

Shachtman Tour For WP Starts On January 30!

The National Office of the Workers Party announced this week that Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, will conduct a coast-to-coast speaking tour. He will give the position of the Workers Party on the political problems facing the American workers and the trade union movement, as well as analyze the current international situation.



In addition, he will be available for speaking engagements before other groups during the time that he is in each city. The tour is intended to be the most thorough taken by a party representative in some time and Comrade Shachtman will be available for informal discussions with party members and friends in addition to his speaking engagements.

Among the subjects which Shachtman will speak on are: The Crisis in the Labor Movement; Can Labor Control Rents and Prices?; Socialism; The Road to Peace and Security; and Is a Third World War Inevitable?

Announcements of the places at which Shachtman will speak in each city will appear in LABOR ACTION as soon as they are sent in by the local branches. Readers are urged to watch these columns as well as to maintain contact with local party headquarters. Shachtman's itinerary follows:

Buffalo	January 30, 31, February 1
Cleveland	February 2, 3
Youngstown	February 5
Akron	February 6, 7
Detroit	February 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Chicago	February 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19
Streator	February 18
Hibbing	February 20, 21
Minneapolis	February 22, 23
Seattle	February 27, 28, March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
San Francisco	March 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Los Angeles	March 12, 13, 14, 15, 16
Denver	April 2, 3
Omaha	April 4, 5
St. Louis	April 6, 7
Louisville	April 9, 10
West Virginia	April 12, 13
Baltimore	April 14, 15
Philadelphia	April 16
Reading	April 17
Newark	April 18
New York	April 19
Boston	April 23, 24

Save the Starving European Socialists!

LABOR ACTION'S efforts to bring help and assistance to labor and socialist friends in Europe is continuing and meeting with early successes. Over past months, many hundreds of CARE food packages, individual food and medical packages and clothing have been going systematically to destitute families in France, Germany, Austria, Belgium and Holland. With the receipt of many new addresses of German anti-Nazi, working class families, it has become necessary to increase our efforts, and therefore LABOR ACTION has launched this campaign for assistance from its readers.

Winter is now on in full blast in Europe—a winter in which a severe cold and a series of storms have greatly added to the miseries already prevalent from the war. Transportation is in bad shape; most homes are cold and unheated. All the more important, then, has become the need for food and clothing—food to provide some bodily strength and warmth to resist the cold; clothing to enable these family members to work and continue their efforts for existence and a chance to participate in the life of their countries. We urge all readers to do their best in response to this appeal, and to clip out and fill in the form below, returning it to us. We will provide you with family names, or take care of sending packages to these families.

LABOR ACTION EUROPEAN RELIEF SERVICE

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.

LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 27, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



FIVE CENTS

Rent Ceilings Menaced By New 'Control' Plan

Pennies, Splinters Won't Build Houses

By SUSAN GREEN

Plenty of dishonest verbiage is being expended by the capitalist government on the need of housing for the people. Hard cash, however, of which hundreds of billions were spent for imperialist war and of which there is still plenty for everything but basic human needs—hard cash is not allocated to build houses. The federal government, as well as the state and municipal governments, are all giving lip-service to the problem—and nothing else.

Take a look at President Truman's proposed 1947 budget.

In high-sounding phrases he pledged governmental financial support to push home construction "to a high level of activity." He proposed laws to rebuild "blighted areas of our cities." Presidents always say such things. But how much cash does Mr. Truman's budget provide?

Out of a budgetary total of over \$37.5 billion, Mr. Truman allocates the unbelievably picaune sum of \$544,000,000 for "housing and community facilities." A sum which hardly amounted to a day's expenditures in World War II is shamelessly proposed as a stop-gap to one of the most crying peacetime problems. Nor is this sum to be used for building houses, small as it is. A large part of it will go for the purchase by the government of guaranteed home loans to veterans. Why? So that private industry, which is charging veterans, many times more for homes than they are worth, shall not run the risk of making bad loans to veterans who may not be able to stand the gouging they are submitted to.

But Mr. Truman is not a complete dope. He recognizes that "Our social security program and our education and housing programs can hardly be considered adequate. Improvements in these fields are seriously needed. Although this budget does not contemplate major extensions in the next fiscal year, I recommend that the Congress lay the legislative ground now for the needed improvements, including general health insurance and a long-range housing program."

The dear, good President! And what are the homeless people to do

while the "legislative groundwork" is being laid? Sleep on the ground, perhaps? Or did the veterans on the West Coast get the idea when they asked cynically for "a tree by '53"?

Be it noted that the President does not see the need for "legislative groundwork" when it comes to military expenditures. In no uncertain terms and impatient of any delay, he calls for a peacetime military budget of \$14,726,000,000, which is nearly 40 per cent of the total peacetime budget.

IN NEW YORK STATE

The above indictment of the President is, of course, not meant as applying to the Democrats alone. The Republicans, now dominating Congress, are likely to provide even less than the President for a housing program, because they are more opposed to "government interference" in sacred private enterprise. But a better example of what the Republicans pretend to be doing to house the homeless millions is Governor Thomas E. Dewey's munificent \$25,000,000 appropriation for housing for the whole Empire State. Here we also see that the housing programs of the state governments are as great a share as that of the federal government.

Like the Democratic President of the United States, the Republican Governor of New York State was unsparing of words. In his message to the State Legislature, Dewey said that housing "merits the most intense thought and effort of us all." Oh, yes, and "combined with

study" and more "effort." Neither is Dewey a complete dope. He sees that "a stop-gap program" is "no substitute for the building of permanent houses. Moreover, all manpower and material used in temporary housing are diverted from permanent housing." Well said, well said. But—

Not one dollar was recommended by Dewey for any permanent housing for the Empire State. The only concrete recommendation he made was for that \$25,000,000, passed by the Legislature and approved by him, for exactly that temporary housing which he spoke against. For the \$25,000,000 is to be spent in converting military camps and abandoned schoolhouses for veteran housing.

Viet Nameese Join Protest Before French Consulate

JANUARY 22—A picket line around the French Consulate in New York City to protest the imperialist aggression of the French government against the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula will be conducted jointly by the New York local of the Workers Party and a group of Viet Nameese residing in New York. It was announced today. The picketing will take place in front of the Consulate, 610 Fifth Avenue, near 48th Street, on Saturday, January 25, between 12 and 1 p.m.

The committee in charge of planning the demonstration emphasized its eagerness to receive the active support of all groups and individuals interested in protesting the armed warfare of an imperialist power against a peaceful population, a population which desires nothing but the right to determine its own destiny.

The following is the text of the declaration to be handed to the French Consul on Saturday:

To the Consulate of the French Republic, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

We, Viet Nameese residents of New York City and members and friends of the Workers Party, wish to express our strongest protests against the imperialist aggression of your government against the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

The history of French imperialism in Indo-China is a history of brutal

exploitation, police terror, physical violence and barbaric tortures perpetrated against the Viet Nameese soldiers of freedom; these methods are identical with those used by Hitler imperialism. The diplomatic maneuvers of your government, moreover, culminating with the deceitful and unkept promises for a referendum in Cochinchina, constitute a betrayal not only of the cause of international democracy in general, but constitute also a betrayal of the desires of the workers and poor people of France, whose interests your government consistently subverts. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all French troops from Indo-Chinese territory!

We wish to express concern, further, over the reported use of American supplies in your government's imperialist venture in Indo-China. In the agreement which turned over American arms to France, a stipulation was made that these arms would not be used for purposes of colonial warfare. As American workers, we wish to know whether this stipulation has been removed.

Finally, we wish to protest the actions of your government in prohibiting the Paris demonstration for Viet Nameese freedom, sponsored by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste.

WORKERS PARTY
Local New York
A GROUP OF VIET NAMEESE

The abysmal inadequacy of this so-called housing program of the State of New York is proved by this. Last year the state building program was \$35,000,000 for the same kind of temporary housing. This put roofs over the heads of about 3500 veterans in the whole state, while in the City of New York alone there were 85,000 veteran applications for such housing. Well, the veterans can still look forward to that tree in '53.

This contempt for human needs shows up even more strikingly against the background of the \$467,000,000 post-war reconstruction fund that lies in the treasury of the State of New York. Reconstructing the homes of veterans and civilians after the harrowing war must not interfere with the circumspect spending of this huge fund so as to bring the best political gains to the Republican politicians. It is rumored that paying out \$600,000,000 for up-state highways in the next few years may mean more to Dewey in 1948 than providing housing in the overcrowded city—which is Democratic, anyway.

That brings us around to New York City, where it is reported a quarter of a million families are actually looking for a place to lay down their heads and call their home. The Housing Authority of New York City, by whose grace some 16,780 families live in projects, is going to "solve"

(Continued on page 2)

Goldman Flays Chicago Record; Presents WP School Program

CHICAGO, Jan. 13—Last week Albert Goldman, candidate of the Workers Party for mayor of Chicago in the April 1 election, took the floor in the open hearing on the 1947 budget before the Chicago Board of Education and outlined the demands of the Workers Party on schools.

He cites the fact that the Chicago school system under the leadership of Mayor Kelly's stooge, McCahey, had fallen to such a level that the system has been threatened by college associations with being discredited, thus barring high school graduates from attendance at most of the nation's colleges and universities. Goldman attacked the dictatorial régime of the School Board and the miserliness of its budget in failing to improve the conditions for both students and teachers.

He disagreed with the whole social outlook of the school system, stating that "it reflects the dog-eat-dog philosophy of the capitalist system." The teachers are badly underpaid and need at least a 30 per cent raise in pay; the students in a vast number of cases are compelled to attend classes in broken-down or condemned buildings; the classes are run on a "shift" basis due to overcrowding, particularly in the working class and Negro neighborhoods. Goldman demanded greatly increased appropriations for the construction of new schools and the taking over of the property of the wealthy in order to obtain decent conditions in which the youth may learn.

