

LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 20, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

CIO Joins Fight Of Miners Against Rule by Injunction

We record with the highest satisfaction the action of the CIO in coming to the assistance of the mine workers. It is, in our opinion, one of the most encouraging signs in the labor movement today.

With the miners' case scheduled to go before the Supreme Court on Tuesday, January 14, the CIO joined the miners' defense by filing a brief which charges that Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough, and not the United Mine Workers, violated the law in issuing an injunction during the coal strike. The CIO brief contends that the injunction was a violation of the Norris-La Guardia Act and of the Constitution.

"The entire record in this case," says the CIO brief, "is pervaded with what can only be called a callous disregard of procedural and constitutional rights of the defendants. The Court seemed to gloss over the problems presented by the Constitution" and the restraining order could therefore "be disregarded with impunity" by the miners.

Far more important than the legal arguments of the miners and the CIO, which are unassailable, is the act of solidarity itself. It is a

demonstration that, regardless of what differences rend the labor movement, it will stand together against Government by Injunction.

The CIO, the AFL and the railroad brotherhoods—all of them publicly announced their support of the miners during the coal strike. Despite personal hatreds and painful divisions, the labor movement gave clear notice that it would stand together against any assault on its right to strike. And now, the CIO, in taking the initiative of filing a brief in addition to those already filed by the UMW and the AFL, is serving public notice that it meant what it said during the strike.

Such solidarity is, we think, the way that Government by injunction must be fought. We think it will exert considerable pressure to free the miners of the scandalous fine imposed on them. More than that, it is living proof of the necessity and possibility of working together in other spheres of labor interest—against the anti-labor legislative campaign, against the wage-cutting spiral of rising prices, and FOR A COORDINATED STRATEGY IN DEMANDING A WAGE RAISE NATIONALLY.

Curran Appeals to NMU Ranks Against Stalinists

By N. GADEN

NEW YORK, Jan. 11—The open struggle against Stalinist control of the National Maritime Union showed no signs of abating as the National Council of the NMU, composed of its thirty top ranking officials from all parts of the country, met earlier this week.

The National Council is the body which has run and made policy for the NMU since its inception and which the Communist Party has always controlled. It has in the past shown no interest in the desires of the vast membership of the union and this week proved once again that it is concerned only with carrying out CP policy and not what the rank and file wants and demands.

OPPOSE REFERENDUM

The two main points on the Council's special session were the anti-Stalinist Curran group's recommendations:

1. Accept Curran's resignation from the CMU.
2. That the question of NMU disaffiliation from the CMU be submitted to a secret referendum vote by the membership.

These recommendations were re-

jected by a vote of 20 to 10 in spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the NMU that attended membership meetings on both coasts and in the Gulf last week indicated its approval of Curran's action. The action of the 20 Stalinists on the NMU Council in voting down a referendum is a most flagrant violation of democratic rights, rights which the Stalinists always pretend to champion.

The Curran group has correctly labeled this action as the "Hitlerian technique of jamming it down your throat, whether you like it or not."

APPEAL TO RANKS

A statement of the ten minority members of the NMU Council was issued to the ranks immediately following the three-day special session. The document denounces the CP hacks for their action and policies, and states that the signers refuse to be a party any longer to the fake unity represented by the CMU, because it aims NOT at uniting all seamen into a common front against their enemies, but only to promote jurisdictional warfare.

The Curran group then calls upon the rank and file—"afloat and ashore"—to reject the decision railroaded through the National Council by accepting Curran's resignation and demanding the right to a referendum vote on the question of disaffiliation from the CMU. To implement these demands, the minority urges the membership to hold special emergency meetings "on every ship and in every port" and demands the above, plus the resignation of every officer who refuses to break with the "clique which is attempting to usurp control of your union and deprive you of your democratic rights."

The significance of this call, issued by the Curran group, cannot be overestimated. It is a call to the membership, for years strangled by CP control on top, to give these fakers the boot.

SPRINGBOARD FOR PROGRESS

The Stalinists have, over these many years, entrenched themselves so well in the union that the CIO officials who initiated the drive against CP control in the NMU find themselves helpless against this powerful machine, when they fight it on top. Therefore they were forced to call upon the ranks themselves to do the job—and, of course, this should ALWAYS be the way it is done.

The rank and file NMU'er must prepare himself for the day when he has defeated the Stalinists and will himself take over, or be represented by men who are concerned not with supporting Russian foreign policy OR American and British foreign policy, but with uniting ALL seamen into one solid front against his enemies, big business and the government, and with raising his standard of living through economic and independent political action.

TRUMAN BUDGET STRESSES MILITARY, SKIMPS HOUSING

"BUILD MORE HOMES!"—CHICAGO WP CANDIDATE

Goldman Opens Mayoralty Drive at Budget Hearing

CHICAGO, Jan. 7—Albert Goldman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Chicago in the forthcoming municipal election, today demanded the abolition of the notorious strike-breaking police squad known as "Captain Barnes' labor detail," in speaking before the budget hearing conducted by the Finance Committee of the Chicago City Council.

Appearing as socialism's candidate for Mayor, Goldman denounced the activities of this anti-union police detail, which has harassed and broken many a strike, stating: "Barnes and his men are in reality working for the employers of Chicago and should not be paid by the city." Specifically, he demanded of the Finance Committee that "it appropriate no money for the purpose of preventing picketing."

"In fact, there should be an ordinance prohibiting the use of police in preventing picketing by strikers. If there is any disorder, it can be quickly settled if strikers are deputized as law enforcement officers," Goldman stated.

Later in the hearing this same demand was raised by Charles J. Chiakulus, president of UAW-CIO Local 477 at Revere Copper and Brass Co. Chiakulus is the militant leader of the budding Labor Party movement sponsored by several local unions and is running for councilman from the 35th Ward. Chiakulus cited the vicious record of the Barnes "anti-labor detail" in assisting employers to break down collective bargaining. He stated that the employers deliberately connive with this police agency to prolong

strikes and thus wear down union militancy. Under cover of this squad's protection, back-to-work movements are encouraged and scabs escorted through union picket lines.

In opening his speech Goldman declared: "The fundamental defect with the whole proposed budget is its failure to deal with the most important problem confronting the people of this city. This is the question of housing. There are hundreds of thousands of people who have no decent apartments to live in, especially in the horribly overcrowded Negro neighborhoods. Many thousands are actually in desperate need. What relief, what hope of relief, does the Finance Committee give to those desperately in need of housing? No relief, no hope of relief...."

"The city has money and if the men running the city were interested in solving the problem, were willing to do something to alleviate the terrible conditions under which thousands live, they could and would do a little in that direction...."

"This budget should show an appropriation of at least ten million dollars for the construction of apartment buildings where those in greatest need of housing can rent apartments for thirty dollars a month.... This won't solve the problem; but you can show that you are serious in starting the ball rolling...."

"Where is the money to come from? ...With the exception of those departments which deal with the health, relief and protection of the people of this city, cut every appropriation by 15 to 25 per cent.... You must take the money due on the payment of bonds and interests and use it for the construction of homes...."

"In this emergency you must do more; you must take over the hotels for transients and use the rooms for sheltering the most needy cases. The commercial travelers can wait; they

can do their business by mail and phone until the emergency is over."

The only voices of protest from labor at this important public hearing were those of Goldman and Chiakulus. For the most part, the city solons were listening with attention and deference only to the spokesmen of the Association of Commerce and the Civic Federation, who had combined their reactionary forces to launch an assault on the allegedly higher pay of city employees over that of workers in private capitalist industry, and completely ignoring the whole housing crisis.

NY Workers Party Will Picket French Consulate

A picket line around the French consulate in New York City to protest French imperialist suppression of Indo-Chinese independence, will be conducted by the New York local of the Workers Party on Saturday, January 25, between 12 and 1 P.M. The French consulate is located at 610 Fifth Avenue, near 48th Street. All friends of colonial freedom, as well as all members and sympathizers of the Workers Party are being called upon to attend this picket line as a means of demonstrating their democratic and socialist solidarity with the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people against the attempt of French imperialism to prevent its attainment of national independence.

Paul Bern, New York organizer of the Workers Party, announced that a call has been sent out to various organizations of friends of Far Eastern peoples to participate together with the Workers Party in the picket line. He said, "As revolutionary socialists and consistent defenders of democratic liberties for all peoples, we feel it our duty to solidarize ourselves with the fighters for Indo-Chinese liberation. This picket line will continue our tradition of protests against imperialism, since the New York Workers Party has previously picketed the British consulate, once in protest against the use of British troops to suppress Indonesian independence and a second time against British terror in Palestine.

Bern further pointed out that the picket line will continue the activities of the Fourth Internationalist movement in all countries against imperialist suppression. He noted the harmony between his call for a picket line and the activities of the Parisian Fourth Internationalists whose giant rally on Indo-China was suppressed by the police, as reported in LABOR ACTION several weeks ago.

One-half billion dollars for housing—of which only \$18 million are to be used for public low-cost housing. Six and a quarter billion dollars for internal improvements, agriculture, social welfare, education and general research. BUT 11.3 BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR WAR!

That is the Truman "peace" budget, presented to Congress last week—weight, six pounds, four ounces; size, 1,626 pages. Add to the \$11.3 billion, a five billion dollar interest on the public debt, which is primarily a war debt; add again the \$7.3 billion for veterans' service which do NOT provide for a national bonus or a substantial increase in pension payments—and the total allotment for war, past and future, makes up over 60 per cent of this peacetime budget!

Breaking the figures down further, we find that the \$2.6 billion for internal improvements include \$443 million for atomic research and \$250 million for contracts, or an additional war expense of \$693 million.

The \$1.4 billion for agriculture embraces items that represent a sizable gift to the big farm and sugar interests, such as including a \$54,000,000 subsidy for the sugar interests. Truman himself admits that "more than 60 per cent of the total payments

go to about one-eighth of the nation's farmers," the big farmers, to be sure. Education and the FBI run neck to neck—\$35 million for each.

Included in the \$11.3 billions for "National Defense" is an appropriation of \$530 million for Army and Navy research, to which must be added the \$693 million for atomic research, which is listed among the "non-war" expenditures. Together these two items total \$1,223,000 for war research.

Contrast this with the less than \$17,000,000 (MILLION!) allotted to the Public Health Service for all expenditures, including research. There is no special sum set for research in tuberculosis. Cancer gets a little over a million dollars. Venereal diseases get \$400,000. To repeat: over a billion dollars for war research; a couple of millions to tackle the diseases that ravage mankind.

It is reported that the Republicans in their drive to ease taxation for the rich will seek to strike out some two or three or four billion dollars of appropriations from the budget. One thing, however, is certain: whether or not they succeed, the war appropriations will remain.

(Continued on page 8)

SEND FOOD PACKAGES THROUGH LABOR ACTION SERVICE

Help Europe's Starving Socialists!

With this issue LABOR ACTION begins a drive for help and assistance to its labor and socialist friends in Europe. It is unnecessary for us to describe the details of Europe's sufferings. Our readers, through this paper and through the general American press, are only too well aware of the hunger, cold and misery prevailing in Europe. The battered continent is passing through its severest winter in decades, and this has made worse the already tragic results of the war.

First of those to suffer are workers and their families; foremost of those who suffer within the working class are the supporters of socialist politics. LABOR ACTION has received innumerable letters from such brothers and comrades in France, in Italy, in Germany and Austria, in Belgium, in Holland. Every one of these people was an anti-Nazi and anti-war fighter. Many of them returned only lately from the Nazi concentration camps, sick and weary. For a long time we have been helping these people with our own resources—now we feel justified in calling upon our readers to help us bear this heavy burden, together with us, by taking upon themselves the task of assisting these families of French, Belgian, Italian, German, Austrian, Dutch, etc., socialist fighters for workers' democracy.

Below we print some recent letters. The simple eloquence indicates not only their needs today, but their feelings of deep appreciation for the help they have already received. We are not undertaking any public collection of funds—we are simply asking our

readers to undertake the sending of packages—CARE boxes, food packages, clothing, etc.—to help these families live through this winter. LABOR ACTION European Relief Service will undertake to help you in this task in every way possible. Please let us hear from you by filling out the form below and returning it to us. We have many, many families on our lists—too many for us to assist by our own resources. Let these socialist and workers of Europe know that they have friends and supporters in America! We are depending upon your assistance.

that now is lacking food, medicines, clothing, etc. I pray you in sending me some food and clothing packages, especially by CARE.

"You know well the sad situation in which we are, and I hope surely you will help us. My family is composed of six persons, and a boy, 12 years old, is without clothes. I desire also to have some works of English poetry and literature, and your magazine... I am an old Socialist, for which I was persecuted." G. B.—Milazzo, Italy.

"Dear Comrades: I was condemned in September, 1942, to 12 years of forced labor by a Vichy tribunal, did 2 years in prison in France and then 1 year of deportation in Germany. I am a student (retarded by 4 years of interruption in my studies) socialist militant since 1938. My wife, who is also a comrade, is a teacher of literature. We have a 3-months-old daughter.

"I think I have received all your packages; there does not seem to have been any important thefts from any of them. We have here a group of comrades among whom everything that has been received has been shared, according to need. All our friends are very poor, as they are at present all workers without special skills. Most of the workers here manage to get along only by devoting all their free time to cultivating a garden.

"Dear Comrade L: I am glad to write to you asking for help. I was persecuted by the Italian criminals of the black fascist régime, suffering to be sent into prison three times, to the political camp of confinement, etc. During the bombardments, the Italian robbers sacked my home, robbing all what was in, leaving my family in misery,

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"Our needs: first of all, clothing, of every size and kind—there are many families with children of all ages among us—and in any case, if something cannot be used by us, we can always sell or exchange it. With regard to food—first of all, anything of sugar or sugar products, honey, chocolate, dried fruits, etc. Next, fatty stuff, meats; next, everything else." G. B.—South France.

10 December, 1946

"Dear Friend: I inform you I have received your package and very much I thank you. The winter of this year in Naples is very cold therefore I pray you of sending me packages of coats, shoes, clothings for me and my poor girl, my brother and sisters and my father. I pray you of sending also foods and sugar because in Italy the foods cost very much. I send you my salutations and good Christmas." Rosa—Naples,

Will you undertake to send Food Packages regularly to a European Working Class Family?

Will you support LABOR ACTION in its campaign to bring help in the form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-Nazi and labor fighters?

If you can give us this support, please fill out the form below immediately and return to LABOR ACTION. We will supply you with all the necessary assistance, information and help.

LABOR ACTION EUROPEAN RELIEF SERVICE
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, New York.

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months. Please send me a family address, together with information and mailing instructions. I will send.....CARE packages per month; or.....individual food packages per month.

Name

Address

City..... Zone..... State.....

NOTE: For those too occupied to attend to the details of mailing packages, LABOR ACTION EUROPEAN RELIEF SERVICE offers to take care of all details involved by sending CARE packages, food packages, clothing offers, etc. Please send us contributions and we will utilize them for these purposes, sending you all details. Send contributions to: LABOR ACTION, 4-Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Indo-Chinese Suffer New French Blows

JANUARY 13—Despite repeated efforts on the part of the Viet Nam government to end the current war in Indo-China and despite the admission of an official of the French Socialist Party, Leon Boutbien, that French imperialism is to be held responsible for the start of hostilities, the troops of the Paris "Bourse" (equivalent of our Wall Street) continue in their war of imperialist aggression in the country of the Annamese.

The peace terms, as proposed by Viet Nam officials, would provide merely for the establishment of committees to discuss the points under dispute. These terms are undoubtedly the result of pressure from the bourgeois and Stalinist factions in Viet Nam, as they are extremely conciliatory. Yet, because they are being ignored by the French military, they serve well to underline the desire of French imperialism to once and for all drown in blood the organized struggle for Viet Nam independence.

Even a high official of the party which at present rules France—the Socialist Party—speaks of "errors" on the part of the French as the cause of the original flareup at Haiphong. This was the statement of Leon Boutbien, member of the Socialist Party's Executive Committee, who had accompanied Overseas Minister Moutet to Indo-China.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Kearny Ship Workers Protest Layoffs

By PHILIP ROMANO
 NEWARK, Jan. 12—At the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Company of Kearny, N. J., the workers, members of Local 16, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, are protesting company action in laying off 200 to 300 workers Thursday, January 9, because of a walkout of 400 welders and burners. The union accuses the company of provocation, in the case of the welders and burners, by creating conditions which led to the walkout. One such instance, the union contends, is the fact that men paid at unskilled rates repeatedly were assigned to skilled work. This is an obvious attempt to destroy the existing wage scale. Although many workers might not be fully aware of the political ruses being used by industry in Washington, they react immediately to the end result which directly affects them in the shop. The workers therefore answered by threatening to strike at a lunch hour meeting. It was only the union leadership which persuaded them to stay the remainder of the day.

A company spokesman stated that the walkout was in violation of the

contract, while at the same time completely ignoring the fact that they were attempting to destroy wage classifications. As for the 300 who were laid off, the company said "it is a furlough." By this trick the company is attempting to get out of paying the money due the men ac-

ording to the terms of the union-management agreement. It is interesting to note this usage of the word "furlough." Nothing would please the company better than to enforce some army discipline and regimentation upon these militant workers. But it is precisely the action of the workers

themselves which prevents any realization of such a course. All of these demonstrations of the workers are vital and necessary, but they must be supplemented with real political direction and consciousness. Labor must have its own party based on the trade unions themselves.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

I want to make a few observations about the case of Senator Bilbo. It is possible that some of them may have been made here before and others in the course of the present campaign. But the whole Bilbo case is of singular importance in its indication of political realities and trends in the United States today. It is particularly necessary to do so because of the crass stupidity with which some liberals and radicals are treating the question.

First of all, the Senate has not changed its mind about Bilbo. Bilbo is, today as yesterday, and as he has been for 50 years, a corrupt scoundrel. The Senate got along with him.

What has happened is that the people of the United States began to feel that Bilbo was a disgrace to any democratic assembly. They began to say so in ever-increasing numbers. The Senate began to feel that its own prestige was becoming endangered. So that it attacked Bilbo where it knew all along that it had him. But the real change of sentiment is not in the Senate but in the people of the United States.

COURIER CAMPAIGN

Secondly, a substantial amount of credit must go to the Pittsburgh Courier. It started or at the very least was in on the campaign from the very beginning. For months now every article in the paper had below it the slogan, "Bilbo must go." It missed no opportunity to plaster the Senator, to expose his anti-Negro attitude.

But the Courier, while frankly concerned with Bilbo as an enemy of Negroes, did not neglect the wider aspect: "He is an enemy of American democracy."

