

How to Destroy the Stalinist Grip in the Labor Movement

Following on the heels of the CIO convention which had adopted a strange and curious resolution against the Stalinist Communist Party of the U. S. A. and its agents in the labor movement, a series of new developments have taken place in many unions and conventions. These are highlighted by an intensification of the inner-union struggle in the National Maritime Union between its president, Joseph Curran, ex-fellow traveler, and his Stalinist opponents on the National Executive Committee, Joseph Stack, Howard McKenzie and Ferdinand Smith. The occasion for this latest outburst is Curran's resignation from the Stalinist dominated Committee for Maritime Union, whose real leader is Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The policy of the CIO against the Stalinists is completely confused. The person primarily responsible for this confusion is Philip Murray, president of the CIO. Faced with pressure of the government and motivated by a reactionary ideology, Murray is at the same time faced with the necessity of preventing the complete inner disruption of the CIO by pushing an old time "anti-red" campaign in his organization, large parts of which are completely dominated by the Stalinists.

His compromise was a resolution which said nothing but that the CIO was opposed to interference from outside political organizations. Withal, the CIO convention action, because of its unclarity, had overtones of old fashioned "red-baiting." That such a policy is not more widespread and developed is due only to the power of the Stalinists in many of the unions in the CIO.

STALINIST REACTION TO RESOLUTIONS

Feeling the rise of a new wave of antagonism to them, the Stalinists, who enjoyed a veritable hey-day in the labor movement during the war years because of their pro-war, super-patriotic, anti-labor policies, now took advantage of Murray's confusion to halt temporarily any stronger action against themselves. On the committee of six to draft a resolution against Stalinism in the unions, Murray appointed three well-known Stalinists. They helped write a resolution against "interference" of any outside organization in the affairs of the unions!

For the Stalinists, this was a maneuver to forestall stronger action. Faced with the greater need of maintaining their positions in the labor movement and knowing full well that these positions cannot be undermined by "organizational actions" of incompetent opponents who have little or no understanding of politics, the Stalinists are quite willing to accept, and even initiate, holiday resolutions against "outside interference with the affairs of the unions."

But in such a situation, it is difficult to control the march of events and the logic of decisions. The real Stalinists will, of course, be ready to make compromises to remain in power; their fellow travelers, depending upon the degree of their principles, their love of posts, cannot be fully relied upon. And so, the policy of the Stalinists will be uneven; they will not follow what ordinary people would call logic. In Massachusetts, the Stalinists readily supported even a sharp resolution against themselves, but balked when the right wingers and reactionaries amplified the resolution by dumping Stalinists from official posts in the state organization. It was only then that they warned against "red-baiting."

NMU FIGHT BREWING FOR LONG TIME

One of their fellow travelers, Lewis Merrill, president of the Office and Professional Workers Union, introduced a strong resolution not only against the Communist Party, but all other political parties by name. He followed this up by resigning as a trustee of the Stalinist Jefferson School of Social Science, and as a contributor to the New Masses. In Merrill's case, we have an example of one who, in seeing the hand-writing on the wall, is trying to cut his skirts clean from his Stalinist past.

The fight in the NMU between Curran and the Stalinists is most important of all. This fight has been brewing for some time. Long a Stalinist follower, though not a member of the CP, Curran has felt for some time that his fate and role in the CIO is threatened by continued Stalinist association. If he was oblivious to it before, and we can hardly believe that, he is certainly making it clear now that he cannot function in the straight jacket put around him by the Stalinist gang in his union. Last summer he raised objections to the huge expenditure of funds and inner-union manipulations of the Stalinist gang who controlled the union.

The compromise between him and the Stalinists at that time had only postponed the inner struggle. It has now flared anew. Where it will end is difficult to say, since the fight is extremely complex and has many ramifications outside the NMU. One thing is certain, Curran faces one of the best organized machines in the labor movement in his union, which receives strength not only from CP headquarters, but from the Stalinist gang in other maritime unions, most notably Bridges' ILWU.

The whole situation raises the question of the meaning of Stalinism in the labor movement and how to fight it. We will not now again describe the reactionary, anti-working class character of American Stalinism, which is nothing but the agent of Russia's new ruling class. Suffice it to say, that the American working class is doomed under its leadership and will remain so until it frees itself from the stranglehold of Stalinism wherever it exists.

HOW TO FIGHT STALINISM

But the way to fight Stalinism is not the way of the union bureaucrats in the AFL and CIO. In their minds, the fight against Stalinism is a fight against all progressives, militants and genuine socialists, as well. They still think of the Stalinists in the old terms: as though they were representatives of a revolutionary socialist ideology in the working class, and not as the anti-working class manipulators that they really are. For that reason, when the labor bureaucrats join the government and its capitalist bosses in an "anti-red" drive, it is reactionary.

The fight against Stalinism in the labor movement cannot be carried out on the basis of organizational, bureaucratic measures. Stalinism has to be fought on the basis of principle and program; it has to be fought with superior principles and programs. In that way the striking power and ideology of unionism will be heightened. In that way it will be possible to win thousands of good, honest, militant rank and file Stalinists and followers, to the cause of anti-Stalinism. One of the greatest mistakes which anti-Stalinists in the labor movement can make, is to join hands with reactionaries, anti-unionists, pro-capitalists, in an anti-working class struggle against the Stalinists.

The way to fight Stalinism is by a genuine progressive program and by clear and spirited union militancy. Any other course would play directly into the hands of the native Stalinist agents of the Kremlin.

GOP Admits It Will Not Push for FEPC in Congress

According to a report published in the Washington Memo column of the New York Post, December 26, Joe Martin, Republican Party leader who is scheduled to become Speaker of the House when the new Congress convenes, has warned Negro GOP leaders that they had best forget about passage of the Fair Employment Practices by the Republican majority in Congress. Said Martin:

"That FEPC plank was a bid for the Negro vote, and they didn't accept the bid. They went out and voted for Roosevelt."

And Martin continued:

"I'll be frank with you. We are not going to pass the FEPC bill, but it has nothing to do with the Negro vote. We are supported mainly by New England and Midwest industrialists who would stop their contributions if we passed a law that would compel them to stop religious as well as racial discrimination in employment. I'm not saying that I agree with them, but that is the situation we face, so we may as well be realistic. We intend to do a lot for the Negroes, but we can't afford to pass the FEPC bill."

We leave it to our readers to write their own editorial comment!

LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 6, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

53.9% PRICE JUMP PROVES NEED FOR WAGE INCREASES

French Deny Freedom to Indo-Chinese

By ARTHUR STEIN

Dec. 22, 1946—With more than 65,000 French troops battling the nationalist troops of the Viet Nam republic in Indo-China, and with the French Twenty-fifth Airborne Division reported to be under way from Algeria to Indo-China to help subdue the nationalist liberation movement, the Socialist government of Leon Blum has put itself in the position of serving French imperialism in the Far East.

A few days before becoming premier, Blum expressed himself in favor of "independence" for the republic of Viet Nam. Since then, he has qualified this statement by declaring that he meant "independence within the framework of the French Union." But while Blum tries to wriggle out of a tough spot, his actions are anything but that. Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, infamous military oppressor in Indo-China and a personal friend of de Gaulle, remains the High Commissioner of French Indo-China, and the troops of French imperialism continue to carry out the policy of the Socialist Minister for Overseas Territories, Marius Moutet, who declared that he is not "disposed to put up with the acts of violence" on the part of the natives.

To understand what lies behind this charge of violence of the forces of Viet Nam; to understand, that is, who is doing violence to whom, it will be necessary to go into some of the background of the present conflict.

French intervention into the destiny of the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula dates back to the days of Napoleon III in the latter half of the 19th Century. The most important part of the peninsula then was the old Empire of Annam, an ancient and well-developed civilization with its own language, legal traditions, art, philosophy, and communal relations.

FRENCH CONQUER ANNAM

After numerous bloody wars of conquest, the French became full masters of the peninsula in 1897, and held that country until the Japanese overran it during World War II. In contrast with the British, who as a rule have had enough imperialism "feel" to leave native customs intact, the French adopted a policy of "assimilation," a policy of brutal and direct rule, disregarding completely all the old traditions of the

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UAW Seeks 23-Cent-Hour Wage Boost

DETROIT, Dec. 20—As part of the CIO campaign for a wage increase, the UAW-CIO Executive Board has adopted a resolution calling for the industry to grant a 23 cents an hour average wage increase.

Unlike the GM strike struggle of last year, the entire UAW-CIO leadership and the CIO leaders are taking the position advanced by Walter P. Reuther for wage increases without price increases. The Nathan report, serving as a "guide post" for CIO policy, emphasized precisely this point, which one year ago was either ridiculed by other CIO leaders or used as an argument against Reuther's bid for leadership of the UAW-CIO.

Another major step in the UAW-CIO campaign was the filing of suits for portal-to-portal pay at Ford, Briggs and other auto corporations. The UAW-CIO Executive Board urged the formation of a joint AFL and CIO defense committee and strike funds as another move in the coming struggle between organized labor and the Wall Street rulers of American industry.

Meanwhile, the cost of living bonus demand of Chrysler workers and the negotiations with the corporation on that score seem to have become lost or submerged in the general over-all moves of the CIO.



Delegation which presented 175,000 signatures on a petition initiating FEPC legislation in Michigan. The Committee includes: Barney Hopkins, Michigan CIO Council; William Grant, Local 400 UAW; Tracy Doll, PAC; Rev. Chas. Hill, NAACP; Pat Quinn; Wayne County CIO; Ben Bell, Workers Party (seventh from left); William Oliver, UAW-FEPC; Ann Shore, Civil Rights Congress. Picture: Courtesy of the Detroit Tribune.

Curran Hits Stalinist Domination of CMU

By N. GADEN

NEW YORK, Dec. 27—One of the most sensational developments of recent years took place on the maritime labor front this week when Joe Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, CIO, resigned as co-chairman of the Stalinist-dominated Committee for Maritime Unity. Charging that "because of the dominating role played by a few people on the West Coast," in an obvious reference to the Stalinists, "the CMU has been used for the purpose, number one, of controlling our union and, number two, for promoting warfare on the waterfront with the AFL and the independent unions."

The significance of this cannot be underestimated. It exposes the complete corruption of the Communist Party and the policies it foists upon the organizations it controls, in this case the Committee for Maritime Unity. It also opens the struggle against the Stalinist machine within the NMU which has been strangling that organization since its inception.

REASONS FOR RESIGNATION

Tendering their resignations from the CMU and supporting Curran are Jack Lawrenson, NMU vice-president, and M. Hedley Stone, NMU treasurer. The detailed reasons for the resignation given by Curran were as follows:

1. The CMU is organized in such a way as to make possible complete control by a minority (in this case the unions run by the CP).

Says Curran: "The net result of this has been that these four craft unions, located 3,000 miles away, together with the fifth union, a shore-side organization, the ILWU, have been dictating all policies of CMU and have made our great industrial union virtually a stooge for their shot-gun unity, so to speak."

2. Decisions are made which bind the NMU to a policy which involves it in jurisdictional disputes with the AFL's seamen's unions and even, to quote Curran, "open strikebreaking," a circumstance not especially conducive to unity.

From Curran's statement again: "Another decision, made by the West Coast section of the CMU in the recent strike was to issue an ultimatum to the Masters, Mates and Pilots, AFL, one of the unions on strike, to remove their picket lines within 24 hours or have them smashed by CMU. The MMA&P required 48 hours in which to vote on their agreements, and this ultimatum was looked upon as open strike-breaking." And later: "This type of decision, and the man-

ner in which they are made, are certainly not in the interests of our union and creating maritime unity. Under this setup, the good name of our union can be dragged in the mud; without our consent, our union can be used for strike-breaking."

3. Financially the NMU carries the lion's share of the burden.

The statement then says: "Ordinarily it would not be of much importance, this question of money being contributed, but when that money does not serve the purpose of creating unity, then it is of great importance. It is also important because, under this setup, the NMU treasury can be drained by the CMU, while our union, which carries the main financial burden, does not have a decisive voice in how our money should be spent."

4. Strategy and tactics of the CMU were very bad since June 15, 1946, and made possible raiding by Lewis' District 50.

"The CMU has been used by the West Coast unions since June also as a weapon of warfare against the AFL and the MFOW and independent unions and has caused a complete separation between the eastern and western sections of the Marine Engineers, thus opening the way for penetration of the officers' union by District 50 of the United Mine Workers."

Although Curran nowhere in his statement mentions the CP, the implication is obvious. The "four unions" he refers to are: International

Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union (Bridges), the American Communications Assn., the Marine Cooks & Stewards of the Pacific and lastly the Inland Boatmen's Union. All are run, lock, stock and barrel, by the Stalinists.

And if further proof were needed all one had to do was pick up any copy of the Daily Worker this past week and read the hysterical blasts against the Curran group—calling them "traitors," "liars," "disrupters," "selling out to the shipowners," and the rest of the bull they usually dish out. They and the Stalinist union fakery in the NMU are ranting and raving their former white-haired boy, Curran, but they cannot answer his charges that the CMU is not interested in uniting American maritime workers, but only in extending the CP's power along the waterfront.

As Curran so ably puts it: "Constant blasts are made against the SUP, MFOW, MMA&P and the ILA (all AFL). This certainly is not in the interest of unity of all maritime workers for which we are striving and which has been recommended on a national scale by Philip Murray in his famous statement that we must, in the face of a reactionary Congress and the drive of corporations to destroy the labor movement, leave no stone unturned in seeking unity, even on a minimum basis, with the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and CIO, for the mutual protection of the labor movement in general."

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Asks Joint Seamen Action

AFL-CIO Unity Against Anti-Labor Moves Urged by Firemen's Head

Vincent J. Malone, president of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders Union (independent), issued an invitation this past week to seven AFL and CIO seamen's unions for a conference to be held in Washington next month. This meeting is to formulate a joint program of action to combat incipient federal anti-labor laws directed against seamen.

Malone's action was the logical follow-up of the meeting he arranged in San Francisco between Joseph Curran of the NMU and Harry Lundberg of the SIU-SUP. The MFOW has already indicated its desire to disassociate itself from the Stalinist-dominated CMU Committee for Maritime Unity which left the MFOW holding the bag during the last strike.

At the Lundberg-Curran meeting, Lundberg indicated that he would engage in joint action against government-owner repression with any union and, more generally, support any union struggling to free itself of Stalinist domination. Curran is using this as one of the pivots of his attack on the CMU and the Stalinists.

He counterposes the genuine unity of CIO, AFL and independent action against the phony unity of the CMU, which, in reality, was little more than a weapon for jurisdictional warfare.

The Lundberg-Curran-Malone conference promises real achievements in that it points the way to united militant action in the developing battle against the imminent drive of the government-shipowner coalition.

It is to be hoped that the projected Washington conference will formulate a program that would make these necessities a reality. There are certain dangers present. Like the CIO maritime unions, the AFL maintains an outfit whose main reason for existence is the extension of jurisdictional rivalry. We refer to the AFL Maritime Trades Council, which was organized as a counter-measure to the CMU.

Just as, in the CMU, the outright Stalinist bloc outvoted the NMU, so there is a danger in the AFL MTC that such reactionary officials as Tobin of the Teamsters and "Finky"

Living Costs Highest in U. S. History

With the labor movement girding itself to beat down the anti-union offensive of the National Association of Manufacturers and its representatives in the government, cost of living figures released this week by the Bureau of Labor Statistics provided additional ammunition for the unions in their national drive to boost wages.

Challenged by a powerful NAM lobby which is out to legislate various kinds of anti-labor curbs and to wipe off the books such few legislative victories recorded for labor as the anti-injunction law of 1932 when the new Congress meets, and to resist with a multi-million-dollar campaign the wage demands of the American worker, the CIO unions, notably the auto, steel and electrical workers' unions are already engaged in shaping their wage strategy on the basis of the CIO's economic findings, which prove that 25 per cent wage increases are completely and immediately possible without a single cent of price increases.

Though newspaper attention this past week has been largely centered around the altogether legitimate portal-to-portal pay suits of various unions, the wage drive exists independent of the portal-to-portal suits (see page 3 for editorial on portal-to-portal). It is based upon such solid economic necessity as is proved by the reputedly conservative annual report on prices and cost of living by the government Bureau of Labor Statistics, which admits that prices in 1946 registered the highest jump for a single year since the last war, that is, for almost thirty years.

HIGHEST IN HISTORY

Given the cumulative effect of price increases in 1946 on top of those recorded in preceding years, the Bureau also announced that the "cost of living in the United States has soared to the highest peak in American history" (New York Post, December 26). The highest ever in American history—that is something to reflect on!

Since the collapse of price controls, skyrocketing food prices have led the leap forward, with all other consumers' items not far behind. Retail food prices advanced 4.3 per cent in the 30 days between October 15 and November 15 alone. In the twelve-month span between November, 1945, and November, 1946, the following price advances were recorded:

Food prices increased 34 per cent. Clothing prices increased 13 per cent.

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Report on Calif. CIO Session

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO—The ninth annual convention of the California CIO, in session at Santa Cruz from December 12-15, was characterized by a spirit of retrenchment and defense inspired by both the weakened Stalinist leaders and their leading right-wing opponents who have been considerably strengthened. Little was done about the current wage-drive, except to generally support the national organization's policy.

