

Even though this whole affair was reported to Baltimore's independent labor newspaper, "Labor Herald," not the slightest response was given to this horrible deed. An opportunity to expose the bureaucracy within Local No. 1300 was ignored. Also "Labor Herald," by its own action, revealed the hypocrisy of its own policy to protect the rights of minorities.

In spite of these obstacles encountered with the union and the shameful reluctance of the local newspaper to assist or uphold simple liberties, the Baltimore branch of the SYL and WP will continue its militant program of spreading the idea of revolutionary socialism.

HENRY WILLIS, Baltimore.

You Can Subscribe To Labor Action For Six Months For 50 Cents!



Table showing renewals and subscriptions received by LABOR ACTION over the past week, with chief credit going to the Newark branch of the Workers Party. Includes rows for Newark, New York City, Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Chicago, Minnesota, Seattle, Streator, Ill., Miscellaneous, and TOTAL.

Subscription form for LABOR ACTION. Includes fields for Name, Address, City, Zone, State, and pricing: 50 Cents for Six Months, \$1.00 for a Year.

Labor Leaders Still Ride Capitalist Political Merry-Go-Round

Progressive Conference a Blind Alley for Labor

By SUSAN GREEN

The conference of progressives that met in Chicago in September had its aftermaths. First, there was a follow-up meeting in New York City during October. Then, last week, the same group gathered in Washington. Finally, plans were announced for a conference in January to develop a "progressive program" and to fashion "the most effective liberal coalition in the history of our country."

The instigators of this movement are leaders of the CIO, CIO-PAC, the National Citizens PAC, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts and Sciences, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the National Farmers Union, and the NAACP, with the blessing of the die-hard New Dealers Ickes, Bowles, Pepper, Wallace.

Reporting the Chicago conference for LABOR ACTION, in its issue of October 28, Albert Goldman characterized the outcome of that meeting,

MAX SHACHTMAN TO LECTURE ON BRITISH CRISIS

An analysis of the cleavage within the British Labor Party, as revealed in the present session of Parliament and at the British Trade Union Congress, as well as a discussion of the prospects of the revolutionary socialist movement and developments in the British section of the Fourth International will be given by Max Shachtman in the next session of his course at the Labor Action School, next Tuesday, November 26, at 9:00 p.m. The school has invited attendance at individual lectures of this course, as well as participation in the whole course. The fee for the course is \$2.00; a single admission is 50 cents.

Farrell on Tolstoy at N. Y. Forum

NEW YORK—James T. Farrell, author of Studs Lonigan, will speak at the Labor Action Sunday Forum, Sunday, December 1, at 8 p.m. Farrell has chosen for the subject of his lecture "War and Peace," the monumental work by the great Russian novelist Leon Tolstoy. Having already written several articles on this subject, Farrell is currently engaged in writing a book on Tolstoy. Tolstoy's "War and Peace" has special significance for us today because it deals with the actions, conflicts, hopes of men and women under the shadow of a great war.

Practically alone among American novelists, Farrell concerns himself with the social and ethical implications of literature, as well as the personal relationships of men to each other. He sees the writer working on the problems of his time through the interplay of individuals and the social scene in which they move. It is in the light of these considerations that he will discuss Tolstoy's epic work, Readers of LABOR ACTION and The New International are particularly familiar with James T. Farrell's writings.

An overflow audience is expected at the Labor Action School, 114 West 14th Street, 3rd Floor. Ample time will be provided for questions and discussion.

Philadelphia Readers: Hear Max Shachtman National Chairman, Workers Party on RUSSIA SINCE 1917 FRIDAY, NOV. 29, 8:00 P. M. LABOR ACTION HALL 1139 West Girard Ave. N.E. Cor. 12th & Girard Ave.

The New INTERNATIONAL A Monthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Six Issues — Six Month Subscription — \$1.00 Enclosed is \$1.00 for the Introductory, \$1.00 Six-Month Subscription to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL. NAME ADDRESS CITY ZONE NO. STATE

on the basis of its composition and its politics, as "a program of middle-class progressives who have come under Stalinist influence." These progressives, both the Stalinists and the anti-Stalinists, proclaim their adherence to Roosevelt's New Deal. The CIO News reported the New York City meeting referred to above, as held "to further the unification of Roosevelt followers throughout the country." And the pre-election issue of the CIO News gave a spread to FDR's so-called Economic Bill of Rights, stating that the program of Roosevelt "is also the program of the CIO."