CHICAGO BOARD FAVORS RICH

The pinch-penny attitude of the School Board and its refusal to take all necessary steps to see to it that it discharges its obligations to students and employees, Goldman stated, indicated clearly how the Board consistently placed the interests of the wealthy taxable property holders above human needs and interests.

The School Board hearing was attended by 150 representatives of various parent, teacher, labor and civic organizations, each with his own demands to make on the Board. Perhaps no other single issue has so stirred wide mass opposition to the Kelly régime as has its handling of the school situation. Kelly has faced

Speaking before the United States Conference of Mayors, Senator Taft, Republican leader and Presidential aspirant, stated his belief that rent controls should be continued for another year. But the very manner in which he discussed the problem calls attention to the urgent need of organizing national tenant action to keep the lid on rents. For Senator Taft made equal reference to relieving the landlords, the landlords!, of undue strain, and concluded his remarks with: "I am only guessing, but I think rent control should be extended in some form."

And there is the give-away. "In some form!" Truman has used much the same words. And it may prove to be the formula by which the real estate lobby is granted a substantial boost in rents. The clear meaning of Taft's formula is to boost rents while retaining the fiction of rent control. As already indicated in many LABOR ACTION articles, this will be altogether satisfactory to the real estate interests which are spending enormous sums to pressure Congress into raising the rent ceiling 15 per cent.

Thus, while it has been hailed in the press as a Republican declaration for rent control of major importance, it is a clear warning that labor, and consumers more generally, must act immediately to defend this last remaining, and shaky, price control.

Shedding buckets of tears over "hardship dances" among landlords, the Tafts, Deweys and Trumans will dance to the tune of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, all the while proclaiming their independence of this gang of thieves. Rent ceilings have already been cracking at an appalling rate. It was recently disclosed, and reported in LABOR ACTION, that since 1942 OPA has been granting landlords "relief" at the rate of 30,000 a month. In other words, it has relieved tenants of money that is less and less able to stretch over rising prices. The dodges used by landlords to raise rents "legally" are many and varied.

The situation calls for a mobilization of tenant action that, if it cannot equal the financial pressure of the real estate lobby, will more than equal it in the weight of numbers and determination. To protect rent ceilings, not "in any form," but IN EVERY FORM, organized tenant committees, strengthened by active trade union participation, are a first requirement.

a running fight over many years because of his political stranglehold over the disciplining of teachers, the low salaries paid to teachers.

In the 1947 mayoralty election, Goldman stands on the following platform advocated by the Workers Party in respect to the city's school: "For

subsidies to all needy students. Against racial quotas. Construct a four-year city college with free tuition to all."

Campaign Rally In Chicago Set For February 16

CHICAGO—On Sunday, February 16, at the Sky Room of the Majestic Hotel, 29 West Quincy Street, at 7:30 p.m., the Workers Party of Chicago will hold a mass meeting and rally as one of the highlights in its campaign for Albert Goldman, socialist candidate for mayor.

Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, will come from New York to speak at this rally. Extensive plans have been made by the campaign committee to insure a highly successful meeting. Thousands of leaflets will be mailed and distributed. Trade unions will be contacted.

All friends of the Workers Party and readers of LABOR ACTION will be sent a special letter inviting them to attend. We urge all readers of LABOR ACTION to mark February 16 on their calendar to make sure that no other engagements will interfere with their attendance at this rally. Any reader who wants a block of tickets can obtain them by writing to Chicago Campaign Headquarters, 1501 West Madison Street.

American Arms Used Against Indo-Chinese

JANUARY 20—Amid repeated reports of the use of American supplies by the French in their war against the people of Indo-China, a new offensive against the Viet Nameese city of Hue in the province of Annam was announced by the Paris government.

Simultaneously we have received word that La Lutte, an organ of Fourth Internationalists in the southern Indo-Chinese province of Cochinchina, has been suppressed by the French-controlled puppet government there. Thus, more and more crimes are being added to the already black record of French imperialism in Asia.



ALBERT GOLDMAN

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

THREE TROTSKYISTS ELECTED IN CEYLON

Three members of the Lanka Samasamajist Party (Ceylon unit of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India) have been elected by large majorities to the Municipal Council of Colombo (capital city of the island). The names of the comrades are Doric de Souza, Indrapala and Aboubacker.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Teamsters Win Wage Boost

By TOD WILKINSON (Special to Labor Action)

CHICAGO—Remember that hard-fought truck strike in Chicago in June, 1945, which lasted eleven days and was called off only after the federal government came to the aid of the bosses by piling more than 14,000 federal troops into the city to take over the trucks? Well, the drivers have been waiting 18 months to get even for that deal, and they have succeeded. On January 4 a new agreement was signed by the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union, Local 705, and the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters Union, Local 705, covering 14,000 union drivers, boosting the local wage scale sharply upward to an hourly minimum of \$1.30 and a maximum of \$1.81.

The new contract, retroactive to January 1, 1947, provides a guaranteed 40-hour week; and time and a half for work before 8 a.m. or after 5 p.m., over 40 hours a week, and on Saturdays; double time for Sunday work; if called to work on Saturdays, a guarantee of four hours; and improved vacation and holiday benefits.

Chicago truck operators estimate that the agreement will give Chicago drivers a weekly wage increase of approximately 56 per cent. "They received a better contract than did the New York drivers in the recent New York strike," said Walter McCarron, general manager of the Illinois Motor Truck Operators Association.

NEW YORK STRIKE HELPED

The October strike in New York is what really broke the back of the employers' opposition in Chicago. That strike paved the way for a new over-the-road agreement in the Chicago area, signed in November, providing for a 15-cent hourly increase.

The bosses' committee which negotiated the Chicago city drivers' contract was divided into two groups, those employers performing local cartage only and those performing over-the-road work. The over-the-road operators were particularly opposed to granting the drivers' demand for a 40-hour week.

Negotiations dragged on through December and finally the two unions issued an ultimatum to the bosses that they would strike January 6 if their demands were not met. The bosses submitted a proposal which was voted down unanimously at a union meeting January 3.

The bosses' committee was in a turmoil, with bitter words passing between those who wanted to hold out against the unions and those who were willing to settle. The big question was: Could the operators win a victory? The committee finally had to concede that, based on the defeat in New York, the chances of winning a similar victory in Chicago were mighty slim.

Actually, the bosses are quite well off. Whereas their operating ratio was close to 100 a year ago, since a rate increase granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission last spring, the ratio has fallen below 95. Since the railroads received a 17.6 per cent increase in freight rates January 1, the truckers are preparing to raise their rates by a similar margin. What they really object to is sharing any significant part of the increase with the drivers. However, the hang-tough policy of the two unions has forced the employers to retreat.

LAST WEEK IN MARITIME

AFL Seamen Support CIO Shipyard Workers

JANUARY 20—The Seafarers International Union-AFL at its regular membership meeting this past week voted to a man to give support to the CIO Shipyard Workers Union in its struggle against the Ira S. Bushey Brooklyn shipyard. The Bushey yard has refused to sign a contract with the CIO union after having been ordered to do so by the NLRB. Because of this action the CIO unionists decided to "pull the pin" there. Unless they agree to sign immediately, this action will do the Bushey outfit considerable injury, since it is a repair yard—and the repair business is booming in the port of New York at the present time.

To give evidence that their support was not just talk, the membership of the SIU instructed its union officials to write to all its contracted companies informing them that if they send any of their seamen into the Bushey yard for repairs, the SIU seamen will not stay on the ships.

The action of the AFL seamen is commendable and gives further proof of the possibility of unity in action between the CIO and AFL, especially in maritime.

Other actions taken by the Seafarers were: (1) To back up the London truckers in their fight and send them a telegram of support. The use of troops against these workers was condemned by one of the union brothers and he pointed out how close the government came to using troops against American maritime workers during the past year.

(2) To back up the coming Washington conference of sea unions by voting to support President Harry Lundeberg's participation in this important meeting.

CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

The Washington conference called by Vincent Malone, head of the West Coast Firemen's Unions (independent), has as its initial purpose the creation of a united front of seamen's unions to fight the proposed anti-labor maritime laws which will attempt to strengthen the rule of the Coast Guard over seafaring men.

Malone has already announced that all nine unions invited have indicated they will attend.

It is the hope of most seamen that from this will flow further joint strategy and action, since all these unions are struggling for the same

basic demands—the four-watch system, a wage that keeps pace with the rising cost of living, increased manning scale, etc. To attain these demands, the maritime unions should have a single expiration date for all their contracts.

This proposal has already been put forward by Paul Hall of the SIU-AFL and Joe Curran of the NMU-CIO. The great advantages of this proposal are joint expiration of agreements will strengthen the strike power of maritime labor and not allow it to dissipate its strength in isolated skirmishes. It is a MUST if seamen want to have the four-watch system.

No further development this past week on the fight against the Stalinists in the NMU, except that Curran has left New York to tour the NMU outposts and present his case against the Committee for Maritime Unity and CP control. Most of the ports he will hit have not been having free and full discussion on the issues since the CP organizational apparatus has not "encouraged" it.

Question Bell Telephone Rate Bid--But Who'll Investigate?