Lip-service was given to the need for organizing the unorganized, but virtually no definite plans were presented. Leading speakers emphasized the theme: we are in for a rough time. The "solution" was early presented in the convention call address of old time Stalinist State Secretary Mervyn Rathbone who keynoted his speech with the phrase: "keep in the spirit of FDR."

CONVENTION BACKGROUND

The convention met after a year in which the California CIO lagged behind the labor movement in most parts of the country and the AFL State Federation of Labor in all spheres. The net loss in membership for the year was about 15,000. Though partially explained by the post-war conversion in one of the biggest war boom areas, also important were the decisive defeat of the Food, Agricultural and Tobacco Workers of America by the AFL Teamsters in NLRB elections in the northern California canneries and the failure of the brewery workers in the state, with the exception of one shop, to follow their national organization into the CIO.

On the waterfront, leadership had definitely swung to the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific. Significant also was the splitting up of the regional CIO office from the exclusive domain of Harry Bridges to a northern and southern division, the latter under the directorship of Irwin de Shelter, a Murray follower. In this area there was little of the militancy displayed in the wave of CIO strikes throughout the country last year. The personnel turnover in most plants has been tremendous. It is against this background that the desire of all sections of the state leadership to "avoid trouble" at the convention must be understood.

ACTION ON STALINISTS

Great hero Bridges made only one official appearance with an official address emphatically declaring that "wage increases are not enough," but going no further. Incidentally, neither he nor anyone else said anything about the much publicized Committee for Maritime Unity. In his opening address, State Chairman Morris Zussman shouted, "We have been victims of a fraud... We no longer have any friends in Congress. And those who were there were not really our friends, they were just square dealers." Only National Maritime Union President Joe Curran among the official speakers showed some spirit by calling for a struggle for an "increased standard of living." Interestingly enough, his union's strength is not in California.

Support was given to the "red-baiting" program of the national convention, with the Stalinists continuing their revolting tactic of being its most vociferous advocates. Several delegates from the Los Angeles UAW, an anti-Stalinist strong-

hold, voiced their opposition on the floor, only to be continued by a self-confessed Communist Party member who declared himself in complete agreement. A crony then said he was unable to see why others "should defend them against themselves." The stand of the small group of progressive militants actually received verbal support from several rank and file Stalinists who had to be cajoled back into line by their big-wigs.

RULE OUT LABOR PARTY

The political action program found joint right wing-Stalinist emphasis on renewing a "Roosevelt-type coalition," in opposition to an Independent Labor Party resolution which received nine votes in the PAC panel. Acting on the basis of the national convention decision to bar any action and program not in accordance with the national position, and with authority of State Executive Board decision to rule anything out of order, Chairman Zussman declared that he was "in doubt" whether the minority resolution was in order.

After Jim Buford of the UERM-WA had exclaimed that he could not think of a better way to "decapitate and defeat the labor movement" than by supporting the labor party idea, Zussman declared that he was convinced that it should be ruled off the floor. In the committee discussions, many rank and file Stalinists again acted independent of their leadership by insisting that they were in favor of the principle of an ILP but "not now." Dave Jenkins, a director at the Stalinist dominated California Labor School, found it necessary to then explain that the labor party proposal was "revolutionary phrasemongering" advocated by people who were "always against Roosevelt and Wallace, even during the war."

The State Executive Board meeting several weeks earlier had made several constitutional changes pre-empting how the convention was to be run. The provision giving the chairman power to declare anything out of order was utilized in the labor party dispute. The state executive board was increased from 21 to 35 members, all state vice-presidents to be elected by caucuses of the various unions. These changes probably hurt the Stalinists, who nevertheless were all for them. The actual elections resulted in at least five of their people being replaced, but they may still have a slight majority.

AFL HONORS DELEGATES

Despite all its deficiencies, it was still a typical CIO convention in many ways. Negro delegates were very prominent and, generally, the most militant ones present. Plans were made for closer relations with the Mexican CTM, very active among workers in lower California. Adequate resolutions were passed on Fair Employment Practices, veterans' problems, women's status in industry, minority rights, unemployment. Liberalization of immigration policies was advocated, as well as opening up the Palestinian borders to refugee Jews.

The Santa Cruz AFL Central Labor Union invited delegates to speak at its meeting and further held a dance in their honor. Inasmuch as California has recently been the scene of violent AFL-CIO conflict, this was one of the most encouraging signs in the convention city.

The California labor movement has a tradition second to none. It has played a significant part in the development of the CIO. There have been no serious defeats, and there were enough militant delegates present at the convention to indicate the type of person that remains the backbone of the organization. It is doubtful that they would accept a continuation of the timidity and fearfulness shown by all sections of the leadership at the recent convention.

KKK Vandals Burn House Of California Negro Vet

SAN FRANCISCO—In a terroristic act, unparalleled in this area since vigilante days, a group of vandals, generally accepted to be members of the Ku Klux Klan, several weeks ago secretly burned to the ground the newly completed house in Redwood City, Calif., of John Walker, Negro naval combat veteran. This night arson job was shortly followed by a note, reportedly signed in human blood by a confessed Klansman, warning Walker to get out of town by a specified time or be killed. That time passed without further incident, but the tension has not abated.

A group of his friends are constantly with Walker. Police have received rumors that carloads more were on their way from the Negro Fillmore district in San Francisco, twenty-five miles away.

The Boss's Dictionary

Prank:



One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

Leon Trotsky once made a penetrating and valuable criticism of a U. S. Trotskyist paper. It was some six or seven years ago, before the WP and LABOR ACTION had been founded. The Transitional Program had been adopted, and the party was grappling with the problem of shedding its more abstractly theoretical past and adapting itself to the masses it now addressed. Trotsky said that the paper contained many fine articles, some brilliant. But he missed in it what he referred to, I think, as the voice of the worker. He wanted to see, and missed in the paper, how the worker thought and even how "the worker drank whisky." There is room for argument and discussion, but the point is, on the whole, in my view, clear and always worth consideration.

The article by Sarah Evans in the December 23 issue of LABOR ACTION is the voice of a worker and of a Negro worker. And, in my opinion, the voice is strong, clear and believably sound in what it has to say.

ATTACKS CAPITALISM

The most important feature of this quite unsolicited article is that it is revolutionary. It does not attack the capitalist system in economic or in strictly political terms. It says something more. It pours out hatred and indignation on that society which condemns so many Negroes to an inhuman existence. It expresses that consuming opposition and detestation which is a component part of any great revolution. It is good to see a worker expressing it, without adulteration and without fear.

These are some of the less striking statements which speak volumes. There is in the article, for instance, the horrible episode of a driver in a bus walking up to a black mother and her baby, slapping the baby and saying, "Keep that damned bastard quiet." One need neither be a Negro nor a parent to feel what the parents of that child must feel. Everyone knows degrading stories of discrimination, dramatic stories, striking stories. But not many people have stopped to think of such simple things as this: "If someone looks at you and doesn't like your looks, you are put out." Yes, it is as simple as that—the consciousness that your very presence is an offense. Sarah Evans utters a potent truth when she prefaces that observation by the apparently simple statement: "Discrimination is more horrible than you can think." That it is. Only those who have been through it or studied it very closely can appreciate its full ramifications.

NO GARVEYISM

Some years ago I had a conversation with an Indian, a Ph.D., a man educated in Bombay, London and the Sorbonne in Paris. He told me that living in London, he noticed an in-

clination, whatever he was doing, to finish it quickly and then rush to an inter-racial club where students of many nationalities and friendly English people lived in great harmony. He spoke to other colonial students and found the same to be true. Gradually it dawned upon them that the isolation, the consciousness of being stared at, the fears of meeting discriminations and slights acted upon them all through the day. Discrimination in England is not obtrusive, but it exists. It can appear at the most unexpected times. And this constant defensive attitude wore down the students, so that they were always subconsciously trying to place themselves back where they felt at home.

But Sarah Evans' article is concerned not so much with personal reactions, but is written with conditions in the South in mind. In what is a brief piece, she manages to indict the whole economic and social system in human terms. Housing, labor, prices, the denunciation is not in terms of political amelioration, but of a complete change. The words say: Negroes should not live like that. But behind them can be felt the sentiment that no one who is a human being should be compelled to undergo those conditions of life.

There is not the faintest trace of Garveyism in the ideas expressed. The writer regrets that Negroes have not had the chance "to develop knowledge" like the whites. She

speaks of "the stealing" that goes on. She obviously is under no illusions about the conditions to which the system has reduced so many millions. But she has not the slightest doubt that the discrimination, its consequences and its abolition are all social questions. She not only has confidence in the social revolution as the only solution for that immense accumulation of misery. She is equally confident that the Negroes are ready to participate in such a social upheaval.

EXPRESSED FEELINGS

There are many things that the article does not say. Any reader of LABOR ACTION can draw up a list and probably Sarah Evans too. But the article is "revealing" and "worthy of attention" because a worker sat down and wrote it for no other purpose than to express feelings which are shared and too often not expressed by millions of other Negroes in the U. S.

The Workers Party, as a revolutionary organization in the Marxist tradition, strives always to give theoretical analysis and a political line. But we welcome the expression of the sentiments of workers, of people who do not usually write. This column for one and of course the paper as a whole would welcome any genuine expression of a worker's reaction to the manifold crimes of capitalism in the U. S.

This is the first of this scope we have had from a Negro for a long time. It is because I hope that, apart from its intrinsic merits, it will be a precursor of many more from all over the country that I draw special attention to it. I for one learned a great deal from it.

One last word. For those not acquainted with our policy it is useful to restate a certain aspect of it. We do not ask that a correspondent agree with us. An industrial worker or sharecropper may think that revolution as a solution to the problems of the Negro is a Utopia. He may think that Sarah Evans' approach is wrong. He may think that she did not sufficiently emphasize the relation of Negro struggle to the organized labor movement. He may think that the genuine feeling of rebellion among Negroes is not expressed often enough. LABOR ACTION welcomes all views that are not consciously and maliciously reactionary. And above all we would like to hear the opinions of workers who are not in any way professional or trained writers. It is THE crime of capitalism to suppress and inhibit, crush and degrade the masses, and above all the Negro masses. It is the aim of socialism to release them in every way from these shackles so that the great mass of the producers can rule society in full equality and fraternity.

No Santa Claus?

GOVERNMENT TO JUNK MACHINE TOOLS SO BOSSES CAN SELL AT HIGH PROFITS

The owners of the machine tool industry are breathing a little easier these days. The government has come through and given these gentlemen reason to believe that there is still a little of the milk of human kindness left in this world.

During the war, the machine tool industry added to its fabulous wealth by having men and women work day and night turning out machines in quantities such as the world has never seen. The government purchased these machines directly and indirectly at the fantastically high "cost-plus" war prices of the manufacturers.

DON'T LIKE STOCKPILES

The war eventually came to an end, and the machine tool industry finished its government wartime work, or was paid handsomely for the work that was not finished. Although it is very tempting here to talk also about the tax rebates, etc., we will keep to the point for the sake of brevity. The machine tool industry immediately began its work for civilian production, but was and still is hampered by the lack of steel and other shortages.

These shortages are, of course, delaying production and hampering the making of finished products. Now, these machine tool industry gentlemen claim they want to see all industries working at top speed, they want to see American goods encreole (choke is a better word) the world, and as a matter of fact that is why they are against strikes, they say.

One would think these gentlemen would be happy when they discovered that the government had huge quantities of new machine tools. But somehow, capitalists don't think that way.

WASHINGTON AGREES

The government has on hand thousands of standard, general-purpose machine tools. These tools, as their name implies, can be used in almost any industry. The War Assets Administration started to sell from its large surplus inventories and in a very short period it sold more than nine million dollars' worth to veterans, small business and to big business.

Immediately, the machine tool industry hiked a bunch of their high

paid boys off to Washington, who told their class-mates what a horrible thing it would be if the government sold the machine tools it has on hand. The officials at the Office of Reconstruction said, talk no more, for you are correct.

An order went through immediately for 60,000 of these standard, general-purpose machine tools be transferred to the Army-Navy Munitions Board for "stockpiling in the event of a future emergency." These "future emergency" words tacked on the end mean only one thing—scrap them. You can be sure that, even if war did start before St. Valentine's Day, the machine tool industry would be there to say that for God, country and capitalism what is needed are new machine tools, and not those in the stockpile.—M. St.

VIENNA FACES OPEN STARVATION

VIENNA, Dec. 18—The Viennese population sees visions of starvation before the winter is out as a result of the sensational publicity given to the charge that within a few weeks Vienna will face a "hunger catastrophe."

The charge was made by the chief of the municipal food department, City Councilor Rudolf Sigmund. His declaration was softened by a reference to the hope that the American occupation forces would help the city. However, he said, Vienna has one-quarter of the country's population but gets only one-twenty-fifth of the pork and one-tenth of the milk.

He also charged that the UNRRA's shipments were arriving with bricks instead of food, because of thievery. The UNRRA's mission here, on the contrary, estimated losses at one to 1.5 per cent from thievery, no more than in other countries.

Austrian government estimates provided for the Allied Control Council show that other countries must provide, in order to feed Austria and keep her agriculture going during the coming year, \$151,000,000 worth of goods, about two-thirds of which Austrians hope to be able to pay for in exports.—J. A.

ABC Jim-Crow Hit by UAW

DETROIT—If the American Bowling Congress does not put an end to its policy of excluding Negro bowlers, the United Automobile Workers Union will withdraw all its teams. This was the decision of the union's International Executive Board, acting upon the recommendation of the UAW Fair Practices Committee.

The UAW constitution forbids the sponsoring of "any activity which encourages, condones or permits discrimination or segregation because of race, creed, color, sex, national origin or political affiliation."

The American Bowling Congress has a clause in its constitution which bars all but members of the white race. The action of the UAW will finally end a source of deep resentment in the ranks of its membership, who objected to the continued affiliation of UAW teams with the Jim Crow Bowling Congress.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

MR. H AND HIS \$10,000

Today we continue our cavalcade of modern American tragedy, with the epic story of how Mr. H, a \$10,000-a-year executive of a medium-sized manufacturing company in Chicago, "can live well on his salary but 'can't save a cent.'" Like last week's story of Mr. \$45,000-a-Year-X, this one is taken from the columns of the Wall Street Journal.

At \$10,000 per, Mr. H is far from the ranks of the Big Bourgeoisie, but still a stalwart junior officer in the army of exploiters that occupies the United States. "A young 42, he is earning 40 per cent more than he did in 1940... owns his own home just outside Chicago... leads the life so often depicted on the advertising pages of the slick paper magazines... and generally enjoys all the pleasures of living." Mrs. H is a member of three women's clubs.

Like Mr. X, our current hero hasn't "saved a cent in 1946. My bank account is still hovering between \$1,000 and \$1,500 where it was five years ago and I haven't bought a share of stock or a bond in the past 12 months, let alone any new furniture or household appliances."

Back in 1940, Mr. H was making \$7,000 a year, including \$1,000 in bonuses. He lives in a \$12,000 house which will be his in 17 more years... If the coming great depression doesn't declass him.

The war was kind to Mr. H. The recruiting posters and the military services were not for him. From 1942 to 1945 he increased his security holdings from \$5,000 to \$12,000 (more than half in government bonds). He is insured for \$45,000. He pays \$1,200 a year for this, but, like Mr. X, doesn't feel that this constitutes savings. He pays federal income taxes of \$1,900, it says in the Wall Street Journal. His securities net him income of \$360 a year.

Mr. H keeps a sharp eye on household expenses, and no doubt he and Mrs. H have well-bred spats about this subject. "Our biggest outlay is for groceries," he says. "Before the war we were struggling—and failing—to keep the weekly bills under \$20. Now we are lucky if it is less than \$37 for our family of three." The H's always enjoy the best cuts of meat and plenty of vegetables, and little Mary has the juice of six oranges every morning. Payments on their home and other household expenses total \$150 a month. When their house needed redecorating last year, Mr. H bought some paint and did the work himself.

Mr. H is a snappy dresser. In 1946 he bought four suits at \$75 per. Five years ago he had never bought

a suit over \$35, "and they were as good if not better than the suits I have today." Mrs. H spends about \$500 yearly on duds, and little Mary's \$300 a year for clothes doesn't bring her sneers from her classmates.

Mr. and Mrs. H are popular, it says, and they do a lot of entertaining, costing about \$75 a month.

Mr. H belongs to three clubs and a church, all for business reasons. The church doesn't receive the Biblical tithes, but only \$250 a year. That is Mr. H's contribution toward supporting superstition and prejudice among the population. His country club monthly bill runs around \$65 a month, and his company pays his expenses in the other clubs.

But by God, there is one place where the H's save money. Mrs. H gets along without a maid by having a woman come in to clean and wash one day a week. "We have a real bargain there," says Mr. H proudly. "She charges only 40 cents an hour, carfare, and her meals on the job."

Mr. H is a careful shopper but at the same time he wants to keep up with the neighbors. He's got his name on the lists for a new Oldsmobile, and also a Buick. At present he drives a 1941 Ford. In 1947 he also wants to buy a deep freeze box, a washing machine, a piano and a television set. He'd like also to take a vacation, and Mrs. H is planning a trip to Europe to visit relatives there.

