

LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 13, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Labor Action Asks:

Are U. S. Munitions, Funds Being Used To Kill Indo-Chinese?

In last week's editorial, "Hands Off Indo-China!" we quite properly directed our main fire upon the French ruling class and its government, now headed by Leon Blum, the "old man" of the French Socialist Party, aided by the MRP and the Stalinists. But the French are not alone in their attack on Indo-Chinese people and the Viet Nam Republic. France alone, as a third-rate power enfeebled by her tremendous war losses, would be unable to prosecute a war against Viet Nam and the vast majority of the Indo-Chinese. It is clear, even from the most cursory examination of the acute problems which face French economy, that she is incapable of doing so on the basis of her own resources. We are therefore compelled to ask a few questions in relation to French policy and activity in Indo-China.

1. The United States has turned over a vast amount of arms, left in France after the war, to the present government. There was a stipulation made, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, that these arms would not be used in Indo-China or in any struggle against a colonial dependency seeking its freedom. Was this stipulation removed by the United States? If it is still in ef-

fect, is there any collusion which permits France to use these arms nevertheless, since she is incapable of carrying on a war in Viet Nam on her own?

2. The French, who are unable to balance their budget and to revive the shattered economy of the nation, were given a billion dollar loan, or fund, by the United States as a means of preventing the collapse of the country. Is part of this fund being used to finance the expedition of French forces in a war against Indo-China?

3. And finally, what is the position of the administration in Washington toward the struggle for independence in Indo-China, a freedom so willingly granted to all colonial peoples in the Atlantic Charter in order to solicit their aid in the war against Germany and Japan and so willingly subscribed to by all the Allied powers? Is the United States a party to the French plan to pacify and disarm the Indo-Chinese in order thereby to prevent their complete independence?

Whatever the answers may be to these questions, they merely emphasize the need for all people to support the slogans of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party: HANDS OFF INDO-CHINA! FOR THE IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OF INDO-CHINA!

Detroit WP Urges Labor Lead March For State FEPC Law

By BEN HALL

DETROIT—The Detroit Branch of the Workers Party has appealed to the United Automobile Workers Union, the CIO and the NAACP in Michigan to organize a mass march on the State Capitol at Lansing to demand of the State Legislature that it enact the Fair Employment Practices Law submitted by 175,000 voters of the state on an initiative petition successfully circulated in December and November.

All that has happened since the publication of this appeal on December 24 in the form of an open letter has confirmed the validity of the proposal.

The State Attorney General has ruled that the petitions are invalid because they do not bear a clearly printed title indicating the contents of the proposed law. The petition itself, consisting of four long closely printed sheets, provides ample opportunity for any fastidious legal eagle to ferret out some misplaced comma or colon to "prove" that they are "irregular." Experienced politicians have sleeves full of such technicalities.

TWO COMMITTEES

As the state legislators prepare to come to the capital for their 1947 session, the campaign for the enactment of the FEPC law has bogged down in the mire of a conflict between rival "prominent" citizens, some of whom support and others of whom reject attempts by the followers of the Communist Party to make this campaign their private affair. The intricate details of the jealous maneuverings of the representatives of these two groups would make a delightful tale for lovers of involved mystery stories.

At this point two opposing statewide committees exist, one led by the Stalinist-controlled Civil Rights Congress and the other led by Bishop Haas, formerly of the national Fair Employment Practices Commission, and endorsed by many others, including Walter Reuther, George Ad-

des, Mayor Edward Jeffries. Each committee has called its own conference in Lansing and each is jockeying for the support of the maximum number of priests, rabbis, ministers, lawyers—that is, the "respectable," "prominent" community "leaders." The anti-Stalinists gleefully attack the Communists, whom they accuse of responsibility for the technical defects of the above mentioned petition. The real culprit on this score is, of course, the Attorney General himself but the critics of the Stalinists do not hesitate to denounce him as he deserves because they are either soft-hearted liberals themselves or do not want to offend other soft-hearted liberals.

TIME FOR MASS ACTION

Both sides in this pitiful squabble have one thing in common. Neither has any intention of organizing a really representative conference based upon the mass organizations of the people, which means, in the first place, based upon the CIO. The Stalinists cannot and will not make any such attempt because it would make their bureaucratic control impossible. The anti-Stalinists will not do it because they do not want to scare off the "liberals," who would shy away from any conference "dominated" by labor.

The bickerings of these "prominent" people can play an important role only because the thousands and thousands of real fighters for democratic rights who made the petition campaign a success are not truly represented in the councils and are not drawn into the fight.

If the law is to be passed, and if it is to be enforced when it is passed, the workers who want to fight discrimination must be prepared to carry on organized MASS ACTION against the forces of Jim Crow. The time to begin is NOW. The Workers Party proposes to cut through the back door maneuverings of a handful of inflated politicians, lawyers and clergymen. Let the organized labor movement call a march on Lansing!

TRUMAN AND GOP JOCKEY ON ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE

By EMANUEL GARRETT

President Truman, in his State of the Union message, extended an offer of harmony to the Republican majority in Congress, proposing that Democrats and Republicans unite in fashioning an olive branch of peace that can be used as a whip against the labor movement. Though Truman disclaimed any bid for punitive measures against labor, and restricted his suggestions to a few "mild curbs," his message makes it absolutely clear that the labor movement will have to be alerted against a legislative assault.

It is not without reason that virtually every single newspaper in the United States headlined Truman's request for "curbs" on labor's right to strike. For that was the real essence of his message, and the essential content of his peace offering to the Republicans. That Republican and Democratic leaders, for the most part, expressed high satisfaction with Truman's proposals is, in the nature of things, to be taken for granted. That some labor leaders, however, also expressed themselves as satisfied indicates the clearest need of rousing the vigilance of the union movement.

Curran Wins Support in NMU Ranks

NEW YORK, Dec. 31.—At a stormy session in Manhattan Center last night, Joe Curran, tough-talking NMU president, obtained overwhelming support from the membership for his act in resigning from the co-chairmanship of the Committee for Maritime Unity and extending an invitation to all seamen's union leaders to meet and possibly form a new unity group.

Following his dramatic action a few days before, Curran laid his case before the seamen and was adamant in his stand that he would not participate in CMU regardless of whether his action was approved or not.

HITS CMU ACTION

The reasons for Curran's withdrawal from the Stalinist "unity" group of CIO seamen's unions were contained in a statement drafted by Curran and placed in every member's seat at Manhattan Center. Curran's action climaxed his defeat in a series of "squeeze plays," block voting by the Stalinist participants, on issues facing CMU. Curran complained that he was consistently outvoted by delegates from unions with only a fraction of representation and financial contribution to the CMU treasury. In his plea to the membership for concurrence in his action, Curran reiterated time and time again that the NMU was willing to "work with the other unions but not under them."

A boiling point was reached recently when Curran arrived in San Francisco to talk over strategy with the other CMU delegates and found them already in separate negotiations with the shipowners despite a previous agreement not to undertake such negotiations without consulting all CMU participants. More than this, Bridges of the Longshoremen, and Bryson of the Cooks and Stewards, had agreed to let their respective cases go to arbitration. Curran said he saw in this move the setting of a possible precedent that would cause an overall settlement of a craft union's demands to be used as a standard for NMU deck and engine crews without NMU having had a chance to negotiate for differentials.

Curran claimed he urged the CMU boys to at least give him a chance to meet with the shipowners before they agreed to arbitration, but he was voted down by a 4-1 vote of the "West Coast Section" which is Stalinist-controlled.

On his return to New York Curran (Continued on page 2)

Admittedly, the proposals were "mild." They are nevertheless sufficiently vicious to open the gates to sterner anti-union measures. It is interesting to note that Truman is hardly as specific in other sections of his message as in its labor section. Here he concretely proposes three measures: to ban strikes over the interpretation of a contract; to ban jurisdictional strikes; and to ban, within limitations, secondary boycotts.

Why so cautious? They are a far cry from the extremes of anti-labor legislation threatened by various Republican and Democratic Congressmen. And for good reason.

In the first place, Truman, and for that matter the more astute Republican leaders, realize that they dare not venture too far afield, lest they be smitten by the strength of an aroused and powerful labor movement.

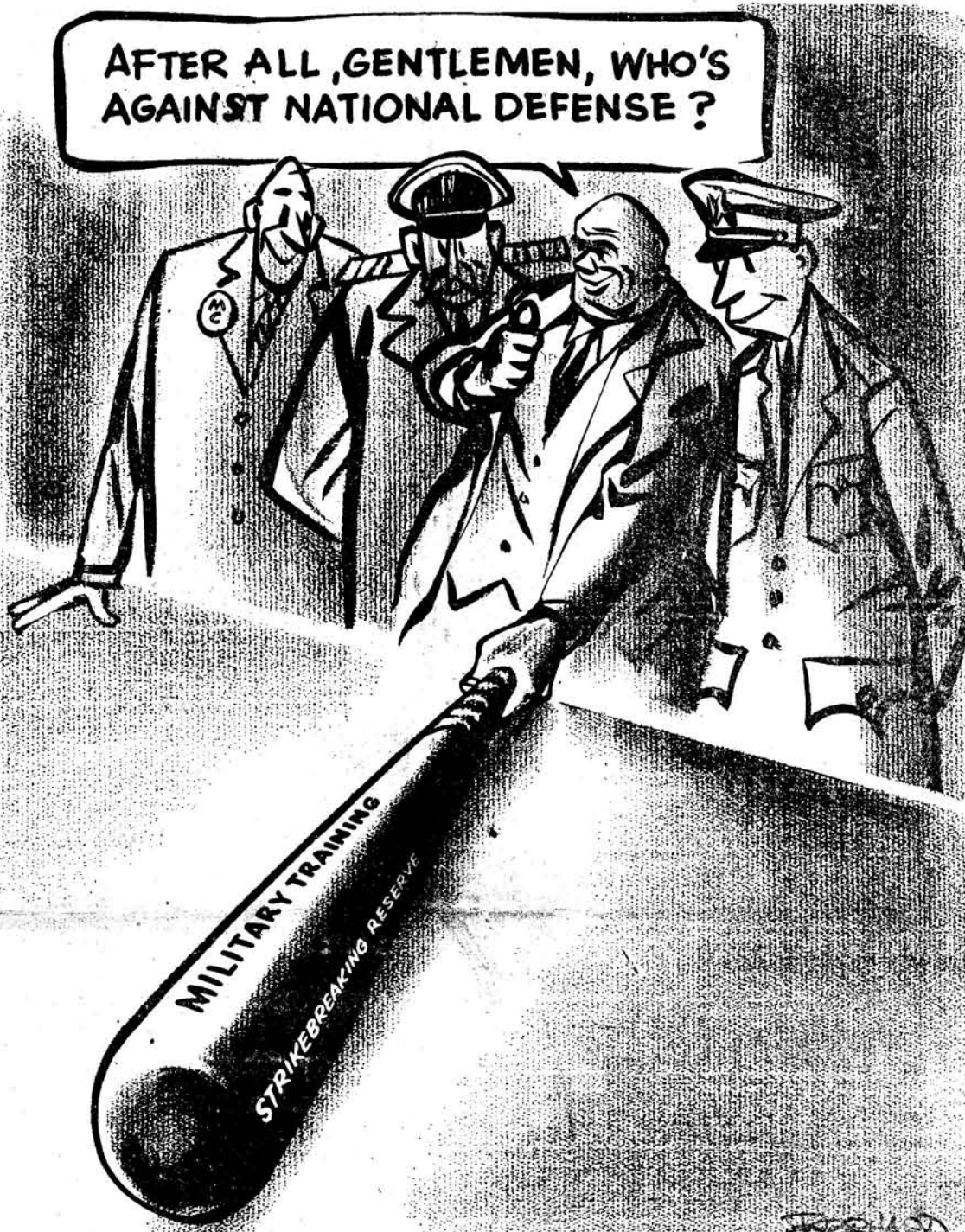
Regardless of how weak may be the spine of this or that labor leader, the fact remains that the labor movement is much too confident of its ability, and much too sensitive of its rights, to permit any legislative tampering with those rights. Hence the calculated attempt to present these proposals as mild, inoffensive and reasonable.

In the second place, Truman is tossing the ball to the Republicans. The big elections come in 1948. Organized or unorganized, there is such a thing as the labor vote. Accordingly, the "responsible" Democratic and Republican Party leaders propose to proceed with more than a little caution, despite the wild-eyed threats of this or that individual.

It is one thing to make a bid for the middle class vote against labor. It is quite another thing to antagonize the labor movement, and possibly broad layers of the middle class as well, as to weaken party chances in 1948... and possibly encourage what has already been given concrete expression in many localities, namely, a Labor Party.

Thus we see, and will continue to see throughout this session of Congress, no small amount of jockeying. Truman is, in effect, saying: this is how far I propose to go, and I offer it as a working basis against labor; if you want to go further, I may be "compelled" to sign your bills, but the responsibility will be yours.

Let us examine these concrete propositions, these "mild" curbs: • Truman, you see, is not asking that labor's rights be invaded in any (Continued on page 7)



Reprinted by Courtesy of Seafarer's Log, SIU Organ—See Editorial from Same Paper on Page Eight

An Editorial Statement

A Balance Sheet on Bilbo

As a result of a parliamentary deal in the Senate to allow Senator Bilbo to have a suddenly announced operation on his cancerous jaw, the issue of seating him in the Senate has been temporarily avoided. The conflict between those Senators who wished to bar him and those who planned a filibuster to prevent such action, threatened to hold up organization of the recently convened Senate.

FEAR HELL TALK

Several reasons for this sudden collapse of the attempt to unseat him stand out:

1) The Southern Democrats' threat of a filibuster, if effective, could have thrown the whole Senate into an uproar and tied up its functioning. This is, however, the LEAST important reason.

2) The Republicans have already achieved most of what they hoped for. They put themselves in the public eye as apparent enemies of Bilbo in order to secure Northern Negro and labor votes in the coming national elections.

That they are not basically opposed to the discriminatory system for which Bilbo stands is evident from many facts, among them the statement of their House of Representatives leader, Joseph Martin, that they do not intend to push FEPC legislation through Congress; and their continued cooperation with other Southern Democrats. Thus, the Republicans achieved a dual purpose.

They put themselves in the public eye as "champions" of the Negroes' rights and they did not fatally disrupt their bloc with the Southern Democrats whose support they desire in mutually reactionary aims, such as anti-labor legislation.

3) Still another powerful reason, we believe, for the Senate "compromise" was the understandable fear of many Senators that Bilbo, in case he was brought up on trial, would spill the beans about corruption and wartime profiteering of other Senators, as he had threatened to do. For, on this matter, it is likely that Bilbo knew what he was talking about; as a rascal himself, he probably has a lot of dirt on other rascals.

Hence the fear that if Bilbo were pressed to the wall, he'd implicate others, both Democratic and Republican, was a powerful factor in the agreement of the Senate to bury the matter at present.

The Senate "compromise" demonstrates conclusively that the two capitalist parties have no genuine interest in the abolition of Jim Crowism. Basically, they are both attached to it. What happened to the great heroes who were going to slay the Bilbo dragon and who dropped their "principles" because Bilbo is sick?

Suppose Bilbo didn't have cancer, what would they have done? And if they're interested in barring Senators who prevent Negroes from voting, we can provide them with a long list of Southern Senators, who, if not as personally nauseating as Bilbo, are equally determined to keep the Negro in chains.

While we are eager to drive Bilbo out of public life, we cannot condone the undemocratic method by which the Senate was preparing to bar him. The attempt to prevent his being seated meant to deprive him of the right to speak in his defense on the floor of the body taking action against him. A democratic procedure would have been first to seat him and then to bring him up on trial for expulsion on the ground that he violated democratic rights of Negroes. This matter is particularly important, since the proposed method of unseating Bilbo might set a precedent for barring radicals or socialists in the future.

And so nothing has been changed basically. A messy compromise has been worked out by which the issue of Bilbo's seating has been postponed. But the basic issue—the continuation of Bilboism, the system of Jim Crowism and poll taxes and lynching and white primaries—has not been touched by the Senate and so long as the Senate is controlled by Democratic and Republican capitalist politicians will not be touched.

The whole incident has been used by the Republican Party and the "liberal" press to confuse what is really at stake. They have implied that if the wretched Bilbo were removed, all would be sweetness and light. But we for our part—though just as eager to drive Bilbo from public life—urge Negro and white workers to center their attention on the main problem: the destruction of Bilboism, the system of racial discrimination.

That is the basic task and we must not be deflected from it.

Lift 30,000 Rents Each Month

OPA Has Lifted One Out of Every Sixteen Rent Ceilings Since 1942

Rent ceilings on apartments and homes are being raised at the rate of 20,000 to 30,000 a month. Close to 1,000,000 individual increases have been granted since 1942, when ceilings were first imposed. Since about 16,000,000 housing units, not including rooms, are under control, that means that one out of every 16 ceilings has been LEGALLY lifted. This figure does not take into account the undoubted hundreds of thousands of cases where "under-the-counter" deals have been forced on tenants by landlords to raise rents on the sly.

These figures were released by officials of the Office of Price Administration.

—which add up to a big bite—are prelude to the expected drive in Congress to raise rent ceilings 10 to 15 per cent all along the line. One thing should be remembered: they may raise the rent ceilings or add service charges, but they've still got to go out and collect. Raising rent ceilings makes increased rent permissible, not mandatory.

In many parts of the country, block to block organization of tenants is quietly continuing in preparation for the big fight ahead on the rent front. If the real estate gougers are to be defeated, such organization must take place now, to be ready when Congress and the real estate lobby try to up the ceilings.

To wait until an OPA ruling on rents is announced would be a fatal error. By then tenants might be faced with an accomplished fact. It is necessary to prepare now, so as to initiate high-gear tenant action as soon as OPA makes a move.

These little nibbles at rent control

Goldman Is Chicago Mayoralty Candidate

The Chicago Branch of the Workers Party announced this week that Albert Goldman would be its candidate for Mayor in the coming spring election. A campaign committee of trade unionists and veterans prepared plans to secure the 88,000 signatures necessary to place him on the ballot. Goldman is the former attorney of Leon Trotsky, as well as a veteran of the American socialist movement. A full report of the campaign plans, as well as a biography of Albert Goldman, appears on page 8.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Curran Wins Support of NMU Ranks --

(Continued from page 1) Curran resigned from the CMU. The line-up for debate on the question of Curran's resignation at the membership meeting was the same as has been seen on every issue since Curran's first blast at the Stalinist element when he contended they were "trying to make Communist policy, union policy."

Joe Stack, Mackenzie, and Smith issued statements assailing Curran for his move and these mouthings were printed in the "Pilot," NMU organ. Support for Curran came from vice-president Lawrensen and Stone, NMU treasurer. Stone pointed out the cunning "conniving" of the Stalinists in the use of CMU funds. He told of the use of CMU funds, largely NMU money, for a meeting in Madison Square Garden which the various delegates at a negotiation session in Washington had believed ill advised. But because the CMU local N. Y. Committee had some degree of autonomy the meeting went on just the same. The local CMU committee is packed with Stalinists, from the seamen's branch of the Stalinist Party.

WILL ATTRACT MILITANTS

Now that the CP-Curran honeymoon is over, one may expect Curran to reveal more details about the NMU Stalinists' dirty work of the past ten years. He will undoubtedly have much difficulty in placing all the double-dealing at the doorstep of the Stalinist hacks in view of his long association with them. His past association with them will make his fight more difficult and will bring from the CP the charge that he was their partner in crime. But if Curran continues his fight on his militant program—he will have the support of the vast section of American seamen.

As the fight proceeds, Curran has already exposed the West Coast CMU's strikebreaking attempt against the Masters, Mates and Pilots (AFL) when the CMU told them to withdraw their picket lines or have them smashed. Only the solid stand by AFL seamen, who made it clear that they would permit no crossing of picket lines, brought home to the NMU rank and file the unsavory role they were being asked to play by CMU.