ASSISTING STALINISM

Why the Stalinists should be "champions" of Roosevelt is not hard to guess. As always, guided by the foreign-policy needs of the Kremlin, the Stalinists profess great devotion for the so-called Economic Bill of Rights while hoping that the rise of Roosevelt progressives to power will re-establish the Rooseveltian policy of appeasing Russia which has been replaced by the "get-tough" trend of Truman-Byrnes.

But why should the labor movement, Negro organizations, farmers' unions, in short, the masses of our people, hitch their political wagon to the fallen star of New Dealism—a star, by the way, which was meant to guide capitalism out of a deep crisis rather than guide the working people to security, peace and plenty!

The star fell long ago and it was officially recognized even by its own creator. While FDR was spouting about the Economic Bill of Rights out of the side of his mouth, he performed the funeral service over the New Deal out of the other side.

This happened at the end of 1943, and not out of a clear sky. Why was the creator of the New Deal forced to abandon it? To understand this is to see also the futility of the Roosevelt progressives of 1946 vintage.

Roosevelt's wartime policy, as far as the New Deal for the people was concerned, was a progressively increasing capitulation to reaction. He kicked out New Dealers from gov-

ernment posts—beginning with Henderson from OPA and ending with the presidential ticket—to make way for the creation of the war economy by big business itself. Without them he could realize his war policy. His "hold the line" policy boiled down to allowing fabulous blood profits out of the war but disallowing wage increases to meet the skyrocketing cost of living. Yielding to the needs of the capitalist class, he became the staunchest advocate of a national service law that would have struck a solar-plexus blow at labor's freedom.

NEW DEAL HAD TO END

It is not contended here that Roosevelt did not believe in his New Deal. Roosevelt in his lifetime, like Wallace today, believed that capitalism must provide the people with at least a minimum of their needs to prevent popular discontent from rising to revolutionary proportions. The point is, however, that no matter what a politician states to be his beliefs, as long as the preservation of capitalism is his dominating aim, he is the tool of the system and of the ruling class. Roosevelt's procession of capitulations well illustrate this basic point.

Roosevelt's secretary, Mr. Early, in explaining to newspaper reporters the president's abandonment of the New Deal at the end of 1943, used two small sentences: "The term New Deal was born in 1932. It is now 1943." The significance of these sentences cannot be overestimated.

In 1932 the capitalist class was still critically sick from the attack of sharp crisis in 1929. In 1932 the capitalist class was ready to do anything to pull itself out of an economic abyss. The capitalists were willing even to follow the prescription of Dr. New Deal. However, as the years progressed toward war and war orders restored robustness to the profit-makers, their attitude kept changing and FDR's policies reflected the changes.

By 1944, the American capitalist class could afford to demand the end

of New Dealism. It was bloated with war profits. It liked the feeling. It was winning a world war through the sweat and blood of the people. It came out of the war richer and apparently more powerful than ever before.

NEW STAGE IS REACHED

Now in 1946 the so-called progressive leaders of common people call for the resuscitation of the New Deal, for the rallying of all New Dealers, for a crusade of Roosevelt followers. But it is not 1932, nor even 1943, but 1946. Today American capitalism has both "opportunities" and "responsibilities" as the writers in the Sunday supplements tell us. It has the opportunity, as the only thriving economy in the world to grab unprecedented trade and other world-wide advantages — if only labor will be good. It has the "responsibility" to impose permanent militarism on the American people, in order to police the world and to prepare for World War III—and the people must be made to take it. Besides opportunities and "responsibilities," the American capitalist class has in its pockets fabulous war profits which stir in its heart a consuming lust for even greater profits—and the workers must be prevented from getting a bigger share of the national product for themselves. These are no liberal objectives and they call for no liberal policies to fulfill. Putting it mildly, this is American capitalism 1946.

"But that's just it," say the Roosevelt progressives, 1946 vintage, "and that's exactly what we will fight—however, we will not fight so hard as to endanger private enterprise, the profit system, capitalism." Thereby they become tools of capitalism, fighting only with paper swords.