I don't pass on information about the X's and H's just to interest you, though I know it does that. Few things about people are as interesting as how they earn and spend their money. That is what we like about the novels of writers as far apart as Horatio Alger and Theodore Dreiser. They tell us how their characters earn money and how they think about it. I consider information about how the bourgeoisie live as an important element in the political education of the American people. It is not the X-Y-Z of Marxism, but only the D-E-F. All of us should know all we can about the economic, social and political aspects of every type in society—of the Catholic priest and the Catholic layman, the cotton farmer and the cattle rancher, the doctor and the atomic physicist, the preacher and the major, and so forth. The more we know about these people, the more we will be able to influence them, or to combat them, with our scientific program to revolutionize society. Trotsky, I know, all his life long was a keen student of every social type that the world breeds. It aided him immeasurably in his mastery of politics. We cannot match Trotsky's knowledge but we can all strive to do so.

Price Jump - -

(Continued from page 1)
Housefurnishing prices increased 15 per cent.
Poultry and fish prices increased 9 per cent.
Vegetable prices increased 27 per cent.
Rents were the only item that increased negligibly during the past year, but rent controls, as is well known, are now facing the concerted attacks of the landlord and Congressional lobby forces.

SHATTERS 1920 RECORD

From an over-all standpoint, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the general price index had advanced 13.8 per cent from June 15, 1946 (at the height of the fight over price controls), up to November 15, 1946.

The new price index shattered the record set in 1920 and showed that "Americans were now paying 53.9 per cent higher prices than those prevailing in August, 1939, on the eve of World War II." A more than 50 per cent increase in prices in seven years; that's the official admission of the government!

This flies in the face of sensational announcements made last week by the press to the effect that there had been a sudden "drop in prices." On the day after Christmas, according to reports, the cost of many food and clothing items dropped substantially. There was a sensational drop of 10 cents a pound in the New York City butter market (this caused such consternation in government circles that an investigation has been started to find out why this took place); clothing items dropped (in Washington, D.

C., they say nylons were selling at 72 cents a pair), etc.

NO "LEVELING OFF"

It is clear that this was largely a seasonal drop, the usual post-Christmas buying-spree drop—and that it would have little lasting effect upon the general price index. However, there is no doubt that the cost of various items, now appearing in larger quantities on the market, may drop slightly and, at times, even seasonally, due to local circumstances.

But the general trend is toward higher levels, PARTICULARLY if the battle by the landlords against rent ceilings is successful. The struggle over the cost of living is hardly over (and this is the meaning of the press campaign about "sudden price drops") when the government reports what we have outlined above!

In 1947, as in 1946, this issue will again be in labor's hands; inaction and failure to provide leadership will mean that the price levels will remain substantially as they are today, despite any minor reductions in various items. There will be no "natural" leveling off of the price index. A halt to this tendency to rise, and then a pushing back of this "highest level in American history" can be achieved only if the labor movement swings into a action, uniting a campaign on prices and wages in an over-all strategy.

Read and Subscribe to The New International \$1.00 for Six Months

Curran-Blast - -

(Continued from page 1)

In answer to the Stalinist hack Stack's charge that he is for destroying unity, Curran issues a three-point program around which he feels "real unity for all seamen can be achieved."

"1. To organize jointly against the activities of the Coast Guard, now becoming vicious against seamen.

"2. To organize jointly, CIO, AFL and Independent, to defeat the establishment of vicious anti-labor maritime laws which forces among the shipowners and in the government are attempting now to pass through the next Congress under the guise of recodifying old maritime laws and bringing them up to date.

"3. Organizing jointly all our unions, AFL, CIO and Independent, for the purpose of getting the best possible wages, hours and conditions for all seamen without regard to affiliation and also without regard to the

desire of the leadership of some unions to be either the first in getting these demands or refusing to work together because of this."

All progressive, militant unionists will welcome and support this program because it is what seamen have been looking for for a long time, since it lays the basis for real maritime unity. It is the logical thing to flow from the unity of action that existed on the picket line and won the great general waterfront strikes of 1946.

It should be recalled that LABOR ACTION, during that crisis, constantly called for a JOINT MARITIME STRATEGY COMMITTEE to include all unions. This we must have now and to insure its success this committee should consist not only of union officials, but have on it democratically elected representatives of the rank and file of each union.

HANDS OFF INDO-CHINA!

The Viet Nam, independent republic of Indo-China is fighting for its life against French imperialism. Throughout the Japanese occupation, the people of Indo-China carried on their heroic struggles against not only the Japanese but against the French imperialists who joined with the Japanese in order to maintain Indo-China as a colony.

Seizing the opportunity presented to them by the breakdown of Japanese power following her defeat, the Indo-Chinese, at the cost of incalculable suffering, established the foundations of an independent state. Luckily for them they did not wait for the victorious United Nations to carry out the terms of the Atlantic Charter. French imperialism has not ceased its efforts to restore them to colonial slavery. The Workers Party will not believe for one moment that there are not millions of American workers who are moved to anger and shame at this double betrayal—the betrayal of a heroic people and the betrayal of what so many American workers thought they fought and died for. We say "Hands off Indo-China!" and we are sure that millions in the U. S. echo those sentiments.

TREACHERY OF IMPERIALISM

We call upon the U. S. workers to note that this is a matter not only of imperialist treachery. We ask them to note that it is this very necessity to suppress colonial peoples that was one of the most potent causes of the last two World Wars. There can be no peace, but only war and preparations for war, so long as the imperialist powers carry on their murderous rivalry for the right to exploit the hundreds of millions of colonials.

Every victory of the colonial peoples is a victory for the workers and farmers everywhere. Not only shame and indignation but the interests of the workers all over the world demand that the workers of the U. S. cry loudly and clearly:

"Hands off Indo-China!"

Everywhere in the Far East this struggle rages. The Indonesians have forced considerable concessions from Dutch imperialism; in India and Burma, in the Malay States, the struggle is joined. The United Nations Assembly turns a blind eye. It pretends that these efforts of the colonial peoples to free themselves are not its business. And the assembly is right. It is intended to fool the people, to make them leave the organization of peace in the hands of those who have for thirty years and more organized nothing but war.

But if the imperialists cannot organize peace, then the task falls upon the workers. The organization of peace is nothing else but the struggle against imperialism. As long as the workers and the colonial peoples are quiet the imperialists pursue their intrigues and preparations unchecked. But if to the efforts of the Indo-Chinese were added, even to a be-

ginning, a vigorous protest from American workers, the plans of imperialism would receive a check—the only check they respect—the struggle and hostility of the millions they exploit at home and abroad.

THE BETRAYER, LEON BLUM

It is the so-called socialist government of Leon Blum which is using the power of French imperialism to crush the Indo-Chinese. History has known many shameful abandonments of principle by so-called socialists. But this new performance by Blum and his party would be hard to equal even in the copious annals of "socialist" infamy.

Imagine! These unspeakable leaders of the French Socialist Party, nobly assisted by the French Stalinist Communist Party, have themselves just emerged from the ordeal of Hitler's occupation of France. The French working class, misled and confused by their "socialist" party for many years, took upon itself the task of leading the nation out of the morass into which it had been led.

In those difficult days, the Socialist Party excelled itself in promises. This time, after the liberation, it would not repeat the mistakes of the past twenty-five years. It would carry on a real, a genuine struggle for socialism. It would seek to build a new fraternal world. It would struggle for the freedom of the colonies. And what has happened? It has forgotten everything. It has learned nothing.

THE FIGHT WILL GO ON

Today it is being deserted on all sides in France. It has not helped the French working-class to achieve anything. It has helped no French colony to achieve anything. Instead all parties have continued to place it in the position of captain of the sinking ship of French imperialism. But it has shown one burst of energy, one evidence of decision. It has jumped like a jackal at the Indo-Chinese people. It will crush them down for French imperialism. If it had shown a fraction of the firmness that it shows against the Indo-Chinese against the ruling class, France would now be on the road to socialist freedom.

But this is an age of historical retribution. Few actions of French "socialism" are so sure to recoil upon it as this bloody adventure on behalf of French monopoly-capital and the Bank of Indo-China.

Let us not be deceived by any immediate victories hangman Blum may gain. The Oriental peoples are aroused. They may be defeated but they will not be conquered. In the efforts that they are making and will have to make they will get from U. S. imperialism only diplomatic double talk and imperialist enmity. It is up to the U. S. workers not only to feel but to show their sympathy and their sense of the issues at stake by raising from all sides the cry:

"Hands off Indo-China!"

Rival Wings of GOP Prepare for Struggle to Control Party in 1948

With the prospect in sight of a juicy political victory in 1948, the Republican politicians are beginning to maneuver for position in preparation for the 1948 nominating convention. One has announced his candidacy, others are seeking support preparatory to an announcement, and still others are playing coy. Behind these maneuvers, however, there are sharp and significant differences of approach among the Republican leaders on how to gain the victory they have for so long been denied.

First to announce his candidacy for the Republican nomination was Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota. Stassen represents the so-called liberal wing of the Republican Party, which identifies itself with the approach of Wendell Willkie. This wing is strongly anti-imperialist; it is frankly imperialist, believing in the Roosevelt policy of

actively involving U. S. imperialism in all parts of the world and accepting the ambitiously imperialist formulation of Henry Luce, publisher of Time magazine, who proclaims this as the "American century." Stassen, furthermore, urges a less openly and blatantly reactionary policy on the labor problem; he does not endorse the policies of the old guard GOP leadership which is out to drive a legislative knife in labor's back without making any pretenses that it is doing otherwise. For the group around Stassen believes that in order to win in 1948, the Republicans have to get the labor vote; and since labor has already been antagonized by the Truman administration, they figure that a Republican candidate with a moderately "pro-labor" program could get enough of the labor vote to insure his election.

This opinion is disputed by the re-

actionary curmudgeon group of the GOP which rotates around Carroll Reece, the GOP National Chairman, and Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, whose mind functions as if it were a carbon copy of Herbert Hoover's. This group believes the time ripe to conduct a campaign along strictly Harding-Coolidge-Hoover lines: an offensive against labor with which to ensnare middle class votes; a promise of tax and budget reductions; a "get tough with Russia" foreign policy; and above all a call to return to the good old days of "laissez-faire"—the rule of capitalism without restrictions, without even mild pro-labor legislation and without any social services.

The dull, reactionary Taft—one of the few Republican reactionaries who is astute politically and seems to know what he is about—is in a strong position. This is indicated by the fact that this Republican leader in the Senate, which has been wrested for the first time in years from Democratic control, has succeeded in getting Senator-elect John Bricker (the man modelled on Sinclair Lewis' Babbitt) to withdraw his candidacy in favor of Taft. Bricker, it will be remembered, ran for Vice-President on the Republican ticket in 1944.

Somewhere in the midst of all this is that cute and coy little fellow, Governor Thomas Dewey, who is keeping mum for the moment and refusing to commit himself at all. Dewey is one of the few big-shot politicians who has succeeded in achieving national prominence without ever letting anyone know what his opinions were on anything. In fact, it is commonly accepted that Dewey's only opinion at all is that he would like to be President, and he is counting on his record as a DA, his coasting through the fat war years as governor of New York, and his aura of being a solid citizen without many disturbing ideas in his head, to see him through. He is expected to come out in support of Motherhood, the American Home and against all foreign isms and if, as Senator Borah once remarked about the Constitution, you can't eat that... well, he's got a most pleasant and photogenic smile.

LABOR CLASS IN CONTROL

No one can predict how many additional aspirants to the Republican nomination there will be, though it can be predicted that whoever gets the nomination, he's got one good man working for him all along—and that's Truman, of course. But it does seem likely now that the division in the Republican Party will go something along the lines now represented by Stassen on the one hand and Taft on the other.

It would be nothing short of a tragedy if the workers of this country, in their legitimate disgust with the present Democratic administration, allowed themselves to be taken

in by the "liberal" sounding talk of a man like Stassen—who, incidentally, while he was governor of Minnesota, piled up a rotten record of pushing through anti-labor bills.

In terms of the two old capitalist parties, the prospects for labor are exceedingly bleak. Imagine a campaign in which Truman and Taft were the opponents—what a battle of wits, what a flash of personalities, what a race in anti-labor venom! Encouraging signs, however, are the attempts in various localities to set up independent labor parties. Such attempts have already been begun in Flint, Michigan, where a UAW local has moved into action by setting up a committee to organize a local independent labor party, and in Cleveland, Ohio, where an independent labor campaign was run in the last election (analyzed in last week's LABOR ACTION). Such local projects, though not enough by themselves, do point the way to labor's prime need: its own party and own ticket in 1948!

If the role of the French Social Democracy is scandalous, there is no word to describe the Stalinist attitude toward the Indo-Chinese rebellion other than outright treachery. Elsewhere in this issue we report the statement of the French Stalinists, opposing national freedom for Indo-China. Here we wish to present additional evidence that the French Stalinists are actively supporting French imperialism against Indo-China.

STALINIST GAME

In a dispatch to the New York Times for December 24, C. L. Sulzberger writes: "The powerful French Communist Party has played a skillful juggling game, balancing between support of local independence factions and of a new form of imperialist structures. At first Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos and Andre Marty (French Stalinist leaders) appeared to sponsor full independence for Indo-China, but a wave of popular indignation resulted in a backtracking more attractive to metropolitan French voters.... At present the Communists officially sponsor a colonial solution, with the federal concepts of an overseas France." (My emphasis—I. H.)

But an even more dramatic indication of the Stalinist attitude toward Indo-China took place on December 24 when the new Upper

An Answer to the President of General Motors

Is Capitalism Worth Saving?

By ERNEST ERBER

"You've Got to Make a Profit" is the breezy title of an article that appears under the by-line of C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors Corporation, that first appeared in the November 9, 1946 issue of *Colliers* and has since been reprinted in various corporation house organs for distribution to their employees. The widespread popularity of the article with corporation heads is well merited. It is one of the slickest pieces of sophistry in defense of capitalism to come down the pike in a long time. Its real author, G. Edward Pendray, reveals exceptional talent as a pen-prostitute of Big Business. But it is slick only on a quick reading. Above all, if you don't stop to think about a question or two while skimming through it.

It is interesting to note at the outset that this article carries to its peak the seemingly hard-headed, practical, dollars-and-cents argument. Like many other recent apologies for capitalism, it is a far cry from the old days when capitalism was defended solely by allegedly moral arguments about the "rights" of the owner of capital. The new approach, pioneered by Johnston, former head of the United States Chamber of Commerce, takes the line that a private property, profit economy is the only way in which industry can be operated without a tremendous government bureaucracy which causes blunders and waste and suppresses all criticism, thereby stifling all freedom and democracy. Profits, we are told, are all that stand between us and a wasteful, despotic rule by bureaucracy.

WHY THE NEW APPROACH?

It is interesting to analyze what has caused this shift in approach on the part of the hired brains of capitalism. The shift can be traced to these two principle factors: (1) the breakdown of capitalism on a world scale which has placed its defenders on the defensive and (2) the living example of Stalinist Russia as a system where a

governmental bureaucracy has taken the place of capitalist exploiters.

The worldwide breakdown of capitalism, beginning with the world crisis of 1929-39 and continuing through the destructiveness of World War II, has changed the argument of Socialism vs. Capitalism from an academic one into a problem of everyday politics. The economic breakdown everywhere brought in its wake varying degrees of governmental intervention to prevent complete paralysis and revolutionary upheavals. Capitalists in the United States were glad to submit to the early New Deal measures to bring stability into the rapidly disintegrating economy. In Germany, the capitalists found it necessary to tolerate the assumption to power of Hitler and bow their necks to his regimentation of finance and industry in order to save the system as a whole.

THE EFFECTS OF STALINISM

World War II left such economic dislocation in its wake in Europe that the prospects of rehabilitation under private capital were not believed in by anyone, not even the capitalists themselves. Not only in Eastern Europe, under Russian domination, but in Western Europe as well, nationalization of various enterprises has been a feature of political life in nearly every country. This tendency has even effected the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world such as Indonesia, Indo-China, China, Argentina and Mexico. The result of this world trend, together with the effects of the New Deal and the war economy, have made American capitalists very uneasy about the future of "free enterprise" in this country.

The existence of Stalinist totalitarianism in Russia has permitted the capitalist apologists to take the propaganda line that nationalized economy and despotism go together. (In this they have been supported by many erstwhile Socialists who, like Max Eastman, make the same point or

STALINISTS AID FRENCH IMPERIALIST "CIVILIZING MISSION" IN INDO-CHINA

DECEMBER 28—The French Stalinists have taken an open stand on the side of French imperialism against the colonial movement for liberation in Indo-China.

An Associated Press dispatch of December 27 says: "Communist members joined with other groups in the new Council of the Republic tonight in approving a resolution calling for maintenance of French power in Indo-China in accordance with agreements freely reached and for pursuance 'of the civilizing mission of France in respecting the legitimate liberties of native populations.' The resolution expressed sympathy with civil and military victims of the present fighting."

The report speaks for itself. The French Stalinists, who a few days before stood up and joined in the applause for French imperialist troops in Indo-China, have now officially voted for a resolution "calling for maintenance of French power in Indo-China." They are branded as the supporters of French imperialism; as the enemies of colonial peoples.

House, or Council of the Republic of France, opened its sessions in Paris. In his dispatch to the New York Times, Lansing Warren writes:

"...the session was marked by a single incident when the chairman asked the Council to join in a demonstration of gratitude to the French soldiers now fighting in Indo-China.

"The House applauded vigorously with the exception of a large contingent of Communists who remained in their seats while the others stood up to cheer. There was a full minute of hesitation while the applauding was maintained and then in a body the Communists slowly rose to their feet at a signal from their leader and joined in the demonstration."