It was apparent that Curran in his dramatic move delivered the death blow to the CMU Stalinist stooges, sensing the mood of the membership, and made half-hearted attempts to attack Curran at the meeting.

GROUND FOR UNITY

The line taken by the Stalinists, Stack, Smith and Mackenzie, was that the membership should ask Curran to reconsider his hasty action rather than to break up the "unity" (?) created by CMU. Curran did not hesitate to credit the initial unity as the basis of the gains made by the seamen in the autumn strike, but pointed out that the CMU

had degenerated into an organization that indulged in ceaseless attacks on the AFL unions and thereby placed real unity in constant jeopardy.

In his support of Curran, Lawrensen made it clear that the unsavory record of Lundeberg and Hawks of keeping the AFL-SUP lily white was not unknown, but that the NMU leaders had some too clean records on other questions. The important thing, he said, was to find some common ground for unity for all seamen's unions in the face of pending legislative assaults upon the unions. In this manner Lawrensen defended Curran against attempts of the Stalinist, Joe Stack, to intimidate that Curran was selling out the NMU to the AFL.

After interminable discussion Curran's resignation was approved by the membership and the death knell for the Stalinist CMU was sounded.

NOTICE TO STALINISTS

Despite the existence of the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party, the Stalinists do not have a sufficient majority in the NMU to control the membership on crucial issues. They make policy for the NMU in the same manner that they control other unions, through a small clique of highly placed officers who pose as the all-wise tacticians, abetted by some garrulous members of the party sprinkled throughout the union.

At no time did Curran engage in red-baiting, but rather confined his case to an attack upon the unscrupulousness of the Stalinists. They were unable to deny his charges about CMU or to accuse him of bad faith. The only charge they were able to make was that he failed to consult with them before he resigned. Curran's answer was that he was "afraid to" and the tumultuous applause from the membership was notice to the Stalinists that they have begun to smell and the fetor of their putrid acts carries even out to sea.

The membership understood only one thing and that was that they were getting a raw deal in CMU and that Smith, Mackenzie and Stack were trying to defend CMU by the mealy-mouthed plea to "let's try to correct its minor weaknesses." The Communist Party in this country has accused those workers in the unions who fight their control as being the tools of reaction and imperialism. This is a lie! These workers, especially those in the NMU, are now attempting to throw off their backs the monster that has forced them to be the tool of Russian imperialism, the monster disguised as the "friend of the common man," that has asked him to act as strikebreaker against another common man fighting to better his lot. The fight against Stalinist control in the NMU and all other unions is a progressive one, not a reactionary one.

MUST PUSH UNITY

Curran's invitation to all seamen's unions, AFL and CIO, to meet and join in a common front may well result in unity at the present time, the competition of the various union bureaucrats being an important factor. But the struggle for unity, real

unity, must be pushed by the membership of all seamen's unions. Only their insistence on joint action and representation on joint union committees will make unity possible.

The greatest unity so far was the unity the rank and file itself created when the government cracked down on all seafarers and welded the seamen of every AFL and CIO union into one tremendous picket line against

the shipowner government gang, Lundeberg, Hawks, Curran and all the rest had to bow before this solidarity.

Despite the records of some of the union leaders, all labor realizes that a united front must be erected against the coming legislative attacks and steps in that direction are being taken throughout the labor movement.

Government Board Aids Company Scheme to Break Strike at Allis-Chalmers

By KEN HILLYER and MIKE HOLMAN

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 29—Throwing all pretenses of "impartiality" to the winds, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board ordered a collective bargaining election today at the strike-bound Allis-Chalmers plant in West Allis, Wis.

The Board could not even wait for the coming Congress to amend the Wagner Act to give the bosses the right to call for elections in a plant at a time advantageous to them even when a contract already exists.

Known throughout the state for its anti-labor record, this Board is trying to use a completely company-dominated "Independent Workers of Allis-Chalmers" as its instrument to break the strike of workers affiliated to Local 248 of the UAW-CIO.

By its action it has given valid status to this flink and strike-breaking outfit. It completely pushed aside Local 248's claim that the outfit is company-dominated. In its rush to serve the interests of the Allis-Chalmers Company, the Board overruled the standard practice of first investigating the charge of company domination, and then issuing an order. The company wanted action, wanted it now, and so these well-fed, comfortable Board members went through with their Charlie McCarthy act.

The Board had not been content with issuing an order on December 27 limiting picketing to twenty persons at each plant gate. It had to go further, and issue this election order for its propaganda value. The union has answered this properly by disregarding the limit on picketing.

THE LINES MUST BE HELD!

The company has succeeded in keeping the plant in partial operation for a number of months by the use of faint-hearted workers who have returned to work. However, this

DE MORNAY BUDD WORKERS STRIKE BRONX, N. Y., PLANT

NEW YORK — De Mornay Budd workers are out on strike! This machine shop, which is one of the three largest in the Bronx, is shut down tight because it refuses to meet the demands of the AFL International Association of Machinists for a living wage and because it provoked the union by firing six girls who punched out a little early on New Year's Eve. The union membership, fed up with the long delayed wage increases which were promised to them, voted unanimously to strike at a meeting called immediately after the firing of the six girls.

De Mornay Budd has always prided itself on its paternalism toward its workers. It claims to maintain the cleanest factory in New York City. It claims that an employee can appeal directly to the boss himself about any wage problem, after he has exhausted the chain of underlying commands, of course. And it claims to try very hard to give its loyal employees all the overtime that it can. Of course it says very little about paying its employees a decent wage rate so that all this overtime will not be necessary for them to earn enough to buy the week's food and pay the rent.

85 CENTS FOR SKILLED WORK

The average worker in the plant who is doing fairly skilled work in comparison with any usual production job, is paid from 85 cents to 90 cents an hour. Only employees who have been there several years earn any more. The war veterans who have just started at this plant earn about 85 cents an hour for skilled work.

The union, a slow, conservative AFL leadership, has been negotiating a wage increase and a new contract for some time now. The company has repeatedly stalled on granting the union a closed shop. The closed shop is absolutely necessary to the De Mornay Budd workers because it will make the union strong enough to demand better wages, which is the long-run aim of the AFL local.

Every worker in New York must support the De Mornay strike. At stake is not only the wages of De Mornay workers but the extension of unionism to the Bronx machine shop industry.

has not and cannot guarantee any semblance of production. Therefore it tries to break the strike and effect a complete return of its total force of 12,000.

The Allis-Chalmers Company drew \$14,000,000 in tax rebates under the notorious "Carry Back Law," which has been called the greatest piece of strike-breaking legislation ever enacted. On top of this, all the farm equipment manufacturers are behind AC and are using this strike as a test to break all unions. There is no doubt that if AC succeeds, International Harvester will follow and try its hand in breaking the union at the Chicago Tractor and McCormick Works of that company.

The leadership of the union is and has been completely Stalinist. The AC workers are paying now for their very poor union leadership. AC wage rates and working conditions are well below the scale in other UAW shops in this area. In their typical fashion of functioning as "colonial agents" for Joe Stalin, they have failed miserably in building a strong union, developing a real leadership. During the war, they outstripped everyone in their demand for production, in participating in company-union committees, in failing to protect the workers' interests in the plant. They never fully organized the plant and in order to completely control the local, obviously did not want to.

The solidarity of the workers in the J. I. Case strike in Racine, Wis., is a complete contrast to AC. There the workers have been out over a year and there is not the slightest sign of a crack. The Case leadership is solid, and the rank and file is determined to win the strike and retain their union.

In spite of the fact that the leadership of the local is Stalinist; in spite of the fact that they have demonstrated their incompetence in the past; in spite of the fact that R. J. Thomas has taken over this strike in a factional maneuver to buoy his prestige as against Walter Reuther; there are greater issues involved than petty factionalism, personal prestige, and party lines.

Victory in this strike must be won by the workers of AC. Their jobs to them are a life-and-death question. The national leadership of the UAW must recognize this fact and put the strength of the entire UAW to work to win a victory. The UAW is on the spot.

TEST FOR "RIGHT WING"

Recent elections in the Wisconsin State CIO and in the Milwaukee Industrial Union Council have returned victorious the anti-Stalinist "right wing." This is the issue that they can show their mettle on. Are they merely an anti-Communist Party clique intent on jobs and prestige? Or are they interested in the welfare of the trade union movement? This is the issue which can prove the score. A real victory against Stalinism in the union movement can be won if this new leadership can gain the support of the CIO and the AFL in an all-out struggle for victory in this strike.

Tests in court, sending telegrams are not enough! All labor must unite and answer the bosses' anti-union drive. The lesson of Oakland, Calif., where the AFL successfully shut the city down tight as an answer to an attempt to break a strike of retail clerks is one possible answer. If necessary, it can be done in Milwaukee and the whole state.

Make the AC company feel the whole weight of the labor movement. Make them negotiate with the Local 248 leadership, and not just go through the pretensions. All-out support must be garnered, and a good settlement will be reached. The situation is not hopeless. There is still time for ACTION.

New York Meeting THE NEW COLONIAL "FREEDOM" Speaker: H. JUDD Author of "India in Revolt" Thurs, Jan. 16, 1947 8:30 P. M. Labor Action Hall 114 W. 14, NYC Admission Free 3rd Floor

One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

It is remarkable but not strange that the great leaders of Marxist thought, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, all took the keenest interest in the Negro question in the United States. The interest of Marx and Engels centered chiefly on the Civil War and Marx and Engels insisted from the start that the issue at stake was slavery. Trotsky always had a passionate interest in the Negro question and this was increased when he came to live in Mexico. Of the four, the one who seemed most remote from the problem was Lenin. Yet in one of his lesser known writings, he showed his interest in and knowledge of the problem.

The work itself is not too easy to read. It is entitled Capitalism in Agriculture and appeared in the very last volume of his Selected Works (in English). The origin of the work is interesting and significant.

Lenin had been carrying on for years a controversy with those who were attacking Marx's analysis of the influence of capital on agriculture. This was no mere "theoretical" discussion with him or, for that matter, with them either. The driving force of the Russian Revolution was the agricultural question. Lenin insisted that the penetration of capital into the Russian countryside was creating a social differentiation among the peasants, disrupting the traditional relations. He was particularly emphatic on this disruption, on the creation of wealthy tenant-farmers and owners on the one hand; and on the other hand, of a poor farmer who worked for wages a few days in the week.

Needless to say, it was in this disruption that he saw the growing basis of revolutionary struggle. His opinions of all stripes continued in various forms the old specifically Russian thesis that the old communal life of the peasants provided a basis for some special type of Russian socialism. This would avoid the an-

tagonisms between capital and labor, which terrified them with its prospect of inevitable revolution. It is characteristic of the methods of Bolshevism that Lenin gave his opponents no rest. However remote and semi-scientific their theories might be, he dragged their ideas out into the open and exposed their counter-revolutionary implications. It was in pursuit of these attackers of Marx and enemies of revolution that Lenin embarked on a study of capitalism in American agriculture. He made a close examination and study of the American census of 1910 and wrote his findings in one of the most solid studies of capitalism in agriculture that it is possible to read. It is in the course of this study that he had occasion to deal with the Negro question.

SLAVERY PERSISTS

He separated the South from the rest of the United States, which he further divided into the highly organized individual farming of the New England States, and the farming of the broad acres in the Middle West. And in his analysis of Southern farming, he paid special attention to the Negro question.

His analysis can be summarized as follows: The abolition of slavery did not entirely abolish all traces of the old chattel slavery. They remained in the subordination, the degradation, the inhuman conditions of labor of the Negroes. He details the number of tenant farmers, their increasing decay, their poverty and misery and laid special emphasis on the fact that this tendency was bound to increase.

Lenin wrote not only from analysis of figures and of reading. As a study of some of his other writings shows, he had observed and analyzed a very similar phenomenon in Russia. The slaves had been freed in 1863. The serfs in Russia had been emanci-

pated in 1864. But despite the emancipation, many of the old feudal conditions had persisted. In his analysis of conditions in the South among the Negroes, he pointed out that the remains of feudalism in Russia and of chattel slavery in the United States were much the same. He knew the situation of the small tenant and the sharecropper in Russia on which he had repeatedly written in the past. He recognized similar conditions among the Negroes in the United States. As a matter of fact, what is quite revealing is that in his writings on the social conditions in Russia he lays heavy emphasis on the personal tyranny exercised by the landlord over the Russian sharecropper. And after analyzing statistically the situation of the Southern Negro, he writes as one who knows. One can imagine the situation of people who live in those economic and social conditions.

It would take too long here, that is, in this column, to point out the highly instructive parallels between the similar results of a certain economic system even in countries so widely different as Czarist Russia and the U. S. The point is that Lenin, in his unwearying task of educating the Russian proletariat, made analyses and observations of the Negroes in Southern agriculture which are of permanent value to us today, over thirty years afterward.

A great revolution in Russia destroyed that particular agrarian tyranny. In the U. S. the tyranny still continues, though under different conditions. Yet the basic pattern is the same today as it was when Lenin wrote in 1913, and we can say categorically that it is impossible to get a real grasp of the social classes in the agricultural South and their development during the past fifty years without a close study of Lenin's analysis of Southern agriculture, and his brief but pregnant presentation of the Negro question.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

A CLOSE-UP OF THE ECONOMY

Here, in brief, is a picture of U. S. economy today. Total production is now roughly 13 per cent greater than the average of 1941, the last pre-war year. But the 1941 average, because of the "defense program," was far above any earlier peacetime level in our history. This year has not only brought a restoration of the activities of peace industries, but has sent them soaring to record levels—this, despite strikes and materials shortages. Business inventories again rose in October, by \$1.6 billions, largest rise on record, to an all-time high of \$34 billions. The value of total inventories held by manufacturers was over \$19.5 billions, the largest increase taking place in the form of finished goods, which accounted for 45 per cent of the rise. Stores are full, warehouses are full, factories are full, the pipelines between are bursting. The only shortages, save for a few exceptions, are those artificially stimulated by Big Business. Put a pin there, as Daniel De Leon used to say...

The Department of Agriculture reports that food prices have risen more in the past four months than in any comparable period during the 33 years in which records have been kept. Farm income for the first eleven months of 1946 totaled \$21.6 billion, 14 per cent more than in the same period last year, and also an all-time high in history. Put a pin there...

But new look. Savings of individuals are now the lowest since 1941, according to the quarterly analysis of savings compiled by the Securities and Exchange Commission. The trend of savings increased sharply in 1942 and '43 (forced purchase of war bonds, lack of consumers' goods), leveled off in 1944 and '45. Not only have savings declined but there has been an increase in consumer indebtedness, as the masses fight a losing battle against high prices. Consumer debt increased by \$1.4 billion in the third quarter. In the third quarter of 1946, savings declined from \$5.3 billions to \$4.3 billions, in marked contrast to the normal seasonal INCREASE. A year ago, savings totaled \$10.3 billions. In 1944 they stood at the peak of \$39.9 billions. IT DIDN'T TAKE BIG BUSINESS LONG TO STAND US ON OUR HEADS AND SHAKE THE MONEY OUT OF OUR POCKETS, DID IT?

National income in 1946 reached \$165 billions, twice as high as it was in the boom year of 1929, four times as high as in 1932. (Remember when we used to quote from the Brookings Institute study of "America's Capacity to Produce," and have some scissorbill in the audience challenge us.) Well, we ought all to be rich today, shouldn't we? But we very obviously aren't. Indeed, millions of us are worse off than ever. Our real wages—the goods our pay checks will buy—are lower. That this is so is shown by the unprecedented borrowing now occurring—what the Wall Street Journal refers to as "a borrowing binge." People all over the country are trekking to commercial banks, personal loan companies and pawn shops for cash. Some borrow to patch up their homes. Some to pay the doctor. Most just seek money to meet the day-to-day bills that their wages don't cover.

Federal Reserve figures show personal loans (both instalment and single payment) at the end of September at \$3.9 billion, compared with \$2.5 billion at the close of 1944. Charge account credit jumped from \$1.7 billion to \$2.5 billion over the same period. Loans made for the purchase of autos and heavy household appliances increased from \$835 million to \$1.2 billion. A loan company official in Boston says that "in the last two or three months, personal borrowing here has bounced up 50 per cent above the 1945 level." Bankers in Cleveland say that people in that city are now borrowing money at about double the rate of last year. Police department records in Detroit show 870,000 pawnbroker tickets issued there in the first 11 months of 1946, an increase of about one-fourth over the 545,000 of a year ago. In San Francisco the Bank of

America in October had strictly personal loans totaling \$32 millions, compared with the total a year ago of \$18.8 million. In Portland, Ore., a pawnshop owner says: "I'll say more people are asking for loans. Gold watches are piling up so fast in this place that I can't move around it any more. I gave \$20 on a watch a few months ago. I'm only giving \$10 now."

The bankers aren't fooled when people say they need the loan for "medical expenses." And the bankers ought to know for it's their system and they own the country and the very souls of the scissorbills. "For all the people who said they needed cash to pay doctor bills in the last year have told the truth," says one Cleveland bank official, "then the medics have been paid up 200 per cent." Another banker says: "The high cost of living has taken the savings margin out of many persons' incomes. And when a contingency arises, they have to come to the bank for help." Another says: "More and more people are getting behind on making end meet. Who is doing the borrowing? In city after city, they report: 'Workers, mostly. Then city help, followed by foremen, sales people, school teachers, the unskilled, professional people, people with independent incomes.' That is just about everybody except America's 60 families and their trusted retainers, isn't it?"

A big Seattle loan company reports that most personal loans have been going to people making \$170 to \$250 a month. "But very recently," they say, "we've noticed an increased volume of borrowing by skilled laborers making \$300 to \$400 a month. And money requests from steadily employed white collar people are definitely on the increase." In Washington there's a state law that restricts the amount of a loan to any one family from one company to \$500, but doesn't prevent multiple loans from several companies. Many families have received as high as six different loans from as many companies. That is, they are in hock to the sharks for months to come. So loan companies in Seattle have organized an exchange designed gradually to limit the number of loans to three to a family.

I know there'll be some brainy liberal reading this column who'll say knowingly: "Sure. It's just the workers taking out loans to blow themselves to the new gadgets on the market."

But it is not that at all. "During the war," says one big hockshop operator, "we got the sporting element—people who wanted to play the horses or gamble some other way. They brought in cheap rings and gadgets. Now we're getting people who have to pay the rent. They bring in good jewelry, fur coats, expensive cameras..."

Loan men say that not much of today's loan money is going to buy autos, furniture, household appliances. First, there aren't too much of these commodities on the market. Second, government credit restrictions prevent a lot of time purchasing by lower income groups. Third, a lot of the durable goods sold are going for cash, to the profiteers. One loan man explains that it takes a monthly income of \$500 to handle a new car on time. "And most people aren't making that kind of money," he says.

WHAT IT ADDS UP TO

Peacetime production highest in history. Big Business profits highest in history. People not getting back in wages the value of what they produce. Over-production. The masses going in debt. B-O-O-O-O-M. The economists of the CIO are a hundred times correct when they contend that business, by and large, can raise wages 25 to 30 per cent without increasing prices, and STILL enjoy profits higher than the pre-war level. But will business agree to that? Why should they? They have the power, they own the government. But that is what unions and national labor parties and a workers' and farmers' government in Washington are for. To take that power over our lives away from Big Business and vest it in ourselves. Future generations will wonder why we took so long to act.

Chicago Branch in Line For NI Sub Drive Prize

The campaign that has been conducted since November 1, 1946 on behalf of The New International will be formally concluded next week, on January 14, 1947, with the announcement of which branch of the Workers Party has won the prize originally offered for the most successful and effective work done during the campaign. This prize is to be the complete, 12-volume set of Lenin's Selected Works, for the branch library.