It is true that PM and the Post also took part in the campaign. But these are liberal papers which take part in the exposure of abuses for the special purpose of fighting socialism and the independent action of the working people. The Courier is in a different class. It is militantly pro-Negro because it wants Negro grievances removed. It suffers from many illusions, but its exposure of Negro abuses must not be confused with hysterical publicity-seeking articles in the Post and PM. And who-

ever thinks that this is unjust should try the experiment of asking Samuel Grafton of the Post please, please, to write a few articles on the Negro question.

WASHINGTON JIM CROW

My reference to the Courier is not for historical purposes or to exchange compliments. Not at all. The Negro people can initiate campaigns on Negro issues and by skillful politics and mass weight set the public opinion of the nation moving in the right direction.

The Courier is now engaged on another campaign—the abolition of Jim Crow in Washington—"the nation's capital." Precisely. Washington is today the capital of a large part of the world—they take orders from the U. S. or come and beg for favors, from France, from Italy, from everywhere. The Jim Crow in Washington can be as terrible an embarrassment to the U. S. government as Bilbo was becoming to the Senate. It is a campaign that is well worth support.

Furthermore, let us not underestimate the effect of this attack upon Bilbo and his disgrace. To many millions of Negroes in the South, Bilbo is the symbol of the reactionary forces which oppress and exploit them. In the fight against Bilbo they saw and will see a mobilization of national sentiment on their behalf. The Senate has done its best to depoliticize the disgrace of Bilbo. This will not fool the people to any serious extent.

First we had the intervention of the CIO and the AFL into the South. Now we have the united attack upon Bilbo. To people immersed in many political activities these are merely important episodes of the general struggle. To millions in the South these are not episodes but the central facts of their social and political perspectives. They are stirred. And that is precisely what the Senate politicians and the others do not want. I would not be in the least surprised to find that some of Bilbo's warmest supporters and the leaders of the Democratic Party are happy that Bilbo is gone. He was a liability to the system they wish to preserve. He drew too much attention to it. But they will find that the forces now unloosed are not going to

be so easily stifled. What has happened to Bilbo is a victory for us. It stimulates the people who are most affected by Southern corruption.

All the more reason, therefore, to stamp with both feet on this kind of writing and thinking. It appears in the CIO News of January 6:

"Senator Theodore 'The Man' Bilbo isn't much of a man, after all, to his colleagues in the Senate of the United States."

Frankly, this is disgusting. Workers and sharecroppers who read this can get only one impression: that the Senate didn't like Bilbo any more. Now that is exactly what we have to avoid. We have to avoid it because the Senate, having been driven by popular opinion to take action in its own defense, will now try to extract as much credit as possible for itself from its action.

KEEP AIMS CLEAR!

But we have to denounce this stupid chatter in a CIO paper because under no circumstances can we allow the victory over Bilbo to be blown up beyond its real proportions. For Marxists, for revolutionaries, campaigns such as the ousting of Bilbo and the attack on Jim Crow in the nation's capital are important not only for what they actually achieve. They are of far more significance in that they educate the people, give them a chance to express their grievances, to feel their strength, to realize that they can take action and achieve an end. These, for us, are only stepping-stones to the day when the people, confident of themselves by repeated struggles and defeats and victories, will overthrow the whole wretched system.

We participate in all these struggles, but our special function in them is to keep before the people the general interests of the workers as a whole. We have to be vigilant about this because in every such struggle there are always an immense number of noisy (and sometimes very active) people whose special function is to hide, obscure and confuse these general aims. For revolutionaries, politics is above all the education and organization of the people to solve their problems themselves.

DETROIT WP APPEALS TO UAW-CIO

For FEPC March on Lansing!

An open letter from the WORKERS PARTY to: UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, International Union
 Michigan CIO Council
 Wayne County Council of the CIO
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Brothers:
 You, the representatives of organized labor and of Negro and white champions of democratic rights, must call a mass demonstration in Lansing against racial discrimination. The whole labor movement recognizes in discrimination an enemy which undermines its unity, saps its strength, and helps the capitalist class to intensify the exploitation of all workers.

We all rejoice at the success of the recent campaign which gathered more than 175,000 signatures on a petition to force the State Legislature to take up the proposed Fair Employment Practices law (FEPC). Organized labor, the most militant and most powerful fighter for the democratic rights of all people, was above all responsible for this inspiring achievement.

The WORKERS PARTY, officially, and its members through their local unions, gathered several thousands of signatures. Now, we all face a cheap attempt by state officials to nullify the clearly expressed mandate of 175,000 people of the state by utilizing one pretext or another to arbitrarily invalidate the petitions. Every legal channel will doubtless be pursued to fight such an attempt; for we who hate Jim Crow as an enemy of the whole working class must employ every avenue open to us.

MOBILIZE FOR MASS ACTION

But the MAIN TASK today in the fight against discrimination is to mobilize thousands of workers and real fighters for democracy, Negro and white, in MASS ACTION against discrimination.

A state-wide conference in Lansing is planned for January with the announced purpose of supporting

the FEPC legislation. It is called by various prominent individuals. THIS CONFERENCE CANNOT AND MUST NOT BE MADE A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION BY THE WORKERS THEMSELVES.

One of the sponsors of this conference is Mayor Jeffries. Do you believe that men like him will really fight against race discrimination? Has he not always stubbornly insisted on segregation in housing? Has he ever once applied the wide powers which he can exercise through the various city departments (building, zoning, police) to enforce the Diggs Civil Rights Act, a law which would make discrimination in hotels, restaurants, etc., illegal, but which has been allowed to remain a dead letter? Have we forgotten how "impartially" his police shot and killed Negroes during the riots of 1943 and looked on passively while they were beaten by KKK type thugs? Is it not a fact that the fascist, Coughlinite, Smithite, KKK hoodlums rally to his side in his campaigns for office and implicitly acknowledge him as their banner bearer?

We cannot rely upon politicians like Jeffries. They do not become sponsors of these conferences because they are eager to add the weight of their office to the fight against Jim Crow. Not at all. They hope to utilize the campaign to patch up their own tattered reputations so that they may remain in office.

HOW TO FIGHT AGAINST RACE HATRED

The conclusion is clear: you must call upon the masses of workers and real democrats, Negro and white, who sincerely detest race discrimination, to rally in Lansing to demonstrate their united will before the State Legislature.

Such a demonstration will serve two aims: (1) It will put pressure on the Legislature to carry out the will of the people. (2) It will show the workers how they must act to fight off race hatred and all reactionary attacks on the labor movement.

BEN HALL, Organizer
 Workers Party, Detroit branch
 6341 Gratiot, Room 10
 Detroit 7, Mich.

SHACHTMAN SPEAKS FOR CLEVELAND WP ON FEBRUARY 2

CLEVELAND — Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, will speak on "Is a Third World War Inevitable?" at a meeting being planned by the Cleveland branch of the party for Sunday, February 2. The meeting, to which the public is invited, will be held at Carnegie Hall, just off Playhouse Square, at 8:00 p.m. Earlier in the day, Shachtman will meet with the Cleveland unit of the Socialist Youth League.

Shachtman's discussion of a possible Third World War will be of interest to all our friends. It is obvious that such organizations as the United Nations or the recent "Report on the World" conference held in Cleveland, as well as the capitalist parties and thinkers, are bankrupt when faced with the threat of the atomic age. Since labor always pays for war with its work, taxes, suffering, and lives, labor must face and solve the questions of another imperialist war.

Carlo Tresca Commemorated

NEW YORK, Jan. 11—Will Mayor O'Dwyer order a new, independent investigation of the Carlo Tresca murder? Will he be as ardent about solving that case as about finding the Scottoriggio killers? Will Governor Dewey act in "the Tresca judicial scandal?"

These questions were asked at the Tresca commemoration meeting, attended by several hundred persons last Saturday, fourth anniversary of his killing, at the crime scene, northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 16th Street.

Tributes were paid by old friends and associates to Tresca for his 39 years of valiant service to the American labor movement, both as a militant organizer and as editor of the anarchist Italian-language journal *Il Martello* (The Hammer), and earlier publications.

Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, which

sponsored the meeting, asked the audience to back up the committee's demand upon the Mayor for a new police inquiry, and re-checking of all clues, regardless of the attitude of District Attorney Hogan's office toward that evidence. "Beyond doubt Tresca was killed by hired gangsters," Mr. Thomas said. "When Mr. O'Dwyer ran for office last year he promised that if elected he would clean the gangsters out of Manhattan. Will he keep that pledge? And lately he declared that the Scottoriggio killers must be found, 'even if it takes 1,000 police.' How many police now for the Tresca case?"

"Many of Tresca's friends are asking why Governor Dewey has never made any move to have the Tresca case cleaned up. Will he take action on this? When Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican campaign worker, was fatally beaten on election day, Mr. Dewey raised his voice in outrage.

He, too, should be just as zealous about seeing justice done in the Tresca case as in the Scottoriggio case."

"Controversial guesses" as to the identity of Tresca's slayers were avoided at the commemoration. But "to keep the picture clear," Mr. Thomas said that Tresca had relentlessly fought both fascists and communists for years, and was assailed and threatened by persons active in both these movements.

Accusing the Hogan office of conducting "a slipshod inquiry," Mr. Thomas cited what he termed a crowning irony: "In this case, involving a victim long on Mussolini's death list, an Assistant District Attorney who had received honors and awards from fascists and their friends, had charge of the Italian end of the investigation—the most important end—for almost two years. High police officials still feel that the case was bungled two days after the murder with the premature arrest of the suspect Galante, and that he should have been left free and shadowed until his associates were discovered."

Memories of Carlo Tresca were recalled by several speakers. They told of his participation in the great Massachusetts and New Jersey textile strikes and the Mesabi Iron Range strike in Minnesota; his tireless defense efforts in behalf of unionists and anti-fascists falsely accused of murder—Ettore Giovannitti, Greco, Carrillo, Lista, Terzani—who all were saved from the electric chair; his championing of the Trotskyist defendants in Minneapolis; and of many in civil liberties cases. To him, more than any one else, Norman Thomas averred, belongs the credit for having driven the fascist Black Shirts off the streets of New York.

The speakers included: Travers Clement, author and magazine editor; August Bellanca, vice-president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Vanni Montana, educational director, Italian Dressmakers' Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Margaret DiMaggio, who read a tribute to Carlo Tresca, written by Arturo Giovannitti, labor poet and organizer; Samuel H. Friedman, member of the Socialist Party's state committee.

At 9:40 that night, exact minute of the murder, 50 friends of Tresca dropped red carnations where he fell.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

I'm sorry if you feel this is where you came in, Jack, but I have to take just one more crack at that Wall Street Journal series on how the wealthy are finding it hard to make both ends meet these days. We've already had a gander at the \$10,000-a-year and the \$45,000-a-year man. This time we observe Mr. C., "a \$200,000-a-year chief executive of one of the country's top industrial concerns." A salary like that is the equivalent of \$4 million in the bank at five per cent interest. While it is still far from the income of America's 60 Families, it places Mr. C. as one of the trusted managers for the families who own the bulk of America.

We first glimpse Mr. C. alighting from a taxi in front of one of Wall Street's skyscrapers. He pays his fare, then pulls a black notebook from his pocket and writes this entry: "Wednesday—taxi, station to office, \$1.50, tip, 15 cents." Mr. C. is noting all his "business" expenses these days, in order to deduct them from his income for tax purposes. Most of us take street cars to work and we don't deduct the fare from our income. Mr. C. takes taxis and deducts the amount.

Last year, Mr. C. received a salary of \$198,675. He deducted 10 per cent for "charitable contributions"—probably donations to his favorite anti-labor outfit—paid his income taxes, and had left a total of \$36,611, it says.

But how can a family of five live on a beggarly thirty-six grand? Mr. C. has given up his life insurance, aggregating \$250,000, because "I could no longer afford to pay the premiums. It was a tough decision to make," he says. "It meant kicking over everything I had planned for my family. But under the circumstances it was the only thing to do. My boys won't get as large an inheritance as they might have, but I guess they'll be better off with less money." There was a dubious note in his voice at this last.

The drop in income is bad enough, says C., but when it is accompanied by a rise in living costs, "brother, it really pinches."

"At home," he explains, "we're paying 100 per cent more for our chauffeur, gardener and servants than we did before the war. In addition, we give them all the fresh vegetables they want from the farm (Mr. C. must own a farm), a dozen eggs each week, turkeys at Thanksgiving and Christmas."

EVEN THE SERVANTS GO ON STRIKE

That is Mr. C.'s story. But the servants obviously have a different story to relate, because Mr. C. confesses to the reporter that "Even with all this, they threatened to strike a few weeks ago unless they were given a \$5 a week raise. They got it."

This is interesting and significant. As a rule, servants in a very wealthy home are more reactionary than their masters. That is, they take seriously all the expressed reactionary opinions of the rich. The King's footman is, as a rule, more royalist than His Majesty.

Here we see that this great mass discontent sweeping the United States has struck so deep that it has entered the servants' quarters of the fabulous mansions of the very wealthy, and has set these persons to thinking, to organizing, to rebelling. Good.

Mr. C., "like most successful business men," is a sociable fellow. That is, he used to be. Now he has done a "pruning job" and his total club memberships number less than five. "Where a club membership is deemed necessary for business reasons, his company pays the initiation fee and dues on the grounds they are legiti-

mate business expenses. The company does the same for all its officers and key men."

Mr. C. has never lived extravagantly or even elegantly, says the account. "He's never owned a yacht or a string of race horses." He would like to build a swimming pool behind his house, "but to build it, I'd have to sell a couple of my government bonds. I don't like to do that, so I'm getting along without the pool. You know, I find I'm developing an inferiority complex on spending money."

In spite of the absence of luxuries, as noted above, "Mr. C. feels he's doing pretty well. With the exception of last year, when he drew on his savings to buy two automobiles, he's managed to live within his income."

Mr. C. told the reporter of the similar hard times his fellow executives were having, what with high taxes, high prices and all. The reporter asked him a good question: "If taxes take so much of their income, why not pay executives less and help them reduce their tax bills?"

That is just about what the Workers Party proposes. In the program of our party you will see a demand: Limit annual incomes to \$25,000. We want to help all the C.'s with their tax problems. We want to take the money away from the rich and use it to raise the inadequate wages of the poor.

AN "ENERGIZER" TO PROD THE POOR

Mr. C. sort of bridled at that one. He sat up straight and pursed his lips. You could see he was thinking of our welfare. "High executive salaries," he declared in an impressive tone, "are an energizer to inspire those down the line to equip themselves for the higher jobs."

He felt this needed a little more explaining. "Just as profits are the measuring stick which judge the efficiency of management, the salary received by a member of management is the standard by which he is judged not only by others but in his estimation. It is also the most practical method of rewarding ability."

You know what I think. I think Mr. C. isn't paying out all that heavy sugar in taxes that he says he is. I've talked to several of the tax specialists employed by the rich to help them keep hold of their dough, and I know a trick or two.

So does the Wall Street Journal, for just recently they ran a front-page article, explaining how "Gifts to charities can result in big tax savings to people in high bracket incomes. . . . Playing Santa Claus in some cases may mean an actual cash gain for the giver."

The article goes on to explain that "when a donation is made in securities, the value of the gift for tax purposes is measured by the market value of the securities when the gift is made, not by their original cost. Thus the individual who gives securities on which he has a profit gets a double tax benefit. He saves the income tax on the market value of the gift and the capital gains tax on his profit."

Just by happenstance, they take a man earning \$200,000 a year—like Mr. C.—to explain how it works. Supposing C. gives stock that cost him \$2,000 but is presently worth \$10,000. The income tax saved on the gift is \$8,645. The capital gains tax saved on \$8,000 profit is 2,000. The total tax saving is \$10,645. The net gain to our Mr. C. is \$645.

As Lenin used to say, the million ways that the rich have of robbing society will never be cataloged or known.

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National Chairman, Workers Party

Perspectives for American Labor

January 19 8:30 P. M.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Novelist and Literary Critic

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January 26 8:30 P. M.

EMANUEL GARRETT

Editor of Labor Action

Russia and the Nature of Stalinism

February 9 8:30 P. M.

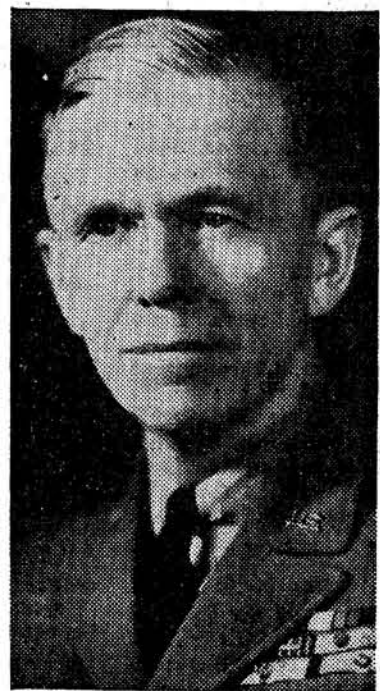
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Trend to Militarization Is Seen in Marshall Choice

A great to-do has been made in the press about the significance of the appointment of Gen. George C. Marshall as the new Secretary of State to replace Byrnes. As it is revealed now, he was Truman's nominee as long as six months ago, when Byrnes' health prepared his designation.



retaryship of State. In this, one sees the concrete manifestations of the increasing militarization of life in this country.

Two facts, however, stand out quite clearly in Marshall's appointment:

- 1) The general line of U. S. foreign policy will continue much as before. The recent turn to a more aggressively imperialist intervention in European affairs and a "tougher" attitude to Russia will continue because they are basic requirements of U. S. imperialism.
- 2) Marshall's appointment continues the ominous tendency of the elevation of military men in important civilian posts. General McNarney is head of the German occupation; General Bedell Smith has the crucial post of ambassador to Russia; General Bradley is head of the Veterans Administration; General MacArthur is head of the Japanese occupation. None of these posts compares, however, in strategic importance with the Sec-

Truman Reports on Labor, Budget And Taxes Before 80th Congress

The Budget

By ALBERT GATES

Against the background of the opening session of the 80th Congress, President Truman gave his report on the State of the Union and then sent to Congress his economic report and budget message. These will form the basis for the struggle which will occupy the two legislative bodies, as the Republicans take over this branch of the government. All preliminaries for this battle have been ended; the GOP has taken over all congressional committees in the reorganized Congress. The two principal problems around which all others revolve is the labor question and the budget.

The Republicans, as the most direct representatives of monopoly capitalism, will certainly alter several important sections of the President's reports and proposals. In the absence of any fundamental differences in foreign policy, they will concentrate all their attention on domestic questions.