By PHILIP ROMANO

NEWARK — Governor Edge has asked the State Legislature to appropriate \$75,000 to investigate the Bell Telephone Company's proposed rate increases. But the workers and consumers, who are in the best position to conduct the investigation, and certainly the ones most interested in investigating the matter thoroughly, are to have no part in it. An examination of company books by committees of workers is the last thing either Governor Edge or the telephone company moguls want. Instead, the Attorney General has been authorized to designate special counsel and technicians for the Public Service Commission, presumably investigators who appreciate the sanctity of profit.

Without cracking a smile, the company is seeking to provide itself with an additional \$10,700,000 of revenue. No police have been called out to prevent this steal; the worst the company is likely to suffer in perpetrating its swindle is the presence of a few investigators. This is, of course, the same company that raised a howl when its workers demanded a wage raise and improved working condi-

tions last year. Then, large squads of police were called in by the company to impress the pickets with a respect for private property and profit. The parent company of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, American Telephone & Telegraph, netted \$192,000,000 in 1946, or \$8.41 a share. That was more than \$20,000,000 better than the company did in 1945. It must also be remembered that the same company is intimately linked with the electric, transport and gas utilities. In the case of the latter, Newark police were called out as strikebreakers a few weeks ago after the state had seized control of the gas works.

The people who employ cops against pickets cannot be relied on to stop an increase in phone rates. It is a job that can be done properly only by committees of workers, acting in conjunction with consumer groups. Telephone workers throughout the state should initiate a demand for just such committees to investigate company books. That way they can link labor's power with genuine public interest in effecting the kind of militant action that can stop the price gougers dead in their tracks.

LABOR SOLIDARITY NETS 15 CENTS AN HOUR INCREASE FOR DE MORNAY BUDD STRIKERS

NEW YORK—The De Mornay Budd strike was settled last week when the AFL International Association of Machinists Local reached an agreement with the company providing for a 15 cent an hour general increase retroactive to November 1. Unfortunately, according to some of the De Mornay Budd workers, they left the union hall with the impression that this increase does not apply to workers hired after November 1 who will get some increase, but a smaller one.

On Thursday, January 16, Lodge 402 of the IAM called a shop meeting at which the Negotiations Committee submitted a report on its discussions with management. The committee proposed, in addition to the wage increase, a better grievance procedure, equal distribution of overtime, and a union shop with limited maintenance of membership.

SIX SUSPENDED

One of the unfortunate things about the proposal made by the Negotiating Committee was that it proposed to go back to work before the six girls whose suspension forced the picket lines, were reinstated with full rights in the plant.

The six girls had been fired for punching out early on New Year's Eve. The firing was obviously an attempt by the company to scare the union members in the shop who had been agitated for weeks about the whole question of the wages and the new union contract. The leadership of Lodge 402 brought back a weak proposal when they urged the workers to accept the agreement without immediate reinstatement of the six girls. The six girls are to remain suspended and the case taken to arbitration pending the final signing of the contract.

The Negotiation Committee recommended acceptance of the proposal and the motion was carried after a lively discussion.

SOLIDARITY WON GAINS

The short period of picketing, and the Saturday demonstrations, were a wonderful exhibition of the militancy and the fighting spirit of the De Mornay Budd workers. Solidarity demonstrations by other unions were excellent. Truck drivers wearing AFL Teamsters buttons turned away from the gates as soon as they saw the picket lines. Practically no truck deliveries were made at De Mornay during the period of the strike. 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 only exception to the union solidarity shown in this strike was the action of the AFL construction workers which continued to work on the addition to the new building while the picket lines were in process. The construction workers crossed the picket lines every day in order to go to work. But the important thing is that the De Mornay Budd production lines were not moving and that the plant was as cold as a dead mackerel.

Branches Push to Meet Fund Quota by Deadline

The \$5,000 fund drive to stabilize the eight-page LABOR ACTION registered a substantial gain this week, as Streater and Newark topped their quotas in the drive, and other Workers Party branches moved close to the 100 per cent mark on their quota fulfillments. New York, which is now only \$340 from its goal of \$2100, is convinced that it will move ahead of other branches before the week is out.

With the drive scheduled to end on February 1, several branches are, however, badly behind. Chicago, which is already engaged in an election campaign, and Los Angeles, which is starting its election campaign, are necessarily devoting their major energies to the campaigns. At that Chicago is near the top of the list, and Los Angeles is getting there.

We have received assurances from the organizers and financial secretaries of those branches that are behind that every effort will go into the fund drive this coming week in a last minute, all-out attempt to meet the quotas.

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Contribution, Percentage. Lists various cities and their financial contributions to the fund drive.

LABOR ACTION FUND Long Island City 1, N. Y. 4 Court Square

I am enclosing \$... as my contribution to the LABOR ACTION Fund to help continue and sustain the Eight-Page paper.

Name Address City Zone State form fields.

Won't Build -

(Continued from page 1) the housing crisis by a unique method of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Mr. Butler, housing genius and head of the Housing Authority, is trying to get OPA's consent to evict from the housing projects all families whose incomes are over \$3,000 a year. When the projects were put up, \$2,355 was set as the maximum income to make a family eligible to live in the houses. When the war came and the cost of living and wages rose, the Housing Authority increased the maximum income for tenants to \$3,000. This was a reasonable thing to do, but now all reason is thrown to the winds.

HOUSING IMPASSE

Mr. Butler says that "in view of increased private residential construction" tenants with more than \$3,000 income should be turned out to hunt for apartments on their own. The fact that the cost of living has gone up over 50 per cent since 1939 and families with more than \$3,000 income may be poorer in actual purchasing power, that fact doesn't impress Mr. Butler. Nor does he consider that "private residential construction" is a mere trickle, nor that the costs of new houses and rentals of new apartments are beyond his \$3,000-a-year tenants. Nor does he consider that a quarter of a million families are already looking for homes stay the evictionist's hand.

At present 11,623 families or about 68 per cent of the 16,780 in the projects are subject to eviction under the new plan. Of course, this will make room for 11,623 families whose incomes are less than \$3,000. It will certainly not increase the number of available apartments nor decrease the number of families looking for them.

A bright development on the rent front in New York City is the demand of the Tenants Protective Association of the apartment houses at 50 Manhattan Avenue for rent reduc-

tions. Yes, rent reductions when the landlords are clamoring for rent raises! Claiming that the thefts and robberies in the houses are due to the absence of a doorman, a service included in their rent, the tenants want a rent cut to enable them to pay for their own guards. OPA has the matter under advisement.

With rent ceilings due to expire June 30 and the real estate lobby in Congress hell-bent to kill them, it is good strategy for tenants to demand rent cuts for the absence of services for which they are paying, such as doormen, regular standard redecorating, regular upkeep of halls and lobbies, adequate heat and other things that are now lacking. The prime essential is organization by the tenants for action, both offensive and defensive.

As to an adequate program for providing houses for the people, the demand of the Workers Party and of LABOR ACTION for a \$250,000,000 expenditure in the next five years is modest and reasonable in the critical situation. But neither the Democrats nor the Republicans, and no capitalist government, will spend that much money on the people who produce all the wealth. It will take an independent Labor Party, fighting for a workers' government, to bring such a realistic housing program within sight.

DETROIT READERS:

Max Shachtman National Chairman, Workers Party Will Speak on Socialism: The Only Road to Peace and Security at 12 Horsemen's Civic Center Red Room, Erskine and John Sunday, Feb. 9—8 P. M. Admission 35 Cents

SPECIAL NEW YORK LECTURE!

Revolt in Indo-China

Sunday, February 2, 8:00 P. M.

A Speaker from Viet Nam American Friendship Association Henry Judd, Author of "India in Revolt"

WORKERS PARTY CITY CENTER 114 West 14th Street Admission 50 Cents

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

HOW ARE THE FARMERS DOING?

Farmers' gross national income in the United States in 1946 will total \$23.5 billion, approximately \$2 billion more than the previous peak in 1945. Naturally, it is divided very unevenly. Pre-war farm income was around \$10-\$11 billion. The Agricultural Department is preparing to spend \$1.8 billion to support prices of farm products in the next fiscal year. A rise of 4.3 per cent in retail food prices between October 15 and November 15 boosted the food price index to 187.7 per cent of the 1935-39 average, 35 per cent higher than a year ago.

For years the price of butter and milk in the United States has been set by the price of butter on the New York Mercantile Exchange. And for years, various individuals have utilized that fact to manipulate butter prices on the exchange. Recently the government filed criminal charges against the Dairywomen's League Cooperative Association and its officers, charging such manipulation. League officials admit they bought 668,060 pounds of butter at 84 cents a pound in the week ending December 24, because if butter had been permitted to drop below 84 cents it would have resulted in a loss of 22 cents a 100 pounds in the price of milk produced by members of the league in January. By spending a half million dollars, the league artificially held up the price of butter and milk, which cost the consumers millions and earned for members of the league a few million extra dollars.

Incidentally, the social philosophy of the various farm producers' cooperatives is just about as reactionary as that of the big bankers and industrialists. With a few exceptions, they support the right wing of the Republican Party. Organized labor has registered one of its biggest failures in its relations, or rather, lack of relationships, with the farmers. Big Business is a past master at maintaining contact with and influencing the farmers, strictly to the gain of Big Business. It is good that the AFL has issued a national charter to the old Southern Tenant Farmers League. But what is really needed is a broad social program by organized labor to reorganize the whole economy, one that will offer an alternative to the present miserable system. That means a national labor party, a political approach by labor to the poor and middle class farmers.