Although the final results of the campaign will not attain the number of new subscriptions originally hoped for, the number that have been obtained (now approaching 250) made this work more than worth while. Expansion of newsstand sales, particularly in New York City, has likewise been heartening.

Newsstand sales in New York—in the boroughs of the Bronx, Manhattan

and Brooklyn, where the magazine is now on display—were over 450 copies in the month of November, and are expected to be higher when final returns are in for the month of December. The January, 1947, issue of the magazine is now on display on all important newsstands.

Leading in the subscription drive for the campaign, as of now, is the Chicago branch of the Workers Party, where a successful drive under the able direction of Herman Mies is now concluding. The Chicago branch has obtained 52 subscriptions with one week left to go. Detroit has done well, but hasn't been heard from recently. Other branches still have time in which to fulfill their quotas and keep in the running for the prize being offered. In next week's issue of LABOR ACTION we will conclude this campaign with a listing of the subscriptions obtained, and announcement of the winner.

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

New Methods and Old Goals in Imperialist Rule of the Far East

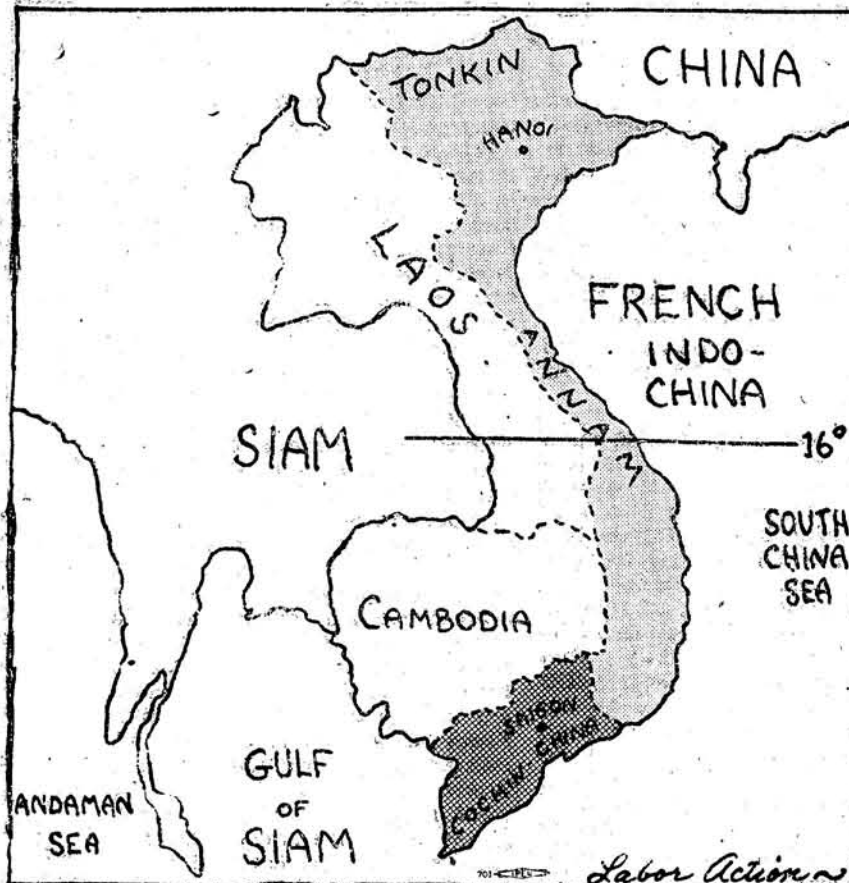
By C. T. HOLLOCHER

Faced with the irresistible force of the movements of colonial independence, the imperialist nations veer and tuck to maintain their weakened power by economic domination of the colonies even where they are compelled to surrender political control. This is to be noted particularly in the case of India and Burma, Indonesia, and in part, Indo-China and the new republic of Viet Nam. In the latter case, the French are more determined to retain not only economic control, but as much political dominion as possible over the area formerly called Indo-China (composed of six provinces of which the most important are Cochinchina, Tonkin and Annam, now known as the Viet Nam republic).

Caught in the vise of their disintegrating social order at home and the increasing power of the independence movements in the colonies, the imperialist powers have developed a new strategy which is a departure from the old method of rule by the "sword." That is not to say that the "sword" is no longer employed. But it is no longer the sole or primary method; it is now a reserve instrument employed to accompany the new "economic and political" approach. The big powers are quite willing to grant political concessions, to set up quasi-native governments, joint native-empire régimes, or even to grant complete political independence, on condition that they retain complete economic domination over the wealth of the colonial areas.

In Indo-China, however, we have a somewhat different situation. France is more adamant in its opposition to the political independence of the whole of Indo-China. The more feeble its power, the more vigorously it pursues the struggle to maintain the greatest possible control of its colonies.

French capitalism, utterly dependent on its colonial empire, shudders



When the French divide the country and maintain the division; then, they oppose federation on the ground that the peoples are divided! To complicate the situation even more, the French refuse to recognize the Viet Nam republic below the 16° latitude, thus splitting the independent province in two.

In addition, the French complain that there are some former Japanese soldiers in the Viet Nam army, but they neglect to mention that the number of Japanese serving Viet Nam does not begin to equal the former German prisoners in the French Foreign Legion, fighting in Indo-China.

The difference, however, is more fundamental: the former Japanese soldiers are in an army fighting for colonial independence, while the former German soldiers are serving an imperialist force assigned the task of putting down the struggle for Indo-Chinese freedom. Referring to these German soldiers, now serving French imperialism, Robert Trumbull, writing in the New York Times, says:

"These characters have been known, when intoxicated, to swagger about the streets of Saigon in groups singing the Horst Wessel song and raucously slogan-bellies."

Now, the French have returned Admiral Thierry d'Argentieu as High Commissioner of Indo-China. The admiral, who is also a Catholic priest, is intensely hated by the people of the colony. To Viet Nam, this action is regarded as a provocation. But that is not all. The hope of the Indo-Chinese that the new government of Leon Blum would help their struggle for independence was rudely set back when the so-called socialist government decided to reinforce Admiral d'Argentieu with the return of the notorious Gen. Jacques Leclerc, who gained fame in his suppression of the national movement in Indo-China during the time when he was French Commissioner at Hanoi.

"If anyone," writes Trumbull, "is more disliked by the Annamites than Admiral d'Argentieu it is General Jacques Leclerc...."

The result of this new development has been the intensification of preparations for war by both sides, the French determined to prevent the complete independence of the colony, while the overwhelming majority of the people of all the provinces are just as determined to fight for their freedom. In this situation the workers of all countries can do only one thing: support the independence movement against French imperialism, with the ringing cry

HANDS OFF INDO-CHINA!

LABOR ACTION

January 13, 1947

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

Why the CIO-Nathan Report Threw the NAM Into a Panic

By ALBERT GATES

THE publication of the now celebrated and sharply disputed Nathan Report for the CIO in preparation of its struggle for nation-wide and industry-wide wage increases has brought forth an official "refutation" from the NAM through its hired economist, Prof. Ralph Robey, as well as numerous replies from the editorial and financial writers of the daily press. Many reams of paper are now being filled in a battle of statistics, the net effect of which is to obscure the real issues involved, namely: whether industry and finance are in a position to grant new wage increases without increasing prices.

Mr. Nathan maintains that on the basis of present profit levels and the prospects for 1947, it is possible for industry to grant a 25 per cent increase in wages without increasing prices. He did not say that all branches of industry, or that every company within a given branch, were capable of granting such increases. As can be seen from the report, its greatest validity applies precisely to large-scale, monopolistic, mass production industries where the CIO is concentrated.

Drs. Robey and Jules Backman, the latter associate professor of economics at New York University who joined Robey in an attack on Nathan, are both spokesmen for big business. Robey, for many years connected with New York University, is a "business man's" economist, and the economics department of the school has long been noted for its outspoken bias in behalf of big business and the profit system. Robey and Backman deny the ability of industry to pay a wage increase without again increasing prices. Echoing the interests of big business, they declare that "if things could remain as they are competition and the old law of supply and demand would prevail and the national economy would straighten out."

In behalf of the NAM, Robey proposed either: "1. Hold wages steady and thereby keep the way open for competition and buyer resistance to hold prices to proper levels." Or: "2. Give another round of wage increases and thereby force prices still higher—higher, as shown by the ex-

perience of earlier this year, by just about the amount of the wage increase."

The history of the nation shows that while in general, competition and the law of supply and demand effect the level of prices and contribute to their fluctuations and adjustments, the era of monopoly has mitigated this law considerably; it no longer operates as freely as it did during the years when a free and competitive economy was the outstanding feature of capitalism. Again, the real economic history of the nation shows that even when competition and the law of supply and demand did operate more freely, wages never kept abreast of prices, and certainly, they never kept abreast of profits which always outdistanced the income of the wage earner.

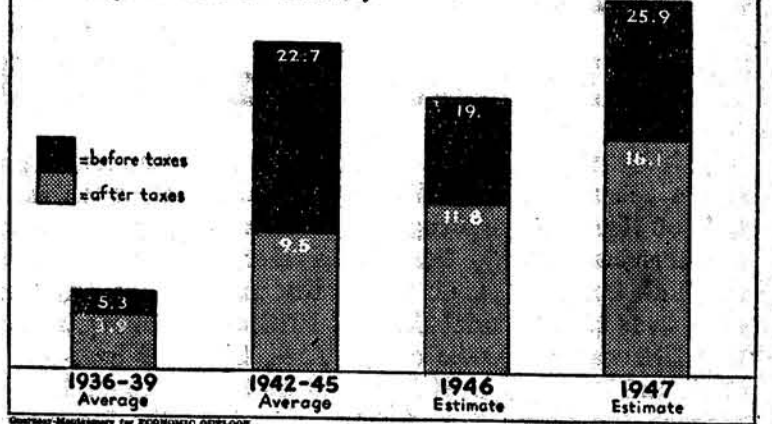
When Robey and his like-minded economists ask for the operation of so-called natural laws, they are merely asking the mass of people in this country to await adjustments in the economic situation initiated by the capitalists themselves—adjustments which can only come at the expense of labor.

If labor is to hold its wages "steady" and await this period of adjustment, i.e., "for competition and buyer resistance to hold prices to proper levels," the mass of people will in the meantime continue in its present economically depressed state as it has for a considerably long period of time already. That Robey himself does not believe in "buyer resistance" is disclosed in the rather violent interview he gave to the press which is recorded in "Washington Memo" of the New York Post:

"Did he (Robey) favor organized consumer resistance to higher prices including mass pledges to boycott high-cost goods? Robey doubted that such methods would be effective." The interview revealed that Robey was not a disinterested professor seeking answers to an economic problem, but was an extremely conscious capitalist economist serving his one real master: the National Association of Manufacturers. The Post reported the following exchanges:

"Could he offer any advice to families that were unable to purchase vital foods? Robey pointed out that diets were flexible things; beans could be substituted for meat until prices fell.... Another correspondent, voic-

Corporation Profits, 1936-1947 (in billions of dollars)



ing polite impatience over Robey's insistence that prices would automatically decline, if wages were curbed, asked how low-income families could be protected in the interim. 'By the American system that has made us the envy of the world,' Robey replied 'separately and vaguely....' "Finally, a correspondent stood up and said a little heatedly (the press conference was indeed a stormy one, with reporters unable to get an honest objective statement of facts from the professor) that it was fine to debate mathematics, but what hope did the NAM offer to a family head earning \$45 a week—or less—in inflationary times.

"I don't know what he can do," Robey began. As the critical silence deepened, he added, hesitantly: "He can bargain for more. I'm all in favor of his bargaining."

HOW CAN ONE JUDGE?

The details of the Nathan report are not too important. What does stand out in it, is that profits are now the highest in history. From the point of view of profits and the welfare of the capitalist class (and Nathan is a pro-capitalist economist!) it is more than able to increase the share of the worker in the national product. It is entirely beside the point that Nathan's prognosis of 8,000,000 unemployed after the war did not actually occur. (We might advise these gentlemen of the NAM that as long as they hold the reins in this country, they will not be disappointed in respect to mass unemployment. Even a Robey will recognize the long lines of jobless.) But

there is one important dispute between Robey and Nathan: Robey insists the way to proceed in this present desperate situation is to permit prices to decline and allow an adjustment in the living standards of the people to occur in this way. Nathan says that prices will never decline to proper levels and the way to achieve a balance is to increase wages—otherwise, the country is faced with a sharp crisis.

Robey insists that Nathan cannot judge profits because he cannot know what 1947 will be like. Backman joins him in saying that the Nathan report is "speculative."

The hypocritical New York Times, which has repeatedly criticized the Nathan report editorially, and is the most consistent spokesman for big business profits against higher wages, was compelled in its New Year financial page to record two important facts about the prospects for 1947. In one article entitled "Big Year Expected in Heavy Industry," its writer, Hartley W. Barclay, writes:

"Record backlogs and firm orders for durable goods, equipment, tool and machinery lines now on hand point to 1947 prospects for stabilized production at a high level, with the major trend of increased productivity in evidence as assurance of a strong upward surge in this field of business. "The underlying post-war development which provides proof of the further bulwarking of the American economic scene, largely based upon 'capital goods' investments, is the further increase in the investment of capital (Continued on page 6)

Who Else?

MOSCOW, Jan. 5—The major powers should not be regarded as "potential violators" of any convention governing the control of atomic energy, according to the Soviet viewpoint, expressed today in Pravda, official newspaper of the Communist Party.—N. Y. Times.

when it realizes that freedom for Indo-China, would not only deal an enormous blow to its economy, but would also incite the powerful independence movements of its colonies in Africa and elsewhere.

Only the force of arms maintains the power of imperialism in the colonial countries; without arms and without the assistance of native misleaders who have been bribed by a share of super-profits, the imperialists would have been driven out of the colonial world long ago.

All the clever diplomacy invented by imperialism would have been unavailable were it not for its military power over the colonial nations. But even this is reaching its limit. One aggravating factor is the drive of cal independence for the colonies in order to open their doors to its economic imperialism to defeat its

The New Leader Doesn't Tell the Truth About Blum And Indo-China Freedom

In the December 28, 1946, issue of *The New Leader*, there appears in the regular column which Liston Oak writes, *Trends*, a picture of Leon Blum, leader of the French Social Democracy with an accompanying caption: "LEON BLUM—Reaffirmed Independence for Viet Nam."

The New Leader is a Social Democratic paper and Liston Oak is its managing editor, though he professes a certain organizational independence from the Social Democrats. Oak has made a specialty of writing preachments about "democratic values" and in a recent debate with Max Shachtman, chairman of the Workers Party, attacked Bolshevism for what he called its "undemocratic" practices.

Now there appears in his column this really remarkable caption under Leon Blum's picture. At a time when Blum's government is sending General Jacques Leclerc and several thousand troops from North Africa to aid in the suppression of the Indo-Chinese independence movement; at a time when the party of Leon Blum in conjunction with the MRP and the Socialists has voted in the Chamber of Deputies for motions of support for the troops attempting to reestablish the control of French imperialism in Indo-China (see last week's *LABOR ACTION* for exact reports of this); at this time Liston Oak, the defender of "democratic values" carries in his column the outright falsehood that Blum reaffirms independence for Viet Nam.

We wish to ask Oak, and we are certain the entire radical public would be greatly interested in his reply:

Is not your "comrade" Leon Blum the Premier of the Government which has sent Leclerc, notorious for his previous record of anti-democratic suppression, to Indo-China to help smash the Viet Nam?

Did not your "comrade" Blum retract his pusillanimous statement in *Le Populaire* about freedom for Indo-China in favor of a statement urging its "freedom within the framework of the French union"—the favorite dodge of all supporters of imperialism?

And what will you, Liston Oak, and your *New Leader* with all its democratic pretensions now say about the imperialist record of the French Social Democrats who are going their (and your) comrades of the British Labor Party one better—though there have not yet been reports of your "comrade" Blum's troops legally whipping Indo-Chinese the way your "comrade" Bevin's troops legally whip Palestinian Jews?

For the question is, Liston Oak, what price "democratic values?"

—I. H.

Trade Union Struggle Against Stalinism Spreads Through Latin America:

Opposition to CP in Chile Unions Increases

By A. FERRARA

New fuel has been added to the fires of dissension raging within the Stalinist dominated Latin-American Federation of Labor (CTAL). The latest blast against the Communists was delivered by Bernardo Ibanez, trade union leader of Chile's Socialist Party. In answer to a plea by CTAL president, the Mexican Stalinist, Lombardo Toledano, for trade union unity between the warring socialists and communists in Chile, Ibanez said, "We are not ready here to accept any understanding with the Communists who have a single international organization, a single line of conduct, and a single discipline." Ibanez also charged dissident labor elements who "have organized another Labor Union Central using our name, represent a totalitarian doctrine, lack of freedom of action and obey with discipline the orders and directives of the Communist Party, carrying into the labor struggle the same methods employed by that party. The Communists are trying to dominate the working classes and are employing for it, methods of coercion perhaps worse than those employed by the Nazis to dominate Europe." (New York Times, December 26, 1946.)

It should also be noted that the Chilean Socialist Party, the only important Social-Democratic group in Latin-America, called a continental Socialist Congress in the Spring of 1946 to organize the struggle against Toledano and the Stalinists. Among those invited to this so-called Socialist Congress were the then-acting President of Chile, a pro-United States middle class politician, Alfredo Duhalde, and Haya De La Torre, leader of Peru's Aprista movement. De La Torre, who once vowed to drive American imperialism out of South America now vows that he is a friend of the United States. In addition, Chile's Socialists have called upon the American AFL for support in the struggle against the Stalinists. Clearly, one of the forces shaping the conflict in the leadership of the CTAL and its national affiliates is the struggle be-

tween those loyal to Washington and those loyal to Moscow.

THE BACKGROUND

Some pertinent facts reveal that the drive initiated by Chile's reformist-Socialists is inspired neither by a desire for independent working class policies, nor by any moral opposition to the totalitarian structure and methods of the Stalinist Party. The truth is that from 1936 until the middle of 1945 (with the exception of the Stalin-Hitler interlude) the Socialists worked hand in hand with the Stalinists to bind the workers of Chile to a Popular Front coalition. In 1936, the various trade unions dominated respectively by the Stalinists and the Socialists were merged in one federation, the CTCH, with Bernardo Ibanez as president. At the same time a political popular front coalition was formed.

In 1939 the Popular Front coalition, composed of Stalinists, Socialists and the middle class Radicals, put its presidential candidate, Aguirre Cerda, into office. Like its European counterparts, Chile's Popular Front Government promised a great deal, but did very little about the serious problem of inflation which has plagued Chile's economy for a decade and a half.

When Cerda died in 1941, the same Popular Front Coalition replaced him with another middle class radical politician, Juan Antonio Rios. Rios began slowly moving to the right, assuming more and more dictatorial powers. The strong wave of disillusionment and apathy that swept through the working class over the performance of the Popular Front government expressed itself in the parliamentary elections of March, 1945. The Conservatives (big landowners) and the Liberals (big bourgeoisie) won a majority, while the socialist and Stalinist sectors of the Popular Front Coalition lost 40 per cent of its electoral vote and a third of its deputies. The biggest losses of all were incurred by the Socialist Party, which dropped from 80,000 to 30,000 votes, and from 18 to 6 deputies. Rios, meanwhile, had openly concluded an alliance with the

liberals, and reshuffled his cabinet by forcing the Socialist ministers out and replacing them with right-wingers. Forced to drop out of politics because of sickness, Rios handed his office over to Vice-President Alfredo Duhalde in January, 1946. Duhalde, also a radical, took over and promptly continued Rios' anti-labor drive.