With a new confidence growing out of their election sweep, the Republicans will certainly reject the compromise proposals of Truman on the most important sections of his reports. But as has already been pointed out by most reporters from Washington, the extreme reactionary anti-labor Congressmen of the GOP and the Democratic Party will not prevail, for reasons we will indicate herein.

In his report on the State of the Union, Truman presented a most optimistic picture of the economic situation which is characterized by the greatest total employment in the history of the nation, as well as record-breaking profits.

After recommending "broadening the coverage and increasing the payments of Social Security," extending the wages and hours law and increasing the minimum wage, and adopting a "broad program of health

insurance, public welfare, federal education aid," the President went on to the most important topic of his report, the question of wages and prices.

THE BUDGET REPORT

Unable to evade the real facts about the decline in living standards as a result of the continually rising standard of living, the President proposed to lower prices and increase wages, wherever possible, and at the discretion and responsibility of private enterprise. "Wherever possible" is vague enough. But the Republican bloc, already preparing anti-labor bills, will oppose any readjustments in wages on the theory that prices will decline on the basis of increased production. (Neither the President or the GOP made mention of the fact that despite record inventories piling up in the warehouses, prices have continually risen.)

The whole problem of wages and prices is related, however, to the legislative plans of the congressional majority on the budget and labor.

The presidential budget is symptomatic of the changes that have taken place in the world and America's new role as the leading imperialist power in the world. Increasing militarization of the country as a whole is reflected in the enormous military expenditures called for in the new budget and the placement of military men in the key positions of the Administration and the State Department. Thus, the new budget of \$37.5 billions calls for a direct expenditure of \$11.3 billions for the Army and Navy. In contrast to this, the total social welfare budget calls for an expenditure of \$1.7 billion, of which \$88,000,000 is for education. That Truman's request for a "broad program" of social welfare is not seriously meant can easily be seen from the emphasis of his budget message.

But the Republicans will not accept the budget report, principally because its acceptance would require no change in the present tax structure. Where shall the budget be reduced? Since the GOP is committed to maintaining the enormous military budget, it must be cut in all other respects: social welfare, international affairs, domestic outlays, pruning of the federal payroll (but not senators and representatives). If the Republicans succeed in reducing

the budget by \$4 billions (advocated by Taft) or \$7.5 billions by those who want a drastic reduction of taxes on industry and high incomes, moneys allocated to the military will make up a third or more than a third of the entire budget!

ANTI-LABOR LAWS

The President called for legislation outlawing certain union practices but not "the collective bargaining processes." By certain union practices he referred to "jurisdictional strikes." But for the time being this is a total evasion on Truman's part of the real struggle that will take place in Congress. Jurisdictional disputes are an almost totally meaningless aspect of the labor situation. But with his eyes on the 1948 elections, the President, already seriously compromised with labor, hopes to regain this lost support by opposing the efforts of the GOP and his colleagues from the South. They will make it easier for him by the bills they have introduced so far.

The Case Bill, once vetoed by the President, has been reintroduced in more severe form. As is characteristic of so many bills, this one too provides for government by injunction and the curbing of strikes. Senator Ball is pressing for his open shop bill, which calls for an end of industry-wide contracts between corporations and the unions. These are only two outstanding examples of what will come before Congress.

The big whips of the GOP, however, will oppose these measures, not because they lack any sympathy with them, but also for political reasons. For the first time in sixteen years, the GOP has a fighting chance to win the presidential elections. They are fully aware that they cannot win by alienating the labor movement. As the party most closely allied with big business, however, it must answer the needs of its many sections.

But no matter which of the policies of either party wins out, neither will be able to forestall the increasing class tensions which are characteristic of social instability. Since the GOP and the Democrats are committed to a maintenance of the present system, their differences are merely tactical. The fundamental causes for a collapse of the profit economy in this country will roll over both political parties of monopoly capitalism.

Tax Issue

By I. L. GOSLIN

There are many people who, when the word "taxes" is mentioned, shy away with fright because of a feeling that there is something very intricate and specialized about taxation beyond the knowledge of the ordinary person. This attitude, created by the professional economists in the tow of big business, prevents the workers and the labor movement from expressing as vigorous an opinion on taxation as they are ready to express on wages. True, you will find in labor papers articles on taxation problems, and often very good ones; but only when a proposed tax is outrageously unfair to the workers—such as a sales tax—do the men in the shops speak up as vigorously as they do on wage demands.

be cut 20 per cent. Could anything be fairer, asks Knutson?

Knutson's proposal reminds us of the famous crack made by the writer, Anatole France, who said that under capitalism the rich and the poor are equally free to starve. For Knutson's proposal is really outrageously biased in favor of the rich and against the workers.

The idea of an even percentage of taxation on all incomes is thoroughly unfair. Taxation should be based on ability to pay, which means that a capitalist should be taxed a far larger percentage than a worker. Correspondingly, when taxes are cut, that same criterion should be applied.

To prove this assertion, we wish to quote from a letter sent to the New York Times on January 8 by a researcher of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He points out that the 20 per cent cut proposed by Knutson can be understood only in terms of how much of an increase in spendable income will result. He then traces the percentage of increase for each income category. Thus, in the lowest taxable category, \$1,200, the Knutson proposal would leave such a person with \$1,170 spendable income instead of \$1,162, an increase of merely 0.7 per cent. Likewise with a person earning \$2,000, who would be left with \$1,848 instead of \$1,810, an increase of merely 2.1 per cent.

HELPS THE RICH

But the higher the income the greater the percentage increase in spendable income would result from the Knutson proposal. Thus, a man with a \$100,000 income would be left with \$49,498 instead of \$36,873, an increase of 34.3 per cent. And a person taking in \$500,000 per year would be left with \$157,927 instead of \$92,536, an increase of 70.6 per cent. As the writer quoted puts it:

"The 20 per cent across the board reduction will increase spendable income by less than 1 per cent for those in the lowest brackets and by almost 72 per cent for those in the \$300,000 class."

That, in practice, is what the proposal of the Republican leader, Knutson, would mean. It is clearly legislation in favor of the rich—which is not at all surprising, since such legislation is the natural function of a capitalist party.

None of the other Congressional leaders have attacked the Knutson proposal in principal. Some, following Truman's cue, have argued against tax reductions, but they have not objected to Knutson's proposal on the ground that it discriminates against the poor. Now the chances are that Knutson's proposal will not pass, but that a less sharp tax reduction will be enacted. What is important, however, is that the line of reasoning Knutson adopts—and the strictly

(Continued on page 5)



We think that this situation should be changed. For taxation concerns workers just as much as wages do. The experience with the withholding tax proved this; it had the virtue (if none other) of showing you in dramatic and concrete form just how taxation cut into your income.

Now we are up against a new Congress which has to enact tax legislation. All kinds of proposals are in the air, and it would be well for workers to scrutinize them carefully. Indifference today may mean paying tomorrow.

THE KNUTSON PROPOSAL

The most widely publicized proposal so far is that of the Republican House leader, Harold Knutson, in the form of his HR-1. Knutson proposes a cut in income taxes "across the board" of 20 per cent. This, he says, will mean that everyone's tax burden will be lightened equally. The tax burden of a worker making, say, \$2,000 a year and the tax burden of the president of Alfred du Pont making, say, \$500,000 a year will both

Zionist Congress Fails to Meet Major Jewish Issues

By WILLIAM GORMAN

The first World Zionist Congress in seven years concluded recently. Lasting for seventeen days, the Congress was a dramatic proof of the bankruptcy and growing disintegration of the Zionist movement. Search as one might, it is impossible to find another world political gathering that evidenced such pandemonium, bitterness and futility. A. Alpern, correspondent for the *Jewish Day*, described it as a "disastrous Congress." In the same paper, Dr. S. Margoshes wrote that "the two last days of the Congress were filled with sound and fury signifying nothing."

It is necessary to recall that the Congress met after seven of the most momentous years of world history and Jewish life. The European continent has become a huge coffin for millions of Jews. The few hundred thousand still remaining are doomed to a slow death. The doors to immigration have been shut everywhere, particularly in Palestine. To speak of that country as "a Jewish National Home" is to make a tragic joke. For Palestine, hardly larger than New Jersey, is besieged by more than a hundred thousand British troops.

In desperation large sections of Jewish youth are turning to acts of individual revenge against the British. Palestine, pictured by the Zionist propagandists as a land of orchards, grain fields and prosperous villages, is in reality an armed camp at the brink of a gigantic bloodletting.

THE THREE MAJOR PROBLEMS

Against this background the Zionist Congress convened. It faced three major problems: whether or not to accept a British invitation to another Palestine conference; whether or not to accept the plan for partitioning Palestine into three states—British, Jewish and Arab; and the election of a new leadership.

The Congress was filled with fiery speechmaking. After nearly thirty years' experience with British oppression in Palestine, this speechifying is the extreme limit of Zionist militancy. Moshe Sneh, head of the Haganah, the biggest underground army in Palestine, stunned the delegates with the remarks, "Our slogan is surrender or capitulation. Britain has nothing more to offer Zionism."

The reply to this view was made by Weitzman, the most famous figure in world Zionism, who is particularly noted for his abject subservience to British rule. Weitzman claimed that salvation still depended upon British imperialist benevolence. He condemned violence as "immoral" and said that while violent actions were the means of liberation used by other peoples, the Jewish struggles were different. Against the immorality of British violence, Weitzman offered a sermon. Weitzman's pleas for piety and passivity only provoked anger among the delegates.

On this central question of attitude toward British rule, the Congress split into two camps, cutting across party lines. The leaders of the Religious Zionists, General Zionists, and Labor Zionists desperately attempted to unite their parties, but without success.

The large and vociferous opposition declared itself against participation in the London conference, and against partition of Palestine and against the leadership of Weitzman. This opposition veers dangerously close to the line pursued by the Revisionists, the extreme right-wing, anti-labor, anti-Arab and anti-socialist group in the Zionist movement. They are the sponsors of the terrorists, whose activity has proven completely ineffectual in overthrowing British tyranny in Palestine.

A POLITICAL PROGRAM NEEDED

What is obviously required first is a political program, which could mobilize both Jews and Arabs in Palestine, which could gain the sup-

port of the neighboring colonial countries and the sympathy of the workers of the world. But the semi-fascist, chauvinistic Revisionists are completely incapable of providing such a program. They offer mere sabre-rattling.

The largest group of organized Jewish workers, the Labor Zionists, was hopelessly split in half, some dragging behind Weitzman and some behind the Revisionists.

Special mention must be made of Hashomer Hatzair which boasts of its "left-wing Socialism" point of view. The main role played by this group was to boost the Stalinist party line of the Congress. Most Zionists recognize the "Big Three" control over Palestine in the form of a trusteeship, would only triple the burden of oppression which Palestine now suffers from Britain alone. Not so Hashomer Hatzair. It proposed in effect, the intervention of Stalinist totalitarianism in the Palestine situation. After this pernicious proposal failed to gain support, Hashomer did little but drag behind Weitzman.

Much closer to the solution was the speech of Zrubavel, representing the small working class party "Left Poale-Zion." He stated "The best chance for the realization of Zionism lies in the hands of the workers of the world, British and Arab included, who do not agree with their rulers." Zrubavel and his followers fail to realize, however, that it is utterly

(Continued on page 5)

A "Badoglio Regime" to Replace Franco?

What the Big Powers Plan for Spain

By A. FERRARRA

"The Spanish people fell the victim of a coalition composed of imperialists, Spanish republicans, socialists, anarchists, Stalinists, and on the left flank, the POUM."—Leon Trotsky.

The "overthrow" of the Franco régime is being prepared by... the Spanish bourgeoisie with the support of its two mainstays, English imperialism and the Spanish army officer caste. Alarmed at the economic paralysis which grips Spain today and fearful of the rising militancy and increasing self-confidence of the workers, the ruling class is openly completing its plans to depose Franco and install a Spanish "Badoglio." Negotiations are openly being carried on between certain monarchist generals and leaders of the Spanish underground, The Democratic Alliance, to form an army régime that will have "liberal" trimmings, that is, a few "left-wing" ministers.

Economic misery presses down like a nightmare on the Spanish people. A news dispatch from Madrid, dated November 11, 1946, appearing in the newspaper PM gives the following sketch of the economic situation:

"Because of economic problems the coming winter is expected to be the most severe for Spain since the civil war and may well be a test of Franco's ability to stay in power... The principal factor is the shortage of food, which is going to cause many Spaniards to go hungry in the coming months. Other factors are: faulty distribution, a spiralling inflation, the demoralizing black market and lack of exports necessary to get foreign exchange with which to purchase essentials."

A N. Y. Times reporter in Madrid states, "The desperate and apparently deteriorating economic condition of the country has produced a widespread feeling that something must be done quickly in an effort to change the situation." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 2, 1947.)

INCREASING STRENGTH OF THE WORKERS

Impelled not only by their hatred of the fascist tyranny but spurred on as well by their desperate economic condition, the workers are lashing out at the "régime of hunger." More strikes are taking place than ever before under the Franco régime, and on an ever wider scale. Above all is this true in Catalonia, industrial heart of Spain, whose militant and class-conscious workers have ever stood in the vanguard of the struggle. That strikes are taking place more frequently is reported in the capitalist press. What is not reported, however, is that these strikes are taking place without police interference and are meeting with success. The workers strike without fear of punishment or reprisal.

The paper of the left Socialist group (POUM), La Batalla, published in France, relates the following events in its issue of November 15, 1946: "On Monday, November 4, all the workers, men and women, of the important textile firm, Batio and Trinchet, 4,000 in number, stopped working. For three days they maintained the same attitude. Although they came to the factory, they refused to start the machines going. The demands of the strikers are those imposed by the present situation itself, more food and an increase in wages."

A little while after the strike started, a large number of armed police arrived, ready to repress the movement. But the workers were not intimidated by the police attitude and firmly refused to go back to work, saying, "we do not wish to work because we die of hunger. We lack the strength to keep the looms going." These irrefutable arguments morally disarmed the police. The police, who receive a bigger food ration than the civil population lost their initial arrogance when confronted by the spectacle of these hungry workers resolved not to yield until their demands had been met. The police left, saying they would not intervene unless there were acts of sabotage or violence.

Knowledge of the increasingly inflammable situation inside Spain and the pressure of the workers at home have compelled the English imperialists, one of Franco's main props, to indicate their displeasure with the régime. The English have withdrawn their envoy, Sir Victor Mallet, from Madrid. In addition the English are pressing claims against Franco for damage done to their properties during the Civil War. Morgan Phillips, secretary of the Labor Party, is reported to have boasted openly that the Labor Government was "working inside and outside Spain" for the overthrow of the Franco régime. (N. Y. Times, December 22, 1946.)

DECOMPOSITION OF FRANCO REGIME

The political decomposition of the Franco régime is also indicated by the demonstrative criticisms and conspiracies engaged in by the military hierarchy, Franco's main prop inside of Spain. One general, Kindelan, recently exiled to the island of Mallorca for openly criticizing the régime, stated on being permitted to return to Madrid, "I think as I did before, that only the monarchy can save the country."

Another general, one of Franco's main supporters in the civil war, Antonio Aranda, who commanded Franco's mercenaries on the Austrian front, has just been sent into exile. He is said to be the central figure in the negotiations now going on with the Spanish Underground Movement,

Democratic Alliance. Though Aranda was specifically named by twelve Spanish republicans now on trial in Madrid, as the general with whom they dealt two years ago in a conspiracy to overthrow Franco, the courts declared Aranda innocent.

The fear of a revolutionary upheaval is not restricted to the reactionary Spanish bourgeoisie, the military hierarchy, and the English imperialists. It is shared by the exiled Spanish leaders and their lieutenants inside Spain who head the Democratic Alliance. Every party and group included in the present Spanish Republican Government in-Exile has openly declared itself as willing to participate in a government that includes the monarchists and generals, in order to avoid a revolutionary upheaval.

At the present time, a struggle is going on within the ranks of the Spanish-government-in-exile between the Right Wing Socialists led by Prieto and the group led by Premier Giral, who is backed by the Stalinists. But it is an unprincipled struggle for the power they hope will fall into their hands when Franco steps down. The Giral-Stalin group calls upon the UNO to intervene in Spain and restore it to power as the legitimate government. The coalition of right-wing Socialists, Catalonian Autonomists, UGT union leaders, and Anarchists wish, with the backing of the English, to exclude the Stalinists from power.

It is the Prieto group which is negotiating with the army generals and the Monarchists. The arrangements being worked out between the Prieto group and the Spanish military includes the following points according to a story in the N. Y. Times of January 2, 1947: A government that will exclude the Communists; to change the régime without disorder... the best means to do so being through the restoration of the monarchy; formation of a secret "shadow" government of three generals and three political figures to prepare to take over under the aegis of the king and direct the country until elections can be held.

To those who know the tragic course of the Spanish revolution, the preparations being made by these Spanish republican leaders to join hands with the monarchists and military comes as no surprise. These same leaders tried to come to an understanding with Franco when he took up arms against the Spanish people. Only when the Spanish workers and peasants took up arms to defend themselves did they join in the struggle. But their concern was to paralyze the revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants who were seizing the factories and the land. Thus did they betray the Spanish revolution. And as they did once before, so now again they are preparing to betray the Spanish workers and peasants into the hands of their class enemies.

Los Angeles SWP Members Join the Workers Party

Two more members of the Socialist Workers Party have just resigned from that organization in order to join the Workers Party, this time in Los Angeles. We print below the letter of resignation which they have sent to the SWP. One of the undersigned has been an active worker in the Trotskyist movement since 1928, when the original small group of revolutionists left the Communist Party to found the movement; before 1928 he had been a member of the Communist Party for some years. The other signer has been a member of the SWP for eight years.

The letter by Comrades Sylvester and Burton follows: Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles, California. Dear Comrades:

After active participation in the organization since its inception, we are forced to resign from the party. The convention just concluded was the culmination of three years of "discussion" where the Cannon leadership refused to or was incapable of seriously grappling with the many problems confronting the revolutionary movement. The discussion was a mockery where, instead of with facts and arguments, the minority was answered with slander and vilification. We are convinced that the party is, in fact, now a monolithic organization where differences cannot be tolerated.

It is inconceivable that a Trotskyist party would insist on preventing unity between the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party. We cannot accept the viewpoint that the differences are irreconcilable, that we must "turn our backs upon them," and that the split should be deepened.