NOTES ON BUSINESS

American Big Business is hip-deep in the riches of Venezuela, one of the richest countries in the world. The nation's petroleum reserves are estimated at 5.6 billion barrels; it has mountains of high grade iron ore. Bethlehem Steel is building a "loading bridge" on the Orinoco River to put mined ore into 3,000-ton barges, destined for Baltimore. U. S. Steel's subsidiary, the Oliver Mining Co. (which runs northern Minnesota) has a concession in Venezuela. United Merchants and Manufacturers, Inc., is building a plant to make rayon. General Electric, Caterpillar Tractor and International Harvester are all putting up buildings in Venezuela for warehousing. A group of U. S. bankers have formed an organization known as La Financiera to finance new businesses in that country.

The biggest oil operator in Venezuela is Creole Petroleum, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Other U. S. oil companies building new refineries are Soco Grande Co., a subsidiary of Gulf Oil, and Sinclair. Socoyn Vacuum has a 3,000,000-acre concession. The Texas Co., Royal Dutch Shell, Atlantic Refining Co., Pantepec Oil Co., Caribbean Petroleum Co., and the British firm of Colon Development Co. all have concessions in Venezuela. Like a battery of leeches, the foreign imperialists are draining the wealth of that nation. Recently, Juan Perez Alfonzo, minister of development of the Venezuelan government, timidly suggested that his government should receive 50 per cent of the profits from oil operations instead of the present 16-2/3 per cent. New York spokesmen for the oil trust immediately labeled the suggestion "impractical." The rich and powerful always find it "impractical" to get off the backs of the poor.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

The rubber industry is winding up the biggest and most profitable year in its history. Combined sales for the 1946 fiscal year of the five Akron rubber companies are expected to be close to \$1.6 billion, compared with the best pre-war record of \$650 million. Goodyear's earnings this year are expected to amount to at least \$15 a share of common stock; 1940 earnings were \$3.44. Firestone's earnings in the first half year were \$6.09; Goodrich, first half year, \$8.74; General, first half year, \$5.19, compared with \$2.20 for all of 1945; Seiberling, \$3 this year compared with \$1.33 last year.

The newspaper and magazine publishers have a nice racket with the Post Office in the second class mail rates. In the fiscal year 1944-45 it cost the Post Office \$149 million to handle this second class mail, for which senders paid only \$29 million. The extra \$120 million? That came out of the profits made by the P. O. on first-class rates charged the public. Packard has raised

its prices on cars an average of \$62, while Ford has lowered prices \$25-\$50 a car. Since the end of OPA furniture prices have been raised from 10 to 30 per cent throughout the industry. Rug prices have risen 10 per cent. British exports for November totaled \$368,400,000, an all-time high. This represents about 17 per cent of the 1938 export average, even allowing for increased prices. Machinery and vehicles accounted for 28 per cent of the total.

U. S. capitalism scoured the world for copper to make the cartridges during the war. Now the U. S. is facing an acute shortage of copper scrap. So it is planning to go to Germany and reclaim the copper scrap, in the form of fired cartridge cases, from German soil. There'll be a profit in it, so the work will be done by private importers.

Both newspapers and radios are preparing to raise their advertising rates another notch. Loew's, Inc., one of the largest Hollywood film producers, has purchased a theater in Antwerp, Belgium, and has acquired holdings in other theaters in Geneva and Lausanne, Switzerland. Loew's now obtains about 40 per cent of its gross income from foreign sources and expects to increase this to about 50 per cent through theater purchases and increased distribution of films abroad. The company has new production studios in London.

THE NATIONAL DEBT

The U. S. has for the first time in its history a national debt that exceeds the annual national income and represents a per capita burden eight times greater than after World War I, according to a study recently made public by the Committee on Public Debt Policy. When the U. S. entered World War I the national debt represented about three per cent of the national income. By February, 1946, it was 180 per cent as great as the annual national income. The burden of national debt resting upon each man, woman and child in the U. S. is today \$1,981; after World War I it was \$240; after the Civil War, \$78. The study was prepared by the late Gen. Leonard P. Ayres, who was considered a whale of an economist by Big Business.

A MILESTONE TO DECAY

Few editors noted an important turning-point in the history of American capitalism that occurred December 22, when the Association of Southern Commissioners of Agriculture issued a plea for strong, protective tariffs for American agricultural products. The association denounced the reciprocal trade treaty program of the federal government, and called for an end to the 18 trade treaties negotiated under Roosevelt's administration. For more than a century southern agriculture has traditionally been a defender of "free trade," that is, it has fought to break down trade barriers among the nations. U. S. agricultural commodities have in the past fed a good share of the world. Indeed, American capitalism grew up on the profits garnered in the food sold abroad, food that could be sold at prices with which the rest of the world could not compete.

But now the old system is growing old, is decaying. "Due to the kaleidoscopic changes attending the national economy of the United States in a more modern world," state the southern agriculturalists in their appeal to President Truman and the federal trade commission, "we are with reluctance compelled to burn all bridges and to make prayer to the chief executive that he now retain in behalf of our agricultural products the vestiges of tariff protection which still remain of the act of 1930... and that he keep the markets of these United States open to (us) for the sale of American produced crops of fats, foods, feeds, and fibers, without an overburden of competition from foreign producers of identical crops."

The petition was not confined to crops of the South. It asked for protection for wheat and corn, for livestock, potatoes, fruits and vegetables, and, of course, cotton.

The farmers would turn back the clocks of history and would seek to establish "capitalism in one country" here. "Let us," they urge, "in the cotton South sell our farm products in the American markets and with the proceeds thereof buy the products of our home industries. America then will have the products and the industrial goods. Buy your farm products abroad and 'tis true you will have the products, but they, the foreign, will have the tractors and automobiles while our own agriculture goes back to subsistence level of diet and life."

The American farmers have good reason to feel alarmed at a future which spells nothing but misery and decay for them. During the recent war, a good section of the farming population prospered here as they have never done before. But it is the last flare-up of health they are destined ever to feel, in all likelihood. The skids are greased and waiting. Why this is so I shall take up in a future article.

Congress and Big Business Unite To Block Portal to Portal Pay

By I. L. GOSLIN

January 20—The latest development in the portal-to-portal pay controversy is the introduction of a series of bills in both houses of Congress which would virtually outlaw any further attempts by labor unions to gain for their members the benefits of the over five billion dollars in court suits. Behind this flood of proposed legislation, there is an incident of extraordinary value for an understanding of American society.

The portal to portal struggle goes back a few years. For a long time workers at the Mount Clemens Pottery Company, a not very large firm in Michigan, have complained of the great waste of having to prepare for their work at the plant during time for which they were not paid. They had to tape their fingers, sharpen their tools and put on work clothes. (In other and larger plants where portal to portal suits were initiated, a major complaint was that men had to wait as much as 20 to 30 minutes a day to punch the time clock.) All of this, absolutely essential to their work, the workers did on their own time. They therefore initiated suit in court for back pay to recover wages due them for the time engaged in these necessary operations.

In June, 1946, the Supreme Court ruled that the claim of these 280 workers was legitimate and they received sizable amounts in back pay.

Before going any further, it should be remembered that this was by no means the first such incident. In two previous decisions—the Tennessee Iron and the Jewel Ridge Coal Company cases—the Supreme Court had upheld the principle that workers must be compensated, under the Fair Labor Standards Act, for substantial time necessarily spent for the bosses' benefit. The latter of these two decisions, the Jewel Ridge case, involved the action of the United Mine Workers in inserting portal to portal pay in its 1944 contract as a means of getting around the infamous little-steel formula by which wages of workers were to have been kept down during the war.

We therefore reach the first but highly significant conclusion: all the hysteria in the press, all the talk about closing down factories, etc., is just deliberately whipped-up nonsense, froth without substance. Portal to portal has existed in a number of industries, especially those where the type of work or the size of the place of work was such as to require workers to spend a good deal of extra time in the plant. The attempt to make it seem as if some new and terrible development has taken place is scare-talk; all that is new is that a precedent has been set and a great number of unions are preparing to claim for their workers what rightfully belongs to them.

Now we come to the most interesting part of this situation. That the bosses would scream; that their kept press would view with alarm—this was normal and to be expected. And it was just as expected that Congress would jump to aid big business. But what was a little startling—only a little of course, for their past records were not much more savory—was the reaction of certain AFL leaders. Painfully eager to be considered as "responsible citizens" rather than to fulfill their elementary duty of getting as many benefits as possible for their membership, they discouraged portal to portal suits. William Green circulated a letter to AFL unions urging them not to enter portal to portal suits and John Frey, the crusted reactionary leader of the AFL Metal Trades Department, issued an outright condemnation of the suits. Frey urged his members not to antagonize their employers on the grounds that the trade union movement has "no assets more valuable than its agreements with its employers..."—a statement which is a classic example of the outlook of a trade union bureaucrat devoted with his whole heart to the preservation of the employers' economic system.

Fortunately, the mass of trade unions did not follow the wretched advice of Green and Frey, but went ahead with their suits. And here is where Congress stepped into the picture.

You know that we revolutionary socialists have for a long time been putting forward the idea that in a capitalist society, where the means of production are privately owned and operated for the profit of a few and against the interests of many, the government (what we call the state) serves basically as the agent of the ruling class. This, we say, is true regardless of which capitalist party is in power, be it "liberal" or "conservative." In summary, that is the Marxist theory of the state.

What happened in Congress after the flood of portal to portal suits served as such a telling affirmation of that idea as to be almost startling in its simplicity. For Congress, which often pretends to function in the interests of the general population, rushed to the aid of the corporations. Senator Capehart of Indiana, himself an industrialist, introduced a bill which to all practical purposes outlawed portal to portal pay for now and all time. Representative Knutson of Minnesota thought it would be very clever to tax away whatever workers won in portal court actions. And that famous representative of the people, Representative Hoffman of Michigan, said he would introduce a measure to eliminate pay for "non-productive work."