A really remarkable occurrence! Notice that while the Stalinists remained in their seats "the others" obviously including Blum's fellow deputies of the Social Democracy. They were ready to cheer French imperialism in Indo-China.

We should also notice that the Stalinists didn't spontaneously express their indignation against French imperialism, against the slaughter of nationalist forces by French planes. They merely sat quietly in their seats.

And finally, "at a signal from their leader"—what a commentary on the mind of Stalinism!—they stood up and "joined in the demonstration."

There then is the face of Stalinism as well — applauding the French troops who maintain imperialist rule in Indo-China. We pose this question to any members of the Communist Party reading these lines: Is this what you stand for? Is this what you be-

lieve and want? And if it is not, why do you not raise these matters in your party, demanding that the Daily Worker break its shameful silence about the behavior of the French Stalinists?

After what has happened in Indo-China and after the open support which the French Social Democrats and Stalinists have given to French imperialism, we have special reason to be proud of our French comrades—the Fourth Internationalists of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, who, without the slightest ambiguity, have come out in support of the Indo-Chinese people; who have demanded the complete withdrawals of French troops from Indo-China; and who, as recently reported in LABOR ACTION, defied the Parisian police to demonstrate their solidarity with their Indo-Chinese brothers in the streets of Paris.

Because of the internationalist position they have taken, we stand today—when Blum is preparing the troops of Leclerc to shoot down the Indo-Chinese nationalist movement and when Thorez is cherishing him on, even if after a "full minute of hesitation"—we stand squarely by the side of the French Fourth Internationalists. They do not bow down before French imperialism; they rather defy it and send to their brothers of Indo-China the message:

We are with you in your struggle for independence; we are your brothers; we shall fight besides you against the Leclercs, the Blums and the Thorezs.

It is a message which we of the Workers Party in this country wish merely to repeat.

NEXT WEEK:

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

By A. Rudzienski

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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WORLD POLITICS

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

France in a Deadlock

After still another of those parliamentary deadlocks which have so paralyzed the French government apparatus, an interim cabinet has been chosen with the ancient Leon Blum at its head.

Between the two largest parties—the Catholic MRP headed by Georges Bidault and the Stalinists headed by Maurice Thorez—there occurred a post-election stalemate.

CABINET DEADLOCK

Nor was there any possibility of forming a cabinet without the Stalinists. The MRP and the Radicals desired a cabinet from which the Stalinists would be excluded but which would include all the other parties.

So a complete deadlock ensued. The Stalinists and Socialists together couldn't form a cabinet. The MRP, the other bourgeois groups and the Socialists together couldn't form a cabinet without the Stalinists.

In this situation, the pressure and conflicts of rival imperialisms is not difficult to detect. On the one hand, the Stalinists backed by and doing the bidding of Russia; on the other, Anglo-American imperialism.

the New York Times for December 17, 1946, Harold Callender wrote:

"A story whispered widely in Assembly corridors today and into party leaders' ears was to the effect that the United States had also intervened to block the Communists' bid for this important Ministry."

As a result of this deadlock it was agreed upon to disagree and the major blocs refrained from attempting to take office.

BLUM'S BLIND ALLEY

The problems which Blum's cabinet faces are extremely grave. It has to draw up a new budget to save the already tottering franc; it faces the problem of the proposed reduction in the number of civil service employees which can only result in increased unpopularity.

And what will this pathetic, disension-torn, powerless and inept Blum cabinet be able to do on all of these vexing problems—problems which are merely indications of the deep and insoluble crisis in which French capitalism finds itself?

But the social stalemate continues. Two opposing blocs of parties, reflecting—in however tragically distorted a fashion—two opposing classes and struggling within the framework of a dying economic system.

Editorials

The Right to Portal-to-Portal Pay

The unexpected windfall which has befallen sections of the American working class as a result of a court decision granting portal-to-portal pay, is in danger of being destroyed as a result of the threats of certain Congressmen to introduce legislation to wipe out this benefit.

A group of Republican Congressmen have announced plans to kill the portal-to-portal pay on the grounds that it would impose hardships on business.

The volume of court suits filed by unions seeking to gain the portal-to-portal privileges for their members has reached the one billion dollar mark.

No sooner was the portal-to-portal decision announced than the capitalist press and many Congressmen started a cry that this decision made unnecessary the pay rises for which the unions are preparing to fight.

rising cost of living and this rising cost of living will continue. If as a result of the portal decision, some workers are able to put a little aside for the depression which everyone feels is coming sooner or later, that's no tragedy either.

But so bitterly anti-labor are big business's Congressmen that some of them are already preparing to deprive the workers of this gain.

The indecent haste of the Congressmen not yet in Washington, who already pop up with newspaper statements denouncing portal-to-portal pay and weeping bucketsful of tears in behalf of the bosses, is another indication of what we have been saying here all along: the men in Washington are the agents of big business.

What follows should be clear: so long as these legislative water-boys of big business run things in Washington, they'll always be ready to give the workers a rotten deal.

The CO's and Amnesty for Nazis

The Christmas spirit seems to have powerful effects on the Truman administration—but in strange ways.

On Christmas Day, it gleefully announced, through General Joseph McNarney, U. S. Commander in Chief in Germany, that more than 800,000 Germans in the lowest income groups who would otherwise have been liable to "denazification prosecution for minor offenses," would be amnestied.

Simultaneous with this move, there appeared an announcement that President Truman had appointed a three-man committee (one of them a former American Legion official!) to consider action on the several thousand conscientious objectors still rotting in American jails.

nation-wide drive aimed to secure freedom for the CO's, whose only crime was sufficient courage to maintain their principles regardless of the consequences of their personal comfort.

We think the two announcements make a revealing contrast in the behavior of a capitalist government.

It would be unfortunate if Truman's gesture on the CO's—that is all it is, thus far—were to lull the movement for their freedom into a false sense of security.

Help the Workers Defense League

We are in receipt of a circular from the Workers Defense League asking supporters and friends to contribute to its maintenance.

The Workers Defense League is an organization dedicated to providing legal defense for all labor and radical organizations whose members meet with any persecution by the law.

ganization cannot afford a fee, the WDL gives free service. It also maintains a valuable weekly bulletin providing news of labor legislation, labor defense, instances of legal discrimination, etc.

For that reason, we urge our readers to support its campaign. (Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.)

TWO PAMPHLETS OFF THE PRESS SOON: By Leon Trotsky: MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES Introduction by Albert Gates By Albert Goldman: ON THE UNITY BETWEEN WP AND SWP Introduction by Max Shachtman

International Socialist Notes

The Socialist Youth of France have been hit by great rumblings of discontent among the rank and file. Many of their members have no use for their adult affiliate and speak instead of the "two revolutionary organizations in France, the Socialist Youth and the Trotskyist party."

We reprint below an article from Le Drapeau Rouge that sheds considerable light on the relations between the working class organizations of youth in France:

On Wednesday, October 23, there took place in Paris the first great public meeting of the Laic (anti-clerical) and Anti-Fascist Youth Front.

The first part of the meeting unrolled uneventfully. The hall was filled with 2,000 enthusiastic youth.

There is insufficient time, the program having been elaborate in advance by the organizations represented, and the chairman, Emile Kahn, general secretary of the League of the Rights of Man, begins to answer to this effect.

Confusion arises. Everyone thinks that the chairman wants to give the floor to the JCI and that the Stalinists are preventing it. A protest arises from the Socialist youth, the Ajusts, the Trotskyists and even from some Stalinists: "Democracy, democracy!"

Do you accept, yes or no, to bring your proofs, if you have any, before a jury of honor, composed of the democratic youth organizations? Do you agree to submit to the conclusions of such a jury? That is the only way of proving your good faith and of re-establishing friendly relations between our organizations.

Needless to say, the Stalinists did not accept the idea of a jury of honor, and pursue their campaign throughout France.

Nevertheless, in action, some Stalinist youth are learning. Verité reports the first street sales in Paris of the newly issued Trotskyist youth paper, Jeune Garde (Young Guard).

Trotskyists in Ceylon Unite

During the course of the strike struggles of October, 1946, that shook the island of Ceylon, the two Trotskyist organizations in that country—divided since 1945—reunited their forces into one party.

"In every country of the world today Trotskyists form the militant vanguard of the working class. Since last year two Trotskyist organizations have existed in Ceylon, producing division, confusion and bewilderment in the militant vanguard of the working-class. No fundamental principled or programmatic differences existed to keep these two organizations from uniting.

LABOR ACTION welcomes this news and greets the comrades of the united Ceylon movement, who have played such a leading role in the nationalist and revolutionary struggles of their country.

BITTER STARVATION HITS VIENNA AS OCCUPYING POWERS TAKE FAT OF LAND

Special to Labor Action

Workers in a large Viennese factory organized a strike recently in protest against undernourishment. Children are thin and grey-skinned from lack of food.

A glimpse of how serious the workers' situation is was given us by a Viennese journalist a few days ago: Getting up between 5 and 6 a.m. a worker has a little ersatz coffee and a slice of bread.

the meat in it. Coming home at 7 p.m. he may get the same "meal" if he is lucky.

Weekly wages are about \$5.00. Shoes and clothes are worn out, and workers shiver in the frosty winter air.

It is no wonder that Austrian workers have begun to dislike the four occupying powers, and with good reason. The Russians occupy Vienna's Grand Hotel, Imperial Hotel and the Hofburg (former imperial palace).

As the Viennese correspondent wrote: "These are the rulers of the country, and theirs are the cars, the food, the privileges, the purchasing power."

The Latest Housing Scandal

To say that New York City is the center of the world is not a patriotic exaggeration. It is the simple truth. It is the guiding brain of United States capitalism whose economic, political, and military pre-eminence is today seriously challenged only by Russia.

In this city, whose powers and possessions make the wealth and influence of the Athens of the Age of Pericles seem like the worldly goods of a gifted child, live 7,500,000 people.

THE INCREDIBLE TRUTH

Fantastic though it may seem in this city of apartment dwellers, despite the crying need not a single new apartment house was built in the first ten months of 1946.

The astonishingly pitiful record in the creation of other types of housing is revealed by construction statistics:

Table with 2 columns: Housing type and Number. Includes One-family houses (1,603), Two-family houses (822), Units derived from remodeling (597), Temporary apartments in quonset huts and rebuilt barracks (4,252), Dormitory rooms (1,240), and The incredible total (8,514).

Thus, by adding together every possible nook, cranny, clothes-closet, and rumor of a clothes-closet, a trickle of shelter was squeezed out in a sahara of need.

REAL ESTATE CRACKS THE WHIP—TRUMAN JUMPS THROUGH THE HOOP

In the face of such typical conditions Truman's revision of the government housing policy under the friendly pressure of the real estate boys was so scandalous that even the newspapers felt constrained to protest.

The new policy does the following: (1) Removes the \$10,000 ceiling price on new homes. This will result in the production of the more profitable higher-cost dwelling—which will be out of the reach of even those veterans able to buy the \$10,000 home.

- (2) Encourages commercial and industrial construction—at the expense of low-cost housing. (3) Delivers a blow at prefabricated housing manufacturing through failure to correct the Reconstruction Finance Corporation's abuse of its loan facilities. (4) Fails to broaden and ease financing of rental projects by the FHA. (5) Abolishes quality standards. (6) Attacks rent ceilings in permitting ceilings of \$100, if the project average is \$80.

There's the dead-end of all the promises to the boys overseas, the glowing housing newsreels, the cardboard models, the pre-election oratory, the dream castles of the women's magazines.

REMEMBER?

Do you remember those days two years ago or so when you and the rest of the guys were lying around in some French orchard in a rest area, speculating about that vague future state known as Civilian Life? If you were like us you were saying, "I'm so used to the army that when I get back I bet I won't rent a house. I'll just take my entrenching tool and go in the back yard and dig in."

The situation calls for bold action on a national scale. The Workers Party program calls for a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all, the aim to be the construction of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

Truman's latest action once again demonstrates the necessity for the creation of an independent labor party—independent of both the republicans and the democrats, who together they may differ in some things, are united in one: Hatred of the working class.

LEON TROTSKY'S "THE NEW COURSE" Get this historic essay on Russia, together with Max Shachtman's study of the development of Russian totalitarianism. NOW ON SALE: \$1.00 (paper bound) 265 pages Originally \$1.50 Order from: Workers Party Publications 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

On a Central Point in the Workers Party Program:

We Say "Transform PAC Into A Labor Party"

By J. R. JOHNSON

At the recent National Committee Meeting the Workers Party reiterated its advocacy of the slogan, "Transform PAC into a Labor Party." A statement motivating this slogan appeared in LABOR ACTION of December 2, 1946. The statement dealt with the necessity of continuing with the slogan, despite the victory of the Republican Party and the rout of the Democratic Party. It showed that the very defeat of the Democrats would compel its working class followers to seek more seriously than ever a medium of political expression and political action to deal with the urgent problems which face the workers and the whole nation. The problem is complicated by the fact that, contrary to 1944, PAC took a beating in the 1946 election. It is true that PAC is more than ever under the control of the reactionary labor bureaucracy. If the need of the hour is independent political action by labor than PAC is a quintessential example of dependent political action of labor. It is being used by a capitalist political organization for capitalist ends, sneered at and distrusted when it helps to win victories as in 1944 and bearing the whole blame for defeat as in 1946. Furthermore it can be granted freely that PAC was formed for the special purpose of deflecting labor's growing demands for an independent labor party. Today the labor leadership, at its wits' ends, is off on another defensive tactic.

If circumstances compel a break with the discredited Democratic Party, then the labor leadership stands ready, is already preparing the way, to tie PAC to some kind of middle class third party. Its guiding principle is: above all, no independent labor politics. To be granted also, is the fact that the actual organization of the PAC, unlike for example, the organization of the UAW, is bureaucratic in the extreme. PAC is organized from the top downwards and the bureaucracy holds all the levers of control. Why then did we, knowing all this, advocate the slogan in the past and now continue to do so, despite the increased sharpening of the class struggle? The basic reason is simple to state. It is because PAC sets into political motion and holds the political attention of millions of organized workers. It is there that not only labor politics in general, but revolutionary politics must begin.

This organization has not only all the vices of the bureaucratically dominated organizations of labor, but is openly and admittedly capitalist in theory and in practice. But our use of the slogan in these circumstances involves one of the most fundamental concepts of socialist theory and practice. In fact, it is not too much to say that the political problem involved here faces the revolutionary socialist movement at all stages of its development. Upon the successful solution of this problem, in ever varying concrete circumstances, depends the growth of the party of the workers, at times the

safety of the working class, at critical moments the success or failure of workers' power itself.

ROLE OF LABOR

The working class in capitalist society at all times contains within itself a duality. It is the most oppressed class in a barbarous society, bearing all the scars of that society; at the same time, it is the only consistently progressive class in that society, the class destined to emancipate itself from capitalist degradation, and by emancipating itself to emancipate the great majority of the nation. We betide that revolutionary organization which confuses the two aspects and does not at all times and under all circumstances strenuously analyze, probe, check and recheck the relation of these two aspects to propaganda, agitation, slogans and practical activities. In Section II of the Communist Manifesto Karl Marx poses this question at the very outset.

"In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?"

"The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

"They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

"They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement."

The whole section is not easy and is worth reading and re-reading, and, in fact, close study. For the time being we propose to give some random but highly instructive examples of the duality of the proletariat and the corresponding duality imposed upon the revolutionary party. In September 1917 Lenin, driving with all his might for the establishment of workers' power as the only solution to the problems of Russia, offered to support a government of Mensheviks (reform Socialists) and Social Revolutionaries (revolutionary peasants' party), the very people he had consistently accused of betraying the revolution. As far as he knew the masses were not quite ready to turn en masse to the Bolsheviks. Hence he was ready to advocate his own program within the frame-work of the stage reached by the masses. Trotsky made a bold and fruitful application of the same principle when he recommended that the American Trotskyist movement reverse its stand on a Labor Party and meet the rising demands of the working class by itself raising the slogan.

AMERICA'S SOCIAL CRISIS

The crisis of the U. S. workers today is a social crisis of the nation. It reaches into every sphere of social life. It affects the workers on the immediate spheres of wages and its relation to prices. Not only does the housing shortage exhaust the energy and fray the nerves of the workers on whom it imposes the greatest hardships. Tomorrow it will affect

*Not to be confused with Stalinists who are in no sense Communists.

their budget. Unless a serious nation-wide struggle is waged by the proletariat leading the nation, rent control will not be maintained by the Truman government. In the factories themselves the conditions of production, the speed-up, the persecution of labor by the agents of big business, create a pervading bitterness and frustration among the workers. The Negroes are the subject of a concentrated attack by the reactionary elements in the population; these are emboldened by the absence of government action and the web of legalisms behind which the official guardians of law and order hide their acquiescence in the lynching, beating-up and vilification of the Negroes. The latest development is the use of the judiciary by the government to reinstitute control of labor by injunction, while the armed forces of the nation are held in not too inconspicuous reserve.

The working class struggles against all these manifestations of the social crisis. The response of the miners to Lewis; the rallying of AFL and CIO to the support of the UMW, lame and halting though it was, sufficiently testify to the sentiments of the workers. The Oakland General Strike also shows what deep currents of dissatisfaction are moving among the masses. The common front of the UAW, the Steel Workers and the Electrical Workers on the coming wage demands show in another sphere the tendency toward united action and resistance to being beaten down which exists among the workers. The preparations among AFL and CIO workers in Detroit for a joint 24-hour stoppage in support of the UMW, show the same in yet another sphere.