The expulsion of Morrow and Jeffries by a convention which showed all the earmarks and atmosphere of a Stalinist gathering, is further proof that the party has cast aside the best traditions of the Trotskyist movement and Bolshevism. Such a convention and such expulsions are the logical result of the whole course of the leadership for the past years: their rejection of unity with the Workers Party; their incultation of a follow-the-leader spirit in the ranks and of intolerance toward critical political discussion; and their theoretical sterility in the face of important political problems.

For ourselves, we will continue to work in and for a revolutionary Marxist organization, toward the goal of the Socialist Revolution. Therefore, as loyal revolutionists, as adherents of the Fourth Internationalist movement, we resign from the Socialist Workers Party and join the Workers Party.

Fraternally

S. SYLVESTER
B. BURTON

December 7, 1946.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor

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IRVING HOWE

HENRY JUDD

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Editorials

Is U. S. Labor "Too Powerful?"

The latest in the flurry of anti-labor bills prepared by the Republicans is one introduced by Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, which seeks to prohibit "industry-wide bargaining by cutting off the authority of international unions over their local unions." The bill would, says the New York Times, "limit negotiations in any industry or activity to one labor market area. If the international union attempted to coerce the locals it would become the government's duty to ask the courts for an injunction." Thus, by re-instituting legal government strikebreaking by injunction, Senator Ball hopes to destroy the "monopolistic power" of labor.

In order to make sure that he was fully understood, the Senator added that "wages were too high in certain fields." And is there a better way to break down "high wages" than by destroying the "monopolistic power of labor"?

Aware that the struggle against monopoly and trusts is always popular with the people, Ball seeks to make his anti-labor bill acceptable by placing it on the same level as a struggle against the domination of the country's economic life by the "Sixty Families." In talking about the monopoly of labor, Ball has not a word to say about the monopoly of big business.

Labor is compelled to defend itself in the only way it can: by organization into unions in order to protect itself and advance its interests against powerfully organized business. So long as labor was unorganized and the worker was left to defend his interests individually against a powerful and rich boss, he was at the latter's mercy. It was only by organizing into unions that the worker was able to wring some concessions from the boss.

Experience taught the worker that his local union was helpless against big monopolistic industry—that the struggle was too unequal. In order to be in a better position to defend himself and win his demands, unity between workers in a whole industry was necessary. He knew that one local of General Motors could hardly expect to carry on an effective struggle against this giant corporation. And what labor faces is a struggle not only against one GM corporation, but against hundreds. He learned too, in the course of his struggles, that all the corporations are linked together by common directors, with a common pool of capital who unite across industry lines: steel interests will assist auto and coal; auto will assist glass and rubber; railroads will combine with packers, etc.

INDUSTRY-WIDE NEGOTIATIONS INDISPENSABLE TO UNIONS

Industry-wide negotiations between workers and the corporations are therefore indispensable for labor if it hopes to carry on an effective struggle for its rights. The weakness of labor is that it has not utilized this weapon for what it is really worth: combining not only the efforts of the workers in one industry in common struggle, but of all industries jointly.

If you want to know what would happen to labor if the Ball bill is enacted, just picture for a moment the following situation: Workers in a GM plant in Kansas City could not sign a contract with the company in common with GM workers in the rest of the country. A small local in that city would be at the mercy of a rich company. The powerful UAW locals in Detroit would be forbidden to come to the assistance of their sister local. The company could, by this bill, force a smaller local to accept less wages, longer hours

and poorer working conditions than a larger local with greater resources could wrest from the same company. In the end the company would have a wedge by which to lower the standards won by the stronger locals.

Is Ball aware of what he is proposing? Only too well. It is because he is aware of the real nature of his bill as a union-busting measure that he proposed it. That is precisely what Ball is seeking: to smash the power of unionism. That is why he has not a word to say about the real monopolists, the big business interests. That is why he has not a word to say about the profiteers who are now making the biggest profits in all history. His hope is that if he cannot destroy the union movement, then he will at least have weakened it to the point where its effectiveness would be seriously impaired. Which brings us to one interesting point:

WHICH KIND OF SENATOR MORE DANGEROUS TO LABOR?

The openly anti-labor senators and representatives are no doubt a dangerous gang in Congress. But one can recognize them without difficulty. Their connections with big business are usually well known. And they are prone to boast about it.

A far more dangerous type in Congress is the "smart" Senator and Congressman, the "educated" and "studious" legislator who devises anti-labor legislation after "long and devoted study" and always as a "warm friend of labor." An outstanding representative of this type is Senator Ball of Minnesota. It is this type which is especially dangerous.

The labor movement has been relying on capitalist politicians, that is, outright and concealed representatives of big business. Labor has suffered one defeat after another at the hands of its political "friends of labor." The point has been reached where many labor leaders are no longer fighting the efforts of Congress to

"curb labor" but are merely asking that the bills they introduce be "less drastic." In their defeatist mood, they consent to the pernicious aim of Congress to "regulate the unions." Some now only ask that this regulation be not too severe.

But there is really only one answer to the present campaign of the GOP Congress, ably assisted by the reactionary Democratic gang: Fight against any and all anti-labor legislation. Otherwise, labor will suffer such a setback that it will not recover for a long time. But more than that: learn the political lesson of the past several years: organize independently on the political field. Build a Labor Party to represent the needs and interests of all the people. You cannot fight big business on the economic field and then surrender to it on the political. The only effective struggle of labor is an economic and political one. If labor hasn't learned this yet, the 80th Congress will provide a few more painful lessons.

TWO PAMPHLETS OFF THE PRESS SOON:

By Leon Trotsky: MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES
Introduction by Albert GatesBy Albert Goldman: ON THE UNITY BETWEEN WP AND SWP
Introduction by Max Shachtman

WORLD POLITICS

Poland—The Agony of a Nation

By IRVING HOWE

The splendid dispatches which our special overseas correspondent, A. Rudziński, has furnished this paper and *The New Internationalist* on the Polish situation have given an unrivaled picture of one of the most chaotic and terrible political situations in Europe today. His article in last week's issue details the manner in which the Stalinists, an unpopular minority in the nation, have wormed their way into the apparatus of other parties in order to render ineffective any opposition to their Moscow-buttressed rule.

Nonetheless, the opposition continues, grows, develops. Dispatches from Warsaw by Sydney Gruson, New York Times correspondent, pile detail upon detail, unnecessary to repeat here, of how the elections scheduled for January 19 are being rigged in the most outrageous fashion. Candidates of the opposition Peasant Party have been kidnapped, murdered and imprisoned. A dissident Socialist group which, unlike the official Socialist Party, has refused to accept Stalinist domination, has been completely barred from the ballot.

And now the Stalinists have worked out a new device: they are "persuading" workers to go en masse to the polls to register an "open" vote—why be ashamed of how you vote, say the totalitarian rascals of Stalinism. Since refusal to participate in this "open" casting of votes is tantamount to a declaration of opposition to Stalinism—a dangerous step involving possible loss of work and bread—this latest Stalinist trick insures them of an electoral victory. (The hungry and weary Polish workers remember that the city of Cracow was punished for its mass opposition to the Stalinist "constitution" in the referendum held last fall by having thousands of its citizens deported from their homes.)

The political situation in Poland is admittedly complex: a Stalinist government supported by Russian bayonets, without sufficient mass support to enable it to rule independently; mass terror as political method; a heterogeneous opposition, both semi-legal and illegal, whose political composition ranges from extreme anti-Stalinist left to the extreme fascist and anti-Semitic right.

The outside world is unable to discover the exact internal political differentiation within this opposition, the strength of the various tendencies and their relation to each other; though there is no reason to accept as valid the Stalinist smear of the opposition as fascist. For we do know that during the Nazi occupation there appeared in Poland underground newspapers which were both socialist and anti-Stalinist in character; since the Stalinist state does not permit their legal existence today, such tendencies must function underground.

The choice for revolutionary socialists seems difficult (with the result that some people in the socialist movement, secure in the warm comfort of their "Finished Program," keep a discreet silence on the matter.) Should revolutionary socialists, both in Poland and elsewhere, take their stand beside the Stalinist government, which has nationalized much of Poland's industry and expropriated that remnant of its capitalist class which remained after the war? But that means to support the Stalinist terror. That means to support the Stalinist attempt to consolidate their totalitarian apparatus and destroy the opposition to it. It means for the revolutionary movement to sign its death warrant. For a Stalinist consolidation in Poland would result in drying up of the normal channels of political expression, the imposition of the grey blanket of terror and enforced unanimity. Poland, like Russia, would become the "Land of the Single Opinion."

International Socialist Notes

An interview with a French miner on the strike of German war prisoner miners in the mining basin of Anzin (in the north of France).—Vérité, December 13.

Anzin (Nord), December 8

The uninterruptedly falling rain, the deserted streets and empty cafés, already give me a great impression of sadness.

"The German prisoners who struck were left today from 5 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. in the mine without food."

We are walking—an old communist miner and myself—on the road which leads from Anzin to Thiers-la-Grange, where we hope to be able to speak to some German prisoners. At Thiers the strike of the German prisoners of the mining basin of Anzin began.

The road is bordered on both sides by low brick houses blackened by smoke. For several miles the view remains unchanged.

From time to time we see two or three old miners playing in a café. More and more youth refuse to work in the mines where their health is ruined rapidly and where accidents are very frequent because of the outmoded pit equipment.

"Well, then how did this strike of German prisoners begin?"

"Last Thursday, December 5, I went down into the pit at 5:00 a.m. as usual and I saw that the German prisoners refused to work. I had myself been a prisoner for five years in Germany, so I asked the fellow who worked at my side what was behind it. He told me that they could no longer continue to work with the rations that were given them. The superintendent of the camp diverted supplies destined for the German prisoners. In addition they never received the packages sent them by the Red Cross.

I am sure that what he told me was correct, for everyone in the area knows that the Moroccan soldiers who guard the prison camps have been selling goods in the black market that could have come from the Red Cross packages. Contrary to the claims in the press, the German prisoners do not get the same food rations as the French miners. For example, the superintendent does not give any 'briquet' (for the 10 o'clock

meal break) to the Germans, who must work from 5:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. with nothing to eat.

"Do the prisoners on strike give the impression of being Nazis?" I showed the miner comrades the December 7 number of *L'Humanité*, where the German prisoners of Anzin are treated as Hitlerites.

"No, that is totally false; most of the prisoners are workers; they are Westphalian miners; they know their craft very well and no one can say that they don't work. From the conversations I have had, I came to see that there were a number of communists among them. The treatment that the Moroccan soldiers inflict on them is disgusting. When the prisoners leave the mine, if any lag, blows rain down on them; the soldiers are brutal watchdogs."

"When did the strike end?"

"It began Thursday, the 4th, and ended Saturday. The mine's management refused to receive the delegation that wanted to present the demands of the German prisoners. Friday they were confined to their barracks and forbidden to go out; all food was withheld; that was what obliged them to resume work. One prisoner who opened the door and took a few steps was shot on the spot.

"This prisoner had less chance than those acquitted at Nuremberg and the former SS men recruited into Leduc's army."

We had arrived at Thiers-la-Grange. We are near the prisoners' camp, surrounded by barbed wire, with towers at the four corners. Guards patrol through the camp; all the prisoners give an impression of misery and distress. We come to within a few yards of the enclosure. The miner says to me:

"I worked for five years in the mines of Silesia, as a prisoner, and, you know, when I think of the SS, I tremble still. But look at them; they are workers. When I was in Germany, often German workers passed food to me. Here I do the same—every day I share my 'briquet' with the worker at my side. He is a Westphalian miner, fifty years old, separated from his kids for many years. Basically, in France and in Germany, the workers are the same."

But can revolutionary socialists conceive of working with the Mickolajczyk-led opposition? Is he not in favor of the restoration of private property in those industries where it has been abolished? Is he not an agent of Anglo-American imperialism? Yes, of course he is. And it is undoubtedly true that there are anti-Semitic and fascist groups in the underground which, whether he encourages them or not, look to him for leadership. But let us admit that this is a new situation, which cannot be completely viewed in old ways. There is no doubt that the masses of Poland oppose the government. (Rudziński's articles have demonstrated that beyond a doubt; I shall not repeat his data, but merely refer the skeptical reader to past issues of *LABOR ACTION*.) Even if a socialist opposition to the Stalinist government were to declare itself equally against both the Stalinists and Mickolajczyk, it would be forced in practice to cooperate with the opposition in defense against Stalinist terror.

AGAINST THE GPU REGIME

The masses of peasants and most of the workers are sympathetic to the opposition. To support the Stalinist government against Mickolajczyk means therefore not merely to aid in the totalitarianization of Poland; it means to isolate oneself from the Polish masses and take one's side besides the bureaucratic and privileged strata bribed into serving as Stalin's Polish agents. We therefore say that the task of Polish revolutionary socialists is to give critical support to the opposition camp.

By this formula we mean: the revolutionary socialists would do their best to maintain their organizational independence, and would not tolerate submergence within the opposition. It would continually distinguish its revolutionary socialist program from the capitalist program of Mickolajczyk and would attempt to take over the leadership of the opposition to ensure a politically fruitful struggle against Stalinism. But it would work within and cooperate with the opposition wherever the opposition fought against GPU regime.

Those who disagree with this course must answer the question: When the GPU men come to arrest a Peasant Party leader, do you aid them in the arrest or try to prevent it?

For one cannot stand aside when an incipient civil war is raging, nor can one keep silent merely because it is an unprecedented situation. Those, of course, like the Socialist Workers Party in this country, who make a mockery of socialist ideas by proclaiming Stalin's Russian prison camp a "workers' state," have no logical alternative but to support the totalitarian Polish government against the opposition; for according to their position, is not Poland, with its nationalized industries, a "workers' state" (since, for them, nationalized economy equals "workers' state") and is not Mickolajczyk the representative of capitalist restoration? But since this position is more than a little embarrassing, they prefer the course of silence.

We for our part acknowledge that the position outlined here is fraught with danger, that it requires a most skillful leadership to apply it successfully. But it does point a way out of the dilemma. For the major need in Poland today is to drive out the Russian oppressors, once again to give the Polish masses a chance to determine their own destinies. Given such a chance, we are sure they would choose neither the satraps of Stalinism nor the remnants of the old anti-Semitic and fascist "colonels" clique which ruled Poland before Hitler's invasion. To open the gates to the possibility of mass political participation and expression, rather than to help drive in the GPU clamps on those gates, is the purpose of our position.

OFF LIMITS
By
James M. Fenwick

Taking Off, Mr. Bolte?

Charles G. Bolté, national chairman of the American Veterans Committee, has just been granted a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University, England. His two-year course of study will begin this fall.

This is the same Bolté of whom *PM* in a gushing biographical sketch once wrote: "AVC was the agent that jelled Bolté's personality. Later he was to remember a motto he had seen mimeographed in an early *AVC Bulletin*. It was Sir Francis Drake's prayer as he sailed into the harbor of Cadiz, 'O Lord, God, when Thou givest to Thy servants to endeavor any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning but the continuing of the same, until it is thoroughly finished, which yieldeth the true glory.' The italicized section Bolté took as his text."

Despite this piety, his numerous articles on the veteran, his spare speaking style, and his culture, Bolté reveals himself as another bright Ivy League liberal using the veterans for what Shakespeare once called "young ambition's ladder."

The AVC has largely been identified with Bolté. His taking off now for a two-year exposure in the most caste-ridden school of the most caste-ridden country of Europe can have only adverse effects. There will be a tendency to think of the AVC as led by persons seeking only to feather their own nests. Bolté leaves, further, at a critical juncture in the growth of the AVC. His leaving likewise permits the Stalinists to bang away hypocritically at the seersucker set controlling the national AVC, whom they have constantly charged with dilettantism and conservatism.

UP FROM DARTMOUTH

Bolté comes from the upper middle-class. His life has been a carefully cushioned one. His father is a \$20,000 a year advertising executive who moves in the circles of Henry R. Luce. Bolté graduated from Dartmouth, a "good" eastern school. While there he engaged in normal campus literary activities and in exceptional ones like discussing with Robert Sherwood, the playwright and literary mechanic to whom Roosevelt subcontracted many of his speeches. After a passing phase of pacifism Bolté became what he himself identifies as a "warmonger and one of the most unpopular men in the history of Dartmouth College." Shortly after graduation he enlisted in the British army, where he became an officer. After he was wounded at El Alamein he was invalided home. He did a turn writing propaganda for the OWI. Then followed the organization of the AVC.

Other leaders in the AVC have much the same background: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., William L. Batt, Jr., son of the well-known Philadelphia capitalist and recently democratic candidate for Congress; Oren Root, Jr., Republican campaign manager for Willkie in 1940. The young AVC had roots in the democratic administration and in the business world. Eleanor Roosevelt showed an early "interest" in the AVC. The publishers Marshall Field and Eugene Meyer were early financial angels of the organization. It is from such circles that a considerable section of AVC's national leadership gains financial and ideological sustenance. Politically they can be described as New Dealers.

WALKING ON EGGS

Under these circumstances it should surprise no one that the AVC program can be criticized for lack of aggressiveness. The AVC's opposition to the bonus; the indecent slobbering over Omar Bradley, who initiated the wage cuts in the on-the-job-training program; the lack of militant prosecution of the housing fight; and the persistent putting of the damper upon demonstrative actions of the most justifiable kind are of ultimate benefit to capitalism—and not the veteran. Overlooking the cold political calculation which leads a Stassen to discover what a buddy he is of the AVC membership, and overlooking the career boys like Bolté, for whom the AVC is a means to a personal end, what is the objective significance of the role played by persons such as Root, Roosevelt, or Bolté? The simple answer is that the AVC is utilized to keep the veterans' demands within reasonable bounds—i.e., capitalist ones.

It is this condition which permits the Stalinists to conduct a "plausible" fight against the milk and water policy of the national organization. The Stalinists, needless to say, are interested in a militant program for the AVC only insofar as it permits them to gain control of the organization to use it as another pressure point in Russian foreign policy.

The answer is a MILITANT policy based upon the present progressive beginnings which have made the AVC unique in its field.

The answer is not, like Bolté, to turn from the real world of struggle to the illusory peace of the academic groves. Moreover, Bolté's course has its own logic, whatever he may personally think motivates his action: he yields ground to the Stalinist totalitarians at home, and, under the present international constellation of forces, serves to help create those ideological ties linking British and United States imperialism together for the contemplated atomic war against Russia.

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Internal Cracks in a Totalitarian Structure

Critical Opposition Rises in the Stalinist Party

By CARL DAVIS

FOR a considerable period after the expulsion of the groups of people mentioned in my articles on the situation in the Communist Party in the United States, the Stalinist press made little or no mention of them. It had hoped to avoid any public discussion of this situation by keeping silent. The party bureaucracy was not a little embarrassed by the expulsions. This was the first time in many years that the thoroughly bureaucratized and monolithic Stalinist organization had members and groups which were actively opposed to the party line. But the public activity of the expelled made it necessary for the party to take notice of them and to reply to their printed material in public.