(This last bill, incidentally, is something that capitalism's representatives should think twice about before suggesting. For if workers are not to be paid for such "non-productive" time as is involved in sharpening tools—which is an essential preparation for productive work—then why not tax away or not pay at all the shareholders and coupon holders who get rich on corporations profits and certainly don't do any productive work?)

So here it was, for all to see: the "representatives of the people" rushing to the aid of their masters: America's capitalist class. And with

what phony arguments! They would have it that portal pay would drive out of business the poor employers who'd have to pay it. (Shed a tear, brother, shed a tear!) But they neglected to mention that most of the suits were against giant corporations like Bethlehem ship and U. S. Steel which would manage to struggle along even if they had to return a small portion of the profits they extracted from their workers during the wartime bonanza. (And if things got really tough for U. S. Steel and Bethlehem and General Motors and Ford, we ourselves would be ready to pass the hat around among folks like the Morgan, du Pont and Rockefeller combines to keep things going.)

The intervention of the congressmen has still another importance for labor. It would prevent organized workers from using the power of collective bargaining to win a greater measure of economic security. It would nullify the gains of the mine workers and other unions, at the same time that it made unlawful the right of workers to such "portal to portal" pay. Thus, in circumstances where legal precedent, set by the Supreme Court, already existed, congressmen are preparing to void it by an arbitrary piece of class legislation.

Well, that's the way things stand now in portal to portal. The suits in many instances are being pressed—and should be pressed. A little wind-fall to the workers who have been suffering from the high prices-low wages squeeze would come in mighty handy right now. But of at least as much interest is the unusually clear picture which the incident provides of the basic nature of American society, of the role of the American government as protective agent for big business. It is something worth remembering for the days ahead.

An Invitation (With Suggested Slogans)

Are You for Democracy In Indo-China, Liston Oak?

January 17, 1948

Mr. Liston Oak
Managing Editor, New Leader
7 East 15th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Oak:

You have by now received, I am sure, a copy of the January 13 issue of LABOR ACTION in which I commented on your use of a picture of your comrade, Leon Blum, leader of the French Social Democracy, under which there was printed, in your column Trends, a caption stating that Blum "reaffirms Indo-Chinese independence." You will recall, too, that I suggested that the use of this caption, in light of the recent behavior of the Blum cabinet, was to commit a falsehood. And, further, that the official silence of the New Leader, as well as the caption under Blum's picture in your column and William Henry Chamberlain's shame-faced defense of French imperialism, cast a certain doubt on the "democratic values" on which you pride yourself and which you so sharply contrasted to "Bolshevik amorality" in your debate with Max Shachtman.

Perhaps I have been wrong. I therefore want to tell you about a project which we of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION are planning. On Saturday, January 25, between 12 and 1 P.M., we are going to run a picket line around the French consulate protesting French oppression of the Indo-Chinese national independence movement. We are going to urge the French to withdraw their troops from Indo-China and grant that country immediate and unconditional independence. Surely you, as a defender of democratic values, must agree with that!

I am therefore proposing that you, as a defender of democratic values, join with us on the picket line protesting the sending of General LeClerc by the Blum cabinet to Indo-China, as well as the statements of Minister Moutet in which he insisted on a "military decision" as a preliminary to negotiations with Viet Nam.

Since you might feel a little uncomfortable marching on a picket line under the banner of "amoral Bolsheviks" who believe that Socialists should not send royalist generals to shoot colonial peoples, I am prepared to persuade the Workers Party to let you march in the picket line under your own banner and with your own slogans. You will not think it impertinent if I suggest a few slogans for your contingent:

"Dear Comrade Blum: Stop shooting Indo-Chinese fighters for national independence."

"Dear Comrade Blum: It is unsocialist to send a known reactionary and imperialist like LeClerc to suppress the Indo-Chinese."

"Dear Comrade Moutet: As a member of the French Social-Democracy, you shouldn't talk and act like Winston Churchill or Charles de Gaulle."

Will we see you around next Saturday?

Yours,
IRVING HOWE.

Fortune Poll Shows Labor Party Sentiment

Evidence that a large section of the trade union movement favors labor's participation in politics is revealed in the results of a poll made by Fortune magazine. This poll appeared in Fortune's November issue, which is devoted almost entirely to a study of labor and its role in the United States.

The poll-takers for Fortune were sent to various sections of the country to question AFL and CIO workers with the following results: 29.9 per cent of the total number of workers queried replied that trade unions should participate in politics and support candidates run by the Republican and Democratic Parties; 22.6 per cent said that trade unions should form their own Labor Party.

Thus, 52 per cent of the workers

polled were for trade union participation in politics. This figure is a sharp indication that the workers are awakening to the need for the labor movement to intervene in the political life of the country. It is also significant that the workers who were for support of the two capitalist parties represented ONLY a seven per cent majority over those who stood for a break with capitalist politics and for the establishment of a Labor Party.

Results of the poll among CIO workers only show that 31.6 per cent want the unions to participate in politics and support the Democratic and Republican Parties, and 28.4 per cent want to form a Labor Party. In other words, a greater percentage of CIO workers were for labor's participation in politics than AFL workers.

In addition, the workers in the CIO who want the unions to participate in politics and to support capitalist candidates have ONLY a three per cent majority over the CIO workers who want a Labor Party. This is an encouraging sign of the times.

The percentage of workers who don't want labor unions to participate in politics or who "don't know" has been cut down in recent years but it is still too high for the good of the working class. An analysis of the Fortune study in a coming issue of LABOR ACTION will show that many of these workers mean they are discouraged and disgusted with the politics the union leaders have been engaged in during the past few years, and are not against labor's participation in politics.

LABOR ACTION

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A Paper in the Interests of Labor

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Jim Crow Georgia Offers A Lesson in "Democracy"

By EMANUEL GARRETT

WITH the approval of a slim majority in the state legislature, Herman Talmadge, darling of Georgia's degenerate hoodlum gangs, has installed himself as governor in the state to succeed his father, Eugene Talmadge, who died before he could take the oath of office. Ex-Governor Arnall for several days insisted he would hold on to his position until the courts decide in favor of M. E. Thompson, elected with the late Eugene Talmadge as Lieutenant Governor. He has, however, stepped down, and M. E. Thompson has taken the oath of office as Acting-Governor.

Both sides are issuing warrants, making appointments. Thompson has instructed the Attorney General to bar Herman from making use of state funds. At this writing it is not known whether the Attorney General, a Thompson man, will do so, or whether it will matter if he does. Herman has behind him an armed band of followers who are making merry in the corridors of the Capitol, and are prepared to do all that is necessary to maintain Herman's power.

Various agencies of the federal government are reflecting on their right to intervene. In the more than a week that has passed, however, no branch of the federal government has made a move. What is the meaning of all this? Whom do these people represent? How did it happen? What should be done about it?

ROTTEN BOROUGHS AND JIM CROW VOTING

1,000,000 votes were cast in Georgia's state primary last July. The million votes do not represent all those who wanted to vote; only those who were permitted to vote. These did not include Negroes! A man called Carmichael polled the largest popular vote, but, under the state unit system, Klan candidate Eugene Talmadge won the nomination.

In Georgia, as in so many other states, the democratic primary is the real election. The other election, the "real" election, is a technicality suffered as a Constitutional nuisance. That's been the system for years, accepted alike by Talmadge and such of his enemies as liberal (Southern style) ex-Governor Arnall. The primary system is furthermore rigged as an additional safe-guard against any accidental democratic expression of opinion by those permitted to vote under Jim Crow rules. By virtue of a rotten borough primary system, Carmichael, Arnall's candidate, lost the nomination (election) despite his popular plurality.

Thus, we find it strange that Georgia has today only two governors. According to the logic of Georgia's Jim Crow, Klan-ridden electoral system, Carmichael could plausibly set up headquarters in an alleyway of the State Capitol. However,

we have seen nothing in the press reports about Carmichael claiming the governorship, and so we assume that he is backing M. E. Thompson.

Thompson, having been chosen Lieutenant Governor in the elections, claims succession to the governorship according to the generally practiced and accepted legality of the United States.

Acting Governor Thompson is somewhat at a disadvantage. The State Capitol itself has been usurped by Herman Talmadge, Eugene's son, who has taken possession of the governorship by virtue of having claimed it with armed force, according to the right of divine inheritance and the wishes of the Ku Klux Klan, and by virtue of having polled 697 write-in votes in the elections. (We are tempted to ask if these were not cast in anticipation of Eugene's death, because we have seen no other reasonable explanation for the 697 write-ins for this chip off the old man's storm-trooper block.) And it is a fact that the write-in votes did make him runner-up to the late Talmadge. That says nothing at all about Herman's right to succeed his

father. It does, however, speak volumes for the electoral system in Georgia, and the South.

AN INSTRUCTIVE LESSON IN POLITICS

We have, then, a situation in Georgia which can be viewed as strange only by overlooking the entire social and electoral structure in the South. Two factions of the Democratic Party are struggling for power: one, the Talmadge faction, openly flaunting its arms and seizing the governorship by an act of violence; the other, the Thompson-Arnall faction, threatening the use of the militia, but concentrating on court action.

While in the first few days it seemed to some as though there might actually be an armed struggle, it is most unlikely. When Arnall left the Capitol unguarded, before he made way for Thompson, we are quite sure that he expected Herman to do exactly what he did do—take possession. No other explanation makes sense. An armed contest would unleash forces neither side could control. There are, for example, over a million Negroes who

might choose such a moment to vent their hatred against the entire system which has degraded and oppressed them. That is why we suspect the Northern capitalist press, which at first reacted with anguished horror, is now tempering its indignation, sort of growing accustomed to the idea, quite willing to let the case drag through the courts for an indefinite period of time.