When the Roosevelt progressives meet in Washington in January, history will be calling on Philip Murray, Jack Kroll, A. F. Whitney, Jim Patton, Walter White, to get off the capitalist merry-go-round. Will they do it? Will they say they have had enough of "progressive" capitalist

politics and politicians? Will they break with Ickes, Bowles, Pepper, Wallace? Will they say that the reaction looming black on the horizon of American capitalism, can be fought only on a class basis? Will Philip Murray and Jack Kroll propose that the CIO-PAC become the formulation for an independent labor party, to rally all the exploited, the segregated, the oppressed, the discontented? Will they proclaim themselves no longer the political tools of the capitalist class? We shall see.

UNEMPLOYED WAR VETERANS SEIZE TOWN IN ITALY

PARIS—A large group of unemployed war veterans seized telephone, telegraph, rail and highway communications at Pieve di Seco near Venice and isolated the entire town for several hours on November 5. Police and Carabinieri, reinforced with automatic weapons, halted the movement. But such demonstrations are halted in one town only to spring to life again in another. It is noteworthy that men trained as soldiers concentrate their efforts at stopping production in the power and communication centers.

By the end of October the official government statistics of unemployment in Italy, almost always 1,000,000 less than the real total, according to UNRRA estimates, reached 2,000,000. This means that total unemployment is very close to 3,000,000.

Not all unemployed and suffering Italians participate in demonstrations. A Turin paper on October 24, reported that two sisters, each over 50 years of age, attempted suicide by leaping out of a fourth story window. One died instantly. The other survived. She told police they had been in severe economic need for 20 years, that Allied bombs had destroyed their home and that they could not find work.—J. A.

See Hunger Uprisings Soon in Germany

Military Authorities Fear Winter Unrest as Food, Fuel, Health Situation Becomes Worse

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS—U. S. Army Military Intelligence reported that serious unrest, approaching the Spartacus upsurges of late 1918 and early 1919, was possible this coming winter in Germany because of overcrowding, hunger and economic insecurity. The Army is watching ex-soldiers' groups, considered "the biggest potential threat to our occupation."

Widespread tension among workers against the cold and the growing food shortage which has reduced daily rations below 1,000 calories, despite official claims that 1,500 calories are allotted, are being carefully guarded and checked by Allied occupation forces. As the temperature dropped below zero and snow fell again, German workers and their families were to be allotted only 700 pounds of wood for the winter. Where last winter was not severe, this one promises to be very cold, and much of the reserves of last winter are gone.

FEAR FURTHER DROP

No demonstrations have been reported yet but civilians in the smashed cities of Hamburg, Dusseldorf and elsewhere are reported "standing on street corners, gravely discussing the situation." In the British zone German newspapers are forbidden to discuss the food shortage. A complete new blackout on food covers radio, press and even the distribution of foreign papers, as of November 11.

Franz Spieldt, president of the Hamburg Trade Union Council, declared at a press conference this week that the workers' morale has "reached the bottom..." as a result of the misery in which people live. He appealed for food "to prevent the starvation of 70,000,000 people, most of whom were never behind the Nazi movement." Spieldt said that he and other union leaders could no longer guarantee that workers would not react violently to the food shortage.

Present rations cannot be maintained despite Military Government promises, added Spieldt, stating, "I fear we are facing another drop."

Virtually no soap is left in Germany, factories are closing for lack of fat and others will soon follow. Milch cows and most pigs will have to be killed for meat, affecting future milk and meat rations.

"Most frightening was the rise in tuberculosis among children between four and eight years of age. That was due as much to overcrowding, cold and lack of baby clothes as to lack of food," concluded Spieldt. Hospitals have many child sufferers from an infectious skin disease caused by filth. More than 300 new cases of tuberculosis were reported in Greater Hesse each week, bringing the grand total to 21,500. Malnutrition, overcrowding and insufficient clothing are given as main causes by doctors.

While an unskilled worker aver-

ages about 100 marks a month, a half-pound of butter on the black market costs 100 marks, or a whole month's pay. A package of American cigarettes is 80 marks. American margarine sells for 190 marks a pound; a pound of egg powder for 130 marks; sugar for 145 marks a pound; honey 90 marks a pound; fresh meat 40 marks a pound; and any American canned meat for 110 marks. Black bread is 40 marks a loaf, white bread, 60. Coffee sells for 190 marks a pound and cocoa for 85.