But the very urgency of the situation and the need for immediate action only underline the necessity for over-all political action. Yet it is precisely here that the working class is most baffled. How to translate into immediate action the need for independent labor politics? It is not merely a question of program here. The Workers Party in LABOR ACTION, its pamphlets, etc., urges its Transitional Program, constantly adapted to the changing situation. It has embraced the "GM Program" advocated by Reuther (a program which it has itself long advocated) when the UAW strike initiated the present crisis. This program can be fought for in the unions individually and by unified action. But the working class needs a sphere, a medium, an organizational form in which to-day at once it can begin the enormous task of mobilizing its political weight for action.

WHAT IS PAC?

PAC is a medium to hand. The basic strength of the Democratic Party in the nation is organized labor, yet the organizational power of that party is in the hands of the capitalists, the government bureaucracy, and the Southern Bourbons. PAC is in this respect the exact opposite. It is tied to the Democratic Party, but without the labor rank and file and the labor bureaucracy

which rules it, PAC would be nothing. Its very formation marked a process of differentiation within the Democratic Party. The labor bureaucrats organized PAC to forestall independent labor action in the nation as a whole. But it was organized also to crystallize the power of labor in the increasing tensions within the Democratic Party itself. If that was so in 1944, the pressure of the social crisis and the open turn of Truman and the administration against labor, increases the tendencies toward disintegration within the Democratic Party and stretches unbearably the tie of PAC to the official Democratic organization.

In advocating that the workers turn PAC into a Labor Party we do not minimize our program, we do not adapt it in any way to the reactionary mold of PAC. We do not confine ourselves to PAC as a vote-catching organization. We do not propose that the workers submit themselves to its bureaucratic organization. We propose that precisely all these features of PAC be busted wide open and the organization transformed into a living working class organization, politically active

today. PAC is a shell. Filled with workers actively determined to make it work for the labor movement it can become the nucleus for a nationwide independent political party.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Can it be done? And here comes in what we have stated is the indispensable corollary to starting with the working class where it is—the revolutionary confidence in its power by experience to transcend its limitations. But whenever the American proletariat seeks a genuine independent proletarian activity, its main obstacle will be the labor bureaucracy. Inside PAC or outside PAC it will face the obstructive, confusing and demoralizing tactics of these gentlemen who mortally fear the prospect of facing the national and international crisis outside of the umbrella of the traditional parties. While PAC is not the sole predetermined form by which the proletariat will find its way to independent political action, to concede in advance that any struggle by the proletariat within the PAC is doomed to defeat, is not far from saying that any struggle with the labor bureaucracy is doomed to defeat. It is not for one

moment to be forgotten that the question of separating PAC from the Democratic Party does not alone concern the proletariat. The dominant capitalist elements in the Democratic Party have been restless at this would-be independent organization of labor even though it has been subordinated to Democratic Party policy and organization. Should the working class really open a struggle to make PAC in reality, and not only in form, its own instrument, its efforts for independence will be supplemented by the panic which will be created in the Democratic Party leadership.

It is precisely such a struggle which in the present situation, can forestall the efforts of the labor leaders to channelize labor party sentiment toward a third party, dominated by the middle class politicians, liberals, and others, and capitalistic in aim and practice. The workers and the workers' movements can be best manipulated when they are quiet. On the other hand their increasing restlessness, the need for political action which is being hammered into their heads by the objective situation, these demand that we point out to them the existing con-

crete organization, built with their money their efforts and their name, which is being used against their general interests and urgent needs.

Finally, it would be wrong to see PAC purely in terms of the 1944 elections. The 1947 legislative program of Congress, the use of the Judiciary, and the armed forces against labor, the burning question of prices, the remoter question of war and peace, there is not one single one of them which will not be immediately affected by the determined emergence of labor as a political force within the present limited but infinitely expandable confines of PAC. It is a commonplace in all sections of the workers' movement that the failure of PAC to be the decisive force in the recent elections was its miserable subordination to the official program of the senile Democratic Party. The converse in this case holds equally true. The regeneration of PAC by a militant working class means a greater possibility of political development than the tremendous stride forward which was made ten years ago when the incipient CIO broke away not from a capitalist, but from another labor organization.

A Report from the Ceylonese Trotskyists:

Story of the Ceylon General Strike

In a recent issue of LABOR ACTION we reported briefly on sweeping strike events in Ceylon, the colonial island of the British Empire, lying off the coast of India. The Trotskyists of the island played a major role in the leadership of this strike. Below we are publishing first accounts of the events of the strike itself, as reported in *Sama Samajist*, the official paper of the Ceylonese Trotskyists.—Editor.

On Wednesday, October 16, 1946, daily-paid workers in government workshops and factories at Ratmalana, Dematagoda and Kolonnawa struck work as a last resort after repeated representations to the government to redress their grievances. By 2 p.m. on Wednesday the 16th of October 7,000 workers in the railway, P.W.D. Factory and the Electrical Department were out to demonstrate that they were determined by their united strength to obtain their demands, which had been communicated to the government repeatedly. Their central demands are: (1) Parity in the increment of wages between daily-paid and higher monthly paid staffs of the government; the removal of all service restrictions imposed on workers who left their workshops to look after their families when the Japanese bombed Ceylon in 1942; (2) Housing or rent allowance in lieu of houses; (3) Full trade union rights for all government workers; (4) No victimization, the reinstatement of all workers interdicted or dismissed since the 1st of October (the 85 overseers and attendants dismissed or interdicted from duty at the Angoda Mental Hospital and the Galle Hospital).

On Saturday the 12th of October at a mammoth meeting of government workers held under the auspices of the Federation of Government Workers' Unions in Price Park, speakers from various workshops and factories of the government reiterated their demands and expressed their determination to fight for their just and legitimate rights. The Federation of Government Workers' Unions made representations to the government and expressed its desire to negotiate with representatives of the government a method of finding ways and means of redressing the grievances of daily-paid workers. The Federation, however, never called upon workers to strike. The strike has been forced on the workers by obdurate heads of departments, by the insolence of the Chief Secretary and the callousness of the Board of Ministers who increased the salaries of Civil List and Higher Officers of the Public Service at the expense of the daily-paid, lower and middle rungs of the public service.

The strike which commenced on Wednesday, October 16, 1946 began to sweep everything before it. The Hydro-Electric Scheme workers joined the strike on October 16, 1946 as soon as they had news of the strike in Colombo. From 12 midnight on Wednesday lightermen, wharf laborers and dockers started to come out. By noon on Thursday, October 17, 1946, the Port of Colombo ceased to function, the entire staff of the Harbor Engineers Department walked out at 11 a.m. and marched to Price Park through the Fort and Pettah in a giant demonstration. On Thursday the Pettah Power Station and the smaller stations and substations of the Electrical Department were affected by the strike. The strikers held demonstrations and meetings every day at the factories and workshops in Price Park and on Galle Face Green. The entire proletariat of Colombo was roused and its militancy reached white heat. On Friday workers in the Gas Company, workers at the Turf Club, over 2000 Municipal workers, largely

scavengers' and sweepers' sections—and the ceramic factory workers in Negombo were involved in the strike. On Saturday workers in the CTO central end branch workshops joined the strike and sections of the Civil Defense Department came out.

The workers of the Irrigation Workshops at Ratmalana and Maradana had struck work on Friday. By Sunday morning the army of strikers had swelled to about 30,000. The government was taken by surprise by the rapidity with which the working class struck its blows at vital sections in the communications system of the government. The Ceylonese bourgeoisie was stunned by the sweep of the strike. All their plans were upset. It was not till Saturday evening that the Board of Ministers began to display that it was recovering from the panic into which it had been driven by the sledge-hammer blows of the general strike initiated by workers in government workshops, factories, port, railway, etc. Hospital workers, despite grave provocation by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services and the Minister of Health, refrained from joining the strike till late on Tuesday. The strike was reaching its peak. Over 30,000 workers were affected. The railway was paralyzed. The government workshops and factories were idle. The port functioned with the aid of troops and prison labor to unload a few food ships. The Electrical Department was limping. Paralysis was affecting the entire communications system of the government. The working class was marching forward with confidence and

courage. The strike was still expanding. Its heavy blows were falling on vital sections in the government machine. The appearance of M. G. Mendis of the Stalinist-controlled Ceylon Trade Union Federation and Mr. Goonesingha of the Ceylon Trade Union Congress on the platform of the Federation of Government Workers' Unions at Price Park and Galle Face gave confidence and courage to the older and less developed sections of the working class. Their speeches rallied wavering and timid elements of the working class to the struggle.

SOCIAL CRISIS AT WORK

By Saturday a new development made the working class pause to take stock of its position. The long-drawn-out strike in the Exchange Banks was concluded by Mr. Goonesingha without consulting the Bank Clerks Union. There was strong opposition to this betrayal of the strikers in the Exchange Banks just at the moment when the most militant sections of the working class had marched into battle against the boss class and their government. It was at this stage that the Stalinist-controlled CTUF came forward with a proposal to limit the expanding general strike to the port and the railway and send the strikers in other places back to work. That the united front of working-class parties in support of the workers in the struggle was short lived was clear to the Ceylonese bourgeoisie. The compromiser political parties in the working class, the Stalinists and the Labor Party, were not reluctant to let the government understand that they were not willing to enter into

a fight to a finish. The Board of Ministers was quick to grasp the changed situation behind the appearance of unity in the camp of the working-class parties. The Ceylonese bourgeoisie recovered its equilibrium and planned to crush the rising tide of working-class revolt.

The Board of Ministers met the Governor on Friday afternoon. The Governor's broadcast on Saturday evening gave expression to the recovery from panic the Ceylonese bourgeoisie had gained. The Governor's speech betrayed the dilemma the Board of Ministers is confronted with. The desire to use armed force to suppress the working-class upsurge is mixed with the fear of consequences of the use of armed force. The speech reveals the velvet glove in which the mailed fist is hidden. The Ministers are confronted with the necessity of using the police and the army to force the strikers back to work without alienating public opinion by the premature use of violence. Thus arises the need to prepare the public mind by horror stories of alleged sabotage and violence by the strikers. The capitalist press made the maximum use of the railway accident at Ratmale near Anuradhapura.

At the time of our going to press the strike is still expanding. The militancy of the strikers is undiminished. Fresh waves of strikers in the local government services are joining the roaring flood of working class revolt against intolerable conditions imposed on it by the aftermath of the Second Imperialist World War. Capitalism and imperialism in Ceylon are in the throes of an insoluble crisis.

The Passing of Mayor Kelly And the Chicago Sun's "New Era"

By ROBERT FERGUSON

CHICAGO, Dec. 22—Mayor Edward J. Kelly, notorious head of the Kelly-Nash Democratic Party machine of this city for almost 14 years, will leave office next spring as a result of having been deserted by his henchmen and his closest capitalist friends. The stench of his administration has become so unbearable that even these gentlemen finally realized the futility of facing an election handicapped by Mayor Kelly.

Instead, the "liberal" capitalist elements of this metropolis are placing their joyful (and whooping) endorsement upon a political nonentity, one Martin Kennelly—big business man, member of the board of directors of Wilson & Co. (the meat monopoly). From the vapid words poured out by Kennelly himself and the worshipful Chicago Sun (owned by millionaire Marshall Field, for whose father Kennelly once worked at \$2 per week), one would believe that a whole "new era" is about to dawn on all Chicago.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN

Yet all that is apparent in this shift from "Boss" Kelly to Mr. Kennelly is that the non-Republican section of Big Business in Chicago has finally found it expedient to dis-em-barrass itself from the public revulsion to Kelly's corrupt machine—and seat a responsible and untrained representative of Big Capital directly in the top seat of local politics.

One would look in vain in Kennelly's first nominating acceptance statements for significant differences between his main social outlook and that of Kelly. His pleas of "independence" from the Kelly machine fall flat when it is realized that the 47 ward leaders of Kelly's machine UNANIMOUSLY accepted Kennelly's nomination. No worker need ever expect a denunciation from him of

the cold-blooded murder of the steel union pickets on Memorial Day, 1937, by Kelly's cops. Not even the most naive among the CIO or AFL top leadership here expect him to abolish the strike-breaking corps of police known as Capt. Barnes' "labor detail," which Kelly has built up and utilized so relentlessly against so many recent strikes.

Any reforms that may result from the propaganda, or even the possible election, of the Kennelly Democrats will be those that have been advocated so "daringly" by the SUN, on paper, for which labor and liberal-minded middle class progressives have fought for many years. In advance it can be stated that adequate housing, clearance of slums, abolition of restrictive covenants, full minority civil rights, vastly extended educational facilities and a decent régime within them—none of these will leave the stage of words and "planning," to which Kelly advanced them.

FORESTALLING THE GOP

The real significance of the Kennelly nomination is that the Democratic Party, desperately trying to hold control of the city, undercut the Republican Party of Col. McCormick's Chicago Tribune by nominating, not a "wild-eyed, red, New Dealer," but an "honest, God-fearing" corporation director. Kennelly found it necessary to say from the first that he didn't intend to support and back labor's demands against capital—he wants that "greater harmony" which has always meant another knife in labor's back!

As a member of the board of directors of Wilson & Co., Kennelly has participated in the slaughter of even the feeblest price control measures. It would not be exaggeration to say he must share responsibility for the low standard of living of the packinghouse workers. Kennelly's en-

dorsement by city and state CIO and AFL officials in the face of his position as an exploiter of labor can only be viewed as a stubborn, cringing refusal to begin the mobilization of labor independently for political action in behalf of its legitimate needs and aspirations, through its own party.

The appearance of a Committee for a Labor Party out of several local unions recently, intending to run three candidates for aldermen in the spring elections, represents a beginning of labor's attempts to turn this tide of support to capitalist politicians. We will treat of this next week in LABOR ACTION.

Budapest Masses Protest Hunger

Special to Labor Action

More than 5,000 persons, most of them women, invaded the palace of Parliament in Budapest on December 5, smashing the doors and shouting slogans demanding an end to the shortage of eggs, potatoes and flour. Seven were wounded, two seriously.

Gangs of "body strippers" who in addition to seizing money and other valuables also seize clothes, are the latest menace in Budapest streets. Earlier this practice was begun by Russian-uniformed gangsters, until the Russians announced severe punishment for uniformed attacks.

Stripping techniques vary. One is to invite pedestrians to accept a lift in a car, in which the victim is stripped naked. Another is to ring house bells and ask for help against strippers. When someone answers the door, he is seized and stripped.

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

C. WRIGHT MILLS
Social Research Bureau, Columbia University
The New Middle Class
January 5 — 8:30 P. M.

IRVING HOWE
Editorial Board, Labor Action
Can the Intellectuals Escape Politics?
January 12 — 8:30 P. M.

MAX SHACHTMAN
National Chairman, Workers Party
Perspectives for American Labor
January 19 — 8:30 P. M.

ISAAC ROSENFELD
Novelist and Literary Critic
Trends in American Literature
January 26 — 8:30 P. M.

Admission: 50 Cents — Series of Four: \$1.50
ALL LECTURES AT 114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

A NEW THREAT OF LITERARY CENSORSHIP.

The following excerpts from James T. Farrell's article, "Canada Bans Another Book," is reprinted with the permission of the author. It appeared originally in the Canadian Forum for November, 1946. The banning of Farrell's book by the Canadian government calls attention to the long-standing practice of that country in banning books, periodicals and papers not to the liking of its censors, especially those representing the socialist and labor point of view. Only a short time ago the Canadian government banned LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist. Such censorship is a device of reactionary government. To permit it to go by without protest is to guarantee its continuance. The fight against the Canadian version of censorship is as important as the fight against censorship in this country, or anywhere else. We call upon our readers to write letters to the Canadian government of MacKenzie King protesting the banning of Farrell's book, demanding at the same time right of the free circulation of all books, periodicals and newspapers.

By JAMES T. FARRELL

My novel, *Bernard Clare*, has been prohibited entry into Canada for the past four months. This act of censorship was authorized last May. A Memorandum, dated May 31, was sent by the Canadian Customs Division of the Department of National Revenue to the Vanguard Press, of New York City, publishers of my novel. This Memorandum contained the bare information that *Bernard Clare* would not be permitted entry into the Dominion of Canada. The justification of this action was cited as "Section 13 and Item 1201, Schedule 'C' of the Customs Tariff." This document was signed by Mr. D. Sim, Deputy Minister of National Revenue, Customs and Excises.

When I learned of this action, I addressed an Open Letter of protest to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, stigmatizing it as unjust, and asking that the ban be removed, and that public responsibility for this banning be fixed. In my open letter to Mr. King, I also stated: "I regard it as my duty to protest this banning, to call it to the attention of the writers and the readers of both the United States and the Dominion of Canada, and to call upon them to give me public support in my effort to have this ban rescinded."