However, the very situation which threatens violence, and which has already seen the occupation of the Capitol by an armed force, is a matter for serious thought. We have here a microscopic struggle for power, not between classes but between factions of one class. The capitalist prosecutors comb the books and periodicals of the working class movement to find quotations which justify the defense of a workers' government, the expression of popular will, against the attack of capitalist reaction. Suppose, just suppose, a workers party, with a mandate from the people to operate the government of Georgia which Talmadge does NOT have, had found it necessary to occupy the state Capitol.

(Continued on page 5)

NMU Struggle Goes to Ranks; Curran Meets Stalinist Attack

By ALBERT GATES

The battle lines in the National Maritime Union are sharply drawn and the internal struggle between its president, Joseph Curran, and the Stalinist faction in the leadership, which began more than a year ago, has reached a new stage. Curran's resignation from the Stalinist-dominated Committee for Maritime Unity touched off the latest explosion in the union. Our readers are familiar with the reasons Curran gave for his resignation. He explained his step as deliberate, provoked by the control of the CMU by four craft unions under the leadership of Harry Bridges, which made a captive of the NMU, adopted policies against his union's best interests, and then arranged for the NMU to bare the main costs of the committee's activities.

Whatever the reasons Curran gives for his resignation, the fact is that the action reflects Curran's desire to cut himself off completely from Stalinist influence and control. When the news of Curran's resignation was made known, the Stalinist gang in the NMU, headed by Joseph Stack, Howard McKenzie and Ferdinand Smith, rolled into action. Their factional groups were set in motion in all the important ports.

The initial action of the Stalinists was to try to mobilize the ranks of the union against Curran on the ground that he violated a union decision when he resigned as one of the officers, co-chairman, of the CMU. Curran pointed out that he merely exercised his right; that the NMU was still affiliated to the CMU.

Therefore, no decision of the union was violated. In the port membership meetings, Curran won the first fight. Although the Communist Party faction won a majority of the ports, they lost the most important meetings attended by the overwhelming majority of the members. In New York Curran won a three to one victory in a meeting of several thousand members.

THE STALINIST CAMPAIGN

Smartering under the defeat administered to them by the rank and file members, the Stalinists then turned to the National Council which they control. This special meeting was devoted wholly to the Curran situation and the CMU. Over Curran's protest, they refused to accept his resignation from the CMU, although they knew that their action could in no way compel Curran to continue to function on it. The council endorsed the CMU and then continued to discuss the internal situation of the union.

The Stalinist tactics are familiar. First comes innuendo, then the lies and slanders: "Curran is making some deal with Lundeberg and other AFL maritime leaders; Curran is splitting the unity of maritime workers and strengthening the bosses."

In addition, it is whispered that Curran is really not a good union leader; that he has become a red-baiter and wants to drive Communist Party members from the union. And finally, the Stalinists have brought into question Curran's role, record and integrity as a union leader. It was this last that compelled Curran

to make some closing remarks which presage a more intense struggle inside the union.

CURRAN FIGHTS BACK

Declaring that he had hoped to patch up the present fight, Curran stated that this is no longer possible since the CP gang has gone beyond permissible limits in the inner union fight. Harking back to the last union elections, when he first raised the question of excessive expenditures by officers, Curran said:

"I said sometime ago that I was not satisfied with the last elections. I have been gathering the facts and material since then, and when I am in full possession of the facts, they will be released to the union, and everybody concerned in them will be in those facts for what they are worth."

He then went on to criticize the Council's decision on his demand for an "immediate referendum" of the membership on whether the NMU should continue its affiliation to the CMU. The Stalinists pulled a typical trick on this question. They accepted in "principle" the idea of a referendum of the membership but postponed it until after the March meeting of the Committee for Maritime Unity. To this meeting, the majority decided to send a rank and file delegation of fifty. But this time Curran saw through the scheme and protested the idea of sending a rank and file group to attend a conference dominated by the officers of other unions. The Stalinists hope by this action to win the union for their policy by means of window-dressing and ex-

(Continued on page 6)

At Last, the Truth About Meat Packers' Profits:

You Paid So They Could Get Rich

Has anyone forgotten the great meat crisis of several months ago? The cattlemen went on strike. The meat packers went on strike. The reasons? OPA prices were making it unprofitable for them to operate their businesses. Therefore, rather than sell their products to a meat-starved nation, they withheld them from the market or else produced only for the black market, which enabled them to make far greater profits than they would have made through regular marketing channels.

With the help of the press, senators and representatives, and the Secretary of Agriculture, Anderson, the packers and the cattlemen put their propaganda over on millions of people. Their fight against the OPA was part of a national conspiracy on the part of big business to end all price controls. They were not satisfied that the weak and many times ineffectual OPA was granting price increases all along the line. But the increases granted them by the Administration were still not large enough to satisfy these vultures, who were fattening themselves at the expense of the people.

The efforts of the labor movement to expose the lies of big business, confined as

it was to making pleas to the Administration without organizing powerful mass action of the working class, was ineffective even though it told the truth about profits and prices.

Business lied about the true state of affairs. The press, a part of big business and its most effective ally, lied repeatedly about profits and prices. Government officials, senators and representatives, stood out as abject spokesmen of the business interests which put them into office.

The truth is that the cattlemen and the packers made enormous profits all through the war and in the post-war period. With the end of the OPA their profits mounted higher than ever. The Packinghouse Worker, in its issue of January 10, reports increased profits despite lower sales:

	Net Profits
Armour & Co.	\$30,291,128
Cudahy Packing Co. .	6,720,585
Swift & Co.	16,394,739
Wilson & Co.	(No report filed)

In addition, all packers salted away millions in "reserves" which are not counted in the profits. Armour deducted \$9,500,000

"for a special reserve against possible price declines. Cudahy deducted \$2,500,000 aside to PREPAY a seven-year bank loan."

Packinghouse Worker also reveals that Cudahy's "working capital jumped from \$5,846,000 to \$38,498,000."

Now Congress is getting ready to give poor big business another boost by cutting taxes that will benefit it primarily, blocking efforts of labor to obtain wage increases without price increases, and guaranteeing that nothing shall interfere with the divine right of profit! And not a few "friends of labor" will find it necessary to support these mean measures against labor because they will find it necessary to make some compromise with "reaction" in order to prevent "worse" measures from being passed.

Isn't it more than high time for labor to get off the capitalist political bandwagon? Isn't it more than high time for labor to organize its own political party, a Labor Party, to fight for a labor political and economic program against capital? If the case of packers' profits hasn't been convincing enough, wait until the reports on profits roll in for all other industries.

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Editorials

New Peace Treaties Mangle Europe

Sixteen months of intense diplomatic activity by the big powers produced at last "peace" treaties for five former Axis satellite nations. As yet the Big Four have been unable to reach an understanding or agreement on Germany and Austria. The reasons why peace is so difficult to achieve is easy to ascertain. The Big Four are now fighting for position in preparation for another world war. Neither the diplomats of the big or little nations, nor the people of the world, believe that a basis for a lasting peace has been finally realized. All that they can see about them brings back the memory of the feverish diplomatic struggles of the pre-war days.

At the end of sixteen months, the "best minds" of the United States, Russia, Great Britain and France have reached agreement on what is to be charged against Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary because they lost the war. All, except Russia's new ally and puppet, Bulgaria, lost territory. All, including Bulgaria, must pay reparations! And this is the most monstrous decision in the treaties.

THE CRIME OF REPARATIONS

Italy is shorn of her ill-gotten colonies, after having ceded territory to France, Greece and Turkey. Finland has long ago ceded territory to Russia. Stalin and his Western allies have juggled Rumanian and Hungarian territory as if they were playing with a jig-saw puzzle. Tens of thousands of people have been moved en masse from frontier to frontier, exactly in the same way that Hitler succeeded in altering part of the face of Europe. The methods of the Allies, particularly Russia, have differed little from their German teacher.

And now these war-torn and ravaged nations, whose economies are unable to support their poverty-stricken peoples even on miserable, starvation standards, must strain their musty and dying social orders to pay reparations! And to whom? Not to the Western Allies. No, they are too clever to ask for them. These nations must pay to Russia, that miserable prison of millions of people, the new slave nation represented to the world as the home of a "new democracy," as the "land of socialism." They must pay to that unconscionable scoundrel, Marshal Tito, late of the GPU, and Stalin's disciple in the Balkans. They must pay to agonized Greece, torn in two by the continuing guerrilla warfare between Stalin's bands and the reactionary royalist government held up by Great Britain's bayonets.

Who will pay these reparations amounting to more than a billion dollars? The ruling classes of these ex-satellite nations? In part, yes. That is the price to be paid for being on the losing side. But those who will bear the heaviest burden will be the workers and peasants of these countries—the same masses who lived under the whip-lash of fascism during the war must now pay for the crimes of rulers who were put in power through the direct and indirect support given them by the wartime allies. Will they pay the reparations? If we know our Stalin and Tito, they will pay it with their life-blood.

WHAT OF ALLIED DUPLICITY?

One must not be deceived by the fact that the U. S., Great Britain and France did not ask for money payments. They are the partners-in-crime of Stalin and Tito. And they will assist in the collection of the fines. But in the future conflicts with Russia they hope to play a trump card with the peoples of these countries by pointing to the fact that they demanded no reparations and, if anything, scaled down Russian demands.