The December issue of *Political Affairs*, the theoretical organ of the CP, carried a long article entitled "The Struggle against Deviations and Factionalism in San Francisco," by one, Oleta O'Connor Yates. The Daily Workers for January 8, 9 and 10, published three articles by its "literary critic" Samuel Sillen, which was devoted entirely to the statement of Ruth McKenney and Bruce Minton (analyzed in LABOR ACTION, December 23 and 30). The attention given to the activities of the expelled groups indicates that the problem of the dissidents has not ended, but that inside the party other groups and individuals are continuing to fight along the same or similar lines of the expelled.

The whole situation is indeed significant. The fight that broke out over Browder was the first internal struggle the American Stalinist Party had since the expulsion of the Trotskyist Opposition and the Lovestone Group. Since then, the party became truly monolithic. No groups, factions, or theoretical and political views which differed from official positions were tolerated. But there was no need to exert any great effort to effect this condition. All individuals and groups which had any degree of independence, or theoretical and political competence were ousted from the party during the long process of its Stalinization.

STALINIST MONOLITHISM

The monolithic character of the party was achieved almost "naturally" with the ousting of these opponents, or anyone else with independent views, and the Russifying of the organization, i.e., its transformation into an appendage of the Kremlin. In its unquestioning acceptance of Stalinist ideology, the American CP could not help modeling its party after Stalin's party. Thus, the bureaucratic and opportunist leadership of Browder, who was bureaucratically placed at the head of the party by Stalin, adorned itself with all the trappings of the Russian master; policies were adopted and changed without the intervention of the membership, much less a discussion in its ranks. All discussions were post-facto events; they were

Stalinist innovations which permitted the membership to discuss an already new line and to be educated in it. Within a few years the party became a monolithic machine which operated in push-button fashion and with deadly uniformity.

Whenever a change in Russian foreign policy took place, the CP in the United States, as elsewhere, reacted according to a proscribed formula: Whatever the Russian Party decides is automatically the policy for the American CP. It wasn't necessary for the party to receive instructions for every change of its line. That is one of the things which so-called "Communist experts" fail to understand. It is the system itself which is pernicious. The party reacts like a hypnotized victim. And this corresponds to its true character as a once-revolutionary socialist party which became transformed into an appendage of a new nationalist, counter-revolutionary center in Russia under the leadership of Stalin. The main task of the party was now to act as an outpost for Russia's new ruling class.

When Stalin liquidated the Communist International (a purely formal act, which had no real practical significance), Browder liquidated the CP and transformed it into a political association. Lacking state power and the resources of its European sister parties, the CP suffered some serious reverses. And as often happens in this country, by movements, ideologists or individuals who borrow from European sources, the American product appears in exaggerated and distorted form.

Browder went a little too far in his effort to placate American imperialism and to strengthen the alliance between Russian and Anglo-American imperialism. He made some impermissible observations about the nature of monopoly capitalism and socialism (different only in degree from what the Russian and the European Stalinists were saying) which did not set well with the more militant elements in the party. What these elements did not and do not yet understand is, that Browder was not pursuing an independently thought-out policy, but rather the general line of Stalinism. Otherwise, he would have called to a halt long before Duclos intervened in the American situation in 1945.

It was only after the war, when the necessity for a close Anglo-American-Russian alliance had diminished, that Stalinism the world over began to act more independently, more militantly, not in the interests of the masses, but against its rival imperialists. And the purpose of this was to provide for Stalinist forces in the Capitalist nations who were to act as allies in Russia's struggle for Europe and Asia, and specifically to defend Russian interests against American imperialism. When it was necessary to change the line of the Communist Party in the U. S. A., Browder was superfluous.

From a Former Member of Frisco Communist Party

The following letter was received from a former member of the Communist Party in San Francisco:

It might interest you to know that I recently quit the Communist Party, and by chance was contacted by one of your New York members, bought a copy of LABOR ACTION and the NI, and am, most interested.

I would like to ask one favor, however. There is a possibility that one of your California comrades may hear of my subscription and attempt to look me up. Frankly, it will do him no good if he attempts to sign me up, for the following reason:

I have been "stung" once by a so-called Marxist party, and it has left me most cynical. Before I join another party, I shall thoroughly review what Marxists classics I have read, and I shall read much more in order that I may better decide my exact position. Then, of course, I shall have to go into Trotsky and later Shachtman and other contemporaries. You can see that this will take some time, and I think you will understand my position in wanting to be dead sure about this thing. Incidentally, it was not until I began to read Marx, Engels, Lenin, et al (something the CP most certainly never urged us to do, being content with the later Foster-Dennis tripe), that I began to see the falseness of the CP. I think you will agree that were I to become a member (if accepted, of course) it would be better for all concerned if I were better read in the classics, than if I entered with a hazy conception of things.

Rest assured that if satisfied, I will join; otherwise no, and it would be perfectly useless for any of your representatives to try to influence me until my education is completed. I hope that you understand my position. Your publications are a relief to my troubled eyes and from what little I know of your policies, I wish you continued and greater success.

O. W., San Francisco.

P.S. If you desire for any reason to use any or all of this letter for any purpose, feel free to do so.

He could not carry out the new line, so badly had he compromised himself by a foolish and unwarranted (in Stalin's eyes) application of the general line. Those in the party who had hoped that the ousting of Browder would mean a return to a militant, class struggle policy (reminiscent of the Stalinist "Third Period" days) were doomed to disappointment when they observed that the Foster-Dennis leadership produced not a new line, but a toned-down version of Browder's "revisionism." The above, then, is the real explanation for the existence of the National Committee for Publications Group, the San Francisco opposition, the dissident groups in New York, and the Minton-McKenney defection.

A STALINIST POLEMIC

Sillen's articles in the Daily Worker on the Minton-McKenney statement referred to above is a silly and stupid piece of hack writing. Knowing how the CP functions, we have no doubt that Mr. Sillen was asked to lend his great "authority" as a "literary man" to attack two oppositionists who are literary people. His reply to their statement is typically Stalinist in that it evades what they really said in their statement in order to attack them without discussing their main arguments. He substitutes slander for argument, which is a basic Stalinist method of discussion with opponents. The slander

is supplemented with misquotations from Lenin and other socialist authorities, spiced up with political vulgarity. An example of this is his reply to Minton's and McKenney's attack on the CP attitude toward the United Nations which they characterize as another League of Nations. They quoted Lenin to the effect that the League was a "den of thieves," of imperialists who divided the world amongst themselves. Sillen replies to this by defending the UN as a body totally different from the League. Why? Because Stalin's Russia participated in its establishment and is the leader of one of its imperialist blocs. So this vulgar literary man proceeds to misrepresent Lenin when he quotes him to say:

"Only those who have no self-reliance can fear to enter into temporary alliances, even with unreliable people; not a single political party could exist without entering such alliances."

Lenin did not have the League of Nations in mind, which is the implication Sillen sought to convey. He was talking about the revolutionary party of the working class entering into alliances with other parties in a struggle for certain specific demands or on certain specific issues. And Lenin recognized that a workers' state, so long as it was isolated and no other revolution came to its

assistance, might, because of its weaknesses, have to play one imperialist power against another, and even enter into a temporary alliance with one powerful nation or another as a means of defending itself. But Lenin never forgot to add that no revolutionary party should surrender its internationalism or its revolutionary struggle at home, when and if a workers' state entered into such an alliance.

If Lenin were alive today he would characterize the UN in exactly the same way as he did the League of Nations—as an imperialist body wrangling over who shall have the lion's share in carving up the world. And he would call upon the masses to oppose it.

Elsewhere, Sillen denounces Minton and McKenney for having "smuggled" their line "into a branch discussion." How else McKenney and Minton could have presented their views to the party, this Stalinist hack does not say. But it is evident that what he is trying to say is: if the party bureaucracy had known what your views were they would never have permitted you to present them to the party. And we agree with Sillen. If the Party leadership had known what the above were going to say to the party, they never would have had the opportunity of acquainting even their branch with those views. They would have been expelled for merely holding such views.

Finally, Sillen calls attention to the fact that Minton did support Browder's revisionism, but protested only that some people were "carrying it too far." Sillen intends thereby to convey two impressions: (1) that Minton is really a Browderite today; (2) that the whole party and its leadership (especially Sillen) were really opposed to Browder, but that by some magic power, Browder carried out his line over the protests of the whole leadership (read: bureaucracy), first line and secondary. This is a lie on the face of it. The fact is that the whole main leadership endorsed Browder's anti-Marxist, anti-socialist views and policies, and none more so than Mr. Sillen himself. Be that as it may, Minton and McKenney are certainly not Browder followers today. What is most important, the CP line has not changed fundamentally. From the point of view of socialism, of Marxism, the CP line remains what it was under Browder: an adaptation to the needs of Russian foreign policy, or the state interests of Stalin's ruling class, under new conditions of the end of the alliance between Russian and American imperialism.

THE FRISCO SITUATION

The article by Yates in *Political Affairs* is a more rounded attack on another group of dissidents, of the CP, the group of workers expelled in San Francisco for opposing the strikebreaking policies of the Stalinists there in alliance with their outstanding ally in the CIO, Harry

Bridges. One of the difficulties on the Coast, she says, was that a "left" opposition to party policy developed on the ground "that there is no difference between the character of the coalition envisaged by the party today (coalition with liberals, intelligent capitalists, and progressives), and the concept of the coalition developed by Browder." Miss Yates then proceeds to outline what is the prevailing Stalinist concept of a monolithic party and says: "The party's greatest strength comes from its monolithic unity—unity of ideology, policy and strategy. Those who disagree with the fundamental ideology, policy and strategy of the party must either renounce their views or take themselves elsewhere." Behind this description stands the monolithic party in which centralism prevails but no real democracy. This is followed by the impermissibility of opposing views in the party, or for those who hold such views, to maintain them and fight for them. The result of this bureaucratized, monolithic character of the party is that there is no independence of thought, no education and learning, no growth of the membership. They have neither the right nor the ability to intervene in the affairs of the party. The party has developed a sickening unanimity of thought and action creating a completely automatistic organization.

There is only one hope for the new CP opposition: get rid of all the ideological rubbish you have absorbed in the past ten years, at least, of Stalinist opportunism. Go back to the classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Learn what revolutionary theory and practice is. Find out what a real Workers' State is. Learn the meaning of socialism and then compare it with Stalin's prison of the masses. Try to understand what a revolutionary socialist party is and learn how far the CP is and has been from being such a party.

Once you have done that, you will learn that there is really only one way out: a complete break, not only with the American CP, but with Stalinism. If you really want to be revolutionary socialists, if you feel that your socialist integrity is at stake, if you feel that your internationalism has been violated, then move forward toward the only representatives of revolutionary theory and practice in the world today, the Trotskyists. Otherwise you will find yourself in the inextricably difficult position of trying to be revolutionary socialists on the basis of contradictory, mutually exclusive theories.

MAKE A CLEAN BREAK

The difficulty in trying to analyze the expelled groups and individuals is due to the disparity of their views and the common confusion which they have on the nature of the Communist Party and the perspectives of their struggle. In calling for the creation of a real, revolutionary

(Continued from page 3)

phony line of cutting "everybody's" taxes equally—is that of the leaders of both capitalist parties.

President Truman came out against tax reductions. He wants to maintain tremendous expenditures for military purposes: 11 billion dollars for the military and ½ billion for atomic bombs. Despite all the talk of a peaceful world and the United Nations, the workers of this country will continue paying for the war preparations and maneuvers of American imperialism.

In this situation—where the Republicans propose tax legislation favorable to the rich and the Democrats reject any move to lighten the tax burden of the poor—it is necessary for the labor movement to come forward with vigorous demands of its own. A labor tax platform would, we believe, include the following points:

- 1) The exemption from income tax payments of those with the lowest incomes: \$5,000 and below. This would be in accordance with the principle of taxation according to ability to pay.
- 2) An annual income ceiling of \$25,000 per year. This is comfortable enough for anyone to live on and the excess taxed from the rich would make up for the reduction in tax revenues as a result of exempting the lower brackets from income taxes.
- 3) The maintenance of the wartime excise taxes on luxury items,

Stalinist Party, as some of them do, they seem not to understand, that there is a real Stalinist Party in the United States and that is the CP. That it is not a revolutionary party flows from the fact that Stalinism is a counter-revolutionary manifestation inside the working class.

The opposition is really groping blindly toward understanding. It is only in the vaguest sense that they know what they want. They still live in the militant days of the "Third Period" and regard that abortive stage of Stalinist development as the reflection of a revolutionary stage of party development. They are influenced by old party, worn-out and degenerated figures like William F. Dunne and Sam Darcy, who have some understanding of what the party was in the days before its Stalinization, but who have themselves been corrupted through years of silence and repeated adjustments to the "party line."

There is only one hope for the new CP opposition: get rid of all the ideological rubbish you have absorbed in the past ten years, at least, of Stalinist opportunism. Go back to the classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Learn what revolutionary theory and practice is. Find out what a real Workers' State is. Learn the meaning of socialism and then compare it with Stalin's prison of the masses. Try to understand what a revolutionary socialist party is and learn how far the CP is and has been from being such a party.

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The Tax Issue - -

scheduled to expire on July 1. Most of these items—such as taxes on cabarets, furs, jewelry—concern only the rich. In turn, labor should press for a reduction of taxes on those items—such as refrigerators, cigarettes and radios—which concern the masses of the country.

4) There are still accumulated in the banks of American capitalism millions of wartime profit. As a result of a recent tax windfall, the big corporations have been getting millions in tax rebates. (You don't notice the capitalist press "viewing with alarm" this rebate as it does portal-to-portal pay for the workers.) We propose a 100 per cent tax on all of these war profits, even if they have to be collected after the war's end.

5) And finally we propose a capital levy. The trouble with all other tax legislation is that it touches only what the capitalist makes in a given year. But to lighten the burden of the poor—who, according to a recent estimate, work one day in three to pay taxes to the government—it is necessary to tax the ACCUMULATED income of the capitalists.

That, as opposed to the reactionary tax programs of the Republicans and Democrats, is a bold tax program with which labor could rally great support throughout the nation. It is just as important as wage increases and should not be neglected by the working people of this country.

Zionist Congress - -

(Continued from page 2)

impossible to expect the Jewish bourgeoisie which controls the Zionist movement to join hands with the workers of Britain and the Arab countries. Only the Jewish workers themselves can do this. But they must first break decisively with the Zionist organization, its bourgeoisie leadership and its chauvinistic ideology.

RESULTS OF THE CONGRESS

The Basle Congress was merely one more development in the speedy decline of the Zionist movement. The actual decisions taken by the Congress are of no great importance. No sooner had the Congress voted against participation in the London Conference, than a desperate search began for a formula which would make such participation possible. As for partition, if Britain offers a plan, such true and tried servants of the British Empire as Goldman, Weiss and Lipsky will accept it immediately. The other leading Zionists would complain bitterly, but finally accept partition since they have no realistic alternative.

Finally, Weitzman failed to gain control of the World Zionist presi-

dency for the first time in nearly twenty-five years. He was succeeded by a co-executive of David Ben-Gurion and Rabbi Silver, who make more vigorous speeches but whose program is not much different from their predecessor.

Meanwhile zero hour approaches in Palestine. Recently young Jewish boys were flogged by British police. The Jewish terrorists who retaliated by flogging British soldiers may believe they have saved national pride but they have in no way saved Palestine's Jews from further repressions. Thousands of British troops are arriving weekly.

The Jewish masses in Palestine must be profoundly disappointed in this Zionist Congress which consisted of splits, expulsions and endless speeches. They must begin to look elsewhere—to the peoples of Egypt, India, Indo-China, Burma, Malay, the Philippines, Indonesia—all of whom are struggling valiantly to free themselves from imperialist exploitation and terror. When the Jewish people join in this decisive struggle, it will sound the final death knell of political Zionism, and the beginning of national and social liberation.

The Wave of Anti-Clericalism Grows in Italy

By TOM TANAKOS

Anti-clericalism has grown to such huge proportions in Italy that an open air demonstration was held in Rome recently, where Pope Pius XII spoke exclusively on this subject. This demonstration was organized by the Catholic Action groups of Italy, who had broadcast it widely and had brought in thousands of people from all over the country in an attempt to halt anti-clericalism.

The fact that anti-clericalism has grown to such a degree in Italy that it was felt necessary to have a demonstration to show that there are people in Italy who would come and listen to the Pope—is quite significant.

The Vatican enjoys many favored privileges in Italy, given to it under the Lateran pact by Mussolini. The Pope fears that if anti-clericalism grows, these privileges may be abolished. He also fears that a loss of prestige and power in Italy will reflect itself in the attitude of foreign governments toward the Vatican. Many of these governments, the United States, for example, have been working with the Vatican, hoping that the Pope could exercise influence over the Italian people.

But if the United States sees that the Vatican and the hierarchy of Italy hold no power over the people, then concessions to the Vatican will stop, and the United States will seek allies elsewhere.

THE POPE IS FRANTIC

These are some of the reasons the Pope is frantic. This is why the head of a church with millions of adherents, has a theatrically arranged demonstration in the "most Catholic country in the world" to show that there are people who will listen to him.

Anti-clericalism in Italy is not a new manifestation. The present wave of anti-clericalism began during World War II at the period when the Italian soldiers on every front were sick and tired of the war and

the population at home was preparing for revolution.

It was at this period that the Pope had a demonstration called for him, very much like the recent one. That demonstration was called in June, 1943, when thousands of workers from all over Italy were rounded up and the Pope warned them that "hence it is that propaganda of an anti-religious inspiration is circulating among the people, and especially among the working people." The Pope at that time feared a revolution and he knew that a revolution would not only sweep the fascists and the house of Savoy from power, but would also have swept the Vatican out of existence.

ROLE OF THE VATICAN

The anti-Vatican feelings of the Italian masses, most of whom are members of the Catholic Church, are easily explainable. The Vatican helped bring Mussolini to power. Most of the bishops and cardinals in Italy spoke from fascist platforms and helped the thugs wreck halls and printshops belonging to workers' organizations. The hierarchy worked hand in glove with the fascists, sending men to jail for daring to criticize the fascist regime. The hierarchy supported Mussolini in sending Italian boys to be butchered in Ethiopia, Spain and Greece. The Pope praised Mussolini as the "man sent from Providence" and coerced the Italian people into giving up every valuable they had left to support Mussolini's ventures. Those who did not wholeheartedly support the fascist regime were reported by the Clergy. Under the Lateran pact and concordat, the Vatican became a financial partner in the fascist regime with Mussolini.