I have tried to the best of my ability to do this, and I have received an encouraging public support from representative figures in the United States. In addition, students, private citizens, ex-soldiers and others from the United States and other countries have sent protests to Mr. King. Some of these letters have asked that the ban be removed; others have requested that this case be re-opened. These letters have been formally acknowledged, but for the rest, ignored. Likewise, I received a cold formal acknowledgment of my open letter. No other communication has been addressed to me. Neither Mr. King, nor Mr. Sim, has taken the trouble to send me any specific information concerning the precise reasons for this act of censor-

ship. *Time Magazine* of June 24, 1946, however, quoted Mr. Sim as having stated: "I discovered at least two chapters which I consider indecent. There was nothing else I could do about it but slap on the ban. . . . We're not on a witch hunt. The fewer such decisions we have to make the better we like it." I call attention here to the fact that Mr. Sim states that he considered these two unspecified chapters "obscene."

It is clear that high Canadian officials refuse to take this situation seriously. Such an interpretation is warranted by the manner in which they have consistently ignored protests calling for a removal of the ban on *Bernard Clare*. And my statement is further confirmed by an item on the case, published in *The Montreal Gazette* for August 23 under the heading of "*Bernard Clare* Still Banned." This report declared that officials of the customs department indicated that the formal acknowledgment sent to me, in response to my open letter, "didn't mean very much." This formal letter told me that my protest had been brought to the attention of Revenue Minister McCann. Although this is a small detail, it is revealing of the attitude of Canadian officials. One can only state baldly that their attitude concerning protests here is merely cynical. If the Prime Minister or one of his assistants writes an American author concerning an act of censorship, it doesn't "mean much." On the basis of this, I ask if Canadians may think I am unfair, if I say it doesn't mean much the next time I read in the press of the United States a statement by a Canadian official which affirms the principle of freedom of speech. Also, this same news story indicated that Mr. Sim had told the press that "the ruling still stands and further than that I don't care to comment on the affair."

The banning of *Bernard Clare* and other books by Mr. Sim and his subordinates has very practical implications for Canadians. Culture is now

1. If Mr. Sim does not like these cases, the remedy is simple. All that he needs to do is to stop censoring books this way, and to instruct his subordinates to do likewise.

2. In this report, *The Montreal Gazette* mistakenly printed my name as John Farrell, and also declared: "Ever since the book *Bernard Clare* which uses many four-letter words no longer considered polite in English. . . ." If this newspaper means the four-letter words usually referred to in this context, it is factually wrong. *Bernard Clare* does not contain "many" four-letter words of this kind. Either this esteemed Canadian newspaper was ignorant and careless, or else the conception of polite four-letter words is different in Canada than it is in other countries. While I am not familiar with local usage of four-letter words in Montreal, I can hardly believe that words such as "many," "moon," "they," "them" and the like are impolite in this city. However, it is four-letter words of this type which are used in many instances in my novel.

and has long been international. At the same time, cultural development in different countries has been uneven. The uneven character of the development of culture in Canada and the British Dominions as a whole, as contrasted with cultural development in England and the United States, is a commonly known fact. It is referred to or implied in many articles dealing with these questions. Readers of this magazine can recall such references in articles on the state of Canadian literature. There are, at the same time, signs of cultural ferment in the various dominions. However, other tendencies in the world are such as to constitute a possible threat to the native tendencies which may develop out of this new and growing ferment in such dominions as Canada, New Zealand and Australia. The cultural industries of both England and the United States are far richer and more powerful than those of Canada, and of the other dominions. American and English culture plays a dominant role in the dominions.

This fact has a singular importance at the present time, an importance which is integrally related with the fact that culture is now international. For in the English-speaking world in particular, and in many other countries as well, the process of the Americanization of world culture has been accelerated. Canadians are familiar with the fact that in the United States culture has been highly commercialized, and that there now exist huge American cultural monopolies and near monopolies. This is seen most clearly in the case of motion pictures and radio. It is also evinced in the mass circulation magazines. Now, the American publishing business has expanded, and it has reached the stage of combinations. With this, there is expanding in the United States a vast, a grandiose, and a wholly counterfeit popular culture. And it is this counterfeit that is involved in this developing Americanization of world culture. Shoddy motion pictures and shoddy novels which reflect a best seller culture are not usually banned by Canadian and other customs officials. In consequence, it is these works which form too often the concepts that Canadians (and others) hold of life in the United States. And more serious works are banned. They are banned by Mr. Davis Sim. He says they are obscene, but he won't say any more about it. But what are the potential consequences of actions like this one? Such actions help to accelerate the process of the Americanization of culture. The customs officials, prime ministers and others who, thus, approve policies such as that pursued in the case of my own novel, are doing their little bit to help further the spread of this counterfeit and Hollywoodized culture. By doing this, they are helping to clamp down the lid on cultural and literary ferment in their own countries. They are, thus, helping to preserve the unevenness of cultural development in the dominions. They are helping to preserve the parochialism which the best elements in the dominions want to slough off once and for all.

(To be concluded next week)

HUGO URBAHNS— Farewell to a German Comrade

From Stockholm, Sweden, comes the sorrowful news that Hugo Urbahns died in exile of heart failure.

Hugo Urbahns was born to a country family near Hamburg, Germany. When he reached manhood, he took up the profession of country school teacher. Drafted into the army of 1914, he became a confirmed enemy of German imperialism and was one of the first to join the revolutionary socialist group of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartacus League. A militant with tireless energy, devotion and tremendous will to struggle, he soon won the respect and support of the Hamburg workers among whom he carried on his activities. His impatience with the hesitancy of the party leadership in the crucial period following the war in Germany assured him a strong position of leadership among the Hamburg militants, who were in many ways the vanguard of the German socialist revolution.

He acquired national prominence in the German Communist movement by the part he played in organizing a left-wing opposition to the party leadership during and after the notorious Kapp Putsch launched by the monarchist reaction, in which the CP leadership in Berlin had followed a calamitous course of indifference toward the outcome of the struggle around Kapp and Co.

In the revolutionary situation of 1923, the militants of Hamburg were the only ones to organize an uprising. In this hopeless uprising, doomed by its isolation and the lack of preparation by the leadership, Urbahns was perhaps the outstanding figure. He was arrested by the government, and after a trial in which he conducted himself with courageous sincerity, he was sentenced to several years' imprisonment, from which he was released in 1925 by one of the periodical government amnesties.

Resuming his activity in the

Communist Party, he became one of the most important figures in the new left-wing leadership of the party, represented by Ruth Fischer, A. Maslow, who was found dead in Havana five years ago under suspicious circumstances, the late Ernest Thaelmann, Arthur Rosenberg, who died recently in New York, Werner Scholem, who died in the Nazi concentration camp of Buchenwald in 1941, and others. Most of these left-wingers gave their support to the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition to the bureaucracy in Russia. While many capitulated to Stalin, Urbahns did not. For a while, he became the leader of the Trotskyist movement in Germany, the head of the Lenin League and the editor of its paper, *Volkswille* (Will of the People).

CONFLICT WITH TROTSKY

Unfortunately, shortly after Trotsky's banishment to Turkey, Urbahns came into conflict with the leader of the Russian Opposition, to begin with over the question of the position revolutionists should take in the near-war that broke out between Russia and China in 1929 over the Chinese Eastern Railway. The conflict between the two widened and deepened. Urbahns, from a rejection of the idea of defending Russia in the clash with China, began to develop theories about Russia as a sort of hybrid state, half-capitalist and half-socialist.

Not an outstanding theoretician, he was nevertheless seeking confusedly a way out of the growing dilemma between the traditional definitions applied to Russia and the distinctly untraditional real development of Stalinist society. He was not very successful, and Trotsky was able to blow the sands from under his feet with a few articles which appeared in pamphlet form in all the modern languages.

Cut off from the main stream of the Marxist movement which

Trotsky represented, Urbahns' Lenin League soon disintegrated and played no further role in the German movement.

After 1933, Urbahns, like so many others, was forced to flee the Nazi terror. He settled in Sweden, learned the language of the country, acquired Swedish citizenship, married a Swedish girl, and continued whatever activities were permitted by the misery of exile, mainly in the form of articles he contributed frequently to the Swedish trade union press. The tiny group of political friends around him never broke out of their isolation.

When the Second World War broke out, Urbahns hoped to come to the United States. It proved to be unfeasible. He lived the last days of his exile in the only country where he was able to take refuge from the Brown Plague.

SOLDIER FOR FREEDOM

His honest political opponents— which excludes the Stalinists, who hated him poisonously—always respected his fearlessness, his singleness of socialist purpose, the purity of his character. He was of a generation that was, for the most part, rotted to its heart by the corrosive acids of decadent Stalinism and decadent reformism. Of that generation, he was one of the very, very few to survive as a revolutionist. We say it who had our not inconsiderable political differences with him.

Only a handful—almost literally—of the men of the Spartacus League, of the great revolutionary days following the First World War, lived to our time. Some of this handful, like Wilhelm Pieck, present leader of the German CP, became loathsome creatures of Stalin. Hugo Urbahns was one of the honorable few who preserved a noble revolutionary tradition, according to his lights and as he understood it. We bow in respectful honor to the memory of this soldier for freedom.—S.

STALINISTS BETRAY MEXICAN TRADE UNIONS

By A. FERRARA

Like any new and ambitious junior partner in a large and prosperous firm, the newly elected president of Mexico, Miguel Aleman, is giving his masters in Wall Street and Washington positive proof that his department (Mexico), is going to be run on a stable and profitable basis. Like every good executive Aleman knows that operating costs must be kept at a minimum. So it is no surprise to learn that one of Aleman's very first acts was to deny a wage raise to 27,000 oil workers, repudiate the contract between PEMEX, the government agency that runs Mexico's nationalized oil industry and the oil workers union (STPRM), call out the army to break the threat of a general stoppage of oil workers, and finally to fire 50 union officials for permitting stoppages and walkouts.

Aleman has thereby outlined, so to speak, his general labor policy. It matters little to the new Mexican president that Mexican and foreign capital have reaped and continue to reap fabulous profits, while Mexico's working class starves on pre-war wages in the face of a four hundred per cent rise in the cost of living. After all, Aleman's "firm" handling of labor will be a plus-sign in his favor when Washington takes up the question of granting the loan which Aleman has already requested.

No one is surprised by Aleman's program of furthering the joint interests (and profits) of Mexican and American capitalism. Aleman is merely carrying one step further the policy laid down by his predecessor Camacho. What is undecided and in question is the attitude of Mexico's organized labor movement, more than a million and a half strong, toward the newly-elected president's plan to give free rein to native and foreign capital while he holds the working class in strict check.

The Mexican workers have a stormy and heroic history of struggle against their foreign and native exploiters. Is it possible that they will submit tamely to the yoke that Aleman is preparing for them? In the last analysis only the struggle itself will decide this question, but there already exist grave symptoms of the catastrophe which awaits Mexican labor if it continues along the course of the past few years. Such a symptom is the comparative ease with which Aleman has so far been able to bring the oil workers to a dead stop in their struggle for higher wages.

DECLINE OF UNION MILITANCY

Confronted by the refusal of the new Aleman appointed director of PEMEX, Antonio Bermudez, to grant wage increases, Jose Ortega, Secretary-General of the Oil Workers Union (STPRM) an affiliate of the Mexican Federation of Labor (CMT), ordered a twenty-four-hour stoppage. In retaliation, the Aleman government invoked a law which empowers the government to dismiss labor leaders who permit or encourage illegal stoppages and strikes. In answer to this provocation, the leaders of the Oil Workers Union called on the parent body, the CMT, and other unions for a general strike. The head of the Mexican Federation of Labor (CMT), the infamous Stalinist, Lombardo Toledano, ignored the plea and joined a committee of union and government officials to study the wage demands of the oil workers! Wage increases which have been demanded for the last two years! This proposal was accepted by the leaders of the Oil Workers Union.

When we recall that this same union fought a titanic battle for ten months against the British oil interests in 1937-38 and finally demanded that the government permit it to take over and run the properties, we can measure the deterioration of the militancy and power of the trade unions. But the symptom reveals the disease. At the head of the main trade union organization are the Stalinists. Here is the cancer that gnaws at the vitals of the Mexican labor movement. No wonder Aleman acts with such assurance against the Mexican workers. He knows that the most powerful weapon against the workers are not the armed forces of the government but the leaders of the workers organizations who are, in the main, Stalinists.

Nor are the Stalinists and their cohorts in the CMT content to stick to the day to day job of selling out the workers to the bosses and the government. In addition, the Stalinists carry on a vigilant and merciless campaign of extermination against all those elements within the trade union movement who oppose them, or even dare question their corrupt and dishonest tactics. The situation is so scandalous that even some trade union bureaucrats tied to the Stalinists politically have ostensibly broken with them to forestall a rebellion of their rank and file.

During the past few years an increasing number of workers and organizations have broken with the Stalinists, and in some cases new trade union organizations have been formed. In its struggle against any and all opposition, the Stalinist clique of Toledano and Company have called upon the government for payment for strike-breaking services duly rendered. Under Mexican labor law only those unions and strikes are legal which the government recognizes. Time and time again the Stalinists have called upon the government to declare opposition unions as well as local insurgent groups inside its own Federation, ille-

gal, for defying its leadership. In almost all cases, naturally, the government has decided in favor of the Stalinists. Yet in spite of almost insuperable handicaps, the opposition to the Stalinists continues to grow.

FIGHT FOR FREE UNIONISM

However, in many cases opposition to the Stalinists is merely guided by self-interest. The trade union bureaucracy which senses the storm to come hopes to placate its membership and at the same time replace the Stalinists as the labor lieutenants of the government inside the trade union movement. Such is the case, for instance, in the politically important teachers union (SNTE), which is in the throes of a conflict between the Stalinists and their opponents. The opposition charges the Stalinists with the now familiar crime of bribing of delegates to the union convention. But the calibre of the opposition to the Stalinists is given by its answer to the Stalinist accusation that it did not support Aleman in the election. The opposition replies that it supported the strike-breaking, anti-labor, Aleman before the Stalinists themselves did.

In the forefront of the struggle against the Stalinist betrayal of the Mexican labor movement are our Mexican comrades of the Fourth International. Their excellent paper, *Lucha Obrera* (Workers Struggle), has carried on a relentless campaign against the Stalinists with the transitional program of the Fourth International. In no country in the world today does the slogan of trade union independence from government control (and Stalinist domination) have more concrete meaning than in Mexico. It is no exaggeration to say that it is a life or death question. Our comrades are raising this slogan and fighting for its realization not only in their literature but in those unions where they play a militant role.

THE OIL WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The race for Middle East oil has taken a new and ominous turn with the publication of official Russian and American oil statistics. The *Petroleum Press Survey* analysis of Russian oil production shows the following:

In 1940 Russian oil production totalled 31,000,000 tons.

In 1945 Russian oil production had sunk to 20,000,000 tons, only slightly more than the output of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Southern Persia, and of this total over two-thirds came from Russia's Caucasian and Baku oilfields.

The maximum that the Russians hope to get after the completion of the Five-Year Plan in 1950 is 35,000,000 tons per year.

Russia's current needs of oil in restoring her mechanized agriculture and substitution of coal where it is lacking for fuel as well as in the maintenance of a six million-strong army is estimated to require between 50 and 60 million tons of oil per year.

The gap therefore in Russia's current oil needs is so great as to represent probably the most serious flaw in her reconstruction program.

The current entry of the United States as one of the claimants for Middle East oil is also based

on figures issued by Mr. Charles Rayner, the Petroleum Adviser to the American State Department. He estimates that in 15-20 years' time the domestic needs of the United States will require 6,500,000-7,000,000 barrels per day, without allowing for the accumulation of any stockpile for war emergency.

The maximum domestic output of oil in the United States foreseen within this period is 3,500,000 barrels per day.

The gap between domestic consumption needs and supply would therefore reach a total of about 3,000,000 barrels per day, which produces a fantastic annual deficit of something like 180,000,000 tons of oil.

The Americans are therefore considering every conceivable source of outside supply. At present their main effort is directed to the Middle East. They are extending the Arabian drillings to such an extent that soon the American oilfields in Saudi Arabia may equal those of the Anglo-Iranian Company. They are building pipelines 1,000 miles long through Arabia to termini in Palestine and Syria, and are planning the erection of vast refineries in Egypt.

Reprinted from *The London Tribune*.

Truman "Intelligence Program" Creates Secret Spy Agency

By MIKE STEVENS

Very little news has appeared in the capitalist press about the post-war "Intelligence Program" of this country. Early in 1946 President Truman announced the establishment of the "National Intelligence Authority." Secretary of State Byrnes and some of the brass hats talked on the subject quite generally. But it seems that they have learned that suspicions exist, especially in the labor movement, about "intelligence systems."

Spying and imperialism go hand in hand. Imperialist diplomatic rivalry, which precedes war, produces elaborate intelligence organizations who organize spying scientifically on "friendly" as well as "unfriendly" governments in order to get industrial and political information, to determine which individuals and movements to finance and support, and to watch for unrest among the colonial people and the population at home. A thousand and one examples could be cited to show what an efficient spy does to earn his keep.

Secretary Byrnes was always careful not to talk to reveal much of the details about the "intelligence program," but when the House Appropriations Committee this last year cut off \$4,150,136 from the State Department's 1947 budget, Mr. Byrnes had to speak out. He said that this entire amount was for the department's "intelligence program." Here are Mr. Byrnes' own words to the committee:

"I cannot stress too strongly my firm conviction that a well-organized research and intelligence service in the Department, working in close collaboration with the intelligence services of the Army and Navy and the newly established 'National Intelligence Authority,' is not only an essential instrumentality in the conduct of our national policy, but represents a vital element of our national security system. Failure of the House Appropriations Committee to appropriate any funds for this service makes it impossible for the Department to undertake even a modest foreign intelligence program. . . ."