However they lie themselves out of this situation, it is well to recall, in contrast, the policies of the true socialist internationalists of all countries after the First World War, led by Lenin, Trotsky, Lieb-

necht and Luxemburg. Denouncing war as the continuation of politics by other means, they pointed out how the war of 1914-18, and all imperialist wars, are the products of capitalist economic and political policies, of the ruling classes. They denied the responsibility of the masses for war. For that reason they protested and opposed reparations and peace with annexations. These are imperialist methods, they said—the efforts of the ruling classes of the victor nations to make the innocent masses, who are the real victims of war, pay for its astronomical costs with their blood, sweat and tears. In 1919, even Woodrow Wilson was aghast at the utterly cynical and murderous peace worked out by his colleagues, David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau and Vittoria Orlando.

Within a few months after the downfall of Badoglio, the Italian Socialists held their first legal party congress in twenty years. They had had active underground cadres, many of them in the factories, and the party mushroomed very quickly. At that first congress the party claimed some 750,000 members, the same number that was reported this year. Already the organization was divided between pure and simple reformists on the one hand, led by Giuseppe Saragat and Ignazio Silone, and a group which claimed to be revolutionary because it stood for eventual fusion with the Communist Party, led by Pietro Nenni. In this congress, Nenni's faction received the support of 75 per cent of the delegates—whereupon Nenni put the mandate for eventual fusion with the Socialists in his pocket. He told the congress in his closing speech that it might take twenty years to clear up the differences with the Socialists so that the fusion could actually take place.

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY OUT

In 1947, the victors have repeated the crime of 1919. Only this time, not Clemenceau is the main criminal; this time it is Joseph Stalin. But he is not alone and not unaided. For those who think otherwise, we say, wait until the disposition of Italy's colonies are on the agenda of the peace makers, and you will see.

In the first treaty decisions you see a partial fulfillment of the prophecies of the socialist internationalists who said this was an imperialist war on all sides. The complete fulfillment will come when the German and Austrian treaties are decided. In the meantime, you must content yourself with the ruthless reshaping of the map of the world, the forced transfers of people, slave labor, reparations, imperialist intrigue and expansion, the destruction of the real liberties of the masses and the deterioration of the people by unbearable living conditions.

These, then, are the fruits of the most destructive war in all history. Those who thought the road to human progress, liberty, security and peace lay in support of the war should now give some thought to the subject. For the lesson of the war stands out boldly:

Only socialism can save humanity and civilization! Only socialism can end the ruthless struggle of the great powers for territory, resources and profit! Only socialism can bring peace, freedom and security to mankind! To reach this grand society of human progress means to bring an end to imperialism, the Stalinist variety, as well as the "democratic."

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Italian Socialist Party Split Creates New Political Crisis

By SAUL BERG

Faced with irreconcilable differences, the Socialist Party of Italy, the largest Socialist Party in Europe, has split. This split has great significance for the future of Europe. It was the result of forces that are at work throughout the European working class movement causing great internal crisis in the traditional reformist parties.

The split was not a simple split between "left" and "right." In his first dispatch on the impending split, the New York Times correspondent mentioned the existence of what he called a Trotskyist group, amounting to about half of the opposition strength in the Italian Socialist Party, which attacked the party administration from the left as being agents of Russian imperialism. Such a group would have the support of some 125,000 party members. Unfortunately the small Trotskyist organization in Italy cannot be confused with this opposition grouping which is Trotskyist only by the definition of the Stalinists and illiterate political correspondents. Even so, the emergence of even a confused left-centrist group of such size is a great step forward, and the story of its development is worth telling.

Within a few months after the downfall of Badoglio, the Italian Socialists held their first legal party congress in twenty years. They had had active underground cadres, many of them in the factories, and the party mushroomed very quickly. At that first congress the party claimed some 750,000 members, the same number that was reported this year. Already the organization was divided between pure and simple reformists on the one hand, led by Giuseppe Saragat and Ignazio Silone, and a group which claimed to be revolutionary because it stood for eventual fusion with the Communist Party, led by Pietro Nenni. In this congress, Nenni's faction received the support of 75 per cent of the delegates—whereupon Nenni put the mandate for eventual fusion with the Socialists in his pocket. He told the congress in his closing speech that it might take twenty years to clear up the differences with the Socialists so that the fusion could actually take place.

We have to understand what kind of composition this Socialist Party of two years ago had. It was overwhelmingly proletarian and the bulk of its strength was in the great industrial cities of the north of Italy—Milan, Turin, Bologna, Genoa. The rank and file wanted action, and so strong was its pressure that the party leadership was unable to get support for any compromise on the

monarchical issue. Thus, for a while in 1945 we were treated with the spectacle of a coalition cabinet of the Christian Democrats and the Stalinists, with the Socialist Party as the radical opposition!

The party membership was sensitive to the shady stand taken by the Stalinists on the question of the monarchy, on Trieste, and their complete subservience to Russian foreign policy. It began to swing steadily away from the Nenni "fusionist" stand. Meanwhile the party's relative independence, together with the terrible conditions in the country, brought an influx of workers into the organization. The result was that at the second party congress, a membership of 1,500,000 was reported!

The factional lineup of this gigantic membership was very much different from that of the previous year. There were three groups: the right wing of Saragat, with 800,000 votes, the "left" of Nenni with 400,000 and the center of Silone-Perlini, with 300,000. The center group vacillated on the question of relations with the Stalinists, not because they were Stalinist stooges, like many of the secondary leaders in Nenni's faction, but because they combined their suspicions of the Stalinists with a desire for militant action, and could not see any path to such action independently. Thus they continually toyed with the idea of "unity" but at the same time tended to criticize Stalinist opportunist and conservative policies.

More important than the emergence of the center group, however, was the emergence of something like a real left wing inside it. This group centered around the editors and contributors to a magazine called "Iniziativa Socialista," and was supported by almost the entire membership of the Socialist Youth Federation led by Matteo Matteotti, son of the murdered Socialist leader of the twenties, Giacomo Matteotti. Its position was extremely vague and the fact that it did not take a stand at the congress as a distinct tendency made it even worse. Nevertheless this group embodied the desire of the revolutionary youth to break out of their blind alley, and to refuse to choose merely between the agents of the United States and Britain (the right wing), and the agents of Russia (the "left" wing of Nenni).

As can be seen from the lineup of votes, the party now belonged to the right wing, but the right wing couldn't figure out what to do with it. Absolutely opposed to leading the Italian masses into action against the weak provisional regime, the reformist leadership proved incapable of distinguishing itself in any way from the opportunist policies of the

Stalinists. The party participated in the coalition cabinet; its ministers helped to end unemployed demonstrations and general strikes in various localities and were not above the use of the Carabinieri to back up their demands for "social peace."

The workers, who had joined the Socialist Party wanting action, began to drop out, or else, not seeing any possibility elsewhere, began to turn once more to the idea of joint action with the Stalinists. The attraction of the Stalinists lay, of course, not only in the skillful social demagoguery that they employed, but also in the fact that the workers, not presented by any significant section of their leadership with a revolutionary alternative, fell prey to the idea that they needed to ally themselves with a strong force, Russia, without inquiring too closely what this force represents.

This past year, culminating in the split convention, revealed a parallel development in the Socialist Party—the regaining of the majority by Nenni's fusionists, and at the same time, the decline of the party's membership. A year ago the party was at its peak. It received over 4,000,000 votes more than the Stalinists and defeated the Stalinists by a wide margin in the most important city of all, Milan. Six months later, in the municipal elections, the decline was already apparent, and in city after city the Stalinists replaced the Socialists as the largest single party. And now, the convention just held reported once again only 750,000 members, half the figure for a year ago!

At this congress, if there were any doubt of the timid character of the left opposition led by Matteotti, it was dispelled by the way this faction literally disappeared from the dispatches after the opening day's session. The complete reports of the congress will reveal more exactly what stand the "Iniziativa Socialista" took, but one thing is certain, this group refused absolutely to strike out on the path of an independent revolutionary socialist party and instead subordinated itself to the right wing. Now, they will try to build a party together with Saragat, whose every speech revolves about the necessity for peaceful, orderly development.

Nevertheless, the last word has not been heard from the rank and file supporters of the Matteotti group, especially the youth. They want an independent, revolutionary policy of struggle, and the idea of sleeping with the right wingers will not satisfy them. In them lies the greatest possibility of the development of a revolutionary vanguard in Italy.

WORLD POLITICS

Paris, Saigon, New York

A considerable fuss has been raised about the short-lived Blum cabinet in France. It has been hailed in the American press as a brilliant administration which has gone far to revive the French Social Democracy and the position of France as a power. There is no doubt that, within certain limits, the Blum cabinet has acted with energy and dispatch. It enforced a reduction of five per cent in France's price structure and it initiated negotiations with England for a mutual assistance pact. If an election were held in France today it is quite likely that the Social Democracy would get a larger vote than it did in the recent election where it fell to the position of a second rate party.

At this point we should return to the words "within certain limits" which appeared in the sentence above describing the energy of the Blum cabinet. For the Social Democracy of France has been neither desirous nor able to lift itself from its basic historical role as agent of its native capitalism. The reduction in prices, though of some aid to the French workers, is conceived of mainly as a device to forestall their persistent wage demands. And the proposed pact with Britain is merely a maneuver entirely within the limits of capitalist diplomacy. The Social Democrats did not try to effect any basic changes in the French social structure; that is not their role.

But most revealing was their attitude toward the Indo-Chinese revolt. Blum's behavior was in no essential respect different from that which would have characterized de Gaulle or Bidault. Blum sent a top military man and one of its most reactionary politicians, General Leclerc, to suppress the Indo-Chinese; he reaffirmed the appointment of Admiral d'Argenlieu, Indo-Chinese governor, whose callous imperialist behavior had so incensed the people of the colony; and he further supported his Minister, Moutet, who after a trip to Indo-China issued statements refusing even to negotiate with the nationalist rebels.