Unable to purchase black market food the workers were informed they face further cuts in the small fish and cereal rations beginning November 11. Armistice Day is a most fitting day for the conquerors to reduce further the German workers' food consumption.

ITALIANS, FLEEING TO FRANCE TO ESCAPE STARVATION, FOUND FROZEN IN MOUNTAINS

PARIS, Nov. 6.—In the third case in three days, French border patrols discovered the frozen bodies of a 25-year-old woman and a 3-year-old child near the Italian frontier in the mountain passes leading to France. Several days before two Italian children were caught in a severe snowstorm and died while their mother and a third child succeeded in getting through. The mother informed police she had seen the dead body of an 18-year-old girl in the passes.

Attempts of Italian workers and their families—assuredly the wealthy classes are not struggling on foot through snowbound passes—to go from slow death by starvation in Italy to the only slightly less worse conditions in France have gone on for many months. Some 4,000 Italian workers a month have been crossing the frontier illegally. Hitherto French police have not put a stop to this because of France's need for workers.

SEEK ANY ESCAPE

Another 3,000 a month have been fleeing to Switzerland which also needs labor. In September the British announced negotiations for hiring 36,000 Italian foundry workers for British foundries.

Belgium has already contracted for thousands of Italian miners who have to sign onerous contracts with the Belgian state (which is run by Socialists), that exclude strikes and changes of employment, and force workers to buy from "company" stores.

A lively traffic in illegal immigration from mainland Italy to the former Italian colony of Libya has been going on with the British turning back hundreds.

Sweden is negotiating for Italian labor in its industries. Hundreds of Italian settlers are embarking for Brazil and other South American

countries where the special Italian emissary, Count Sforza, has been trying to get a right of entry for Italian emigrants.

HUNGER PREVAILS

Surveys of the economic situation reveal that Italy is overpopulated relative to her industrial base. Of her 46,000,000 inhabitants, Count Dino Secco-Suardo, Director General for Italians abroad, estimated Italian economy can sustain comfortably from 25-30,000,000, which means the country is almost 50 per cent overpopulated.

Though hunger is a potent goad to flight from war-torn Italy emigration hasn't dented the large population. The population has increased more than 1,500,000 in the past eight years, while emigration which has begun again only since the end of the war has reached 65,000.

Italy's desperate economic situation is attested to by this dangerous flight from the prison of starvation through mountains and across seas to find food and shelter.—J. A.

LABOR ACTION BOUND VOLUME 1945 Now Only \$2.00! A permanent record of Marxist analysis of the year's outstanding events. Order from LABOR ACTION 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Forum on Palestine Opens Sessions of N Y Labor Action School

By SYLVIA MERRILL

The vital interest in the question of Palestine shown by eighty-five members and friends of the Workers Party made for an enthusiastic and successful opening of the Labor Action School's Sunday Evening Forum on November 17. The opening featured a symposium in which Albert Gates, an editor of LABOR ACTION, and Ed Findley reported on their views.

Albert Gates, speaking on behalf of the resolution of the National Committee of the Workers Party, and Findley for his counter-resolution, made opening statements that gave rise to many questions bearing on problems of assimilation, immigration, partition, self-determination, the role of Zionism, and many other problems involved in the intricate question before the audience.

The discussion from the floor reflected a lively probing of the introductory remarks made by the speakers, and was immediately resumed after the summaries had been made and the meeting officially adjourned. Much interest was shown in the current issue of the "New International" which features material on the question discussed.

If this opening of the forum series

is any indication of what may be expected from the other forums devoted to very pertinent questions on the schedule, we may be assured of having established a series destined to become a necessary part of the life of our friends and sympathizers.

REIMANN LECTURE NEXT

The inability of the Big Three to come to grips with the problem of what is to happen to Germany should in itself point to the enormity of the problem which Gunther Reimann, author of "The Vampire Economy" and other works on Germany will discuss in his lecture on "The Fate of Germany." It involves the possibility of grappling with an economic and political question that may spell chaos or survival for European affairs.