Mr. Byrnes states that there are four groups that maintain "intelligence systems," the Army, the Navy, the Department of State and the National Intelligence Authority. One of the largest of the groups mentioned is the Army intelligence organization. Its new intelligence chief is Lieut.-Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg.

The General wants to have an intelligence system that is bigger and better than that of any other country. All he wants is a dictatorial blank check, that nobody shall know what he is doing or how much he is spending. We will quote the General's own words to avoid any impression that perhaps we are accusing him of something he didn't say. The General stated:

"We will need a large operating sum and I don't think the sum should

be revealed. And we will need almost nation's need to know what is going a blank check in trust. In other words, I mean that if the authorities the funds we need and trust us to be responsible for the expenditure of the job without a public account-public funds are convinced of thising of what we are doing."

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

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!

With the Workers Party

AKRON
Write to Box 221 for information.

BALTIMORE
Headquarters: 21 W. Preston St.
Meetings of the Socialist Youth League are held every Friday at 8 p.m. Public forums are held the second Friday of each month.

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

CHICAGO
LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.
Telephone—CHESAPEAKE 5708
Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.
On every Sunday evening at 7:30 o'clock, discussion classes of Marxist classics for next four weeks.

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 not yet established.
Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.
For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Sta. B, Cleveland, Ohio.

DETROIT
The building which housed the headquarters of the Detroit branch has been sold. The Workers Party and Labor Action local offices have been moved to the following address: Labor Action Hall, Rialto Theater Bldg., Rooms 9 and 10, 6351 Gratiot, Detroit 7, Mich.
Telephone: Plaza 5559.
Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

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.

LOUISVILLE
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—3 to 4 p.m.

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, 1330 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, 555 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
For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1671.
Regular class on the "Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism" every Monday evening at 8:30.

PHILADELPHIA
HEADQUARTERS: 1133 West Ger-ard Avenue (3rd floor).
WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m.
Coming events at Labor Action Hall, 1133 W. Girard Avenue:
Sunday, January 5, 8:00 p.m.—Forum, "What Is Behind the UNO?"
Speaker, Alex Craig.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
San Francisco Bay Area Branch headquarters at 466 Tenth St. (corner Tenth and Broadway), Room 206, Oakland. Forums on current problems every other Sunday at 8:15 p.m. The next will be December 1.

SEATTLE
For information write to P.O. Box 143, University Post Office, Seattle, 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.

French Government Denies Freedom to Indo-Chinese --

(Continued from page 1)
Annamese. Natives were officially treated as inferior creatures, invariably addressed with the humiliating "tu" with which the French address their children and servants, and subjected to the most outrageous governmental terror.
Andree Viollis, a French author who visited French Indo-China in the thirties and wrote a book in which she described her observations there, found that among the many infernal punishments with which the French retaliated against native insubordination, the following was practiced by the representatives of the Third Republic: a native's leg would be cut into long furrows, the spaces between filled with cotton, and the cotton would later be ignited. It is practices of this kind that make it difficult to sympathize with the indignation of the good Socialist minister in Paris who is "not disposed to put up with acts of violence..."

At the end of the war, the British were the first to take control of the country after the defeat of the Japanese. To prove how interested they were in protecting the world from the evils of Japanese militarism, the first acts of the British in Indo-China consisted in using Japanese troops against the Annamese independence movement. After the French regained control of the peninsula, they concluded an agreement with the native republic of Viet Nam, recognizing the independence of that republic within the framework of the French Indo-Chinese federation. The republic includes the provinces of Tongking and Annam, but not Cochinchina, the richest part of the peninsula. This latter province, according to the French-Viet Nam agreement, was to decide whether it wanted to become part of the republic by a referendum vote "as soon as peaceful conditions could be restored."

Whatever may be confused in Indo-China at the present time, one thing is clear: this is a conflict over the most elementary democratic rights of a colonial people. The Blum government, by pursuing the war against the Viet Nam republic, and by prohibiting the PCI demonstration in Paris for the independence of Indo-China (see Dec. 23 LABOR ACTION for a complete report of this demonstration), is showing in practice the value and the real meaning of all its beautiful phrases about democracy and independence.

Where You Can Buy Labor Action and New International

- BALTIMORE**
Fayette and Calvert Streets
- CLEVELAND**
Wheatman's Store, 719 Prospect Ave.
- LOUISVILLE**
Elliott Bookshop, betw. Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.
- NEWARK**
91 Barkley Street, 168 Belmont Ave. Northeast corner, Market and Mulberry.
- READING**
Southwest corner, Fifth and Penn Streets.
- PHILADELPHIA**
LABOR ACTION:
N.E. cor. 11th and Walnut.
N.W. cor. 13th and Market.
N.E. cor. Broad and Arch.
S.E. cor. 19th and Market.
N.E. cor. 16th and Seibert.
N. N.E. cor. Broad St. and Girard Ave.
New International:
N.E. cor. 11th and Walnut.
N.W. cor. 13th and Market.
N.E. cor. Broad and Arch.
N.E. cor. 15th and Market.
N. E. cor. Broad and Columbia.
- SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA**
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2055 Fillmore St.
Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd Street.
McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St.
Berkeley:
Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.
- SEATTLE**
102 Washington Street.

Sunday Forum In New York To Hear Howe

The regular Sunday evening forums which the Labor Action School is conducting will continue next week with a lecture by Irving Howe, of the paper's editorial board, on "Can Intellectuals Escape Politics?" The lecture will be held on Sunday, January 12, at 8:30 p.m. at the New York City Labor Action School headquarters, 114 West 14th Street.
This lecture will discuss contemporary political and ideological trends among America's intellectuals. The tendency toward mysticism and rejection of scientific methods; the tendency toward the substitution of abstract moral categories for concrete social analysis and action; the tendency toward revival of utopian social philosophies will be analyzed. Among the groups to be taken up will be various left-wing and radical magazines which in one way or another reflect the "new failure of nerve" among the intellectuals: Partisan Review, Politics, etc.
The lecture will take up the present tendencies to distort various disciplines—psychoanalysis, literary criticism, existential philosophy—beyond their proper spheres of relevance and substitute them for politics. It will conclude with a discussion of the relationship between the contemporary socialist movement and intellectuals in search for meaningful values in the modern world.
Questions and discussion will follow.

Stalinists Support French Imperialism

L'Humanite, the Paris organ of the French Stalinists, replying to attacks on the CP for its alleged sympathy with the Indo-Chinese nationalist movement, stated in its December 22 issue that "Communists wanted France to remain in Indo-China, but were opposed to a policy that would produce results like those in Syria and Lebanon."
Thus, with the French Socialist cabinet directing the war against the Annamese, and with the CP declaring itself in favor of the French remaining in Indo-China, the only political party in France which defends the democratic right of the Annamese to independence is the Fourth Internationalist FCI.

Youth Corner... THE POLITICS OF THE AYD

By JULIUS FALK
Nat'l Sec'y, SYL
During the war, the Stalinists, who were super-patriots in America, tried to show their good faith with American capitalism by "dissolving" themselves. However, this was a Kremlin-sponsored farce which no one took seriously. All the Stalinists did was to change their name from Communist Party to Communist Political Association. The reactionary political content and activity of American Stalinism was not changed.

prohibited in bulletins and at meetings.
In the proceedings of the second national convention of the AYD an hysterical resolution on Trotskyism was passed which read as if it had been lifted from the proceedings of the Moscow frame-up trials. There is the same verbiage and methodology in this resolution that characterized the Russian witch-hunt. All left-wing critics of the reactionary AYD-Stalinist line are lumped together under the all-inclusive title "Trotskyites" and abused as "stool pigeons, disrupters, red-baiters."

Just as the Stalinist Party thought it necessary to continue functioning under an assumed name, so did the Young Communist League reconstitute itself in new garb. Instead of the radical-sounding Young Communist League they now bear the respectable title of American Youth for Democracy.

A number "of these wrecking individuals," the AYD resolution informs us, were expelled by AYD clubs in California, Pennsylvania, New York and elsewhere. No doubt these junior Vysinskys would have liked to report the Trotskyists shot instead of expelled. Among the reasons for their expulsion given in the resolution is the fact that "Trotskyists actively opposed the Second World War as a reactionary war" and "sabotaged labor's wartime no-strike pledge."

Despite its superficially progressive appeal, and by virtue of its complete control by the Stalinists, the AYD's political program is basically reactionary. Using almost the identical clichés as the Daily Worker, the AYD calls upon American youth to support and place their faith in "unity of the Big Three." They do not see or do not want to see the inherently reactionary content and nature of British and American capitalism.

On count 1, we plead guilty. The Workers Party and its youth section, the Socialist Youth League, regarded it as their elementary socialist duty to expose and fight against the imperialist character of the Second World War. Revolutionary socialists everywhere worked ceaselessly with their limited forces to indicate to the working class that the real aims of the war were completely alien to their needs.

It should go without saying that there isn't a word of criticism against rapacious Russian imperialism in any AYD publication. Not even a suggestion of a complaint against such typical Nazi-like acts as importing slave labor from conquered countries, leveling the industries of over-run lands (Manchuria), or the exclusion of the oppressed European Jews. The AYD has nothing but admiration for the political prison that Russia is today. Not only the politics but the internal life of the AYD bears an odious resemblance to the tactics of its CP mentors. Serious differences of opinion are not only discouraged, but

On count 2, the Trotskyists will just as readily sign a confession. Precisely because as revolutionists they maintained their socialist perspective during the war, they were opposed to the union movement surrendering its most powerful weapon—the right to strike.
Actually, these two AYD charges against left-wing and socialist critics are a confession of its own reactionary politics.

PRESS MANAGER'S

PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

NEW INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN:
The January, 1947, issue of *The New Internationalist* will be out during the first week in January. In the next issue of LABOR ACTION we will publish a final account of the recent campaign held by *The New Internationalist* for 500 subscriptions and increased sales. We will also announce the winner of the prize offered to that branch of the Workers Party that did the best job during the course of the campaign.

LABOR ACTION BILLS:
LABOR ACTION bills for the month of December are now in the mails. Recently, there has been a tendency among many agents to let their accounts fall behind. The pressing demands of the paper make it impossible for us to give any extended credit and we are urging all LABOR ACTION agents to start off the New Year with a real effort to bring their accounts up to date. LABOR ACTION needs the money; we call upon all agents of the paper to swing into action for full payment of their bills. We are beginning a drive to bring all accounts up to date as of January 1, 1947.

New subscriptions and renewals slowed up this week—no doubt due to the holiday season. Local New York and Newark did the best job. We hope to start off next year with a real report on subscriptions. Here's the total for the past week:

NEW YORK CITY	12
Newark	9
Detroit	4
Los Angeles	2
Reading	2
West Virginia	2
Miscellaneous	3
TOTAL	34

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Poor Farmer Robbed Same as Wage Slave

Dear Labor Action:
I am still fanning the flames of discontent. I have 200 acres, raise cattle, hogs, chickens, cream and sheep. I read about the high prices you poor devils pay for what I produce.
Well, we are robbed just the same as the wage slave. I would live better under socialism broke than to own my own 200 acres under the capitalist system.
How does the farmer feel about the coal strike? To hell with the operators and the strike-breaking capitalist government. If that is free enterprise, it's all free for the capitalist. But \$3,500,000 isn't free for the miners who work in the hell holes of the bowels of the earth.
I am enclosing \$1.00 for a subscription for my neighbor.
Yours truly,
O. T., Durham, Mo.

A little equality of treatment seems to be in order.
Friendly yours,
ED FINDLEY

The letter of Comrade Findley raises a question which made up part of the discussion at the Labor Action School Forum where the two of us spoke on the Jewish question in relation to the current situation in Palestine. At that time, Findley asked why I kept admonishing the Jewish people and their organizations, inside of Palestine and outside, to adopt "a friendly, internationalist, socialist attitude (which) ... could overcome the propaganda of the reactionary Arab leaders." Why did I not make the same plea to the Arab people and their organizations and leaders? The same question was asked of me when I spoke in Philadelphia.
I tried to make clear the reasons for the particular emphasis which I put on this question. In my speeches and rebuttals, a proper evaluation was made of the part which the Arabs play in the present situation, but I deliberately concentrated the main burden of attack upon the Jewish organizations, their leaders and their members. My demand is not "onesided, unilateral," and this is why:
In the context of the real situation the Jews want to settle in Palestine and demand the right of free immigration. For a number of reasons already stated in columns of our press we are in favor of and support this desire on the part of the Jews. But they wish to go to a country which is Arabian in its vast majority. Both Arabians and Jews have one common enemy, British imperialism, which blocks the road to the immediate primary need of Palestine: complete independence. British imperialism has succeeded, with the assistance of the Arab overlords, in whipping up resistance and resentment of large segments of the Arab masses to Jewish immigration. But British imperialism is also vigorously assisted by the attitude of the Jews toward the Arabs, when the latter express themselves toward the Arabs in a language that is, from the point of socialism and internationalism, impermissible, reactionary, coupled with overtones of "racism."

It goes without saying, and as a matter of fact we have said it repeatedly, that we want the Arabs to approach the Jews in the same way as we ask the Jews to approach them. And if we were debating this question before an Arab audience we would most certainly stress this factor on the basis of our revolutionary socialist program. But we are not speaking to such audiences. We are discussing the question before audiences which attract many Jews, and the majority of them do not have, what is in our opinion, a clear and correct position on the question. We are appealing to them because we have direct contact with them and because they hold a key to the solution of this whole question.
There is still another reason for our emphasis. It is a concrete and practical one. The Jews desire to go to a country which is predominantly Arab. In coming to such a country, the responsibility of Jews for a correct attitude toward the Arab is greater than that of the Arabs, especially because of the latter's hostility to increased Jewish immigration. The Jews have to overcome this hostility and win the Arabs to their side; they cannot do it except on the basis of our program.

past week in Jersey City, N. J. No, it was not an industrial strike, although the tactics used were identical, but a struggle on the part of Spyder High School youth to protest a new schedule of hours which would interfere with their after school employment.

The most significant aspect of the strike is that it took place in Hague's town, Jersey City, the bastion of open shop, strike-breaking and anti-union police rule in the days of the CIO organizing drives. Even today, strikers are much abused by "Hague's Police." For in reality, Mayor Hague is the executive arm of the industrial ruling class of that area, and for these many years has served them nobly.
Jersey City is predominantly industrial and is in the heart of the manufacturing eastern United States. It is only natural, then, that the sons and daughters of workers should use the same tactics in struggle as did their parents. At the same time, there is the fact that the bulk of these students have been getting a working class education of their own after school hours. The war years gave tens of thousands of youth the opportunity to earn money and to purchase the things they wanted. The youth involved in this strike wanted to retain their independent financial status.
The new schedule which is to go into effect February 1, 1947, changes the hours from the former 8:15 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., to 8:45 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. It is clear that this is an attempt to withdraw from the labor market a segment of young workers in preparation for the coming unemployment facing the workers generally.

ity used by these students is identical with that used by the working class as a whole throughout the country in its struggles for a better life. It is an education which these young people will find useful in the years to come.

The police, in their usual strike-breaking role, employed what was called "Diversion and Movement" tactics. That is, they traveled amongst the students in a patrol wagon, and every so often would cut off a segment and force the pickets into a side street. At the same time they, the police, were keen in their observation of the leaders. Reminiscent of industrial strikes, they were shunted aside.

Latest reports have it that the strikers have returned to their classes. In the interim, many letters have been sent out to parents of the students by the principal of the high school warning them that if the students did not return to class on the following day, punitive measures including expulsion, charges of improper conduct, and disrupting the high school system, and legal steps against the parents would be taken.
And so we see that the chaos in the economic system reaches down into the very halls of capitalist education. In the final analysis, it is all a reflection of the confused society in which we exist today. A confusion which grows deeper as the system decays. The youth is the harbinger of the future, and from their actions in this instance can be seen the basis of their struggles as they will unfold in the future.
PHILIP ROMANO.

Note on Jewish-Arab Position

Dear Editor:
In the recent news item "Gates Discusses Palestine Issue at Philly Forum" he is reported to have offered the Jewish masses friendly advice. "If the Jews were to approach the Arabs with a friendly, internationalist, socialist attitude, they could overcome the propaganda of the reactionary Arab leaders."
It seems that every time a WP spokesman lectures on the question there almost always seems to be forthcoming a ONE SIDED, UNILATERAL DEMAND directed to the Jewish masses to recognize Arab rights. Seldom, if ever, is there forthcoming a parallel demand directed to the Arabs to give up their opposition to the democratic right of the homeless Jewish masses to enter Palestine. Why?
Is the undeniable right to majority self-rule a more important democratic demand than the life and death need of hundreds of thousands of persecuted and homeless Jews for refuge and security?
Why not direct a demand to the Arabs that they approach the Jews "with a friendly, internationalist, socialist attitude"?

School Strike In Jersey City

Comrades:
The headline in the daily press of Wednesday, December 18, 1946, read, "Police disperse demonstrators strategically." In that headline is the story of a student strike this

At the peak, the demonstrators numbered in the twelve-hundreds. They were a forceful group which gathered in front of the high school on Monday, the first day of the strike. Their refusal to attend classes, brought mounted and veiled police to the scene. On Tuesday, the largest number assembled. They began parading to other high schools, shouting for support to youth in the Dickinson and Ferris High Schools. At noon recess, the school yard at Dickinson was locked, but the surge of students inside attempting a union with the pickets outside was enough to force the gate. It must be remembered that the form of activ-

School Strike In Jersey City

Albert Gates.