When two strikes broke out in the northern nitrate districts of Mappoch and Humberstone, Duhalde revoked the legal status of the unions, ordered them dissolved, put the military into his cabinet and permitted them to unleash a savage wave of terror against the workers. Realizing that it was a question of life and death, Ibanez, as president of the CTCH, immediately ordered a 24-hour general strike to defend the labor movement from the government assault. A demonstration in the city of Santiago, called by the CTCH on January 28, 1946 was fired upon by the police, resulting in 9 killed and a hundred injured. Immediately, the government proclaimed a 60-day state-of-siege and ordered the wholesale arrest of the CTCH leadership. In self-defense the CTCH leadership, the Stalinists and Socialists who had put this government into power, ordered a general strike until the governmental terror was called off and the legality of the unions restored.

STALINIST-SOCIALIST SPLIT

Faced with the prospect of civil war, acting president Duhalde, retreated and started negotiations with the Socialist leaders. The Socialists demanded complete legality, a minimum of social reforms enacted (1) and four cabinet posts. The Stalinists who also wanted cabinet representation called another general strike without the agreement of Ibanez, the president of the CTCH or other Socialist trade union leaders. The Stalinists demanded, representation in the cabinet, and, secondly a break in diplomatic relations with Franco and Peron. (This was before the Stalinists had switched to Peron.) Because the Socialist trade unions refused to support the Stalin-

ists, the general strike failed. In retaliation for this act, the Stalinists having a majority in the CTCH, deposed the Socialist, Ibanez, as president of the Federation and began a hot campaign of slander and filth against Ibanez in particular and the Socialists in general.

The Stalinists, undeterred by their initial failure, have finally succeeded in gaining entry into the Chilean government. It was the Communist Party's 40,000 votes which decided the presidential election of October 1946 in favor of Gonzalez Videla. In return for this favor, Videla, also a radical, and an old hand at the game of Popular Frontism, since he was a key figure in creating the original coalition in 1936, appointed Stalinists to 3 out of 11 cabinet posts. The Stalinists, who up until 1945 permitted the Socialists to have the available cabinet posts have now taken over as the "working class representatives" in the Chilean government. This is the original bone of contention between the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucrats.

A word must be said about the howls of anguish that were heard in Wall Street and Washington when the three Stalinists were appointed. The anxiety that gripped American imperialist circles has well-known economic, political and military roots. First of all, most of Chile's mineral wealth, her main asset, is owned by American corporations. The Guggenheims dominate in the nitrate field, Anaconda owns the richest copper mines in the world, and Bethlehem Steel has a big interest in Chile's iron mines. Besides realizing super-profits for American imperialism, these raw materials are the sinews of war, and are needed by the United States. During World War II, 95 per cent of Chile's exports in his field went to the United States. It so happens that the stronghold of the Chilean Stalinists is among the organized workers in the copper, nitrate and coal industries. Since like the other Latin-American Communist Parties, the Chile CP has promised to work for a Russian victory in case of another

war, the oratorical knife the Stalinists brandish has a sharp edge to it. However, all of this is the thunder of the future.

THE NEW SITUATION

The central fact remains that there has been no real change in Chile's political life. The middle-class politicians, the radicals, have merely changed partners in the cynical game of Popular Frontism, i.e., the job of holding political power while keeping the workers in check. Chile's middle class has a difficult job of maintaining power because economically it is caught between the powerful landowners whose big estates it dare not touch, and the American interests whose mining properties it dare not expropriate. Within this limited framework, Chile's middle class has tried to solve the problem of financing industrialization by way of ruinous inflation. The new president, Videla, has made it quite clear that he intends no serious changes in the economic status quo. As for the Stalinists, Videla showed his contempt for them by giving them the posts of Communications and Public Works, Agriculture, and Lands and Colonization. The government's "working class representatives" were not entrusted with the post of labor minister which was handed over to a member of Videla's own radical party.

If we sum up the developments in Chile we get the following picture: (a) The Chilean trade union movement has been grievously weakened and set back by the split between the Stalinists and the reformist Socialists. (b) The shaky political position of the middle class has been re-established after the naked attempt to suppress the labor movement in January, 1946. (c) American investments in Chile still continue to draw profits for Wall Street. (d) Stalin has gained one more sounding board, one more voice in his international chorus for the present, and for the hypothetical future he has a potential threat to American control over Chile's natural resources.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Ass'n 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

General Offices: 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel: IRonsides 6-5117 Vol. 11, No. 2 January 13, 1947



EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor

EDITORIAL BOARD

ALBERT GATES

IRVING HOWE

HENRY JUDD

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada, Foreign). Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1874

"Serving the Public" Means Boosting Railroad Profits

By MIKE STEVENS

On January 1, the railroads of this country raised freight rates 17.6 per cent. On the same day the 10 per cent increase in passenger rates that had been put on as a "war measure" became a permanent increase.

All this was done very quietly by the Interstate Commerce Commission, a government agency. It wanted as little publicity on the subject as possible and the capitalist press cooperated fully. This little boost in rates is expected, according to the ICC, to net the railroads more than a billion dollars in additional revenue each year.

The campaign to boost the rates started about four months ago. The railroads felt that they had to prepare the ground before pushing for the increase. They began feeding material to the boss press and followed it with a barrage of propaganda. Some of the headlines read, "Steep Decline Shown in Railroad Earnings," "New Haven Reports Loss for Eight Months," "Red Ink and Freight Rates," etc. But this press campaign was not really necessary because the ICC was ready, as always, to oblige the railroad barons. The only opposition came from a few consumer groups and officials of the OPA. But the ICC paid no attention to them.

SERVING THE PUBLIC

The ICC is supposed to look out for the "public interest." But from the day it was born, it has first (and foremost) taken care of the Wall Street bankers. During 1932-33 it approved millions of dollars' worth of railroad securities, which were then sold to gullible buyers who believed that Roosevelt was really out to lick Wall Street.

Most of these securities fell due in 1934 and 1935 and there was no provision for extension without financial reorganization. Twenty-one Class 1 railroads went into bankruptcy, and then the ICC came to the rescue. The ICC declared two billion dollars' worth of railroad securities as worthless and proceeded to "reorganize" the railroads.

The only thing that the above

means is that after the ICC boosted up these stocks it turned around and declared them worthless, as nothing but a "lot of water." All the individual investors and the few moneyed interests not tied up with Wall Street lost their shirts in this deal—and the Wall Street bankers were given complete control as "trustees." These twenty-one railroads, representing 35 per cent of all track mileage in this country, remain in bankruptcy to this very day.

In any real reorganization move the security holders would have to be considered. That is one of the reasons why the railroads are being kept in bankruptcy by the ICC—so that the Wall Street bankers can continue to milk them. One example will prove the point. The Missouri Pacific has had a surplus of more than sixty-five million dollars cash on hand during the past three years. The ICC refuses to permit it to pay off any of its indebtedness with this money, or to reorganize, or free itself from "trusteeship." If the indebtedness had been reduced considerably during this period this railroad could have saved almost four million dollars in interest alone.

HOW WALL STREET PROFITS

The railroads are indebted to the Wall Street bankers. If the railroads pay off this indebtedness, then the bankers would lose millions of dollars in interest alone. The case mentioned above relates to only one of the twenty-one railroads and some of them are larger and bigger money makers. In addition to interest money, the costs for trusteeship paid to the Wall Street bankers are tremendous. To use the same railroad for an example, the Missouri Pacific has paid out more than thirteen million dollars in such charges alone since it went into "bankruptcy." Then, of course, there are the thousands of manipulations that the "trustees" engage in to draw more money from the railroads. Material and machinery for the railroads is purchased at exorbitant prices from companies that are controlled by Wall Street. The same situation exists when they purchase or lease real estate or when

they buy insurance for the railroad company and its property.

In its control of the railroads, Wall Street has its own men on the boards of directors of each railroad to make sure that its wishes are obeyed and because of the huge salaries they draw. These directors, who are the trustees, come either directly from the large financial institutions or from the large insurance companies that are wholly owned by Wall Street.

A breakdown of the affiliations of the directors shows that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. has directors in 22 railroads; the Prudential Life in 16; and the New York Life in 14. Some of the railroads have more than one director from the same insurance company. Sixteen of the 24 Metropolitan Life directors in railroads are also connected with top eastern banks. Eight of the Prudential directors and 15 out of the 25 New York Life directors in railroads are also connected with top Wall Street banks. Most of the "solvent" railroads are also controlled by Wall Street bankers. On the ten major roads known as the "Morgan" roads, 86 per cent of the directors are representatives of the top banking interests. And on six of the major Kuhn-Loeb railroads, 89 per cent of the directors are connected with the big financial institutions.

Wall Street demanded the new higher rates for passenger and freight traffic because it wants to pile up high railroad profits. Out of these profits Wall Street will receive a larger cut per dollar than it will from any other industry.

It would take too much space to go into detail how many ways Wall Street will milk the railroads during the next few years. This new increase in rates given to the railroads by the ICC means that a big reserve will be built up by the railroads so that even if business falls off considerably during the next few years, Wall Street will be collecting millions each year from railroads. To make the point more dramatic, a railroad can even stop running its trains for a few years but the reserves being built now will permit the Wall Street bankers to continue taking millions of dollars out of that railroad for many years.

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

What the Veteran Is Thinking

The last five years have witnessed what has been called the Europeanization of the United States. One of the aspects of this process has been the increasing role which the armed forces are playing in the domestic and foreign life of the nation. The number of congressional investigations conducted, the space devoted to the subject in the press, and the studies being made of the soldier and the veteran amply demonstrate the interest which the capitalist class has in the problem.

It studies carefully the attitudes of the 17,000,000 veterans of World War II and the current army personnel, for it knows well that it is for the possession of the globe itself that the next war will be fought. Fortune magazine, one of the more popular house organs of big business, recently conducted a poll among male veterans. The questions asked were not of a superficial character but bore upon serious aspects of class relations in the United States.

The results deserve the same serious attention from all progressive trade unionists and socialists as is unquestionably given by the capitalists for whose information the data was compiled.

VETERANS ARE NOT HOMOGENEOUS

The poll reveals that in general veterans do not think homogeneously. Their attitudes are basically determined by the class of which they are a member. For instance: 70.9 per cent of the group labeled "prosperous" thought that a privately owned and operated plant rather than one owned and operated by the government "would be likely to give the best value to the taxpayer in making airplanes for the Army and Navy," but only 22.2 per cent of the group labeled "poor" thought so.

Similarly, 39 per cent of the "prosperous" felt that one of the prime tasks before Congress was the more strict regulation of unions, though only 20.6 per cent of the veterans as a whole thought so. Of the "poor" 33 per cent want more jobs made available, as against 16.1 per cent of the veterans as a whole.

The poll also clearly showed the arrested political development shared by the veteran with the working class and the middle class of the country generally. The recent swing to the Republicans was clearly revealed.

In certain matters such as housing, however, it is probable that the interest of the veteran is more acute than among the population in general. The poll likewise showed that where the veteran did not have direct experience with the issue involved, as in estimating labor's contribution to the war effort, the anti-labor propaganda was not without effect. But where the veteran was or is directly involved, as in matters of housing, attitude toward officers, or the German people the propaganda proved relatively ineffective.

The most popular presidential candidates among the veterans were Dewey, Stassen, Truman, Wallace, and Taft, in the order named—a sequence which shows that the veteran here reflects the trend of the country as a whole.

What is of more than passing interest, however, is the decisive rejection of the army big brass as presidential material. The average veteran, it would seem, had more than enough of the authoritarian bark and arrogance in the services to want it in the White House. Only 16.1 per cent wanted to see MacArthur, of the Manila pent-house crowd, as a presidential candidate. (Destiny, alas, has passed, raised her hand above his shoulder... and passed on.) Even Eisenhower, whose prestige has been carefully nurtured, could muster only 30.6 per cent support among the veterans. An interesting fact, worthy of speculating upon, is that on this question officers were even more opposed to a soldier for president than enlisted men were.

THE DOMESTIC ISSUES

The following table was derived in answer to the question: "Which two things on the list would you pick as the most important to make an immediate start on?"

Table with 2 columns: Issue, Per Cent. Includes: Make better housing available (51.6), Prevent inflation (43.7), Arrange for international control of atomic bomb (21.4), Regulate labor unions more strictly (20.6), Pay a cash bonus to veterans (20.4), Make more jobs available (16.1), Reduce taxes (13.4).

That the housing problem should head the list is hardly surprising in view of the calamitous failure to provide adequate housing for the people of this country, a condition which bears down upon the veteran with especial severity.

Nor is it surprising that inflation should be considered the second basic problem, in view of the fact that the cost of living is now higher in the United States than it has ever been before. The desire to curb inflation was particularly strong in the upper and lower middle class groups, where the percentage was 49 per cent and 46 per cent respectively. Only 25 per cent of the group labeled "poor" attached primary importance to the inflation problem, a fact that provoked speculation by Fortune magazine which pointed out that the poor had most to lose by inflation. This discrepancy is easily accounted for when it is understood that 33 per cent of the "poor" made a more basic approach to the problem in voicing their desire for more (and better) jobs. That only 16.1 per cent of the veterans regarded the creation of more jobs as a primary problem, while 43.7 per cent regarded the question of inflation as basic, shows that while there is more or less satisfaction with jobs and wage scales, except among Negro veterans, there is a general opinion that something should be done about prices.

The importance given to housing and inflation should be of interest to readers of LABOR ACTION in giving statistical confirmation to the emphasis laid upon these problems in our agitation.

That only around 20 per cent of the veterans give first importance to the issues of the atomic bomb (foreign affairs), the regulation of unions, and the bonus testifies not only to the urgency of the issues of housing and inflation but, at this moment, to a comparative lack of immediacy in the other questions. The same holds true of the job issue. The problem of unemployment, the key issue during the depression, is not at all an acute one now.

Of these veterans classified as "poor," how...

Editorials

The Liberals and a Third Party

Futility run rampant might best describe the new Henry Wallace organization of liberals, the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), born in a merger of some ten groups, of which the main ones were the National Citizens-PAC and the Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. It is a creature that reached the apex of its existence in the ballyhoo that attended its formation at a conference in New York. Its life henceforth will be an anti-climactic chase after newspaper publicity.

If, however, it served only as a platform from which "grass roots liberals" could proclaim their confusion, there would be small point in our giving it more than passing attention. Unfortunately, though it is unlikely to attract any considerable number of workers to its muddle-headedness, it will serve as an impediment on the road to a Labor Party. And the same is true of the Union for Democratic Action, which is meeting in Washington as we write and is attended by a greater representation of unions.

Neither of these bodies is or can be a Labor Party. Yet they will sedulously try to convey the impression that they are the equivalent of, if not actually, a Labor Party. With important union leaders contributing to that illusion, the effect of these organizations can be: (a) to steer workers away from Labor Party organization into the swamp of middle-class liberalism; or (2) to discourage workers who understand the need of political organization from taking steps in that necessary direction as they observe the utter hopelessness of these experiments.

Of the two, the Wallace organization is likely to make more noise, if only because of the current news value in Wallace's name. But its legs are so shaky that it cannot state its relations with the Democratic Party clearly. Harold Ickes, an ex-colleague of Wallace and a former leader of ICC of ASP, has, for example, written:

"In short, there was little new about this organization except the substitution of a fresh title for stale ones. However, among those prominently present was Mr. Henry A. Wallace, who, when last heard from, had been proclaiming that the only sure road to liberalism lay through the corrupt city machines and the poll-tax states of the Democratic Party. Apparently, Mr. Wallace has abandoned the theory... that the liberal movement can live, breathe... in the noxious exhalations of the Democratic Party."

Everything about the new organization seems to be a colossal joke, though the damage it can do will not be a laughing matter. It has two co-chairmen, thirty (!) vice-chairmen and a national board of directors of two hundred (!), almost all of whom represent no one but themselves.

Mr. Ickes is stronger for the Union for Democratic Action. It has on its rolls a number of trade union leaders, some of whom when last heard from were actively promoting a third party, while others were opposing it, and such notables as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. The difference between the two organizations is one of policy on Stalinism and on Russia. The Wallace outfit is generally pro-Russian, has the support of all the Stalinist writers and actors and artists, and may try to grow up into a third party if the Democratic Party spurns Wallace in 1948. The other is pointedly anti-Stalinist. Though we have yet to see the program of the UDA, it will very likely be little different from that of the PCA—New Deal liberalism in a post-war frame.

Our advice to labor is to flee from both these organizations. At best they offer the road of third partyism, and that "best" can produce little better than disaster. Third partyism is an attempt to make capitalist politics palatable to labor by dressing in the tattered robes of nineteenth-century "grass roots liberalism." Labor

requires a party of its own, built primarily upon the class organizations of labor, that is, the unions.

Wallace, Ickes, FDR Jr., none of them have any place whatsoever in the political organization that labor needs to build. At best—we repeat that—third partyism can duplicate for labor its experience with the Democratic Party of Roosevelt. Wallace, Roosevelt—these are men who represent the capitalist class; its most liberal wing, to be sure, but the capitalist class, nevertheless. They have no fundamental link with the needs and aspirations of labor. And cannot have. Whether or not they break decisively with the Democratic and Republican Parties, or get anywhere at all, which is doubtful, we must not permit them to disorient that section of the labor movement which is striving for political expression.

Some CIO unions were represented at the PCA conference. At the UDA conference, Carey will be representing CIO President Philip Murray. Attending also will be Dubinsky of the AFL needle-trade workers and A. Philip Randolph of the sleeping car porters' union. To all of these the rank and file of the unions ought to address a clear and unambiguous appeal that they quit playing around with the question of political organization and get down to the business of organizing a party of labor that is a party of labor.

Rumor has it that President Murray may dissolve the PAC as a national organization before long. As it exists today, an appendage to the Democratic Party machine solemnly attending the conferences of "American liberalism," it really has little reason for existence. Turned into a Labor Party, however, it would have every reason to exist and become the powerful political voice of labor.

That is one of our major jobs in the unions today, above all in the CIO unions—TURN PAC INTO A LABOR PARTY to duplicate the economic strength of our unions in the political strength of an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY aspiring to lead the people to a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

The Cat's Out!

Dr. Charles F. Kettering, vice-president in charge of the General Motors Corporation research division and well known research scientist, had better watch his step. Another speech similar to the one he made before the American Astronomical Society and his General Motors boss may haul him on the carpet to face charges of belief in socialism and a too careful reading of LABOR ACTION!

Said Dr. Kettering to his audience of fellow scientists on December 2: "We have the scientific knowledge to provide an adequate diet for every one of the two billion inhabitants of the globe if the information were properly applied."

But, as is well known, three-fourths of the world's population do not get sufficient food, and great masses of people in Europe and Asia live under conditions of outright starvation. Why is this? Is it due to the natural limitations imposed upon man by forces beyond his control? LABOR ACTION would not have given a better answer than the reply to this question made by Dr. Kettering:

"The false barriers erected by man himself are responsible," he said. "The antiquated social systems, ignorance, stupidity and fear prevent a large percentage of the peoples of the world from enjoying even the most fundamental of the benefits of science."

We want only to add to this what Dr. Kettering could not add. The monopolistic, reactionary corporations—of which General Motors is among the finest specimens we know—stand as the most antiquated of these barriers that must be removed.



HEREDITY, RACE AND SOCIETY, by L. C. Dunn and Th. Dobzhansky. Penguin Books, Inc., 115 pp., 25 Cents.

Here is a clearly written, simple, yet carefully scientific introduction to the complex and controversial subject of heredity, problems of "race" and the relation of both to society. The authors, professors of zoology at Columbia University—one of them famous for his experiments with the Drosophila flies—have attempted to give a popular exposition of the mechanism that governs our heredity, the question of individual differences among groups of people and the science of eugenics, or the improvement of the human race by scientifically planned means. In its consideration of these and related problems this small book is successful and readable.

Only in its handling of social problems of race and society, or that overlapping field where theories of race and heredity tend to become social and political problems, does this work fall short of the mark (as, for example, the contention of the authors that "group pride" is the force behind variations in social institutions and systems and the rivalry between them); but, fortunately, these superficialities are few in number.