The surprising thing about present-day anti-clerical manifestations is not that they arose, but the fact they did not appear sooner. As early as June, 1943, Gaetano Salvemini, the outstanding Italian scholar, wrote:

"Many bishops, archbishops and cardinals in Italy who have become notorious for their servile connivance with the fascist dictatorship will have

to face hard times when it collapses. One of the most serious problems that will confront the post-war democratic government in Italy will be that of preventing a violent reaction against that section of the Catholic clergy that has committed itself too blatantly to fascist policies. This is why Pius XII is doing his utmost to save from shipwreck what can be saved from the fascist regime."

News of widespread anti-clericalism in Italy reached this country about a month ago, when it was reported that one of the anti-clerical newspapers in Rome Don Basilio (named after a priest, a rascal character in eighteenth century comedies and operas), had increased its circulation in three months from 30,000 to 250,000; and that two other anti-clerical papers, Il Pollo and Il Mercante, were also enjoying huge popularity. News was also received that a congress of anti-clericals was to meet in Rome some time in January.

ATTACK ON DON BASILIO

Early in December the cardinals in Rome who are in charge of "surveying faith and morals," pronounced it a mortal sin to sell, buy or read Don Basilio. The editors were told to cease publication of the paper or else they would be excommunicated from the church. The paper continued to appear, and the Pope decided to arrange the demonstration. Ruggelo Macari, one of the editors of Don Basilio, was arrested for "attacking Catholicism" and the day after the Pope's demonstration he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Macari's defense was that he was attacking only "irregularities of the

priesthood" and "church interference in politics." But the court knew that the Vatican is primarily interested in politics and to object to "interference of priests in politics" is to object to the entire role of the Vatican.

Macari was sentenced under the laws recognized in the Lateran Treaty. In other words, he was arrested, charged and jailed for breaking a pact that was made by the fascist government of Mussolini. One would think that the friends of the Vatican would keep quiet about this

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STALINISM: WORLD-WIDE MENACE TO LABOR

By STANLEY GREY

The condition of workers in Russia is unparalleled for degradation and servitude in any advanced country. The human worker is treated as part of a machine in the vast productive system of the country. He has as much voice in the conditions and wages of his labor as the machine which he operates. "His" trade unions are agencies of discipline and state scheming-houses for inventing new speed-up techniques. Dictatorship has been redefined, in Stalin's prison, as democracy, and terror and fear pervade every aspect of public and private life. Extreme punishments are inflicted for minor human infractions of discipline such as lateness at work, illness or occasional failure to meet production quotas. The land which, with the Revolution of 1917, had started on the road to socialism and the liberation of the worker, has become the land of Stalinism which has ended on the sword of despotism and the brutalization of the worker.

It is in the interests of the ruling class of this land of labor's enslavement that the Communist (Stalinist) parties in the various countries of the world operate. Their policies shift with every turn of foreign policy of the Russian state. American workers will recall their experience with the Stalinists during the war. On the Monday when Stalin was lined up in a pact with Hitler against England and America the Stalinist leaders in the trade unions were strikebreakers and "enemies of production." And on Tuesday, when Hitler attacked Russia, the same leaders became the strikebreakers, the whips of production speed-up, the opponents of any struggle against the boss. With the zeal of slavish worshippers of Stalin's land and an unconcern for the needs of labor modified only by local tactical considerations, the leaders of the Communist Party at each and every point used the labor movement as an instrument for serving their masters in Russia.

Were that the whole of the bill of condemnation of the Stalinist party it would be sufficient to indict it as an obstacle in the course of labor's fight for its freedom from capitalist rule. Were it merely an adapter of Russian policy to American politics, it would be enough to warrant a summoning of the progressive forces in the union movement to defeat them programmatically in every union struggle and vote them out of organizational power. For to give power to a group whose policies can change so drastically, independently of the needs of the workers, is to place a time-bomb under the foundation of labor's strength.

THE AGENT LIKE THE MASTER

But that is not all! The agent not only serves the master, he is a small replica of the master he serves. Within the Communist Party here, as in Russia, freedom of discussion and criticism (except when ordered from Moscow or Paris) exists only by calling the lack of freedom, freedom. Genuine democratic discussion of basic policies is considered a weakness of the ideal of a strong, monolithic party which must be as ruthless as a bludgeon. And wherever the Stalinists have control in the labor movement the same lack of democratic discussion and elections prevail.

In every country of the world where the Stalinists are in power or in dominating positions they have reproduced the terror and debasement of workers of the Russia which nourishes them and whose "socialism" they praise. The Stalinist parties aspire to establish a régime modeled on the principles and practices of Russia. But if these people win it can only result in a defeat for the working class. A precondition for the victory of the working class is the political defeat of Stalinism and its democratic removal from organizational power in the union movement.

A striking and illuminating example of the dangers of Stalinist control is provided by a development in the French labor movement since the end of the war. After the Germans were driven out of France, the question of who would now run the factories was immediately posed. In many cases the old capitalist owners were denied their property on the ground of collaboration with the enemy. In an article from France which appeared in the November issue of the magazine *Politics* the following description of the development is given.

"The owners, either in flight or arrested, were not replaced by other representatives of private capital nor by high civil servants, but by new men who had come up in the Resistance and owed their ascendance to the Communist Party or to the union bureaucracy which almost in all cases was made up from the ranks of the CP. The new administration was organized in forms unknown under capitalism. The reorganization of the enterprise was decided at negotiations between, on the one hand, working class organizations (which, during that period, practically meant the CP since the Socialist Party had only little importance) and, on the other, representatives of de Gaulle, i.e., of the still disorganized state of the Fourth Republic. The Communists had a distinct advantage during these negotiations and the factories fell into their hands through the intermediary of the Communist-dominated unions...."

Here was "workers' control of production" on a small scale. Here the unions had taken control of many plants and could now operate them in the workers' interest. But if the unions had control of the plants, the Communist Party had control of the unions and that made the difference between democracy and dictatorship, between workers' freedom and workers' subjection. For example, at the Berliet automobile factory in Lyon which employed 5,000 workers, the plant was organized in typical Stalinist fashion.

"The reorganization of management that took place during the days of liberation at the Berliet plant, for instance, was not based on any mass action. And in the later period no trace of democracy was permitted in the factory. The leading personnel, including the union delegates, owe their ascendance to the CP and the unions. They are in no sense delegates of the workers since they are neither elected nor controlled by them. In the only place where the workers can raise their voice—in the general assemblies of the factories—one discusses only such matters as price calculations, an improvement of professional knowledge, etc. The workers have no right to talk about wages. They are consulted only on the best means to fur-

ther increase total production and individual productivity. The factory paper *Contact*, edited by Stalinists, publishes pictures and names of those who 'win our victories in the battle of production,' i.e., of those who work overtime, on holidays, etc. The paper is full of admiration for the Stakhanovite methods of work competition. Workers who are deemed to be insufficiently productive are exposed and denounced as 'saboteurs' and 'fifth columnists.' The workers are asked to eliminate those who 'hamper the rhythm of work' or who 'simulate sickness, which accounts for a loss of almost four million francs for the enterprise.' This factory, on the other hand, has nurseries, vegetable gardens and dairy farms for its workers, organizes the distribution of toys for the workers' children, etc. This is supposed to make up for wages too low to allow the workers to eat or be dressed properly, and to quiet their revolt against their conditions."

Here, in capsule form, is Russian Stalinism translated into French. Hardly a drop was lost in the translation. Those who don't speed up are "saboteurs"; insufficiently productive workers must be "eliminated." Stakhanovism, the Russian word for speed-up and job-killing, is the new model to be followed. And to complete this faithful reproduction, even toys and babies' nurseries are provided so tourists can sing the praises of "socialism" while the workers are starving and have gags put in their mouths to prevent them from protesting. The same hounding of workers, the same dehumanization of the worker which marks and mars Russian life characterizes the practices of Stalinism wherever they have power and expresses their essential nature.

FOR A REAL DEFEAT OF STALINISM

If the Stalinist for the political defeat of Stalinism in the labor movement cannot be overestimated, caution as to the method employed cannot be repeated too often. Strong-arm organizational measures of expulsion, red-baiting as a substitute for political struggle, constitutional clauses of debarment from office only plant seeds of future dangers as great as those the purpose of which they are supposed to defeat. They open the door for persecution of any progressive and militant minority which can easily and falsely be labeled "communist" by reactionary elements in the union. They play right into the hands of the bosses who, for their own reasons wish to crush the Stalinists in the labor movement and along with the Stalinists the labor movement itself.

The bosses' assault on the Stalinists and the correct progressive struggle will be distinguished precisely in the methods employed. And the method to be followed inside the unions by progressive groups must consist in a constant programmatic exposure of the opportunistic, Russia-orientated policies of the Stalinists, in open and unrelenting debate on the union floor of the different programs offered for struggle, of patient and unceasing education of the rank and file of the dangers of Stalinism and finally of the democratic process of voting the Stalinists out of office in every election. To struggle politically is to accomplish two indispensable tasks at once: the defeat of the Stalinists and their program and by this defeat to educate the rank and file for carrying out the struggle along correct lines.

"Government by Injunction" A Strike-Breaking Tradition

By JULIE FALK

According to capitalists and capitalist-inspired theoreticians, government is above classes. It is, they say, an impartial system which recognizes and administers to the needs of the people in general. Socialists, on the other hand, deny this. They maintain that a government is a class institution which is primarily concerned with maintaining the rule of one class against the encroachments of another; in America, of protecting the capitalist class against the wants and needs of the working class.

In the history of American courts, socialists find an almost perfect test tube illustration of the inherent partiality of government institutions to big business. As long ago as 1828 a perspicacious American senator said that "the power of wealth . . . is harmless without the connivance of judges." In two quick phrases the senator accurately summed up the essential relationship between big business and the judiciary.

The background for court orders restraining workers from fighting for better conditions was provided by the victory of the Northern capitalists in the Civil War, which set the future industrial pattern of American life. On the heels of this triumph there followed a tremendous growth of American industry and a concomitant development of a large and permanent working class. By the 1890's the industrial system finally emerged as the dominant characteristic of economic life in America.

EARLY HISTORY

The American labor movement did not keep pace with this rapid industrial growth. The Knights of Labor, with its vague idealistic program, and a membership which crossed class lines, was passing out of existence by 1890. The American Federation of Labor was in its infancy at this time and had but a few hundred thousand members.

Though the organized labor movement was weak, its possibilities for growth in a rapidly expanding capitalist system were tremendous. The new and powerful capitalist class was conscious of this, consequently, it resorted to crudest tactics in an effort to smash unionism as an existing and potential force.

In the early labor struggles the industrialists found the quickest and most effective anti-union weapon in injunctions and restraining orders issued by state and federal courts. Whenever the capitalists were hard pressed by an aggressive working class, they repeatedly turned to the courts for aid and comfort. The courts, in turn, which had the power to enforce and interpret the laws, have an almost unblemished record of answering the demands of the bosses with restraining orders and injunctions.

If we examine several earlier injunction cases in the two industries which have been most affected by such court orders, railroads and coal, we get a more accurate picture of the connection between the capitalist class and the government.

THE SHERMAN ACT

The history of the labor injunction actually began in 1890 with the passage of the Sherman anti-trust Act. The Sherman act was supposedly aimed at the growing monopolies. It outlawed, as conspiracies, combinations which interfered with interstate commerce. On the surface it appeared to be progressive. Union leaders hailed it as a victory for labor. But the labor movement was soon to learn that the Sherman act far from curbing monopoly was to be repeatedly invoked as a legal basis for anti-labor injunctions.

The wage scale and living conditions of the Pullman Company shopmen in the 1890's were among the lowest in the country. Some workers were paid as little as \$1.50 per day. They lived in company owned houses and the pittance they received for a salary was further thinned down by deductions for rent, gas and water. As if these conditions were not

wretched enough the Pullman Company announced in 1894 a twenty per cent wage cut. The shopmen who were well organized, replied with a strike. Fortunately the shopmen secured the help of the American railway union led by Eugene Debs, whose members refused to haul trains that included cars built by the Pullman Company.

The capitalist statesmen and press unleashed a ferocious campaign against the strikers. But in the face of verbal threats and physical assaults by company police, the railroaders remained solid. Even when the government sent troops into striking areas the workers would not budge. It appeared as if nothing could crack their solidarity.

THE ARREST OF DEBS

But the Pullman Company found a valuable ally in the government and a worthy agent in Richard Olney, U. S. Attorney General and chief counsel of the Erie Railroad. At the instigation of the attorney general a suit was brought against Debs and the striking workers. The charge was interfering with government mails and interstate commerce. The legal basis was the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE IS MENACED— RALLY TO SAVE THE DINING ROOM

Everytime some individual feels that his favored position in society is being jeopardized, either by a new tariff, or three-button suits instead of two-button suits, or a low birth rate—he immediately screams that it is dangerous to the "American way of life" (whatever that is).

So here we print the latest to come to our attention. It is from a signed article in the *Crockery and Glass Journal* by Joseph P. Kasper, president of the Associated Merchandising Corp. In his article, Mr. Kasper tells us that the dining room is slowly passing out of the American home much to the detriment of "our" way of life. Discussing the social aspects of the dining room, Mr. Kasper says, "Long a center of family gatherings, and the room in which children gain much of their poise through association with elders under formal circumstances, the dining room is essential to American family life. When the country returns to normalcy, young married couples will no longer be satisfied with abbreviated living in dehydrated homes."

The article is in a special issue of the magazine which launches a campaign to save the dining room. This magazine has enlisted the interest of merchandisers, designers and stylists to arouse educators, industrialists and welfare agencies to recognize the economic and social factors involved in the passing of the dining room. The magazine wants homes built and built with dining rooms. Its main interest is, of course, to have dining rooms so they can sell more dishes, glassware, tables, linens, etc.

Our main interests for printing this—are three:

1. We want to acquaint our readers with some of the better literature being published today.
2. This is the first time that anything has been threatened with passing from the American scene (we are not speaking of the rural scene) and radicals were not blamed.
3. We want the glass and crockery people to succeed in building dining rooms in homes, or even to be successful in just building dining rooms. Because a few of us are becoming desperate in our house-hunting and wouldn't mind living in a dining room.

Come to think of it, perhaps it's against the American way of life to sleep in a dining room, after all.

OPIUM: A DEVICE OF IMPERIALIST POLICY

By ARTHUR STEIN

Addiction to one of the narcotic drugs—opium, heroin, marijuana, cocaine, among many others—is a striking symbol of human degeneracy. There are many avenues of escape from the problems of the real world—insane fanaticism, for example. Of these, the one with the most complete, most dehumanizing, and most suicidal effect is the addiction to narcotics.

In this sense, opium has become the symbol of capitalist imperialism. For though it was mainly Japan which used opium as an imperialist weapon during this last war, it should never be forgotten that opium has always been part of the paraphernalia of imperialist exploitation. The beastly use to which the Japanese put the drug during the last two decades is merely a magnified continuation of practices learned from the western powers.

The Portuguese were the first to introduce the opium vice to the Far East, but it was the British who were largely responsible for the popularization of the drug. It was they who saw to it that India-produced stocks reached China; it was they who fought the infamous "Opium Wars" with China for the right to pour the poison into that country. And in regard to the role of American capitalists, I wish to quote Dr. Herbert H. Gowen from his history of Asia:

"It should be remembered that American traders had their share in the opium traffic. American vessels had the monopoly of taking Turkish opium to China. In 1839, 1500 of the chests of opium seized by Commissioner Lin were the property of one American firm. When the trade was legalized in 1858 the action had the support of the American plenipotentiary."

A favorite method of keeping an oppressed population fairly content is to provide it with a frequent and cheap means of escape from the world. From the point of view of the imperialists, the spread of opium to achieve this end has the added advantage of slowly undermining all the tissues of the human body, thus weakening the people's power of resistance. Opium is fatally habit-forming; an addict who has become accustomed to the daily consumption

of the drug dies soon after when deprived of his ration. And yet, while he cannot stop his consumption, each additional ounce he smokes further destroys his body and brings nearer his premature death.

FORCED UPON PEOPLE AGAINST THEIR WILL

The Japanese militarists, with their unusual ability to assimilate and improve upon the lessons taught by the Western powers in the art and practice of imperialist plunder, had the conscious aim of spreading the opium vice to the majority of the population under their control. They succeeded, according to an official report published in Vol. 5, No. 1 of "The China Quarterly," in providing between one-fourth and one-third of the population of occupied China with opium and heroin, an opium derivative. In order to assure themselves of an adequate supply of the drug, they forced peasants to cultivate the opium poppy by making land taxes payable in this crop. Thus, it is reported that the poppy acreage in Manchuria doubled in 1934, increased threefold in 1936, and doubled again in 1937.

Since the resistance against the drug was often strong, the Japanese designed methods of converting people into addicts against their own will. Japanese-imported candy in China and Manchuria often contained opium, and innocent children thus became hopeless addicts before they were old enough to know the meaning of that word. Heroin-loaded cigarettes sold for much less than the Chinese type, and patent medicines, sold in Japanese-occupied China, often served as disguises for the "imperial drug."

The sale of narcotics, moreover, was publicly advertised wherever the Japanese army was in control. In 1939 there were 200 heroin factories in Tientsin, each producing between 25 and 100 pounds a day. Nanking, a year later, had 32 wholesale establishments dealing with narcotic drugs, 340 opium smoking dens, and 120 hotels licensed to sell dope. With typical imperialist cynicism, the official Japanese agency responsible for opium distribution was called the "Opium Suppression Bureau." Paragraph 18 of the official Japanese military handbook, issued to all Japanese soldiers, read as follows: "The use of narcotics is unworthy

of a superior race like the Japanese. Only inferior decadent races like the Chinese, Europeans and East Indians are addicted to the use of narcotics. This is why they are destined to become our servants and eventually to disappear."

But it was impossible to control the spread of opium to the occupying troops. Many Japanese workers, conscripted against their will into the military death machine of the bankers and industrialists, often faced the added peril of falling victim to opium addiction.