AN EXAMINATION OF CHICAGO CHAPTER 28'S RESOLUTION

How to Fight Stalinism in the AVC

By W. FARGO.

A copy of the resolution printed below was sent to us by a friend in Chicago. The "Statement on Communism" recently adopted by a majority of the National Planning Committee of the American Veterans Committee has produced an avalanche of counter-resolutions in the local chapters of the AVC. Many of the opposition resolutions are dyed-in-the-wool Stalinist resolutions.

Following the example of their elders in the CIO, the Stalinist leaders in the AVC do not take the NPC statement very seriously. Their resolutions say in effect: "There is a great deal of work to be done. The NPC statement is interfering with this work. Let's vote, get it over with and get down to the business of building a Veterans' organization." In their own cynical way, the Stalinists in the AVC know that even if the NPC statement were adopted, the leaders of the AVC are impotent to act against the Stalinists in that organization. The very casual attitude of the Stalinists is evidence of this impotence.

CHAPTER 28'S STAND

Of all the opposition resolutions of the non- or anti-Stalinist variety that have come to our attention, we feel that the resolution of the Four Freedoms Chapter 28 in Chicago is the most intelligent and the one most deserving the support of all members of the AVC.

It is our opinion that while the resolution of Chapter 28 merits the support of every militant in the AVC, that resolution would have been stronger had it contained a paragraph examining the origins and connections of the statement of the NPC.

It may be only coincidental, but it seems to us significant that the "Statement on Communism" of the NPC comes at a time when relations between the former allies (Anglo-American imperialism and Russian imperialism) have deteriorated and are at serious odds over the spoils of the war. It also comes at a time when a similar drive against the Stalinists has been launched in the CIO. These, in our view, are the origins of the anti-Stalinist drive in the AVC.

HOW FIGHT STALINISM?

The anti-Stalinist drives that are currently popular are being effectively utilized by the bosses and the government in their new offensive against labor's rights and in their encroachments upon the living standards of the working masses. Their drive, in this sense, is not merely a drive against the reactionary Stalinists, but represents a fight against the real champions of the rights of labor, against all militant workers. Considered in this light, whether conscious or not, the policy of the NPC gives objective support to the reactionary drive of big business and the government against labor.

Make no mistake about this—the victory of that reactionary drive will just as surely, if not more so, destroy the AVC as will the Stalinists' control. In terms of veterans' affairs, the victory of the reactionary drive against the living standards of the workers will mean the victory of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars over the AVC, just as the collapse of the Emergency Vet-

Statement and Resolution of the "Four Freedoms" Chapter 28 on the National Planning Committee's Statement on Communism Adopted: December 3, 1946

The "Four Freedoms" Chapter submits the following statement and resolution for the consideration of the Chicago Area Council and all chapters of the American Veterans Committee:

WHEREAS: 1. We endorse the National Planning Committee's characterization of the Communist Party as a "totalitarian," "unprogressive" and "insidious" group, bent on subordinating AVC to their party line, the guiding light of which is Russian foreign policy.

However, the method proposed by the NPC to combat the Communist Party's policies and tactics within AVC by barring or expelling CP members is thoroughly undemocratic and contrary to the principles of the AVC. Such a method is not only unjustifiable but completely inadequate and woefully ineffectual. Such undemocratic practices are better left to the Communist Party, which is expert at them.

Communist Party members, whose present pseudo-progressive line has its basis in the present imperialist rivalry between the United States and Russia, like to pose as leaders in the fight for veterans' rights. Consequently, they can only be defeated by putting forth a genuinely consistent program of aggressive and militant action.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. We pledge ourselves to fight vigorously the policies and tactics of the members of the Communist Party on issues with a positive program and leadership. We repudiate any organizational restrictions against them as being incorrect and ineffective.

2. We repudiate the statement of the Chicago Area Executive Committee as evading the real issue and whitewashing the pernicious policies of the Communist Party in AVC.

The "Four Freedoms" Chapter introduces the above as a resolution to be voted together with the NPC Statement on Communism in the following manner:

1. We propose the removal of the following sentence from the NPC Statement: "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 or deceit, they gain such entrance, from attempting to use AVC as a sounding-board for their own perverse philosophy."

2. We add the "Four Freedoms" Chapter's resolution to the NPC's Statement as deleted in (1) above.

AN APPEAL

The "Four Freedoms" Chapter kindly asks all chapter delegates to postpone the voting on the NPC resolution and the Chicago Area Executive Committee's resolution at the meeting of the Area Council on Friday, December 13, 1946. We request that the delegates table both of those resolutions to the following meeting of the Area Council in order that the membership of all chapters may have an opportunity to discuss and vote on this statement and resolution of the "Four Freedoms" Chapter No. 28.

erans Housing Program was a severe blow to the organizational position of the AVC.

All LABOR ACTION readers, familiar with the program and work of the Workers Party, know that we have waged an uncompromising political struggle against Stalinism. Stalinism has made deals and compromises with Hitler, Churchill and Roosevelt, as well as with Mr. Roosevelt's son, "Junior," who is now backing the NPC statement. But never have they made a political compromise with the Trotskyists. And there is no compromise now—no affinity between our opposition to the NPC statement and that of the Stalinists.

We know (as do those who took seriously the anti-Communist resolu-

tion in the CIO) that the Stalinists cannot be uncovered, and their reactionary totalitarianism defeated, by witch-hunts, by exorcism or by organizational measures in the unions or in the AVC. We cannot cleanse ourselves of this scourge by bathing in the bilgewater of Stalinist organizational methods and tactics. You cannot purify the stream by organizing methods employed by men who have recently grown irritated with the threats and provocations of the Stalinists.

The program and policies of Stalinism are vulnerable in the same degree as they are fundamentally reactionary. We must conduct a frontal barrage against these policies and programs. But it must be a political barrage. We must counter the pro-

gram of the Stalinists which, for the moment, appears (but only appears) progressive, with a militant labor program on behalf of the veterans. Such a militant program will open the sluice gates which are making of the AVC a stagnant pool reeking with the bilge of Stalinism and the NPC's organizational solution, and clear the waters by allowing them to flow.

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Dec. 20—If the CIO leadership is somewhat timid and conservative in explaining to its millions of members the profound significance of its new wage drive, big business is losing no time in coming to grips with the basic problems posed by the CIO demands.

The latest pronouncement from one

What Auto Labor Faces in New Year

DETROIT, Dec. 27—The auto industry goes into 1947 with the prospect of its most profitable year in industrial history.

The 1,000,000 auto workers face a year of grim struggle. This is the essence of the situation in auto now.

Contrary to many published reports, the auto industry did not finish 1946 "in the red." Attaining the record production volume of over 810,000 cars manufactured in the last quarter of the year, the auto industry was assured of a financial report "in the black," the Detroit Free Press automotive reporter pointed out in an article last week.

Overlooked in most reports published on the auto industry in 1946 were two very important factors:

(1) Sales of auto parts totaled over \$1,600,000,000, of which a good portion was extremely profitable.

(2) Truck production exceeded the high mark of 1941, and reached nearly 1,000,000. This also was not exactly produced at a loss.

However, another factor, more difficult to ascertain statistically, must be included in any rounded analysis of the position of the auto industry.

TAX REBATE A WINDFALL

Taking advantage of the tax rebate provisions which assured them of an 85 per cent return of any losses from the excess profits fund, the auto manufacturers built up tremendous inventories. By the "losses" sustained in these purchases in 1946—since car production wasn't rapid enough to consume these materials—the car manufacturers obtained rebates from the government. Now the auto industry enters 1947 with huge inventories paid for, and thus each car sold will bring fantastic profits.

The decision of the major auto companies not to change models in 1947 likewise puts them in a very favorable position. There will be no need for expensive tool and die replacements.

All in all, a production estimate of nearly 1,000,000 cars per quarter isn't considered over-optimistic in auto circles.

RAP INDIFFERENCE OF N. Y. POLICE IN TRESCA CASE

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 25—Police Commissioner Wallander had before him today a letter lately sent to Mayor O'Dwyer by the Tresca Memorial Committee, urging that the Police Department conduct a new inquiry into the unsolved 1943 murder of Carlo Tresca, anti-totalitarian editor.

Mr. O'Dwyer acknowledged that letter, making no comment on criticism therein of District Attorney Hogan's office, but simply saying he had referred it to Mr. Wallander's department "for attention." Norman Thomas, committee chairman, said today.

"We are keen to see what course Mr. Wallander will now pursue with regard to this four-year-old unpunished killing," Mr. Thomas stated. "Because it bore the earmarks of a political crime, there is every reason why the police should go just as far in their search for the guilty in the Tresca case as in the Scottoriggio killing."

"If Mr. Wallander will look into the matter, he will find that there are responsible officers in his department who are just as critical of the Hogan office's actions, attitudes and omissions in the Tresca case as we have ever been. Some of them are critical, too, of the Hogan staff's handling of the Langford case. Those men, reliable sources tell us, would welcome a chance to dig into the Tresca situation with a free hand, without having to account to the prosecutor's office for their every move."

JANUARY 11 MEMORIAL

Delegations from labor and liberal organizations, which remember Tresca as a courageous organizer and editor, will commemorate his murder on Saturday, January 11, fourth anniversary of that tragedy, at the crime scene, Fifth Avenue and 15th Street. Two meetings are planned there. One, with brief speeches by notable speakers, is to be held at 1:00 p.m. If there is bad weather, that meeting will be moved to the Rand School Auditorium. At 9:40 p.m., exact time of the slaying, close friends of Tresca will honor him by dropping red carnations where he fell.

In contrast to this bright picture for the capitalists who run the auto industry, the auto workers and their union, the UAW-CIO, have a long, hard road ahead.

As part of a unified strategy of the entire CIO, the UAW-CIO is allowing the steel union, under the direct control of Philip Murray, CIO president, to carry the ball in the wage fight. This signifies a slow, conservative, compromising fight, without much assurance of genuine gains.

The brightest aspect of the wage picture in auto is the accidental result of the suit won against the Mr. Clemens Pottery Company, which gives a basis for legal action to obtain portal-to-portal pay in the auto industry.

In the face of the great tests ahead, the UAW-CIO finds itself again in a period of intensified factionalism, as illustrated at the last board meeting, at which all major policies of Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, were approved. Despite this fact, a strenuous and urgent plea for unity from Reuther to George Adde and other opponents on the board brought only the cynical reply of the board members taking out their handkerchiefs and weeping crocodile tears.

It is believed that Reuther finally has become convinced that no matter what effort he makes to achieve unity in the leadership in the UAW-CIO, it is not possible under the present relationship of forces. There are many indications that Reuther at long last is going to take the issue directly to the ranks.

The year 1947 will indeed be a fateful one for the auto workers.

IS ANTI-LABOR ADVERTISING TAX-Deductible?

Benjamin Marsh of the People's Lobby threw a bomb right into the lap of Big Business a few weeks ago when he said that its expensive anti-labor "American Opportunity" advertising was not deductible from taxes. Mr. Marsh backed up his statement with some correspondence he had had with William T. Sherwood, acting commissioner of the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Members of the United States Chamber of Commerce were reported in "utter confusion" when they heard that Mr. Marsh's statement also represented the view of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. But the fright of big business lasted only long enough for the right people to be talked to, and now the advertising papers are telling big business not to "concern itself too seriously with Mr. Marsh's 'warning.'"

Big business had a reason for being worried. During the past year they have spent millions of dollars on anti-labor advertising. Plans for the coming year call for huge appropriations for just this same kind of advertising. These advertisements do not offer a product for sale; nor do they announce a coming new model; they don't even try to push the company's trade-mark or name. These ads have one purpose, to convince the population as a whole that capitalism is a wonderful system. To do this, these ads try to show that everything would be rosy if business wasn't hampered by such things as trade unions and labor legislation.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue considers the millions spent on this type of advertising as "reasonable and proper" expenditures. If the Bureau refused to consider these advertisements a necessary operating expense—then these anti-labor advertisements would cease to appear. And that is the last thing the Bureau of Internal Revenue would want to do—even if it did mean more money in taxes.

WANTED! WANTED! LABOR ACTION needs for binding purposes Vol. 10, No. 40 The October 7, 1946, issue of LABOR ACTION We will appreciate receiving any extra available copies of this issue and will pay postage costs. Send to: LABOR ACTION 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Sloan Statement Illustrates Economics-Politics Relation

of Wall Street's mouthpieces, Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of General Motors, is a good sample of what the real rulers of America, the big capitalists, are thinking.

"The idea that a wage increase is justified by an increase in living costs is an economic absurdity," declared Sloan this week. In its own way, this stands alongside the classic reply of Marie Antoinette before the French Revolution, to the cries of the hungry for food: "Let them eat cake!"

CAPITALIST RAZZLE-DAZZLE

Let us take a quick glance into a conference room where CIO officials are trying to negotiate a wage increase with General Motors, for example. "Food prices are up, rent is up, clothes cost more, then men just can't make a living for their families at present auto wage scales," the union officials would declare, backed by a wealth of statistics that even the company couldn't deny. GM's answer would be: "Cost of living is up. So what?"

The point is that Sloan's remark is a perfect illustration of the real attitude of Wall Street toward the people of America as a whole. And when CIO leaders talk about "the joint responsibility of labor and industry to solve America's economic problems," they are just kidding themselves and fooling the men in the shops, for industry recognizes no such responsibility. Industry's business is making profits, and it sticks to it. The rest is just razzle-dazzle to keep the uninformed, unorganized, and the timid labor leaders, timid.

"The momentous problem of our day," Mr. Sloan pointed out, "is the position of labor as a component group of the American economic structure." The future of the system depends on what becomes of the position of labor in America, he warned his fellow industrialists. Thus, the major aim of the big industrialists in the coming wage struggles is to preserve the capitalist society. They are worried about the power they know—far better than most union men know—that organized labor contains within itself.

To carry out their strategic aim—saving capitalism—the industrialists have a set of tactics. These were outlined in a nine-point program of Mr. Sloan. "Collective bargaining on an industry-wide basis should be prohibited as monopolistic practice," Mr. Sloan says. Outlaw the closed shop, keep foremen from being organized, etc., etc.

RELIES ON GOVERNMENT

The important thing about the proposals of Mr. Sloan are the kind of

action they involve. In each case, Mr. Sloan insists that the government act to carry out his program against labor.

This is significant from two points of view. Certainly the coal strike emphasized again what every industrialist knows: organized labor today is too powerful to be smashed the "old-fashioned way." That is, labor is too powerful today for direct union-busting campaigns. So labor must be strangled, hog-tied, emasculated and weakened by a series of flank attacks. One aspect of this is constant provocations in plants against the union militants, namely, the stewards.

But the decisive aspect—and this labor must learn—is that Sloan and his Wall Street associates see the value of having the government do the anti-union job. They understand that this is a function of the capitalist government in Washington. The Truman administration and the court system have demonstrated this again and again.

The control of the nation rests in political power. Wall Street has that political power through its domination of the government which is its agency. What the CIO leaders, and John L. Lewis in the coal strike, failed to recognize is that fundamental fact about the relationship between "labor-management and the government," to use one of their phrases.

POLITICAL ACTION

In deciding the strategy and tactics of the union movement in the fight for wage increases, an indispensable part of a plan for victory is an accurate estimate of the enemy. Sloan's speech should clarify any doubts on his views and the views of Wall Street. Truman's role should bring some light on the question of the function of the government.

Only to the extent that this is understood will the CIO be in a position to fight a victorious struggle. Only to the extent that organized labor takes up the challenge of the capitalists will it be able to make genuine advances in the interests of the working people.

Wall Street has its government in Washington. When is organized labor going to start the building of a political force for its own government there? This is part and parcel of the coming struggle called "the CIO wage drive." The coal miners' strike emphasized this necessity. Mr. Sloan's speech indicates that Wall Street appreciates this fully. The job ahead is to arm the labor movement with a sound and fundamental estimate of the situation and to hammer out a clear-cut strategy and flexible tactic for the struggle.

Quotas Set in \$5,000 Labor Action Fund Drive

The campaign to raise \$5,000 to stabilize the eight-page LABOR ACTION has entered its second week. Some of the Workers Party branches are slow in getting started, but much of this is due to the short notice given the branches in the drive. We are confident that our next week will show a marked rise in contributions.

Newark, first of the regular branches to fulfill its quota in our last Fund Drive, is apparently determined to repeat its earlier performance. In the first week of the drive Newark raised over 50 per cent of its quota.

Many readers of LABOR ACTION have responded to appeals for a New Year's gift to the eight-pager by sending us \$1.00 and \$5.00 contributions. Through this column we extend our thanks to these contributors and urge all others who have not yet done so to make a contribution. Send all individual contributions to LABOR ACTION, 4 Court Square, Long Island City, N. Y.

Follow this chart and see how the Fund Drive is coming along; and how your branch rates in the fund drive.

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Contributed, Percent. Lists various cities and their contributions towards the \$5,000 goal.

LABOR ACTION FUND Long Island City 1, N. Y. 4 Court Square I am enclosing \$... as my contribution to the LABOR ACTION Fund to help continue and sustain the Eight-Page paper. Name Address City Zone State

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