The book begins with a discussion of the relationship between heredity and environment ("Nature vs. Nurture") and rapidly disposes of the common fallacies of counterposing each of these factors to the other. Heredity is defined as a factor "determining our general responses to the environment" about us. "Everything we have learned about heredity," say the authors, "leads us to think of it not as a blind, absolute and inexorable force, but rather as the setting, the particular form of responsiveness with which we meet life."

NATURE AND NURTURE

But just as we have learned, through an enormous scientific and technical development, how to "control some parts of our environment," so too, "when we learn to know the potentialities of our inherited constitutions and how to place them in proper relation to a controlled environment, human differences may come to be viewed in a new light." In general, conclude the authors, "modern biology has strengthened the hands of those who try to improve the minds and bodies of men by improving the conditions in which they live. The normal mental and

emotional 'Natures' are very responsive to 'Nurture' of education and social influences."

A lengthy section of the book then deals with the actual laws and methods of heredity and its transmission, with descriptions of the famous Mendelian laws and experiments. This well-written and clear section should give any reader a basic understanding of the methods and factors involved, and the whole question of genes, the unit of heredity transmission. The authors neatly dispose of the popular theory of "blood heredity," raised to such heights by Nazi ideologists. "The most cherished pride of many people is the supposed fact that some fraction of their 'blood' is derived from a noble ancestor, or from a passenger on the Mayflower, or from a real or a trumped-up great man or woman... in reality one may have either more or fewer, down to no genes at all especially from the more remote ancestors" (page 48).

Perhaps the most interesting section of this work is the concluding portion on race. Here such questions as race classification, how races are

distinguished, the "pure" race theory and an attempted definition of race, are taken up. The authors reject the common, reactionary theories and bolster their rejection with facts and scientific argument. "The hereditary diversity of a group, be it a family, a clan, or a race, persists indefinitely. The heredity of an individual is only partly determined by the race from which he sprang. The diversity, the variation, found in a race is more important than the racial averages."

Finally, describing the long-time trend toward a clear "race fusion," the authors conclude with the optimistic remark that "regardless of how the problem of the relations between biological heredity, individual and group psychology and culture may eventually be settled, the variety of human cultures will appear to us an inspiration rather than as a curse if we learn to respect, to understand and to admire them."

As an objective, intelligent and instructive book, written in the best tradition of liberal scientific spirit on a series of controversial questions, we recommend "Heredity, Race and Society" to our readers.—H. J.

NOW AVAILABLE!

LATEST FRENCH SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PUBLICATIONS!

In strictly limited quantities (first come, first served!), the LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE offers the following publications from France:

- (1) THEORIE DE L'ORIENTATION PROFESSIONNELLE, by Pierre Naville—A study of the French educational system \$1.50
(2) L'ECONOMIE ALLEMANDE SOUS LE NAZISME, by Charles Bettelheim—An economic study of Nazi Germany... 2.00
(3) LES PROBLEMES THEORIQUES ET PRATIQUES DE LA PLANIFICATION, by Charles Bettelheim—A study of planned economy... 2.00
(4) PAUL THIRY D'HOLBACH, by Pierre Naville—A biography of the Swiss philosopher... 3.00
(5) LA CRISE FRANCAISE—Essays on post-war France... 1.50
(6) DE LA CRISE ECONOMIQUE A LA GUERRE MONDIALE, by Henri Claude—An historical economic survey... 1.50
(7) PSYCHOLOGIE, MARXISME, MATERIALISME, by Pierre Naville—Critical Essays... 2.00

Mail orders with checks to: LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

(Continued on page 6)

Harold Laski, Stalin's Traveling Salesman, Says:

Poland: "Not Yet Ready For . . . Democracy"

Special to Labor Action
By ANDRZEJ RUDZIENSKI

HAROLD LASKI, the traveling salesman and lawyer for Stalin, advises the Polish "socialists" to maintain their union with the Communists because "if they separate from the Communists they will be victims of the peasants." (Ona—Overseas News Agency.) This same Laski writes:

"My opinion is that it would be more intelligent on the part of London and Washington to recognize that the opportunity has not yet arrived for the return of 'classical' democracy in this country. They are a sick people and health must be restored to them by degrees." (The Danger of Civil War, H. Laski—Ona.)

Who does not recognize in this petty-bourgeois charlatanism the echo of the conversations which the "great Marxist," Laski, held with the "great Stalin"? Laski's mission to Moscow was not merely to bring about an understanding between British and Russian imperialism at the expense of the international proletariat, but also to avoid a rupture between the pro-Stalinist reformists and the Stalinists in Poland at the expense of the Polish proletariat. The cynical declarations of Laski, which differ in no respect from those of the ancient feudal seignors who justified their opposition to universal suffrage by the "lack of maturity" of the masses, are a traitorous stab in the back of the Polish proletariat and the revolutionary anti-Stalinist opposition which tries to defend it against Stalinist reaction and oppression.

Let us speak the facts to this insolent trafficker in socialism. Laski must know that in 1937 the CPP of Poland [Communist Party—tr.] was dissolved by Stalin because of the whispered opposition to the popular fronts. The leaders of this party, among them various Communist deputies and collaborators and disciples of Rosa Luxemburg, were assassinated without any kind of judicial hearing, accused of being spies of Pilsudski. If perchance Laski was pleased by the extermination of the Communists, let us give him the facts of the cruel and furious persecution of the reformist socialists, Laski's comrades: Alter and Ehrlich, leaders of the Bund, the Jewish socialist party of Poland,

criminally assassinated without trial by Stalin; K. Puzak, general secretary of the PPS (Polish Socialist Party—tr.) underground (the underground movement of the working masses of Poland between 1939-1945), tried in Moscow and now once more imprisoned by the puppets of Stalin. According to eye-witness testimonies, the underground PPS was persecuted more severely by the Russians during their occupation between 1939-41 than by the Nazis themselves.

HOW THE STALINISTS WON

When the imperialist armies of Stalin entered Poland in 1944, the agents of Stalin, Russian citizens like Osułka and Szwabie, ex-collaborators of the colonels, organized on September 11-12, 1944 in Lublin a "national reunion" of their creatures, calling it the twenty-fifth congress of the PPS. In the same manner they began to print a newspaper under the old name "Robotnik" (Worker). All this occurred when the Warsaw proletariat was bleeding in the insurrection, having been handed over to the Nazis by Stalin, while in Warsaw the authentic "Robotnik," organ of the PPS underground, was being printed.

The Lublin committee entered Poland and destroyed Warsaw on the bayonets of Stalin's victorious army over the dead body of the Polish underground, which was led by the workers. Lublin was imposed on Poland by the imperialist decree of Yalta. All this does not in the least impress the "socialist" Laski. But he ought to be impressed by the fate of his comrades. On June 29 and 30, 1945, over the ruins of heroic Warsaw, there met another usurping "congress of the PPS," called the twenty-sixth, in which none of the old recognized socialist leaders took part but only the Stalinist quislings, ex-fascists, obscure figures without a past like Osułka-Morawski and M. Szwabie, to whom Stanczyk, the old traitor and sell-out artist of the Polish miners, bowed. Thus outfitted, the PPS received six ministerial posts, including the presidency of the cabinet which was occupied by Osułka, the Soviet citizen.

The president of the "underground movement of the working masses of Poland," Zygmunt Zulawski, ex-president of the executive committee of the Polish unions and considered the leader of the left wing of the PPS, addressed himself to Bierut and Osułka in 1945 (September) "revealing" the names of the leaders of the authentic Polish Socialist Party and asking for its

legalization under the name of PPSD (Polish Social Democratic Party). In a memorandum addressed to Bierut, Zulawski says:

"I did not conceal for a moment that the Polish Socialist Party which I have represented for years is an entirely different organization from the one represented by Comrade Stanislaw Szwabie and Comrade Premier Osułka-Morawski. . . . Therefore, in view of the time limit, I notify you for formal reasons of the existence of our organization and I declare that it intends to avail itself to the full of political rights which have been guaranteed it at Yalta as one of the 'anti-Nazi' parties. . . ."

Bierut passed the responsibility to his agent, Osułka, and of course the Central Committee of the compromising PPS turned down the request of Zulawski to legalize the PPSD, the independent socialist party. Then a delegation of the PPSD, composed of Bien, Garlicki and Zdanowski, presented itself to Osułka to deal with the legalization of the party. Osułka categorically refused to do it, declaring to the delegation that he considered them representatives of the WRN (Liberty, Equality and Independence) group and that he was going to treat them the same as the NSZ (nationalist armed forces—military organization of the right). The delegation insisted that it represented only the Polish Social Democratic Party, not the WRN; nevertheless Osułka denied the concession of political rights to the old social democrats. In November, 1945, the National Council (puppet parliament) denied also the admission of the social democrats into legal political life, their motivation being, "by the existence of six political parties a further differentiation of political opinion may cause an unusually dangerous pre-eminence of party discord in regard to the national joint aims."

SMASHING THE OPPOSITION

Fearing the creation of an illegal workers' party, on December 23, 1945, the Stalinists invited the members of the authentic PPS by radio to unite with the official PPS, in order thereby to control the movements of the opposition. The party of Zulawski had to accept this to avoid extermination. In his declaration, which was not published in the central organs, Zulawski underlined the necessity for democracy in Poland for which he had fought in the times of the Czar and Pilsudski and is also going to fight for now. The Stalinists of the PPS answered with

Corroborative Testimony!

"Mass arrests of members of the oppositionist Polish Peasant Party (PSL), intimidation of anyone and everyone who might be unwilling to accept Communist leadership and the ban on the candidacy of some Opposition leaders have reached such a point that voting on Jan. 19 will be meaningless.

"There is no other conclusion to be reached. It is obvious that the events of the last six weeks, no matter what happens on Jan. 19, have precluded the possibility of obtaining anything like a free expression of the people's will."—Report to the New York Times, January 3, by Sydney Gruson.

violet attacks against the pre-war Socialist Party and that of the underground, accusing it of a hostile attitude toward Russia and toward unity of the working class. Nevertheless, they did not dare to take immediate reprisals on account of the opposition of the working masses.

In the factory elections to the workers' committees, an old working class institution in Poland, out of 928 seats, the PPS won 556 (64%); the official Stalinist PPR, 193 (21%); the democratic party, 14; the Christian party, 10. Gomulka himself, secretary of the Stalinist Poland Workers Party, was so impressed with this defeat that he declared the PPR has scarcely 250 persons in the Cracow factories.

The regional congress of the industrial districts of Cracow and Katowice was unanimously opposed to the electoral bloc of the PPS with the PPR against the PPL (Mikolajczyk). The central committee of Osułka replied with an abrogation of these resolutions, suspending all the functionaries of this region and naming new ones servile to Stalinism. Furthermore, Gomulka and his adherents of the PPR reproached Osułka with a lack of energy and began the campaign against him through Matuszewski, ex-minister of propaganda. The masses of the Polish Socialist Party, the regional congresses, demanded a break with the Stalinists and support to Mikolajczyk. This strong pressure opened up a conflict between Osułka and Szwabie and their patrons of the PPR for the reappointment of po-

sitions in the government and seats in parliament.

According to PAT (Polish London telegraph agency) the conflict was solved by a compromise between Osułka and the PPR. Both parties agreed to fight "against reaction and the PSL, which was transformed into an instrument of the reactionary underground." The PPS receives a ministry without portfolio for Cyrankiewicz (a puppet of no importance) and vice ministers in security and foreign relations. For one of the vice ministries they named Leszczycki, completely unknown before the war (he was not a member of the PPS), whose merit was that of participating in the commission which delimited the new frontier between Poland and Russia. The PPS will also obtain posts in diplomacy, industry, etc., where up to now the official Stalinists held the monopoly. The key to the reappointment of seats in the future parliament has been defined on the basis of the complete exclusion of the PSL (peasants). The distribution of seats in the government has also been defined without taking into account the populist ministers. This is the "democracy by degrees" prescribed by Moscow and confirmed and defended by the servant, Laski. Neither we nor the workers of

America are interested in the bureaucratic arrangements between the Stalinists of first and second rank. We are interested in the struggle of the Polish workers against Stalinist reaction.

THE MOVEMENT FIGHTS ON

The conflicts between the pro-Stalinist reformists and the Stalinists demonstrate one hundred per cent the weakness and the vacillation of the social base of the Stalinist régime in Poland, likewise being a reflection of the cruel class struggle between the working masses and the Stalinist bureaucracy. This battle is attested to not only by the regional congresses of the official PPS, where the worker-delegates vote in favor of opposition to Stalinism and in favor of support to Mikolajczyk in their struggle against totalitarian oppression. It is demonstrated by the mass votes against the government in the industrial districts and cities in the referendum; it is demonstrated by the strikes in Silesia, Pomerania and Lodz, the sentences of the strikers, etc.

The workers of Poland know by their experience and their class instinct where the main enemy of the working class, the main reaction, is, and they proceed in an entirely different way from that which the

"Marxist" Laski wishes, by fighting openly with every means against Stalinism and by assisting the democratic-peasants.

For this reason we support the elemental working class opposition against Stalinism and its aid to the petty bourgeois peasants. Thanks to the populist position the workers can also form centers of opposition to the pressure of the régime.

Stalinist totalitarianism suffers misfortunes for the first time in history and is forced to maneuver and permit working class opposition. The concessions of the GPU to the pro-Stalinist reformists try to broaden the social base of the régime, thereby demonstrating its weakness and unstable equilibrium.

The international proletariat must increase its pressure against Stalinism by assisting the working class opposition, even though the latter is led by the reformists and centrists, for in the unfolding of the struggle the working masses will find their own road, that of the inevitable and cruel struggle against Russian imperialism and Stalinist reaction, the road of the socialist revolution.

(Quotations are from "The Expropriation of a Socialist Party" by A. Ciolkosz.)

(Translated by Mary Bell)

Two Years After War and Allied Military Gov't Still Runs Italy

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Dec. 15.—Threats of the British-American Allied Commission on December 14 to reinstitute Allied Military Government in the north-eastern Italian town of Padua where street fighting has broken out against British troops, underscored the very real presence of the Allied occupation forces in Italy.

To those who wonder what holds Italy's Coalition Cabinet together, the Allied Commission—polite name for military occupation—provides the answer. Until the peace treaty is signed, it runs Italy through the Coalition Cabinet. However, not even Allied rule has relieved the desperate economic situation.

The fall of coal imports from the U. S. reduced Italy's monthly coal consumption from 600,000 tons to 515,000. Total reserves are 621,000. Without immediate large shipments all industry will be shut down. Already Premier Alcide de Gasperi had ordered a reduction of 50 per cent in industry; rail traffic was cut from 20 to 30 per cent. Since Italy imports most gasoline and fuel oil too, her fuel situation is desperate. No coal is allotted for heating and in the damp cold of mountainous Italy—13 inches of snow fell near Florence yesterday—the suffering among shoeless, ill-clad Italian workers living in bombed-out hovels is appalling.

The contemplated early cut of the small bread ration of 237 grams will have "exceptionally grave consequences," declared de Gasperi. Less than two weeks' supply of grain is on hand. Thousands of poor peasants and workers in Sicily, southern Puglia and Calabria are living on a "hand to mouth basis," said UNRRA. Italy's pasta ration—spaghetti, macaroni and other wheat foods—was

reduced 50 per cent, from 2 kilos (4.4 pounds) per person a month to 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) for December. The bread of war—black bread—is being baked and sold again in industrial Milan.

RAPID PRICE RISES

Despite UNRRA claims of helping double production to 65 per cent of pre-war, the lire is at its all-time low of 820 to the dollar or almost 400 per cent more than the official rate of 225 to the dollar. Big export merchants who are permitted to dispose freely of 50 per cent of foreign currency they receive have been transferring capital abroad by various legal and illegal means in preparation for the collapse they anticipate. Within one week spaghetti prices on the black market rose from 120 to 210 lire a kilo. An immediate \$100,000,000 U. S. loan at the present rate of expenditure would last only 30-45 days, Italian officials estimate.

Thousands of unemployed war veterans demonstrated in Naples against unemployment and high prices on December 14. Under heavy pressure from this and other mass demonstrations for food and continuing strikes, the Coalition Cabinet staggers on, powerless, ineffectual, but incapable of being replaced. For the time being the Allied Commission, real ruler of the country, doesn't know through what group it wants to rule the country. It cannot rule through an open fascist force without arousing bitter mass outbreaks; it dares not permit the SP-CP bloc to run the land, for both represent large opposition to the western imperialists and the CP is a Russian instrument.

Under heavy pressure from the starving mass, the Allied Commission and the catastrophic industrial situation, within the government

there are so many splits that Italy's more than 150 local, provincial and national parties are mushrooming. The SP is in a three-way split, with Foreign Minister Nenni who had forged the unity of action pact with the CP on Oct. 27 coming under increasing fire from the pro-U. S.-Britain tendency led by Giuseppe Saragat. A January convention may lead to a decisive rupture.

ROLE OF THE CHURCH

Catholic leaders have demanded an end to any further collaboration with the CP in the government or labor union movement where up to the Oct. 27 SP-CP pact, the Catholics had held one-third of the power in Italy's unions. The right-wing anti-CP group in de Gasperi's Catholic party has formed its own organized force. An ironing out of the split is awaited this month. Meanwhile the growing neo-Fascist Common Man movement is getting more support from industrialists and the Catholic Church, and big landowners are openly backing a new fascist movement, the "Italian Corporative Party," for "defense of the estates."

To add to the tension a growing anti-clerical movement has forced both SP and CP into some criticism of the church.

Open charges have been made that the church has opposed land reforms and by not preventing close association of priests with the Common Man Party is continuing to favor fascists as it had in 1922 when the Vatican supported Mussolini.

What holds the cabinet together is still the Allied Commission, criminally incapable of solving the food, housing and heat problems. To be expected are more demonstrations of unemployed, peasants, ex-soldiers and workers as industry slows down, prices continue to rise and the temperature drops.

An Answer to the President of General Motors

Is Capitalism Worth Saving? - II

By ERNEST ERBER

In last week's article, devoted to answering the sick defense of capitalism contained in Charles E. Wilson's "You've Got to Make a Profit," we discussed the change in approach used by recent apologists for capitalism. We pointed out that the article by the president of General Motors Corporation followed the current line of avoiding pleas based on the "moral rights" of a capitalist to make a profit and based itself upon the contention that a high standard of living and freedom from governmental despotism were assured only by the profit system.

Today we wish to take up the specific arguments adduced by Wilson in support of his contention. We will seek to list them and discuss them, one by one.

ARGUMENT NUMBER ONE

Capitalism has developed this country and given the people the highest standard of living in the world.

The facts in this statement cannot be argued with. It is true that (1) capitalism is the economic system under which the United States developed and (2) the standard of living of the people in this country is, today, the highest in the world. But what follows from citing these facts? For the defenders of capitalism, the mere citing of these facts seems tantamount to saying that: therefore, it follows that capitalism is the best economic system for the American people.

But why does this follow? If the capitalists had used the same logic when discussing technical improvements, they would never have shown any progress. For instance, when the dynamo was developed and proposed as an improvement over the steam engine, why did not the capitalist say: "The steam engine has built the economy of this country, it has given us the greatest profits in the world, we refuse to consider any other method of supplying power to our factories?" Or when the automobile came along, why did it not make just as much sense to point out that the country had made great strides with the ox-cart, the covered wagon and the buggy?

To say that capitalism has developed this country does not constitute proof that (1) another system might not have developed it more, or (2) that at a certain point in the country's development a more efficient system might not have become possible, or (3) that though capitalism developed the country in the past, it is capable of further development.

It is the same with the argument about the "highest standard of living in the world." To say that we have the highest standard of living in the world does not constitute proof that (1) it could not be higher, or (2) that it is not abysmally low when compared with our economic potential, or (3) that the reason for its being high might be found in the fact that the rest of the world's standard of living is low as a result of American exploitation.