BRITISH CONTINUE SALE, MANUFACTURE OF DRUG

The defeat of Japan has eased the opium situation in the Far East to some extent. But it should not be supposed that the problem is solved, or ever will be solved as long as imperialism remains. In India and Burma, Britain continues its policy of growing, producing, and selling opium without restriction. To a suggestion by the United States (which, not having formal governmental control over any territories in the Far East, can well afford to appear as the great humanitarian) to the effect that the selling of opium should be limited to purely medical and scientific needs, the British Foreign Office, in a note to the State Department dated August 13, 1945, replied as follows:

"Until medical facilities are available on a greatly increased scale, it would not be practicable, wise, or indeed humane, to require that consumption of opium should be limited to purposes formally certified to be medical and scientific."

Thus, after having deprived the Indian and Burmese peoples of adequate medical facilities, it seems to be the position of the British government that feeding them opium is "humane." The somewhat dubious logic according to which two wrongs make one right has become the logic of His Majesty's Foreign Office.

But what about the United States—what about all those countries where the illicit sale and consumption of opium is rigidly suppressed by the government?

It would be entirely wrong to assume that addicts are made only through force and violence. As in the case of some Japanese soldiers dur-

ing the war, many seek dope in the face of the strictest attempts by governments to curb the practice.

For although in America and Europe it is in the interests of the capitalist class to try to protect the bodies of its wage slaves and future cannon fodder from opium, the life capitalism has to offer to its victims is so full of misery and sordidness that the consumption of illegally acquired narcotic drugs is a popular method of escaping into a world of bliss.

As the hero of Aleister Crowley's "The Diary of a Drug Fiend" put it, after he had returned from combat duty in the First World War:

"What we had to do was to get married as quickly as we could, and lay in a stock of cocaine, and go away and have a perfectly glorious time for ever and ever."

French Government Started the War Against Indo-China

There has been a big hue and cry raised by the French government about the "sneak" attack on the French by the Viet Namese at Hanoi, capital of Viet Nam, on December 19. Every dispatch gives the impression that no hostilities took place before then. Yet the French Trotskyist paper, *Vérité*, in its issues of December 6 and 13, is full of news about assaults of the French forces.

The most brutal of these was the bombing of the civilian population of Haiphong, main port of the country. After the news of the bombardment was broadcast by the Viet Nam radio, the French Colonial Office admitted that it had taken place, but stated that "the barrage directed at the Viet Namese quarters of Haiphong had no punitive character" (!).

As *Vérité* says: "Women, children, aged of Indo-China, they massacre you, but it is not for the purpose of punishing you!"

Two whole columns of *Vérité* are devoted to the testimony transmitted by a foreign correspondent, René Dussart, to the Colonial Office, and hitherto suppressed. The testimony consists of atrocities witnessed by Dussart in Indo-China during the past year, and the list is a long and grisly one.

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.

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Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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 million 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.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

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

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

With the Workers Party

AKRON
Write to Box 221 for information.

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

BUFFALO
HEADQUARTERS: 629 Main St.
Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

CHICAGO
LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.
Telephone—CHESAPEAKE 5798
Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sunday, 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 Party, January 26—"The Third Party Movement and the Washington Conference of Liberals," Jack Ronger, 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.
Youth Class—"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
Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10. Telephone: Plaza 5559.
Public Meeting—Hear Max Shachtman, National Chairman, Workers Party, on "Socialism—The Only Road to Peace and Security," Sunday, Feb. 9, 8 p.m.; Twelve Horsemen's Civic Center, Red Room; Erskine and John St. Admission 35 cents.
Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

LOS ANGELES
Headquarters at 314 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-2230. 10
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.

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

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

BRONX BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.

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

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

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

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

BROOKLYN BOROUGHS HALL: 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 International, 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.
LABOR ACTION FORUM SERIES:
Sunday, January 20: 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
For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 206, Oakland 7, Calif.
Open forums held every other Sunday, starting Sunday, January 19. Forums held at above address (a few doors off Broadway on Tenth). Forums start at 8:00 p.m. Admission free. Refreshments served. For exact schedule of dates and subjects, write above address.

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

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

January NI Discusses Coal Strike; Polish Anti-Semitism

By ELEANOR MASON

The miners' strike of last November has almost faded from the memory of most people, but the angry currents it stirred up will continue to ebb and flow for a good long time. Why did the strike end in failure? This is the vital question discussed in the lead editorial in the January issue of *The New Internationalist*. The article states that the strike revealed the dangerous paradox confronting the American working class: Without political action and a social program around which to rally all strata of society, its extraordinary economic strength will lead to defeat.

Despite declarations of support from every sector of the trade union movement, the miners were forced to retreat. The inability of Lewis and the miners to meet political ac-

tion with political action caused their undoing. Without a political offensive by labor, with its own social program, economic might proved inadequate.

"The coal strike crisis has signaled... that American labor has entered its hour of decision... The issue is shaping up to a major test between the classes. It is inevitable that it assume an ever increasing political form." That political form must be labor's own party.

The January *New Internationalist* also publishes "Anti-Semitism and Polish Labor," by A. Rudzinski. He traces Polish anti-Semitism from its origins in capitalist Poland to the present day. The author concludes that anti-Semitism in Poland today is primarily the product of a definite policy originating in Moscow and carried out by the Warsaw government. The government follows a racist policy to achieve the following ends: (1) to force Jewish immigration to Palestine to act as pressure against England; (2) to compromise the workers and peasants opposition as reactionary and anti-Semitic; (3) to justify the presence of Russian troops in Poland; (4) to win support of Polish reaction for Russia because she frees Poland of the Jews in continuation of Hitler's work.

As proof of this damning indictment the writer offers evidence of the recent shameful pogroms carried out in the light of day in the big cities where there are strong Rus-

sian and Polish garrisons... that could easily check the instigators of pogroms...

With considerable data and scientific analysis, this article of A. Rudzinski provides an excellent analysis of the historic roots of anti-Semitism in Poland.

"The Politics of Psychoanalysis," the issues raised by Robert Stiller's article in the August issue of *The New Internationalist*, are debated further in a series of three letters from James T. Farrell, Henry Newman and Richard Lange with a reply by Stiller. In the spirit of scientific Marxism, *The New Internationalist* thereby opens its pages to a discussion of one of the most important aspects of human development.

The rest of the January issue contains Ernest Erber's reply to Irving Howe's recent review of "The New Course" in an article called "Trotzky's Role in 1920-23" which deals with the method of historical analysis. "Origins of German National Traits" by Shirley Lawrence; part two of F. Forest's article on "The Nature of the Russian Economy"; "Politics of the International Working Class," Book reviews and correspondence complete the issue.

Where You Can Buy Labor Action and New Internationalist

AKRON
Kallas Cigar Store, 1 W. Market St. News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. National News Co., 333 S. Main St. La Salle Confectionery, 620 S. Main St.

BALTIMORE
Fayette and Calvert Streets

CLEVELAND
Wheatman's Store, 719 Prospect Ave.

DETROIT
Carl's Bookstore, 9109 Woodward, near Clairmont.
Cass's Warren Drugstore, opposite Wayne University.
Family Newsstand, downtown, in front of Family Theater.
Highland Park Newsstand, 13501 Woodward, near Davison.

LOUISVILLE
Eilers Bookshop, betw. Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.

NEWARK
91 Barkley Street.
168 Belmont Ave.
Northeast corner, Market and Mulberry.

PHILADELPHIA
Eilers Bookshop, betw. Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.

SEATTLE
102 Washington Street.

UNITED NATIONS DISCUSSED AT PHILLY FORUM

PHILADELPHIA—It was appropriate that the first forum of 1947, which was held January 5 in Labor Action Hall, was a critical analysis of the United Nations.

The discussion was led by Alex Craig, a member of the Philadelphia Local of the Workers Party. Craig pointed out numerous instances of power politics and intrigue in the short history of the UN: the Paris Conference, the partitioning of Germany, the action against Spain, and the A-bomb control.

The speaker made particular note of the UN attitude toward colonial problems—an attitude which invariably worked to the disadvantage and continued suppression of colonial peoples.

In confirmation of Craig's analysis of the UN handling of the colonial problems, the Philadelphia Inquirer on the following day carried this statement by columnist Ivan H. Peterman:

"My sides still ache from laughter repressed as I observed tactics in the United Nations. Every time a colonial problem came up, the delegates rushed to the bar for a fresh Scotch and soda. There weren't enough left in the Assembly hall to man an interior trading post. And they kept up the refrain: 'This is internal business and not for our attention. We cannot infringe—etc., etc.'"

NICOLA

This week marks the first anniversary of the death of the leader of the Italian Trotskyist party, Nicola di Bartolomeo. Nicola was the National Secretary of Partito Operaio Comunista (Workers Communist Party) and a well known veteran in the Italian workers movement.

A valued participant in the international political movement as well as the Italian, Nicola was one of the first in the European Trotskyist groups to realize the importance of unity of the two American Trotskyist parties, the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

We mourn his death and support the Italian comrades in their struggle to build the party he led.

Detroit SWP Wins Fight to Maintain Its Headquarters

DETROIT, Jan. 9—The Detroit City Planning Commission has upheld an appeal by the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party against the decisions of the Department of Buildings which would have forced it to move from its headquarters. With this decision the forces of Jim Crow suffer a setback.

In July, hoodlum elements made an arson attack on the SWP headquarters, which was followed by an arbitrary order by the Department of Buildings that the headquarters be vacated. A local civic association filed a complaint, protesting against the fact that Negroes were admitted into the hall.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Some Points on Nathan Report

Editor:

In the coming renewal of the struggle between workers and capitalists over wages, the Nathan report will undoubtedly play an important role. The CIO will use this report of the capitalist economist Nathan, procured at a stipend, of course, to prove that wages can be increased by the substantial (?) figure of 25 per cent without any accompanying price increases. The NAM will unfold upon the negotiating table, another report, procured likewise at a fee, which will set forth with equal clarity and fervor that wage increases will bring price increases and that a moratorium must be called to allow various natural (?) economic laws to operate for the common good of all!

It is of course worth something that the services of any capitalist economist could be secured to draft a report indicating that labor's claims have a basis in fact. But complete reliance, by labor, for an explanation of the workings of the capitalist system, upon a report made possible because money was paid for it and because capitalists disagree on how best to handle the workers, can only lead eventually to disoriented workers.

For a report of a capitalist economist per se, presented as gospel at one period, sets a precedent for the acceptance of such reports at later periods. And suppose Nathan later submits another report proving (?) that labor has received all that Wall Street can afford? By the same token reports of other bourgeois economists cannot be handily discredited by the labor movement once such reports have been made respectable and acceptable to the working class.

There is little doubt but that Nathan and his associates will be obliged, at a later time, to submit a report setting forth Wall Street's inability to pay. For although Nathan may have never heard of Marx and the falling rate of profit, and would probably discount its validity anyway, it nevertheless is a fact that Nathan is laying down a thesis that is incompatible with the continued operation of the capitalist system.

Since the workers can have no stake in the continued operation of the capitalist system they can readily welcome any such report from the middle-headed New Deal economists, but only because the report supports a demand of the workers which the capitalists are not willing to grant and would find it difficult to go on granting under the capitalist system.

For the value in a commodity that both capitalists and workers divide among themselves as profit and wages respectively, a value measured by the total labor of the working man, is divided on the basis of "the more one gets, the less will the other get, and vice versa." If wages rise, profits will fall, and the ratio of profits to the amount of capital advanced in wages (as well as raw materials, machinery, etc.) determines the rate of profit. The struggle for wages by workers taken together with the basic contradiction of capitalism (that of the market never being greater than capital's need for labor power) makes the falling rate of profit inescapable.

Export of capital that has piled up from the surplus value created by unpaid labor, restriction of trade, the fight against labor, all aimed at increasing profit in the aggregate, represent in part, attempts to circumvent the falling rate of profit.

Commends Printing Of Evans Letter

Editor:

Please accept my thanks for printing Sarah Evan's letter in LABOR ACTION.

To me it was one of the most moving letters I have read in a long time. She gives wonderful expression to the cry of the inarticulate Negro masses who live under the yoke of the Bilbos and Talmadges.

I understand Comrade Sarah was inspired to write this when she joined the Workers Party. We should be glad to have her among us.

Fraternally,
M. HALL.

Asks Why No Unity Between WP-SWP?

Editor:

On page 5 of your December 23 issue is given a program of the Workers Party which I assume are Trotskyist Marxists. On page 4 of the December 21 issue of the Militant is a program of probably the Socialist Workers Party (also Trotskyite Marxist?).

I see no difference in these programs great enough to justify two parties and two papers. Any explanation will be welcome.

N. L. S., Boston.

(The Workers Party for close to two years conducted a campaign designed to achieve unity with the SWP. The Workers Party went out of its way to make concrete proposals for unity, holding that despite the many political differences between the two organizations, there was sufficient political agreement to warrant a united organization. The

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NI Sub Drive Ends, Circulation Jumps

Recording a substantial increase in sales and circulation, as well as a gain of 250 new subscribers, *The New Internationalist* has announced the conclusion of its recent subscription and circulation drive.

The prize of a 12-volume set of Lenin's "Selected Works" offered to that branch of the Workers Party that did the most successful work on behalf of *The New Internationalist* has gone by unanimous agreement of the judges to the Chicago branch which obtained 60 subscriptions, under the guiding hand of Herman Mies, one of the most energetic agents the magazine has. The 12-volume set is now on its way to Chicago, where it will be placed in the library of the Chicago branch.

As leading individual sub-getter, Comrade Sammy "Satchmo" Bach, member of the Detroit branch, was ahead of all others, and therefore has earned himself a volume from our Book Service. Comrade Bach obtained 12 subscriptions to *The New Internationalist*.

The Reading branch, originally assigned a quota of five subscriptions, performed the best quota-outstripping job by getting a total of 14. For this work the Reading branch will likewise receive a copy of Trotsky's "Stalin" from our Book Service. The friends of *The New Internationalist* in Baltimore also exceeded their quota by getting a total of eight subs. Although the total subs obtained was disappointingly short of the quotas set (particularly in the case of New York) the magazine has obtained many new readers. Here is the final record on subscriptions obtained:

CHICAGO	60
New York City	48
Detroit	28
Philadelphia	16
Reading	14
Cleveland	12
Newark	10
Los Angeles	9
Baltimore	8
Buffalo	8
San Francisco	5
Akron	4
Streator, Ill.	3
St. Louis	2
West Virginia	1
Seattle	1
Boston	1
Miscellaneous	20
TOTAL	250

Substantial gains in newsstand and book store circulation, particularly in New York City where a total of 900 *New Internationalists* are placed on stands every month, were also recorded. Next to New York, the San Francisco branch made the best jump forward in this form of circulation. The magazine now circulates over 3,000 copies per issue, and close to 500 are sold each month on the newsstands of New York City alone. During 1947, there is a strong possibility that the magazine will resume publishing 12 issues during the year. This, of course, depends on a continuation of present efforts by its agents.

NEW YORK SUNDAY FORUM DISCUSSES "CAN INTELLECTUALS ESCAPE POLITICS?"

In another of the Labor Action School's popular Sunday Forum Series, Irving Howe of the editorial board of LABOR ACTION spoke on the question, "Can the Intellectual Escape Politics?" The forum, which took place on January 12, was attended by over seventy people.

Sighting the intelligentsia not as a class but as a functional group whose members are pressed into the service of all classes, Comrade Howe said: "The intellectual is rooted in the social milieu and is unable to surmount its boundaries in his general behavior; but still his concern with ideas gives him a certain freedom—reminiscent or anticipatory—unique to his status and therefore gives his group a power and significance beyond his numbers or direct social strength."

After discussing several theories concerning intellectuals, among others, those advanced by Machajski and Koestler, Howe reviewed the history of intellectual development in America. He pointed out that American intellectuals have never been able to set themselves up as an independent non-academic group; they have always been dependent upon either the patronage of universities, and that

accounts for the thinness of their production and their lack of a rich tradition.

The great disillusionment and despair which followed the rise of fascism and Stalinism are not unique to intellectuals, for the intellectuals merely reflect them in more various, vocal and imaginative ways, he said. "What is appalling is the lack of inner-communication and communication between intellectuals and the community as a whole." He analyzed the inward turn of the modern artist and discussed the search of the intellectual for substitutes for politics, which are basically unavailable.

These he characterized into four main groups: the turn to religion, which, he said, is "more the will to faith rather than faith itself"; the quest for absolute morality; the worship of literature as a substitute, rather than a fulfillment, of life; and the substitution of psychology for politics.

He discussed these, at length, together with existentialism and the peculiar variation of this problem presented by Koestler. Howe ended his lecture by talking about the relationship of the intellectual to the revolutionary party.



New and renewal subscriptions dropped to a low this past week—no doubt still due to the effects of the holiday season. However, all things must come to an end, and we call the attention of LABOR ACTION agents to the extremely poor showing on subscriptions over the past few weeks. Let's see what can be done about this situation. Here is the list of subscriptions obtained:

NEW YORK CITY	7
Akron	6
Newark	3
Buffalo	2
Philadelphia	2
Reading	1
West Virginia	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	23

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Starving Workers Seize Warehouses; Strikes, Demonstrations Sweep Italy

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Dec. 24.—Strikes, demonstrations and breaking into warehouses heralded Italian workers' bitterest Christmas since Mussolini fell almost 3 1/2 years ago, with a three-day general strike that paralyzed Naples, a city of 1,500,000, ending on December 20 when the Coalition government rushed relief foods and wheat into the starving city. Naples is about the most war-battered city in all Italy, with hundreds of people living in caves, dugouts and former air raid shelters.

The first of winter's mass struggles for bread had broken out on Dec. 12 at the town of Monza near Milan where a crowd broke into and devastated a pastry shop. Monza authorities warned the Catholic Premier Alcide de Gasperi that worse seizures would take place if grain were not shipped in immediately.

Within five days the general strike of hundreds of thousands of workers in Naples and Naples province in protest against lack of food was on. Even before the strike thousands of workers led by courageous women demonstrated against prices which had risen 30 per cent in one month and had distribution, forcing participation of the Naples Labor Confederation.

Police cordoned off municipal installations and guarded food stores, and barely drove off a huge throng of unemployed who stormed an UNRRA warehouse in new seizure strategies that are developing throughout Italy. Naples workers pointed to the lower price of pasta in Rome at 220-235 lire a kilo compared to 380 in Naples. Women held

aloft small loaves of inedible bread made from coarse grain and demanded food for their children. Despite police guards stores were emptied though the demonstration and general strike unraveled in good order. Premier de Gasperi while demanding an end to the strike promised "equilibrium" and employment on public works "next month," a promise he has been repeating frequently.

THE STRUGGLE SPREADS

In Milan, Italy's chief industrial center, the head of food rationing said: "We are living from day to day. . . . We are at the point where if a truckload of grain is late in arriving, an entire section of the city runs the risk of being without bread." Two days' supply of bread was on hand on Dec. 22 and corn instead of wheat flour is already being distributed. Constant agitation has arisen in the big city for demonstrations, and many stores have been broken into and food carts stripped bare.