The exchange between H. Leder and Henry Judd in the current issue of The New International on "Why the Germans Failed to Revolt," should furnish an introduction to the lecture.

The next forum meets on Sunday evening, November 24, at 8 o'clock, at 114 West 14th Street. A complete listing of all the forums scheduled for this semester of the Labor Action School may be obtained by writing to the above address.

Landlord Raid - -

(Continued from page 1)

always and under all circumstances opposed to government interference. Not at all. For example, they would like the benefits of certain tax exemptions on new housing. Again, while they will brook no meddling by the Federal Housing Administration in private enterprise, they heartily approve of FHA as an insurer of mortgages. They are perfectly willing for the government to take the risks of private enterprise.

EFFECTS OF RISE

How do the strike of the real estate industry, the lifting of rent ceilings and controls on new housing, and a fifteen per cent rent boost affect the veterans and the rest of us? The government has estimated that about four million veterans wanted to build, buy or rent a home this year. With only 800,000 units begun by September, no wonder a group of Pacific veterans at a recent reunion suggested the slogan: "We'll rent a tree by fifty-three!"

The removal of rent and price ceilings on new homes will make them prohibitive for practically everyone who needs them most. Ceilings now on new homes limit rentals to \$80 a month and purchase prices to \$10,000—at least theoretically. According to government statistics, those veterans who want to rent homes have average earnings of \$44 a week. Certainly they cannot afford to pay \$80 a month for rent. The veterans who would like to buy a house average \$48 a week in wages or earnings. People in this income level buying \$10,000 homes simply become slaves to their homes for the best years of their lives. So the present situation is bad enough. Now imagine what it will be with all ceilings and controls off.

Finally, it is absolutely impossible for the working people as a whole to absorb a fifteen per cent increase. Already the discrepancy between wage increases and price increases has drastically cut the standard of living. According to government figures, which, be it remembered, never favor the workers, wage increases since 1941 amount to thirty-three per cent in hourly rates, while the cost of living has gone up forty-six per cent. That is neither an accurate picture of the wage nor the price situation.

The hourly rate increases tell nothing about reduced hours and reduced take-home pay. And every housewife can tell you that the cost of living has gone up a good deal more than forty-six per cent since 1941. However, these figures, unfavorable as they are to the worker, still show wages as far behind the cost of living. It is unthinkable for the workers to shell out for a fifteen per cent rent increase.

Such considerations, however, have not deterred the OPA's Housing Rent Advisory Committee from submitting to the OPA three proposals which could have been written by the National Association of Real Estate Boards. This committee recommends to OPA (1) Elimination of rent ceilings on new housing and on converted housing; (2) systematic and progressive removal of property from control where owners offer tenants leases at increases of not more than fifteen per cent; (3) an immediate over-all fifteen per cent increase. These are the measures that OPA is now considering.

There are rumors that OPA will want an over-all ten per cent rent raise to the landlords. Intolerable as this would be to tenants, it would not be acceptable to the real estate interests. They want their full demands, and the administration will give in, as it did to the meat industry. The outcome of the election has by no means stiffened the backs of the executive branches of the government.

FOR DIRECT RESISTANCE

Relying on themselves, as they have to, what will the working people do to counter the latest raid on their wages and pockets? Undoubtedly, from coast to coast, there will be a storm of demands for wage increases to close the gap between wages and the cost of living. But there must also be direct resistance to the landlords through tenants' committees working with the unions and taking planned action not to pay rent increases.

Finally, the housing shortage calls for removing the problem from the hands of the profit-poachers and for a government spending program of at least \$250,000,000 to construct badly needed homes and public buildings in the next five years. How else can the people hold what they have and get more of what they so urgently need?

Coming in December New International:

The December NI, which will be off the press next week, will feature several articles on the Hindu-Moslem strife in India. In addition, there will be a critique by Meyer Shapiro of James T. Farrell's article on "The Open City."

ATTENTION! AKRON READERS! Albert Goldman Former Attorney for Leon Trotsky will speak on The Coming Struggle for Wage Increases at a meeting commemorating the anniversary of the Russian Revolution NOVEMBER 29 8:00 P. M. PAINTERS HALL 290 S. Main St. (upstairs) Auspices: Workers Party, Akron Branch Admission: 50 Cents