No doubt, in ancient times when slaves complained about hard work and poor food they were

reminded that slavery was the best system man had yet devised. After all, great cities were built and the land was brought under cultivation by the slave system. Before man had developed slavery, captives went into the stew for Sunday dinner (or the pagan equivalent). Now they were permitted to live and to work in building up the country. And no one could deny that the wretched quarters of the slave and his meager fare were better than living in a cave and going hungry much of the time. We are sure that some day archeologists will unearth a stone tablet of the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce which makes precisely this argument. As a matter of fact, the Old Testament tells how, after the Hebrews had left Egypt for the freedom of the desert and suffered hungry days and nights, some of them began to long for the "flesh-pots" of Egypt, even as slaves.

THE NATURE OF PROGRESS

When Europe stabilized itself on the basis of feudalism, following the breakdown of the Roman Empire and the dissolution of the slave economy, the philosophers of the time pointed to the virtues of the feudal system and considered it the perfect social order for mankind. If the lot of the serf was a hard one, it was most certainly a more tolerable one than that of the slave in ancient times. If some agitators preached liberation of the serfs, as many did in Germany during the sixteenth century, and insisted that it was possible to till the soil without either serfdom or slavery, they were denounced as dreamers and dangerous persons, whose proposals would lead to the destruction of civilization.

We can see, therefore, that the arguments of the capitalist apologists are merely a repetition of the false logic of every previous ruling class. The privileged strata in society shrinks from the thought that, perhaps, like previous social systems, theirs too will pass away and be replaced by another. To accept capitalism as another transitory stage in the development of social institutions is to accept the idea that their privileges will some day end. The acceptance of this notion is, therefore, tantamount to accepting their defeat as inevitable. That is why not only every means of popular propaganda but also every phase of social science must be moulded to the purpose of teaching the perfection and permanence of capitalism. This theme is to be found in all the social sciences from political economy to anthropology, as well as in jurisprudence, philosophy and the arts.

We want to make one more observation on the argument about capitalism having built up this country and given the people a high standard of living. This is to observe that the capitalist apologists take a personal pride in this achievement. Why they should is a mystery. They do not maintain that the economy of this country was developed because the capitalists had that aim in mind. There was nothing purposeful about it. All that happened, they say, is that every capitalist kept his nose in his own business and sought to build it up as big as possible in order to make more profit. If he could, he bankrupted his competitor, cheated the government and robbed the con-

sumer—not to speak here about the treatment accorded to his workers. If the economy developed blindly as a by-product of this mad pursuit for profit, why should anyone take pride in it? It is as if the bees who flit from flower to flower were to insist that the purpose of their flitting was not to extract the nectar but to carry the pollen from plant to plant as a disinterested service to horticulture.

RELATIVE NATURE OF PERFECTION

It is also necessary to consider that the United States is today the only nation in the world where capitalism continues in a somewhat working order. If the capitalist system is so perfect, why have not other nations continued to prosper under it? Or is there something in the American climate or soil or blood stream that makes this country an exception? It is our contention that capitalism has a firmer foundation in the United States than elsewhere for a whole series of historical reasons. However, historical reasons mean that the factors which have given stability to capitalism in this country are not permanent, have undergone change and continue to undergo change. These changes are steadily undermining the foundations of American capitalism as they did those of capitalism in Europe, its original stronghold. Witness the crisis of 1929-39. That is why we say that the condition of capitalism in Europe today shows us the face of American capitalism tomorrow.

A last word on the much publicized "American standard of living." It would be folly to deny that the bulk of the American workers live better than those of Europe, even if we use the pre-war period as the basis of comparison. But this does not mean that there are not millions of American workers who live on a European standard of living. When the fact that American workers own automobiles is pointed out, it must also be remembered that a majority of them do not own automobiles. Thousands of coal miners, even with their recently increased income, are forced to live in clapboard shacks owned by the coal companies. The low standard of living of sharecroppers and fruitpickers is well known. It is an illusion of the worst kind to take Detroit automobile workers, who stand near the top of the wage scale, and think of them as TYPICAL of the American workers' standard of living.

And even if all workers in this country earned what the upper third of them do today, what follows? "High" and "low" are only relative concepts. Pacific islanders who happened to live on an island with exceptionally fertile yam patches thought they enjoyed a "high" standard of living. They did, in comparison with their poorer neighbors. But when the American troops came and permitted them to pick through the garbage from the mess hall, they considered it a feast.

It is our contention that the planned economy of socialism, based on production for use and not for a profit, will make the highly-touted "American standard of living" of today seem primitive by comparison.

(We will take up Wilson's second argument next week.)

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

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

RAPID GROWTH OF MONOPOLY IN THE U. S.

By CHARLES STEWART

An important 200-page document put out by a staff of experts of the House Committee on Monopoly has divulged important facts pointing out how big financial capitalist corporations are using their war-swollen profits to buy up not only war-surplus government owned plants at a song, but also to use this money to buy up smaller producers and increase their monopolistic sway over American economy.

According to this secret report, up to June 30, 1946, 70.1 per cent of the wartime plants sold were delivered to "giant" corporations in addition to 72.8 per cent of leases of such plants.

The report states further that, "the proportion of the value of these facilities going to giant corporations was higher than their ownership of manufacturing facilities in 1939." All of the 18 plants sold for more than \$5 million went to these bank-controlled industrial octopi. They also obtained a considerable number of the smaller plants.

If the 250 largest corporations acquire the government facilities on which they have purchase options, their plant and equipment would amount to 38½ billion dollars or 65 per cent of the country's productive facilities.

Sixty-three of the largest manufacturing corporations in this country had increased their net working capital to nearly 10 billion dollars by the end of 1946. With this capital these trusts could buy up all of the usable government facilities or buy up all the 71,000 smaller corporations with assets of three million or less. The report states significantly, "Large firms are, in fact now using their wartime financial gains to buy up small firms, as is indicated by the current sharp increase in mergers and acquisitions."

The purpose of the report was to cast a nostalgic look at the young American economy of

small corporations. The size of a corporation shouldn't frighten anyone especially since large units are more efficient and cheaper producers. These units should be nationalized under workers' control of production instead of amassing more power and wealth in the hands of America's 60 families.

By examining how this process affects steel, a clearer picture may be obtained. During the war, the government built and operated the huge Geneva Steel plant at Provo, Utah, at a cost of over \$190 million. *Fortune*, the slick magazine for big business, in its February 1945 issue looked aghast at the possibility of the huge Geneva plant being taken over by U. S. Steel. "For Geneva, which the government owns free of any options to private companies," *Fortune* suggests three possible courses: "Government operation, sale to U. S. Steel or one of the other large steel companies, or sale to a new western producer. Government operation, which almost no one seriously proposes (What about the Workers Party?)—Should there be an opportunity to choose between the sale to an existing steel company and a new company, the new company ought to get the mill. The present steel companies are large enough. There is no obvious reason why any one of them should be made larger by means of a government plant."

For a magazine of big business, *Fortune* certainly missed the boat because U. S. Steel purchased the 190 million dollar Geneva plant for about 40 million dollars or at about one-fifth of the cost to the government. Thus big steel started to move into the West to thwart any possible newcomer from breaking into the steel monopoly. One of these possible rivals was the Fontana plant of Henry Kaiser which is still operating under the staggering load (1) of 100 per cent RFC loans. The War Manpower Commission wouldn't allow a modern rolling mill to be built for Kaiser there and so he had to build an old type mill out

of second-hand parts. The Plant Site Commission refused to allow him to build the plant on the logical tide water region and Kaiser had to build 50 miles out of Los Angeles.

Big Steel, having acquired the Geneva plant, has now put the squeeze on Kaiser causing him to squeal that the big steel companies forced him to raise the price of steel \$7 a ton. This latest development was the acquisition of the Consolidated Steel Company, a huge West Coast fabricating plant, by U. S. Steel. Now U. S. Steel owns rolling mills at Pittsburgh (Calif.), Western Iron and Pipe Co. at Los Angeles as well. Bethlehem Steel is also moving into West Coast fabricating plants.

Kaiser says that, "No one can eradicate Fontana, for it has 100 million tons of California ore." When asked whether that meant that he thought big steel could not drive him out, Kaiser replied: "No, they might shut me out and acquire the plant. I mean the plant itself will not be closed." After deploring the sale of Geneva to U. S. Steel at 20 cents on the dollar while Fontana is saddled with an 80 per cent higher fixed charge than Geneva, Kaiser naively stated, "I don't believe our government ever intended that that much power should fall into the hands of a few."

The latest development in the steel picture shows that the process so ably depicted in the House Report of the Committee on Monopoly goes relentlessly on. Republic Steel was just sold a huge government plant in South Chicago that cost the government \$91 million to build. Republic Steel picked up this little bargain for \$35 million of which only \$5 million is cash, the rest to be paid off at the rate of 1½ million dollars annually. This "puny" plant will merely double Republic's ingot producing capacity. Two other private bids were rejected either as too low or not sufficiently guaranteed. Steel then is only one phase of the picture of the increase of finance capitalist concentration as a result of the war.

Nathan Report and NAM - -

(Continued from page 3)
in heavy equipment to create both output and employment, as well as profits."

Elsewhere in these pages, C. M. Reckert writes:

"Corporate net income in 1946 reached the highest level in the history of the nation despite the fact that about one-third of the year was beset by non-production occasioned by strikes. The result of industrial manufacturers as a whole in 1947 may surpass even this impressive showing, providing further disruption of the national economic situation does not take place."

By "further disruption" this gentleman has in mind strikes for higher wages. But if labor was able to produce record production and profits for big business despite all the strikes, its productive feats for 1947 without any strikes will surpass even 1946. This would mean even greater profits in 1947 than in the record year 1946. Then, actually, what the capitalists are asking of labor is that it keep quiet and accept its present conditions, while industry and finance continue to reap the greatest profits in history. And nothing so gives away the capitalist game as the real estimates of the capitalist economists when they are not speaking directly to labor or answering its queries.

But disputing with the professional economists and statisticians over figures is a pretty fruitless game. Even reliance on a report such as Nathan made is fruitless. All the Nathan report can do is add to the ammunition which the labor movement already has in abundance. A page of statistics won't add to the worker's dissatisfaction which exists when he gets his pay envelope and tries to stretch it to meet the needs of his family. It is only additional proof of what he already knows. What is really involved, and this is

what the obtuse labor leaders do not understand, despite their endless experiences, is that in this kind of struggle, the demands of labor strike at the very heart of the capitalist system itself.

The capitalist economists who represent big business are defending the right of the industrialists and financiers to make profits off the labor of the millions of wage earners in the country. The more profit they make, the better it is for the prosperity of the system as a whole—especially for economists who are on the payrolls of the business institutions. The share of labor, they freely admit, is a minor share, enough to keep "body and soul" together. And that's enough. If labor's share gets too big, then the profits will decline, industry will close, unemployment will rise. For after all, they say with monotonous repetition, without profits, there is no incentive for big business to produce. It follows, therefore, the greater the profits, the greater the incentive. But it also follows, since wages are directly linked to profits, the smaller they are the greater the profits, the higher, the less the profit. Therefore, keep wages as low as possible and thus insure greater profits.

The labor movement cannot therefore enter the war of statistics as though it were its main struggle. At one time or another it has to say:

We don't give a damn about the profits of a handful of monopoly capitalists who control the wealth of the nation. We are interested in the welfare of the people, of the mass of wage earners who make up the overwhelming majority of the people of the country. It is they who produce the wealth of the nation and the profits of the bosses. If the capitalists cannot run industry unless their profits are safeguarded, if the people have to live at sub-standard levels to guarantee these profits, then, we can get along without the capitalist parasites. Labor can run the industrial machine without any help from the coupon clippers. Eliminating the profiteers will make it possible to really increase productivity, the wages of workers, and the level of existence of the whole people.

But until the labor movement reaches that kind of maturity, it must still carry on the big fight: profits or higher wages; profits or a higher standard of living; profits or food, clothing and decent shelter. But then, too, labor will have to grow up politically. That means, its fight will have to become a political struggle as well as an economic one, to defeat the capitalists and their government which daily acts in the interests of the profiteers. And for that, labor needs its own party, an independent labor party to fight for a labor program of plenty for all.

A Letter of Correction From George Addes, UAW

The following letter has been received by LABOR ACTION:

Labor Action Publishing Association
114 West 14th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Sirs:

My attention has been called to the November 25, 1946, issue of your paper, LABOR ACTION. On page 3 of the Magazine Section, and as part of a story headed "A Profile of a Political Demagogue," there appears a picture of me, under which is printed "Stalinist Accomplish."

Demand is hereby made that you promptly and conspicuously print a statement clearly freeing me from the stigma attached to the characterizations appearing in the heading, under the picture and in the body of the story itself.

Sincerely,

GEORGE F. ADDES
International Secretary-Treasurer

In reply LABOR ACTION wishes to state, and has so informed Mr. Addes in a letter sent to him, that:

We regret the error which appeared in the issue of our paper to which Mr. Addes refers. The picture and caption were supposed to refer to Congressman Vito Marcantonio, about whom the accompanying story was written. The story itself contains absolutely no reference to George F. Addes, and we regret any embarrassment it may have caused him. The error arose entirely out of an unfortunate mix-up of "cuts" in the printing plant where we work. We are pleased to rectify our error by printing George F. Addes' letter objecting to the caption over his picture, as well of this correction.—Editors.

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!

ROLE OF FACTORY COMMITTEES IN FRANCE

PARIS, Dec. 21—As prices of food alone rose beyond the average workers' 9-10,000 franc wage a month, the more than 3,400 factory committees have come under increasing criticism by workers for not having prevented a 100 per cent price rise since January, 1946.

Only a few weeks ago workers at two big plants—Grands Moulins de Paris and Corbeil—when refused a bounty they had demanded, with good reason, declared that the factory committees, assisted by expert accountants, were going to open the plants' books to verify how much more pay could be granted. Several hours later the capitalists retreated, accepted the bounty idea and said no check of company books was necessary.

But this is the first case of positive action or rather threatened action by the factory committees which arose in many French factories as German and collaborationist owners fled in 1944. And it is against CGT policy of no-strikes or slowdowns. Given a legal but much curtailed status by a law of February 22, 1945 and a second law of March, 1946, plus an extension of powers to see profit and loss accounts on May 16, 1946, the factory committees on July 3, 1945 were accorded powers to assist in price control. Under the various decrees it is legally obligatory that factory committees be informed of all price changes and production rise or fall.

Continued by the post-fascist-decree-government of Socialists, Stalinists and Catholics, the factory committees exist in all plants employing more than 100 workers. In factory administration they are in a small minority which concerns

itself primarily with social and welfare questions. Obviously there are no factory committees in plants with less than 100 employees, nor in stores, farms, markets or banks. And strike action is still their most effective weapon. But under the law and the CP's control, strikes are forbidden; increased production and longer hours of work are the basic rule. Loss of employment and ration privileges and blackballing from industry await strikers.

Deprived of the strike weapon and with wages, hours and working conditions determined by the state, most industrial prices are not determined by factory committees or even by individual capitalists. They are set by the large trusts that dominate production and whose proposed prices are approved by Socialist, Stalinist and Catholic members of the National Assembly.

Moreover so long as the stock market and the commodities market—both legal and black—exist no factory committees have an ounce of control over prices. An interesting sidelight on their functions is that most French plants have at least two sets of books, one for the state inspectors, and another to keep track of black market purchases and sales and profits which absorb the heavy majority of receipts and expenditures.

Though the law of July 3, 1946 declares that factory committees must be consulted before prices are increased, nevertheless prices rose at least 200 per cent from February, 1945, to November, 1946, and more than 100 per cent from January to November, 1946. Since the 25 per cent wage increase of mid-July, prices have risen more than 50 per cent, washing out the wage increase.

At the same time private capitalist profits—over which factory committees have no power, though theoretically they may look at profit records—rose.

Average profit increases were from 695 in 1945 to 1106 on Nov. 22, 1946. Thus while capitalist profits almost doubled in one year and are uncontrolled by factory committees, workers' purchasing power has fallen at least 50 per cent in the same period and it is clear that the committees' power to control prices is a fiction.

In the fall strike wave, Stalinist-led factory committees far from controlling prices, opposed workers' strikes against high prices. This was a convincing demonstration of how the capitalist state-approved factory committees have prevented strikes, tied workers more closely to the capitalist state and have become a virtual branch of state labor controls machinery for increasing production, speed-up and output per man. Meanwhile prices march on and up.

The crowning dishonor of the factory committees, along with the leaders of the CGT, SP and CP, was to support the reactionary Monnet Plan of increasing the work week to 48 hours to reconstruct capitalist France. In 1936, only 10 years ago, there was once a régime called the Popular Front which agreed to the 40-hour week under workers' pressure. Leon Blum, Socialist, was premier. Today Blum, Cachin, Thorez, the CGT and the factory committees support the 48-hour week—not in the interest of a workers' society, but of reviving French capitalism and the profits of the French capitalists.

—J. A.

A NEW THREAT OF LITERARY CENSORSHIP-II

By JAMES T. FARRELL

My books have never had a large sale in Canada. The number of Canadian readers who have been prevented from reading *Bernard Clare* is very small. At the same time, Mr. Sim has told many readers that if they can get hold of my works they will get something which actually they won't find in these same books. Some Canadians have gone across the border into Buffalo looking for this in *Bernard Clare*. If those Canadians who have smuggled my novel across from Buffalo are disappointed in not finding "obscenity" and feel defrauded, they must blame Mr. Sim, not me. He is the man who has told them that *Bernard Clare* is "obscene." All this does not contribute toward helping Canadians in the real moral problem posed by a book, that of handling one's emotion. On the contrary, this only tells people where to look in order to find so-called pornography. And it further contributes toward the conception of books as a means of sexual gratification via fantasy. The censors have been doing this for decades now. As such, the censors have made a major contribution toward deforming literary taste. As long as there is a marriage, a pretty girl, a young man in the novel, the results are the same in fantasy. Readers are coached and helped to find sex in books. Puritanical customs officials are not achieving their avowed purpose. And this being the case, they don't stop the entry of American motion pictures. The American films of glamor boys and girls are sufficient for those who wish to gain sexual gratification via fantasy in cultural products. In terms of Mr. Sim's own assumed morality, he is achieving the opposite of what he wants.

If we wish to apply realistic tests to men and to governments, we must judge them by what they do, not solely by what they avow. And what men and governments do in small things is a forecast as to what they are likely to do in larger matters. The silence of Canadian officials, their refusal to answer questions, to meet arguments and protests, their refusal even to specify precisely what chapters Mr. Sim considers "indecent"—all this constitutes a forecast. It reveals the attitude of Canadian officials on books and on the question of the artist's right to freedom of expression. If they will ban my book without a hearing, if they will uphold officials who ban Balzac, Trotsky, Joyce, Lawrence and others, they will be likely to ban still further books. If they do not trust Canadian readers to judge these books themselves, they

will not trust them in other cases. Mr. King and Mr. Sim have, in this way, revealed what they can be expected to do in the future on important questions of free speech, on questions of the right of the artist to free expression as this is interpreted by the civilized reading public of civilized countries. An American such as the author of this article can well know how to interpret such action from his own standpoint. It is, however, less menacing to him than it is to Canadians. In this sense, the banning of *Bernard Clare* is a Canadian problem, and possibly, a warning to Canadian citizens, especially to those who are concerned with the new cultural ferment in Canada, and with the hope of once and for all ending the parochialism in Canadian culture. And regardless of who was originally responsible for this banning, the officials now responsible are Mr. Sim and Mr. King. It is they who refuse to rescind this de-

cision. It is they who refuse to heed the protests of many representative citizens of the United States. It is they who now are enforcing this ban.