Florence-housewives stormed the open-air market and overturned well-fed peasants' food carts, seizing the food. At Salerno, now a battlefield of class war, workers attacked the city hall and 27 food shops, breaking windows and seizing bread. Demonstrations against high living costs were repeated at Bari where the new mayor narrowly escaped attack by enraged demonstrators. Genoa unions in an emergency meeting with storekeepers and city officials tried to freeze prices at the Dec. 12 level until at least Jan. 7, but this is a vain attempt since food prices are controlled by huge grain speculators.

In Syracuse where bread demonstrations were temporarily halted, demonstrators threatened Reggio, Calabria and Sicily called for additional police to control demonstrators protesting a lower ration than the rest of the peninsula receives. Thousands of strikers blocked the Venice-Milan highway at Peschiera as new strikes broke out in the North. Much of Southern Italy is paralyzed by strikes. In cold, mountainous Italy where workers receive no coal for fuel, even schoolchildren walked out of classrooms at Lecco in protest against lack of heat.

The almost powerless Rome coalition government was preparing to cut the meager bread ration from 237 to 200 grams a day and to continue the 50 per cent cut of pasta from 4.4 to 2.2 pounds a month through January. Premier de Gasperi declared in mid-December that Italy needs at least \$1 billion in loans a year for the next four years. He added that the average Italian might expect that by 1950 his personal income would once again reach the level of 1913. He told Neapolitans that like other countries, Italy "is standing in line at Washington, at Ottawa, at London." For perhaps the 10th time he announced "war to the death" against the black market.

Strikes were the answer to the speech. Rome papers called for a "Christmas truce" on rising prices. Prices went right on rising. More demonstrations broke out, covering

most of the big cities as the masses kept moving far to the left of the three mass government parties—SP, CP and Christian Democrats—in search of food and a solution to unemployment and cold.

With only a month of grain reserves and a constantly dropping value of the lire which is expected to be devalued again very soon, Italy is at the lowest point since the col-

lapse of July 23, 1943, despite 1 1/2 years of UNRRA assistance. The Rome government has proved incapable of feeding the population. Its contradictory plans include conferences, for example, in London where for British coal and factory equipment it offers to export food and textiles, while Italian workers are striking in the bitter cold for food, and have only tattered clothing.

Stalin: "Let's Drink to Head of My Gestapo!"

When Stalin was conducting negotiations with Hitler's agents for their infamous pact which gave the green light to the Second World War, on one occasion he proposed to the Nazis a toast to his NKVD (GPU) chief with the words:

"Let's drink to the chief of my Gestapo!"

This sensational disclosure of the relationship of Stalin to the Nazis, as well as other sensational revelations, were made in New York City by Dr. Harold C. Deutsch at the 25th anniversary dinner of the Phi Alpha Theta, national honorary historical society, on December 27, 1946. Dr. Deutsch served as chief of the European-African division of the Office of Strategic Services during the war and drew his information from as yet unpublished official documents and from interrogations of leading members of the Nazi government.

His speech provided a picture of Stalin distraught over the approaching end of his mutual assistance pact with Hitler in 1939-40. On one occasion, the documents on which Dr. Deutsch based his speech reveal, Stalin threw an arm around the shoulders of a German military attaché with a plea for continued friendship.

Dr. Deutsch related how the end of the Russo-German pact had caused a feeling of "strain" in Moscow. He said that Stalin was bidding farewell to a group of Japanese emis-

saries one night when he saw a German military attaché standing nearby. Stalin, he said, walked over to the Nazi, placed his arm and his shoulder and remarked:

"We want to be friends, don't we?"

Dr. Deutsch continued his fascinating account of the inner relationships of the Stalin-Hitler relationship by telling of Joachim von Ribbentrop's communication to Count Ciano, Mussolini's stooge, that negotiations had gone so well and the Russians had been so pleasant that he felt as though he were "among old Nazi Party members."

With these disclosures, the long-hidden truth of the nature of the Hitler-Stalin pact is beginning to become public property. When one remembers the secret clauses of the Hitler-Stalin pact (printed in LABOR ACTION several weeks ago) in which they planned a division of Eastern Europe after the war, and takes into account Dr. Deutsch's revelations, it becomes clear that Stalin had no intention of breaking his alliance with Hitler, that the theory that he consummated the pact for a mere "breathing spell" is untenable. Hitler broke the pact; not Stalin. The Russian bureaucracy was prepared for an indefinite entente with Hitler and was doing everything in its power to perpetuate it. Those are the facts, and no retrospective Stalinist rationalizations can deny them.

WORKERS FROM NEARBY BRONX SHOPS JOIN MASS PICKET LINE AT DE MORNAY BUDD

A mass picket line of almost 220 workers encircled the De Mornay Budd plant in the Bronx, N. Y., Saturday noon, January 11, as workers from nearby shops joined their brothers from De Mornay Budd in a demonstration of sympathy and support called by the AFL International Association of Machinists, De Mornay Budd Local.

The AFL leadership of this local has, according to its pickets, declared that this action of the De Mornay Budd workers is a lockout forced upon the employees by the discharge of six girls who happened to punch out a little early on New Year's Eve and were fired by the company in an attempt to provoke and weaken the union. The company also threatened to lay off twenty-five other workers for similar reasons. The layoffs brought to a head the problems of the further unionization of the De Mornay Budd plant and the union's demands for increased wages.

Until now De Mornay Budd has gone along with only partial recognition of the union by the management. De Mornay, who is boss of this large machine shop, a man whose wealth was recently multiplied by enormous war profits, has repeatedly and arrogantly asserted: "I'll run my shop as I please and without any outside interference." His action in discharging union members was in order to show his contempt for the union, break its prestige in the plant and forestall the granting of any wage increase. The ironic thing is that after growing fat on juicy war contracts, De Mornay starts newly employed war veterans with years of experience and much skill at the miserly wage of 85 cents an hour.

By provoking the union as he did, De Mornay has made things worse for himself. The union membership has voted unanimously to stand by the discharged workers. Many newcomers to the plant signed union mem-

bership cards at the first full meeting of the local. The union is now in a position to sign up 99 per cent of the plant. And, the locked-out De Mornay Budd workers are solid behind their union local in its demands for wage increases, real union recognition and the reinstatement of the discharged workers.

Solidarity demonstrations by other labor organizations have been excellent. Truck drivers wearing the AFL Teamsters' buttons have been turning away from the gates as soon as they see the picket lines. Practically no truck deliveries have been made at De Mornay since the beginning of the picketing. Even the Wells-Fargo armored pay car refused to cross the picket line to bring money into the plant. The bosses had to come out into the cold January air in order to remove the money bags themselves from the armored truck.

The Bronx Branch of the Workers Party turned out to support the picket line and to distribute free copies of the January 13 issue of LABOR ACTION, which reported the strike.

All of these things have had a wonderful effect on the morale of the workers in the plant. An attempt is now being made to organize the office workers and bring them out in support of the picket line. But even if the office workers should stay at their tattle-tale grey white-collar jobs, the production lines in De Mornay Budd are not moving and the plant is as cold as a dead mackerel.

Rosenfeld: New Trends in U. S. Literature

Isaac Rosenfeld, whose book, "Passage from Home," has recently been published, will speak to the Labor Action Forum on Sunday, January 26. Mr. Rosenfeld's lecture on "New Trends in Contemporary American Literature" will evaluate American writing and make comparisons with European works.

The speaker will take up the question of the separation of the artist in the United States from any real artistic function and the consequent disappearance of the artist from American writing.

The very different cultural developments of the American and European artists raises the interesting question of the European artists' evaluation of American art. Connected with this is the question of why certain French writers tend to over-evaluate certain American writers who are considered second-rate in their own country.

Book Service Lists Marxist Classics

To provide the Marxist classics at the lowest possible prices for the readers of our paper has been the consistent aim of LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE. "Wherever a classic has appeared in more than one edition," announced Henry Judd, the director of the service, "we have consistently chosen the edition which provides the most authoritative text at the lowest price."

The Book Service, it was further announced, has just prepared an entirely new list of all the available works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and all the others of our movement. This list, which also includes the publications of the Workers Party, may be obtained by addressing a penny post card to Labor Action Book Service, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Chicago WP Announces Its Campaign Platform

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.

The problems today confronting the people of Chicago are very similar to those facing the people throughout the United States. The Workers Party is a socialist organization, committed to a program of world socialism. Our platform for the 1947 Chicago city elections treats our common problems in a socialist manner.

Here is the Workers Party platform as advocated by Albert Goldman. Study it; discuss it with your friends. Sign our campaign petitions. Contribute financially to the campaign!

1. HOUSING:

For the homeless: Requisition the city's commercial hotels and convert them to homes for the homeless, at low rentals, for the duration of the housing crisis. Requisition all homes and apartments that are vacant for more than 60 days, and make them available at low rentals to those in need of housing.

For a city ordinance barring any rent increases. For the organization of tenants' committees.

For new housing: Divert all housing materials to the construction of low-cost homes and apartments. Allocate immediately \$200 million from the state's surplus funds for construction of low-cost housing. Place a rental ceiling on new housing not to exceed \$7.50 a room a month.

2. TRANSIT:

Chicago has the worst transit system among the world's large cities. For municipal ownership of the transit system under trade union control, in order to give better service. For the immediate purchase of more buses and of steel elevated cars and new street cars. For a cut in all utility rates.

3. SCHOOLS:

For an elective school board, free public nursery schools, free hot lunches in all schools. Abolish the disgraceful "shift" system. Build new schools. An immediate 30 per cent increase in all teachers' salaries. Equal pay for equal work to both sexes. No "political" disciplining and demotion of teachers. Against the system of spying on teachers. Federal government subsidies to all needy students. Against racial quotas. Construct a four-year city college with free tuition to all.

4. TAXES:

Taxation on the basis of ability to pay. Force the rich to bear the main burden of government. Abolish the sales tax. No taxation on individual homes valued at less than \$10,000. End the policy whereby the wealthy real estate operators let their taxes go unpaid for years and then make a deal with the capitalist politicians to settle for a few cents on the dollar.

5. NEGROES AND OTHER MINORITIES:

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes, Mexicans, Japanese and all other minorities. For strict enforcement of the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885, as amended, which forbids discrimination in public places, with violators subject to damages of \$500 to be paid the victims, plus a \$500 fine and imprisonment. End restrictive covenants. For a local Fair Employment Practices Act to forbid discrimination by employers against workers because of their race, color, religion, or political beliefs.

6. TRADE UNIONS:

All workers into the unions. Make Chicago a 100 per cent union town. For democratic labor unions. For unity of the AFL, CIO, railroad brotherhoods, and all bonafide independent unions. For the unlimited right to organize, strike and picket. During strikes, deputize the strikers to keep order.

7. CIVIL RIGHTS:

For freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly. For the free use of public buildings by workers' organizations. Down with the use of police, courts, injunctions and strike-breaking against labor. Abolish the strike-breaking Barnes' industrial police squad.

8. MEDICAL SERVICES:

For adequate free medical and dental care to all unable to pay. For expanded health services in the public schools. Free hospital and medical insurance to all employees and their families, at the expense of the employers.

9. CITY PLANNING:

During the next generation an estimated 500,000 new homes will have to be built in Chicago. Such a vast building program makes it possible to change the face of the city, to realize Chicago's old motto, "Urbs in horta"—the city set in a garden. For slum clearance according to an over-all, long-range, program. All new buildings to be built according to a Chicago plan, such as that advanced by L. Hilberseimer, of the Illinois School of Technology. The costly but planless efforts of the city's politicians, which overlook the basic structural faults of our present Chicago, must cease. For segregation of heavy industry, light industry, commercial areas and residential districts. Strict enforcement of smoke abatement ordinances.

10. LABOR PARTY:

Break the political monopoly of the rich. No support to candidates of the two capitalist parties. Against company unionism in politics. Turn the PAC into a Labor Party. Organize a Chicago Labor Party as part of a national Labor Party, based upon and controlled by the unions. Abolish laws that deny minority parties their political rights. For a workers government. For a Socialist Chicago, in a Socialist United States, in a Socialist World, free from capitalism and Stalinism.

Fire Ravages Farrell Home

James T. Farrell, author of *Studs Lonigan*, has been burned out of his New York home, but fortunately was brought down a ladder by the fire department after having been trapped by smoke and flame. Mr. Farrell's workroom was so damaged that well over a thousand pages of unpublished manuscript material were definitely lost. Included in this material were the original, unpublished end of *Studs Lonigan*, which Mr. Farrell planned to revise and publish as a gift for booksellers, etc.; over sixty stories in the process of completion and the work of sixteen years; completed articles on the changing character of Irish culture, which Mr. Farrell planned to publish this year; numerous essays on the sociological, political and esthetic interpretations of literature; two unpublished novelettes and an unpublished novel. In addition, invaluable notebooks and Mr. Farrell's Paris and Irish diaries were destroyed.

Luckily, among some of the material salvaged were letters from Theodore Dreiser relating to his work.

Newark First Branch To Meet Fund Quota

By NATHAN GOULD

"This check puts Newark over the top! Can you get it into this week's LABOR ACTION?" This note and a \$45.00 check were received by us just before going to press. Once again the Newark branch sets the pace.

From correspondence received in the past few days, we are certain that before the end of this week other units will fulfill their quota. We urge that all funds be sent in to us as soon as they are collected. Remember, only remittances received by us one week prior to the deadline on each issue of LABOR ACTION can be reflected in our reports.

Let's fill all quotas before the February 1st deadline! And go over the top by February 1st.

Branch	Quota	Contribution - Percentage
Newark	\$200.00	\$200.00 100
Streator	5.00	4.00 80
New York	2100.00	1511.00 72
Akron	150.00	101.00 67
San Francisco	300.00	169.25 56
Detroit	300.00	142.00 47
Boston	35.00	15.00 42
Chicago	500.00	181.00 36
Philadelphia	250.00	72.10 29
Los Angeles Area	200.00	42.00 21
Cleveland	150.00	30.00 20
Reading	72.00	2.00 2
Baltimore	25.00	.00 0
Buffalo	300.00	.00 0
Hibbing	5.00	.00 0
Louisville	65.00	.00 0
St. Louis	40.00	.00 0
Seattle	200.00	.00 0
Youngstown	35.00	.00 0
Miscellaneous	65.00	156.00 240
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I am enclosing \$..... as my contribution to the LABOR ACTION Fund to help continue and sustain the Eight-Page paper.

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Budget Skimps Housing - -

(Continued from page 1)

Thus the budget for this peacetime year asks and will provide, if Truman and Congress have their way, for larger war expenditures than during the peak year of World War I.

This does not mean that war is in prospect for this year. We do not believe that. Neither the United States nor the other imperialist powers are prepared for war so soon after the last one. But that, in our opinion, sharpens the significance of the huge Army and Navy expenditures. It means that though war may not come this year, or the next, or the year following, it is part and parcel of the capitalist system—and the spokesmen of capitalism in government know it.

They are preparing today for the war that will eventually come if imperialism is not, in the meantime, defeated by the working class of the world. Next year's budget will again include huge war expenditures; and so it will go until World War III sweeps over us with its atomic destruction.

\$11.3 billion would not solve the housing crisis on a permanent basis in the United States. It would, however, go a long way toward that solution and toward the immediate construction of 25 million permanent

low-cost housing units which the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION hold are a minimum necessity in the United States today.

Labor already has on its hands the necessity of a campaign against the mild "curbs" on the union movement proposed in Truman's State of the Union address, and the wilder extremes of anti-labor legislation that are to come before Congress. Defense of the labor movement has, however, broader ramifications than a simple concern with specific labor legislation. It is the proper and necessary business of the labor movement to concern itself with all the problems that the people face—with prices, for example, and with war expenditures.

WE PROPOSE: Labor can pit its desire for peace against the evil of war inherent in capitalism by opposing conscription, and the appropriations for conscription, and so on down the line. Otherwise, the \$58,000,000 legitimately listed in this budget for cemeteries will find itself many times multiplied in time.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party propose that ALL expenditures, except for veterans' services, be eliminated from the budget. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party propose that all war expenditures be

channeled into housing, education and public health.

We further propose that the budget be multiplied for these purposes, as it was multiplied during the war. We propose the elimination of all taxes on all incomes under \$5,000, and an increase in tax rates on the wealthy; that is, to soak the rich by taxing all war-gained profits 100 per cent above 5 per cent on invested capital, and by placing a \$25,000 ceiling on all incomes—all of it to be used for necessary services for the people.

The Name's Gottwald And Not Goering!

PRAGUE — There is some widespread eyebrow-raising here over the acquisitive talents of Klement Gottwald, the Communist Premier of Czechoslovakia. The classic conception of the Communist is that of a person singularly disinterested in the world's goods, but Dr. Gottwald seems the exception.

He has just purchased a magnificent villa near Prague for a quarter million crowns, which is a vast sum here. He is acquiring an art collection of highly valuable dimensions. The other day an American was assigned a de luxe apartment that had been requisitioned from a suspected collaborator. He asked the government official who was showing him through the premises whether he could retain several impressive canvases on the walls.

"By no means!" the official retorted. "Premier Gottwald will require these paintings for his own collection." From the *New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1947. (Note: Gottwald, called in this article a Communist, is the leader of Czech Stalinism. 'Nuff said!)

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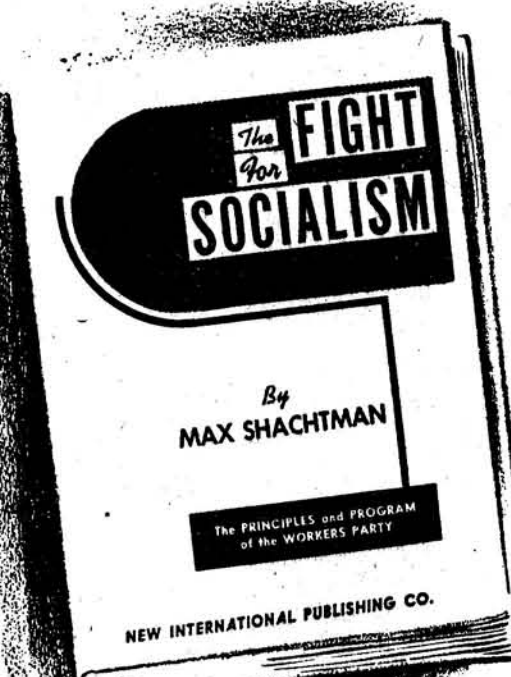
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