And their act of censorship comes at a time when the reactionary book burners are straining at the leash. In America, the book burners have now been seeking precedents for several years. If they use this precedent set by Mr. King and by Mr. Sim, and if, as a result, the Canadian banning of *Bernard Clare* has further censorial consequences, then, it is clear that Mr. King and Mr. Sim can be charged publicly with responsibility for such consequences. The iron curtain has not yet been hung over this continent. And before it can be, there must be many smaller acts of censorship. The *Bernard Clare* action is just such an action. If it is followed up by others, then we can well have our own iron curtain.

(Copyright, 1946, James T. Farrell)

What the Veterans Are Thinking - -

(Continued from page 4)

ever, 33 per cent want more jobs made available, and 46 per cent want a cash bonus. This gives an indication as to when the job and bonus question will become live issues—during the next depression. It shows why, also, veterans' organizations such as the AVC have remained primarily middle class in membership up to the present. A real influx of worker members will occur when the unemployment crisis becomes actual.

The effect of capitalist propaganda can be seen in the reaction to the question asking the veteran to rate the war effort of "business corporations" and labor unions. The contribution of the corporation was rated as excellent or good by 62.5 per cent of the veterans, but that of unions as only 35.4 per cent. It is probable that the poor showing in this respect can be ascribed to the heavy propaganda during the war, envy on the part of the men overseas of those at home, and lack of first hand experience with the issue in question, such as the veteran possesses on other issues. Even *Fortune* cautions its readers not to rub their hands gleefully over the apparent antagonism, pointing out that the previous month's survey had shown veterans to be more sym-

thetic to organized labor than the public as a whole.

This is confirmed by the reaction to wartime salaries and wages. The salaries of business executives were thought to have been too high by 50.5 per cent of the veterans. Labor's wartime wages, however, were thought too high by fewer veterans—45 per cent. Some 29.5 per cent thought executives' wages were about right, but 45 per cent—15.5 per cent more than in the case of executives—thought labor's wages were just. These totals very clearly reveal that the veteran thinks that both the salaries of executives and the wages of workers were too high—in relation to the wages that the veteran was getting for the work he was doing. But the bias in favor of labor is very evident.

The thinking of the veteran is further revealed by a question which posed the nationalization of war industry. Government ownership was supported by the sizable total of 36.9 per cent, with 50.5 per cent supporting private ownership. The response to this particular question very neatly revealed the class structure of the army: 72 per cent of the officers supported private ownership, but only 48 per cent of the enlisted men did so.

Build a Library of Socialist Classics

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE has selected the cheapest, most authoritative editions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky to make it possible for the readers of Labor Action to own a complete set of the classics of our movement at nominal prices. Any book in print pertaining to socialist theory may be obtained through us.

LABOR ACTION

BOOK SERVICE

4 Court Square

Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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—CHicAGO 5798

Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLASSES—every Friday night at 8 o'clock on a series of Marxist classics. Led by Albert Goldman. First class begins Friday, January 10, on "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

FORUM—EVERY SUNDAY AT 3 P. M.

Sunday, January 12—"The Republican Congress and Labor," Albert Goldman speaking.

Sunday, January 19—"Shifts in European Politics," B. Gardner speaking.

Sunday, January 26—"The Third Party Movement and the Washington Conference of Liberals," Jack Hanger, LABOR ACTION correspondent, speaking.

SOCIAL—Saturday, January 18, at 8:30 P. M.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE ACTIVITIES: Business meetings—Sundays at 7 P. M.

Youth Forum—every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, beginning January 5 on "Fascism—It Can Happen Here," Andy Martin, speaker.

Youth Class—on "Fight for Socialism" book at 1 p.m. every Sunday, beginning January 12.

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 5558.

Write of phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

LOS ANGELES

Headquarters at 216 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.

Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

January 17—Jack Brad, "Rebirth of Organized Labor in Japan."

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 128th 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.

Chelsea Branch Forum—Henry Judd will speak on THE NEW COLONIAL "FREEDOM"—Thursday, Jan. 16, 8:30 p.m.—at 114 West 14th St.

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

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

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

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

READING

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.

Jack Brad, writer for LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist, will discuss "American Policy in Japan" at a forum of the Reading Branch on Monday, January 20, at 8 p.m. The place—Quakers Hall, 126 North 10th Street.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Gerard Avenue (3rd floor).

WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.

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

LABOR ACTION FORUM SERIES: Sunday, January 19: THE SUPREME COURT VS. THE COAL MINERS. Speaker: Jack Brad.

Sunday, January 26: WHAT ROAD MUST THE NEGRO TAKE? A debate, speakers to be announced later.

All forums will be held at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Avenue (northeast corner 12th and Girard) at 8:00 p.m.

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 142, 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.

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.

Truman Jockeys with GOP On Anti-Labor Offensive --

(Continued from page 1)

important sense, merely that small irritations be outlawed. After all, are not jurisdictional strikes injurious to labor as well as to management? They are.

But it will be far more injurious to labor if they are outlawed in Truman's way. Like bureaucracy and other evils that injure the best interests of the union movement, the curbs not in the intervention of the capitalist government and its agencies, but within the labor movement itself.

All such matters are the business of labor itself, to be handled by encouraging the vigilance and interest of union rank and file. Otherwise they lend themselves to a pattern that could mean the ultimate strangulation of the union movement, as the capitalist government dictates to the unions today on jurisdictional strikes, tomorrow on compulsory arbitration, the next day on the basic right to strike.

And having "put one over" on jurisdictional strikes, Truman gingerly advanced to a ban on secondary boycotts and strikes over contract interpretation.

Secondary boycotts are hardly on the same level as picket-line strike action. Perhaps they are a small thing to yield, not worth bothering with? Decidedly not! They are indeed secondary operations, but the labor movement must protect its right to their use. Even Truman recognized that, with a complicated industrial structure such as we have, secondary boycotts are sometimes necessary weapons of union operation.

And as for a ban on strikes over contract interpretation, little argument is necessary. Eliminate the right to strike, and the union is at the mercy of the employer in interpreting a contract—notwithstanding how many "impartial" government boards are assigned to investigate.

NO MENTION OF FEPC

At least fifteen of Truman's forty minutes were devoted to labor. That is why we have examined that section of his address in detail. Reading or listening to Truman is at best a thankless task. However, the rest of his address is worth examining if only to study its emptiness and to discover what is missing.

First, a very important omission must be noted. NOWHERE IN HIS

ADDRESS DID TRUMAN CALL FOR A FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES ACT!

Many other things are missing, including an anti-poll-tax bill. But we single out FEPC for mention because this was part of the 21-point program Truman presented to the last Congress. As with the Republicans, who through Joe Martin have warned Negro Republican leaders that they had best forget about FEPC, so the Democrats have shelved FEPC now that the vote-getting season is temporarily over. It may be resuscitated in time for the next election. Between times, they will do nothing to enact FEPC into law.

WAGE-PRICE ZERO

Most of what Truman did say, apart from his labor proposals, constituted little more than a great big zero. However, the very ambiguity of his other proposals speaks volumes. So, for example, on wages and prices, Truman offered the wisdom that prices must be held in line. How? By advising industry to hold prices down, and to cut them where profits allow. That is exactly what Truman proposed when he abolished price ceilings on almost all commodities. We all know how it has worked out.

He also advised labor not to seek wage rises that would lead to price rises. In the concrete, since Truman is definitely not going to uphold the CIO's crucial contention that wage increases can be granted without price increases, that will mean a continuation of Truman's strike-breaking.

Last year, having publicly taken the position that labor was entitled to wage increases, Truman thereupon launched into a vicious display of strike-breaking. Starting more "moderately" this year, proposing no-wage increases, Truman will at least have the benefit of greater consistency. It must be remembered that Truman's declaration ending hostilities did not declare the duration ended. He therefore still has, and may seek to use, various wartime emergency powers against the labor movement in the event of a national strike wave.

EMPTY TALK

In an effort to balance his labor program, which, however "mild," is sure to provoke widespread protest, Truman recommended to Congress that it "consider the extension and broadening of our Social Security program, better housing, a comprehensive national health program and provision for a fair minimum wage."

There is an obvious need for all of this, but Truman did not so much as by a phrase indicate how any of this was to be done. It was clearly added for impressive padding.

Reduced to its essentials, all Truman could offer on housing was an appeal to private enterprise. Plus the specific advice to veterans that the "primary responsibility to deliver housing at reasonable prices that veterans can afford rests with private industry and labor." Plenty of ventilation here, but no housing!

As his "second major policy" next to labor, Truman offered a disquisition on restricting monopoly. "But it is so rapid, so utterly vain, as to require no comment."

Though he did not say so in so many words, Truman implied that he would not ask for any tax cuts. Proceeding on our own, by implication too, we can expect that any major tax revisions will be designed to help the wealthy and leave the poor with the same scandalous and disproportionate burden they have been carrying.

Last week, in ending hostilities, Truman announced that various excise taxes would be lifted by July 1.

Interestingly enough, they were all on luxury items. Excise taxes that drain the pockets of the poor remain.

Much else was crowded into the 25 minutes that remained of Truman's address after he had finished with his labor program. He made it clear that he would oppose a veterans' bonus, saying that no revisions are needed in present veterans' laws. He took a clear and unambiguous position—yes, we'll say that for him—on merging the armed forces into a single department, and on universal military training (which has more than a fleeting connection with his strike-breaking inclinations). He mumbled something about extending civil rights in a manner which he will explain later. He told the farmer that he was entitled to a fair income. He suggested that immigration be revised to permit more displaced persons to enter—an excellent suggestion—but steered clear of concrete proposals. He advised the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission to "foster the development of atomic energy for industrial use and scientific research." Sounds nice, doesn't it?

DO NOT BE DECEIVED!

There may be a few points we have overlooked. If so, they aren't important. For, we repeat, the core of the address concerned itself with his labor program. Given his record, Truman may very well reverse himself on everything he said—as he has reversed himself time and time again since he took office. If, however, he reverses himself on labor, it will most likely be to shed the sweetness of his "moderation" for government by injunction or the like.

We must not be deceived by this "moderation," either in the meaning of the specific proposals or in what can follow. While AFL President William Green has already rushed into print with a halting approval of Truman's address, CIO President Philip Murray, other AFL and CIO leaders and railroad brotherhood spokesmen have not commented. We hope they will advise Congress that any move in the direction of legislating Truman's proposals will be met with a storm of labor protest and action! And that they will then turn to the business of leading an aggressive national wage drive, this time keeping clear of the White House corridors!

Gas Workers End Strike in Newark

NEWARK, Jan. 4—Striking gas workers, members of Local 268, International Chemical Workers, AFL, voted to return to work on yesterday's 4 p.m. shift on the condition that Frederick A. Lydecker, Public-Service vice-president, negotiate.

The plant continues under state operation, with profits guaranteed for the owners. How the government operates to protect the interests of the profiteers was revealed during the strike when police escorted strike-breakers through picket lines while pickets jeered.

The strike had its origin in the impatience of the gas workers with the runaround they had been getting while grievances accumulated over wage rates, and working conditions, down to such simple issues as the distribution of gloves among the various departments in handling coke, clinkers and gas ovens.

The government, however, refused to negotiate while the men were out. Under this pressure, the workers agreed to return to work. What they gain in negotiations will now depend on how clearly their representatives convey to the company and the government the workers' willingness to stand militantly by their demands.

New Year's Affair In Philadelphia A Huge Success

PHILADELPHIA—On New Year's Eve the Workers Party of Philadelphia held a dance and party at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Ave. The gala affair was attended by over 75 people, many of them readers and friends of LABOR ACTION.

Much of the credit for the success of the party goes to the hard-working social committee headed by Joe Arnold. The committee provided all of the necessary ingredients for a successful affair; a beautifully decorated hall, adequate and varied music, a large smooth-surfaced dance area, delicious sandwiches, a selection of hard and soft drinks, paper hats, noise makers, and a breakfast of fruit juice, waffles and coffee.

With the coming of the New Year comes also the resolution, the Workers Party of Philadelphia was resolved to hold many more social affairs in 1947 to round out its activity of promoting LABOR ACTION, of holding an open Forum each Sunday night, and of holding formal study classes.

motives behind Dave Beck's actions can be uncovered.

Yours truly,

ALBERT BENSON, Denver, Colo.

(The clipping enclosed, from the Denver Post, reports an announcement from Paul W. Blinco, international representative from Oakland, Calif., of the AFL Teamsters Union, that the teamsters would not participate in a general strike that Denver unions were considering in defense of the May employees. The article reports Blinco as saying that he acted on instructions from Dave Beck, vice-president of the teamsters union. The reasons behind Beck's action are not difficult to find. The Beck type of union leadership prefers "business unionism" to militant unionism. It is more concerned with maintaining "industrial peace" than with aggressively promoting the interests of the working class. The same behavior was recently exhibited in the Oakland general strike. Readers can refer to the articles we published on the Oakland strike for further elucidation. We hope, too, to be able soon to publish a full-length article from our Seattle correspondents on Dave Beck.—Ed.)

Profit System And the Negro

Dear Editor: "The African to America"—

For many years I've been in sympathy with the African, or what we call Colored or Negro. Why? Because I happened to know the history of these very unfortunate people. These poor souls were lashed in their native country by what is known as the Hollander Dutch, and brought over to America. For what? The answer is profit; or call it the bourgeois system that produces it. Thus: the imperial system that produces sorrow and tears.

The treatment and tragedy that befell these poor unfortunate souls is almost beyond description, almost beyond the comprehension of the human mind. It was also unlawful to bring them to the American shore—but the greed of men took a chance for profit, and the chances on their poor lives. In the sixteenth century there was a strong law against importing these people to America. When the officers of the ships learned officers tied weights on the necks of that the law was close at hand, these

these poor innocent creatures, threw them overboard into the sea to drown.

This is history. This has been the most unfortunate condition in our structural system and in the name of Christian civilization. All students of ancient history know that these statements are facts.

However, it has not been alone the Negro that has suffered tortures of hell, but all of the underdog class due to the system of control of the powers that be.

The carpenter of Nazareth said he ye not deceived. However, the wage slave both white and black has been told many times. But to lead him out of the wilderness of misery into the light of reason seems to be an impossibility. And until such time it will be thus: as surely as the hand leads the pen to write.

Mass ignorance lead themselves to doom. Thus the world keeps rolling on and mass ignorance keeps rolling along. May these lines find good wishes to all men. Ever in good faith.

Dr. Charles Calvin.

St. Louis County, Mo.

Youth Corner... SYL SEEKS PUBLICATION FUND

By JULIUS FALK National Secretary, SYL

While the status of the Socialist Youth League today doesn't warrant an ambitious newspaper project, it is nonetheless vitally necessary for our organization to have a respectable pamphlet which will present the program and aims of the SYL. As yet we do not have a single printed publication of our own.

An SYL pamphlet can accomplish two things:

1) It should have an inner educational value and help raise the morale of our units.

2) Of at least equal importance it will help considerably in our contacting and recruiting.

ASKS CONTRIBUTIONS

Number of young people have recently requested of our national office literature presenting the SYL program. Just think how much more effective it would be if in reply we could not only send LABOR ACTION and other Workers Party publications, but supplement them with a pamphlet published by the SYL, emphasizing such youth problems as conscription, inadequate education, lack of job training, etc., etc.

At the last meeting of our Buro, it was decided that every effort must be made in the next month to secure the finances from members and friends to overcome this sorely felt lack of educational and agitational material. Quotas for our various youth units have not yet been made. But it is certain that the cost of a 16 or 32 page pamphlet cannot be met by the SYL without the help of friends. Our comrades are young people from working class families, without independent means. We are therefore asking readers and sympathizers to send in contributions, no matter how small, to help raise the \$200 required to finance this limited but necessary project.

CHICAGO LEADS RECRUITING

In terms of recruiting at least, the Chicago SYL unit is setting the pace. A month ago we didn't have a real unit in that city—only a fraction and an ineffective one at that. Today, largely through the efforts of Comrades Waller and Martin we

have a relatively large, functioning unit there. Seven young comrades were recruited in recent weeks and in a letter from Comrade Waller, we are assured that in six months we will have a flourishing unit in Chicago "of between 30 and 50 members."

The Chicago unit has embarked on an intensive educational campaign. Well publicized educational are held each week and in addition, a new class on Shachtman's pamphlet "Fight for Socialism" will begin shortly.

Commission Will Push Conscription

Truman and the brass hats are still at it—trying to push compulsory military training down the throats of a people who are against it. They've tried a dozen tricks to try to get money and permission to shove the youth of this country into the Army. Truman knows that he can't continue much longer the farce that the war is still on, so he has worked out a new angle to quiet the opposition to compulsory military training.

He has appointed a committee of nine which he calls the "Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training." Four of the nine committee members are clergymen and educators. The others are industrialists and jurists—but not one single brass hat.

This committee is supposed to look into the question and maybe come out with some statement of how compulsory military training will be a good thing for the youth if their religious needs are taken care of and these young boys are kept away from bad women. Their report is expected to sway every young man, mother and father into permitting Congress into passing laws for compulsory peacetime military conscription.

That these laws will be pushed in the next Congress is foreseen by the moves made by the Army and Navy on the same day. The Army announced it would ask Congress for permission and money to add 625,000 men annually to its trained reserve. The Navy also announced it would add another 250,000 men annually.



LABOR ACTION STANDING OFFER TO DISTRIBUTORS

LABOR ACTION's Press and Circulation Department has a standing offer to all branches, literature agents and distributors which, we think, is not being sufficiently utilized.

That is our offer of as many copies of LABOR ACTION as you wish, over and above your regular bundle order, at the nominal price of one cent per copy. We offer to provide anyone with these papers not, of course, on a regular, weekly basis, but from time to time for special distribution and promotional purposes.

Needless to say, this special price of one cent is far below what it costs to print and publish a single copy of LABOR ACTION. But we are anxious to help all those who desire to help LABOR ACTION in its expansion and promotional efforts. Often an introductory copy of the paper can lead to subscriptions, or a steady reader and purchaser of the paper from the LABOR ACTION agent, newsstand or book store.

Is there a special union meeting coming up in your locality? Then order extra copies of LABOR ACTION for distribution and sales at this meeting. Is there a political event or gathering about to take place in your city? Then plan to cover it with these one cent copies of LABOR ACTION. Is a labor demonstration, or consumer's action about to take place? Then LABOR ACTION should be at this event, too! An alert literature agent will be on the watch for such happenings and have his order in to our office in time—that is, by noon Thursday of each week. See what's going on in your city, and have LABOR ACTION on the job. Bring the paper before the labor and radical public.

Because of the New Year's holiday season, subscriptions have fallen off considerably in the past two weeks, but we expect a pick-up now with the New Year well under way and our agents back on the job. Following is the list for the past week, containing new subscriptions and renewals sent in:

SAN FRANCISCO	7
Detroit	5
Akron	3
Baltimore	3
Buffalo	2
New York City	2
Philadelphia	2
West Virginia	2
Boston	1
Los Angeles	1
Newark	1
San Pedro	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	31

I Want to Subscribe to THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Name Address City Zone State

50 Cents for Six Months \$1.00 for a Year

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

"Until All Have Regained Freedom"

Dear Editor:

I should like to add a hearty second to your statement in the latest issue of LABOR ACTION that agitation for amnesty for the conscientious objectors must be continued until every CO has been released from jail.

As your fine editorial pointed out, President Truman's establishment of the three-man Amnesty Board on December 23 was intended to allay the pressure for amnesty which has been building up, but it is a far cry from the goal we seek. For by Attorney General Clark's own admission, 300 COs and Jehovah's Witnesses were still behind bars on Christmas Day. One of them, young Igal Rodenko, of New York City, is in the eighth month of his hunger strike for amnesty at the Sandstone, Minn., prison. Our fight will not stop until all of these men have regained their freedom and civil rights.

With appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

ALBON MAN

January 6, 1947

Hits Beck Action In Denver Strike

Dear Editor:

Enclosed you will find a piece that the parties involved had broadcast in the most reactionary labor-hating paper in the U. S. (This takes Hearst into consideration also.) There has been a four-month-old strike of 800 employees against the open shop May Co. The strike is against the \$18.50 basic wage and for a union shop.

It has been up to now one of the most solid fronts ever displayed in this substandard wage town. Living costs here compare with New York, Chicago and elsewhere.

It might be possible for you to give your readers the reason why these people came in here and contacted this labor hating sheet instead of transacting any business with the Trades and Labor Assembly which is behind this struggle for a chance to live as decent human beings. The whole thing is to see if the

motives behind Dave Beck's actions can be uncovered.

Yours truly,

ALBERT BENSON, Denver, Colo.

(The clipping enclosed, from the Denver Post, reports an announcement from Paul W. Blinco, international representative from Oakland, Calif., of the AFL Teamsters Union, that the teamsters would not participate in a general strike that Denver unions were considering in defense of the May employees. The article reports Blinco as saying that he acted on instructions from Dave Beck, vice-president of the teamsters union. The reasons behind Beck's action are not difficult to find. The Beck type of union leadership prefers "business unionism" to militant unionism. It is more concerned with maintaining "industrial peace" than with aggressively promoting the interests of the working class. The same behavior was recently exhibited in the Oakland general strike. Readers can refer to the articles we published on the Oakland strike for further elucidation. We hope, too, to be able soon to publish a full-length article from our Seattle correspondents on Dave Beck.—Ed.)

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE CIRCULATES PETITIONS TO PLACE CANDIDATE ON BALLOT

Chicago WP Opens Goldman-for-Mayor Drive!

CHICAGO, ILL.—To give the workers of Chicago an opportunity to register their pro-labor convictions in the 1947 city election, the Workers Party has nominated Albert Goldman as socialism's candidate for mayor of Chicago.

A Goldman campaign committee, composed entirely of trade unionists and war veterans, has already been established in the Chicago headquarters of the Workers Party, at 1501 Madison Street. Petitions have been printed, and workers are canvassing the city to obtain the necessary 88,000 signatures to place Goldman's name on the ballot for the election April 1.

Goldman's candidacy marks the first time in many years that the program of international socialism

has been presented to the workers of Chicago in an election campaign.

As socialism's candidate for mayor of Chicago, Goldman will advocate a city ordinance barring any rent increases, the diversion of all building materials to the construction of homes and apartments, and opposition to all restrictive covenants now being used to confine a large Negro population to the ghettos of the city. (See story on page eight for the Workers Party city campaign platform.)

"Until sufficient homes and apartments are constructed to adequately house the people of Chicago, all commercial hotels should immediately be taken over by the city and converted to homes for the homeless," stated Goldman today in his campaign headquarters. "The city should likewise take over all homes and apartments vacant more than 60 days and make them available at low rentals to those in such desperate need of housing."

Both boss parties cater cynically to the most backward prejudices of the large numbers of foreign-born in Chicago, but do nothing to help solve the really pressing problems of these citizens.

BOSS PARTIES BANKRUPT

"Neither the Democratic nor Republican machines, which aim to continue their political monopoly in this city, merit support of the people," contended Goldman. "Through a secret agreement, they have divided Illinois between them, Chicago to the Kelly machine, and the state to the Green machine."

After 20 years of Democratic Party rule in this city, said the Workers Party candidate, "all that the Kelly machine can boast of is a scandalous housing situation, a ruined school system, cruel mistreatment of a large Negro population, a police force whose main concern is strike-breaking, costly but fruitless and planless schemes to make the city a better place for its citizens, and a nearly bankrupt city treasury."

In an effort to cover up for incompetency and graft, the Democrats have nominated a big businessman, Martin Kennelly, to front for them in the city election. Kennelly is tied by a thousand cords to the other wealthy businessmen and real estate operators and operators of this city, and of course would do nothing to hurt their interests. Kennelly is a director of Wilson & Co., one of the city's big packing plants which profiteered unmercifully at the expense of the people during the recent meat shortage.

The Republican Party, controlled by the McCormick-Green-Chicago Tribune machine, has nominated a man named Russell Root. Both Root and Kennelly are completely acceptable to Big Business and the boss press. But they are unacceptable to the people of Chicago.

Neither of these boss politicians has shown any interest in, or understanding of, the problems of the workers.

Both boss parties cater cynically to the most backward prejudices of the large numbers of foreign-born in Chicago, but do nothing to help solve the really pressing problems of these citizens.

NEED LABOR CANDIDATES

Unfortunately, the union leaders have not measured up to their responsibility in this election by nominating labor's own candidates to run in opposition to the boss parties. Were a united labor movement in Chicago to nominate such a mayor-alty candidate, the Workers Party would gladly withdraw Albert Goldman to throw its support to the union slate, the Goldman campaign committee announced in an election leaflet.

"If ever the workers will need their own people in office, it is in the coming period," said the committee. "We must have a new type of government, a government that will act for the workers not only on rare occasions of great mass pressure, but one which consciously and continually and enthusiastically gives the right of way to the needs and interests of labor. The two old parties vie with one another for new ways to hogtie labor. The Workers Party proudly champions and defends the union movement."

A start has been made by the CIO toward independent labor political action. But the leaders of the CIO-PAC must cease the ruinous policy of throwing support to candidates of the boss parties, who of course betray labor as soon as they take office. The PAC must be turned into a labor party, locally and nationally, and must run labor's own candidates in opposition to the boss

political parties," said the Goldman campaign committee.

ALDERMANIC CANDIDATES

Several Chicago unions are running their own brother unionists as aldermanic candidates in this election, in opposition to the candidates of the Republican-Democratic circus. Such union candidates, already endorsed by the city CIO council, are those in the 32nd, 35th and 36th wards.

"While the Workers Party conducts its own independent election campaign and has no organized relationships with these candidates, we urge you to vote for them, as a step toward building a labor party," announced the Goldman committee.

The committee urged workers to give no support to Stalinism or its candidates in the election.

VOTE FOR GOLDMAN

In its closing appeal for support, the Goldman campaign committee stated in its leaflet:

"Your vote for Albert Goldman for mayor of Chicago means that you realize the workers must organize politically as well as economically, and must act independently of the bosses and their two parties."

"Your vote for the Workers Party candidate means you understand the need for a local labor party, a national labor party, and for a workers' government in the United States committed to a program of international socialism."

The committee is seeking to arrange for radio time for Comrade Goldman, and at least three broadcasts are planned. A number of public meetings will be held. The Workers Party candidate will also address numerous voters' gatherings throughout the city. Watch LABOR ACTION for announcements of meetings and radio talks.

Albert Goldman: Prominent Fighter In Socialist Cause

Albert Goldman, socialism's candidate for mayor of Chicago, is a tested working class leader known to thousands of union men and women from coast to coast.

Internationally known as attorney for the late Leon Trotsky, exiled revolutionist who was murdered by an agent of the Soviet secret police in Mexico City in August, 1940, Goldman has long been identified

defended hundreds of workers arrested in strikes and demonstrations. In 1932 he was kidnapped by a vigilante mob in Danville, Ill., for defending a group of unemployed workers.

In 1931 he made a trip to the Soviet Union, and what he saw of Stalin's régime led him to break with the Communist Party and to accept Trotsky's revolutionary views.

In 1937 Goldman was Leon Trotsky's defense attorney before the Commission of Inquiry which conducted hearings in Mexico City into the Moscow frameup trials. The commission, headed by the philosopher John Dewey, subsequently found Trotsky innocent of the charges leveled against him by Stalin's government, and found Stalin guilty of perpetrating a frameup on the old Bolsheviks.

MINNEAPOLIS DEFENDANT

In 1941, Goldman was attorney for, and one of the defendants in, the Minneapolis labor case in which 29 trade unionists and Trotskyists were charged with advocating revolutionary socialism and opposing the entrance of the United States into the recent war. With other defendants, Goldman served a 16-month sentence in the Sandstone federal penitentiary for his socialist convictions.

One of the outstanding speakers of the socialist movement, Goldman is also the author of numerous pamphlets on socialism, among them "In Defense of Socialism," "The Assassination of Leon Trotsky—The Proofs of Stalin's Guilt," and "What Is Socialism?"

Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, will go to Chicago to aid the Goldman campaign committee, which is composed entirely of trade unionists and returned war veterans. Goldman himself is a veteran of the First World War.



with the labor movement in Chicago. Comrade Goldman was raised in Chicago, graduating from the Chicago public schools and later from the University of Cincinnati. While employed in Chicago's clothing factories, he decided to become a labor attorney. Graduating from Northwestern University's law school in 1925, Goldman soon became an outstanding defender of unions in the courts.

As counsel for the International Labor Defense in the late nineteen twenties and early thirties, Goldman

Contributions Mount Towards \$5,000 Fund

By NATHAN GOULD

Our drive for \$5,000.00 has made a substantial step forward since last week when our total raised registered only \$752.00 or 15 per cent of the goal. At the end of the second week of the drive only Newark, New York, Chicago and Detroit had made contributions. This week Streator, Boston, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Akron, Cleveland, and the Los Angeles and San Pedro branches joined the race. There are still eight units which have not as yet entered the running.

Although the last week's returns equaled the total of the first two weeks the drive is still well behind schedule. Only \$1,831.10 has been collected thus far. Three of our branches notified us that the drive in their locals has been interfered with by holiday lay-offs. Several branches have requested that the deadline on the drive be extended to February 1. We have agreed to do this, but urge that all efforts be made to fulfill and over-subscribe local quotas at the earliest date.

Let's drive to double again the total received to date, by next week.

BRANCH	Quota	Contribution	Percentage
Streator	\$ 5.00	\$ 4.00	80
Newark	200.00	155.00	77
New York	2,000.00	1,056.00	50
Boston	35.00	15.00	42
Chicago	500.00	181.00	36
San Francisco	300.00	102.00	34
Philadelphia	250.00	72.10	29
Akron	150.00	27.00	18
Cleveland	150.00	20.00	13
Los Angeles Area	200.00	27.00	13
Detroit	300.00	31.00	10
Baltimore	25.00	00.00	00
Buffalo	300.00	00.00	00
Hibbing	5.00	00.00	00
Louisville	65.00	00.00	00
Reading	75.00	00.00	00
St. Louis	40.00	00.00	00
Seattle	200.00	00.00	00
Youngstown	35.00	00.00	00
Miscellaneous	65.00	106.00	163
Individual Contributions		35.00	
	\$5000.00	\$1831.10	36%

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.....

CIO Council Names 3 Labor Candidates

CHICAGO—At a special meeting on Monday night, December 30, the Chicago Council of the CIO took an important step toward independent political labor action by unanimously endorsing three CIO members as candidates for aldermen in the forthcoming municipal elections.

The candidates, all members and officers (president and shop committeemen) of Revere Local 477, UAW-CIO, are Frank Wesolowski in the 32nd Ward, Charles Chiakulas in the 35th Ward and S. Salvatore Mazza in the 36th.

FOR LABOR PARTY

Local 477 had some months back adopted a resolution favoring the formation of an Independent Labor Party. Not content with the adoption of a resolution, the leadership of the local formed a Labor Party Committee. After a thorough discussion it was decided to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the municipal elections and put forward three candidates for aldermen in the area around the Revere plant.

Candidates in the aldermanic elections run as independents, without party label, but the campaign for these union men will revolve around the slogan of Independent Labor Political Action.

At the previous meeting of the Council of the CIO, Charles Chiakulas, president of the Revere Local and one of the candidates, tossed a bombshell into the proceedings by making a motion that the Council immediately endorse the three candidates of his local. In a speech supporting his motion, Brother Chiakulas stated that his motion was being made deliberately on the basis of independent action on the part of labor in politics and as a direct contrast to the PAC policy of supporting candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Charging the CIO with failure in its political program, Chiakulas stated that the only way labor could go forward was by independent political action and that the time to start was now.

Opposition to this motion came from those who objected to an endorsement without previous consid-

eration by the Council Executive Board, and a motion to refer to the Board was made. It was only after agreement was reached that a special Council meeting should be called by the 30th of December to consider the Board's recommendation, that the motion to refer was carried.

It is interesting to note that no defense of PAC policy was made. It should also be known that there are no Stalinists in the Chicago CIO Council.

CHOOSE COMMITTEE

The Executive Board of the Council came into the meeting without a recommendation because they could not muster a quorum for consideration of this matter. The Board was on the spot to a certain extent and passed the buck directly to the Council. The Council knew what to do. There was not a single vote in opposition to the endorsement of the three CIO aldermanic candidates.

However, once the motion was passed, the Council leadership immediately moved to implement the endorsement with the establishment of a representative committee established specifically to help promote the campaign.

From recent actions in the CIO Council it is apparent that a progressive group is crystallizing rapidly. This action represents a start, though only a small one, on the road of direct participation by labor in politics independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Those who are spearheading this action are determined to continue the fight until a Labor Party is organized and functioning.

Heavy opposition is expected from much of the top leadership of the union movement, who are defaulting in their leadership by not moving heaven and earth to form a Labor Party. The leaders of many locals and many rank and filers will not be daunted by this opposition but will continue their educational work and undertake concrete actions such as the present campaign, until the opposition will succumb or be sacked.

Out of this campaign will no doubt arise a permanent committee to carry on the work in the coming months.

Truman: Strikebreaker

We reprint below an editorial that appeared in the January 3, 1947 issue of the Seafarer's Log, weekly organ of the Seafarers International Union, under the same heading as was used by the sailors' paper.

Within the next few months, after the Republican Congress takes office, we can look forward to new attempts to put over a Compulsory Military Training Law. Not that the Democrats would not do the same; it's just that the Repubs will now be able to take the play away from the party that has been in power in Washington for close to 14 years.

All the howling in the world that the Congress will do, cannot convince any thinking American that compulsory military training is necessary for our protection against foreign enemies. The atomic bomb makes any old idea of defense look silly. From now on, men will not win wars, they will merely be killed in them.

When Congressmen and businessmen ask for military training for the young people of the United States, their real idea is to build up a vast anti-labor reservoir that can be used to break strikes and to grind labor down to nothing. That has always been the ambition of the bosses, and with compulsory military training, they have their best chance of making it come true.

Soldiers, and those other people who are trained to follow orders without question, are the only ones who can be depended upon to carry out the anti-labor plans of the big-shots who want to extend their power over you, you, and you.

All the smug words of the Senators and Representatives in Washington cannot hide the real purpose of the coming drive to make robots out of the citizens of the United States. While they preach preparedness for war, they will be practicing preparedness for the war against labor. Before the hostilities in Europe and Asia were over, soldiers in many southern camps were already being trained in strike breaking techniques: use of billy clubs, tear gas, etc.

Only the white light of publicity stopped this move in its tracks. But if the training of our young people in peacetime becomes the law of the land, nothing will be able to stop the forward march of the anti-labor, fascist big businessmen and their stooges—the men we elect to Congress, but who represent only the wealthy and powerful.

As seamen, we see what is up the sleeve of the red-tape artists. They let the cat out of the bag when the Maritime Commission stated that some of the men who will be drafted under the new program should be assigned to the merchant marine for training.

In an already overcrowded industry, this has but one meaning. If the merchant seamen are forced to fight like dogs for jobs, they may be induced to give up the gains they have made, at such a great cost, over the past few years. And pushing men into the industry by means of compulsory training is one way to bring on this condition.

The fat boys have tipped us off to what they are really trying to put over. Now that we have the warning, let's do our level best to stop them cold. If we don't, we may be out in the cold instead.

Plan Anti-Labor Legislation

Aroused Labor Movement Sole Bar to Reactionary Congress Schemes

Though it has not yet discussed the matter, the 80th Congress promises to be a happy arena for the legislative reactionary of big business in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Since the Republicans now have a congressional majority, their program assumes a special importance. In this article we will limit ourselves only to the various proposals for anti-labor legislation which have already filled reams of newspaper space and which are the prelude to some sort of anti-labor legislation.

These lines are being written before President Truman's state-of-union speech but it is expected that he will go along with the anti-labor tide in Washington; he will, however, probably play the role of temperate and moderate restrainer on the wild men of Congress in order subsequently to be able to claim that he was doing labor a favor. Between the blatantly reactionary congressmen, like Hoffman of Ohio, and Truman's "mild" anti-labor proposals there will result some sort of "compromise"—in which, as Wilbur Baldringer writes in the January 4, 1947 issue of *The Nation*, "organized labor is in for it."

ANTI-LABOR PROGRAM

Present indications are that the following proposals would constitute a "minimum program" for the anti-labor bloc, most of them being assured of the support of the Truman administration:

- 1) Establishment of "emergency boards and arbitration procedures

to handle national industrial crises in utilities" (Baldringer in *The Nation*)—which category would be so stretched as to include most basic industries. These boards could either declare a strike a "menace to national welfare" and thereby outlaw it, or have some delaying powers.

2) Revision of the Wagner Act to permit employers to request new collective-bargaining elections which would challenge already-gained union recognition. This would mean that the bosses could keep harassing unions interminably and that they could seize on occasional periods of union difficulty to destroy long-won bargaining rights.

3) Legislation to scuttle portal-to-portal claims which now come to \$2 billion and which the employers are loath to pay.

NAM PROPOSALS

In addition, however, their are proposals which cut further into labor's rights. The "liberal" program for labor advanced by the National Association for Manufacturers adds four more vicious proposals:

- 1) Prohibition of industry-wide bargaining and of "joint wage action" affecting more than one employer. This proposal would make impossible the elementary solidarity between workers in one industry; for instance, it would be impossible for the Ford auto workers at present to help their brothers at Allis-Chalmers who are on strike and later if the Ford workers went on strike, it would be impossible for the Allis-Chalmers, workers to help them.

"Socialist" Minister Directs Tanks Against Indo-Chinese

JANUARY 5—"Before any negotiations today it is necessary to have a military decision. I am sorry, but one cannot commit such follies as the Viet Names have done," said Marius Moutet, the "Socialist" French Minister for Overseas Territories. With this statement Moutet reiterated the determination of the Blum cabinet—a determination enthusiastically shared by the French Stalinists—to crush in blood the national freedom movement of the people of Indo-China.

The ultra-reactionary representative of the French aristocracy, Count Philippe de Hautecloque (General Leclerc), is leading French military forces in using tanks, heavy artillery and Spitfire fighter-bombers to maintain the bloody rule of the French bankers on the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

In view of these developments, it is strange to read the message of Ho Chi Minh, President of the Viet Nam Republic, which was addressed to Leclerc over the Viet Nam radio station on January 3:

"You are a great soldier and a patriot of Viet Nam. If you succeed in beating us, your glory will be tar-

nished. An equitable peace can still be attained."

This mystery becomes clarified, however, when we read the statement of the French Stalinists (who on December 28 had voted in approval of a resolution in the Council of the Republic affirming the "civilizing mission of France" in Indo-China) in the December 29 issue of their paper, "L'Humanité":

You Can Subscribe To Labor Action For Six Months For 50 Cents! and to the New International For \$1.00!

"Ho Chi Minh is a man who thinks there should be negotiations with the French. He thinks this, has said it and has proved it."

The statement urged French collaboration with Ho Chi Minh, and praised Ho with all the sickening terms of adoration which the Stalinists usually bestow on their stooges.

Ho Chi Minh, President of the Viet Nam Republic, is also the head of the Annamese Community Party. He is a graduate of a Moscow school for Stalinist leaders and spent many years with the Chinese Stalinists. By supporting the French Stalinist scheme of Viet Nam independence "within the framework of the French Union," he is betraying the founding principles of the Viet Nam Republic. The declaration of independence of this republic, dated September 2, 1945, declared:

"We, members of the provisional government, representing the population of Viet Nam, declare that we abolish all connections with imperialist France, annul all treaties that France has signed on the subject of Viet Nam, abolish all the privileges that the French have arrogated on our territory."