That is the record of Social Democracy. Whatever quirks of energy or verbal boldness it may indulge in, its historical role remains the same as before: it is indissolubly wedded to the maintenance of capitalism.

THE FRENCH STALINISTS AND INDO-CHINA

The Daily Worker in this country has maintained a strange silence on the Indo-Chinese events and especially on the statements of the French Stalinists in support of French imperialism (reported in LABOR ACTION a few weeks back). It has, however, printed reports, which appeared simultaneously in the capitalist press, that the French Stalinists have come out in favor of negotiations with Viet Nam, the Indo-Chinese nationalist movement.

We should clearly understand the significance of this stand by the French Stalinists. They have not adopted a revolutionary position on this matter, or anything even resembling a revolutionary position. As a party of "responsibility" (that is, of complicity in the French parli-

mentary swindles) the French CP has NOT raised the slogan of independence for Indo-China. It has merely urged that negotiations be resumed with Viet Nam, a demand which the more intelligent variety of imperialists can and do support.

The sharpest contrast can be made between the Stalinists in France and the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International. The PCI has a very simple position on Indo-China. It demands that French imperialism get out, lock, stock and barrel; it demands that every French soldier be withdrawn. It does not, as does the French CP, offer advice to French imperialism on how to resume relations with and therefore domination of Indo-China. It says: Get out, get out; let the Indo-Chinese people determine their own faith. That is a revolutionary socialist position; it is the ONLY democratic position on this matter. Everything else, anything else, the slightest equivocation, the slightest hesitation—means support of imperialism. And here too is a testing ground for political positions.

THE AMERICAN LIBERALS AND INDO-CHINA

One cannot read the so-called liberal and even radical press on the events in Indo-China without feeling a strong sense of nausea. Look through the *New Republic*, *The Nation*, *PM*, the *New York Post*, the *Wisconsin Progressive*, and that most wretched of sheets, *The New Leader*—and you will not find a word in behalf of Indo-Chinese independence. There were times when the American liberals, whatever their ultimate shortcomings, were at least able to rally behind comparatively simple issues like colonial independence where the democratic (if not Marxist) position is so indicated as to make impossible any double-talk. But even that day is past.

The Nation and *The New Republic* (Henry Wallace, Editor) hem and haw, and question if the French are conducting themselves quite properly. *The New Leader*, a sheet for the decayed minds of ex-radicals, prints tripe by Henry William Chamberlain, as witness: "If Moutet is now convinced, as is reported in dispatches from Indo-China, that a military decision must be sought, I am inclined to believe that the responsibility for the recent flare-up of fighting is on the Viet Nam side. The Overseas Minister is not the kind of man who would lend himself to any act of imperialist aggression."

This is tripe; this is a lie; this is support of French imperialism; this is writing as an enemy of simple democracy, which demands that the Indo-Chinese be allowed national independence. Strong words? Yes, they are; perhaps not the nicest language or most diplomatic characterizations. But there is a limit to everything. And the sight of these pious liberals, these democratic worthies who are so ready to read us lectures about "Bolshevik morality"—the sight, I say, of these liberals twisting themselves all over creation in the attempt to condone the French suppressions, is more than any socialist should be able to bear without anger.—I. H.

OFF LIMITS

By

James M. Fenwick

The Marshall Appointment

Old Max Lerner continues to creep around intellectually, a nostalgic reminder of that nobler species, the American Liberal, most of whom died during the war, some from the patriotic fever, others from the Stalinist pestilence. Lerner was heavily wracked, but he can still tell a hawk from a handsaw when the political wind is right.

"We live in the kind of world," he said recently, "in which the distinction between the General Staffs and the Foreign Offices has been narrowed almost to nothingness. More and more the generals and admirals, not only in America, but also in Russia and elsewhere, have come to occupy diplomatic posts and shape state policy."

This is, of course, correct, and Lerner is here merely noting an inevitable accompaniment of the decline of capitalism.

The appointment of General Marshall as Secretary of State reflects this trend. In the context of the impending meeting of the council of foreign ministers in Moscow, the appointment signifies a stiffening in the United States' attitude toward Russia. It follows a period in which Byrnes was frequently criticized for being too conciliatory toward her.

COLD COMFORT FOR THE KREMLIN

The Stalinists have been half-heartedly trying to derive comfort from the "conciliationist" role allegedly played by Marshall in China. His report, conveniently released just before his appointment so as to create a little synthetic diplomatic background for him, provides a very weak straw for the Stalinists to clutch at. A critical attitude toward the Kuomintang has been an integral part of recent U. S. policy. This was necessitated by the recognition that the reactionary character of the Chiang Kai-shek régime alienated the support of the Chinese masses from the base of U. S. influence in China, the Kuomintang. The more militant program of the Stalinists permitted them to work up extensive support from the peasants.

Actually, the Marshall report whitewashed Chiang Kai-shek, the real leader of the Kuomintang, who is hardly more seriously interested in stabilizing present relations in China than the "reactionaries" of the Kuomintang, the United States' differences with the Kuomintang are family differences. The differences with the Stalinists are of a more serious order. Time correctly pointed out recently that "U. S. policy, unsuccessful as it had been so far, would still be geared to the legal government of China."

Tactical support to the political strategy enunciated by Marshall will be given by military figures who more and more occupy key commands in the United States imperialist offensive: MacArthur in Japan, Clark in Austria, Clay in Germany, Smith in Moscow, Kirk in Belgium, and Holcomb in South Africa. The assistant secretary of state for occupied areas is also a soldier—Major General John H. Hilldring.

Marshall is also expected to clean house in the State Department, which has been frequently criticized recently for its lack of unity of policy, its general disorganization, and its ineptness. The State Department has to be elevated to the level of the world tasks with which it has suddenly been confronted. In 1938, the year before the war, it employed 963 persons. In 1946 this number had increased to 7,623.

Unlike the British Foreign Office, which has behind it centuries of skilled diplomatic swindling, the U. S. State Department is really only going through its apprenticeship. The United States is now confronted by a complex of economic, political, military, social, and cultural problems which cannot be solved on the former pragmatic basis. Marshall is to bring the house to order.

Not the least interesting aspect of the Marshall appointment was to reveal how much of American "representative" government is government by bureaus and by appointment. Marshall's appointment, which had been arranged by Truman months before, was ratified by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in twelve minutes. A man whose beliefs are almost absolutely unknown to the people, not to speak of the members of the new Congress, was thereby chosen for one of the most important posts in the country. If Truman were to be carried off through the effects, say, of his well-known mental anemia this unknown would become President of the country!

Marshall represents the growing tendency toward Bonapartism in the United States, that is, rule primarily based not upon the electorate but upon the government departments and the military machine. For the time being this Bonapartism is directed externally—specifically, against Russia.

Marshall fits the Bonapartist mold well: he is "above parties" (the Republicans and the Democrats both support him) he has never even voted, and he is a soldier—a strong man.

BUT WHO IS HE?

How successful Marshall will be, this man out of a world where nobody talks back, is not our problem. What actually is remarkable, however, is how little is known about the man or his thinking. Beyond such biographical trivia as that as a youth he preferred cock fighting to pumping the organ at church, that he sat on a bayonet at Virginia Military Institute, or that Truman (O. K., men, let's stop that snickering in the ranks!) considers him a greater commander than Alexander, Genghis Khan, or Napoleon, information on him is meager.

A 1901 graduate of VMI, not of West Point, Marshall went through the normal belt-line of a regular army career. By 1918 he had become an aide to Pershing. Two decades of peace and slow promotion followed. In 1939, however, Roosevelt jumped him over thirty-four other candidates and made him Chief of Staff. He became the prototype of the politico-military mediator, of whom Eisenhower was an example and for whom Roosevelt with his skill in politics, served as mentor.

But this all hardly adds up to a suitable background for a Secretary of State. His political intervention during the war and after was always determined for him—he merely enunciated it. From this point of view he is hardly superior to former secretaries like the ailing, aged, and provincial Hull; Stettinius, the Morgan partner, a man whom even his friends didn't consider overly bright; or Byrnes, more adept at congressional horse trading than international politics. What Marshall is expected to bring is iron to the policy.

"In a military truce," says the often not unperceiving Washington correspondent, Paul Mallon—"which is what this situation is—what could be more logical a choice than Marshall?"

What could, indeed?

A Review of the Film, 'The Bells of St. Mary'

Hollywood Depicts an Aspect of Social Morality

By JAMES T. FARRELL

THE film, *The Bells of St. Mary's*, has been widely praised. It has been recommended as a picture which should be seen by youth. Many Catholics have lauded the film because of its religious tone. In a recent public controversy between Mr. Darryl F. Zanuck and Mr. Samuel Goldwyn, concerning the quality of Hollywood films, Mr. Zanuck cited this film as one of which the American motion picture industry can be proud. The film has been seriously regarded as one of a fine moral quality, and, at the same time, as one which is deeply human. It seems to me that a brief discussion of this picture is, in consequence, decidedly pertinent.

The Bells of St. Mary's is the story of a priest, played by Bing Crosby, a nun, played by Ingrid Bergman, and a school. St. Mary's school is old and run down. The young priest comes to his new assignment at St. Mary's. His predecessor has had a bad time of it with the nuns. It is expected that this new young priest will not fare well, and that the nuns will run him, and give him a good and steady nagging. The plot unfolds from the beginning, and there are two connected plot threads which definitely relate to questions of morality. One is the relationship between the young priest and the beautiful nun. The second is concerned with the desire of the nuns for a new and better school building. A crabbed and almost apologetic old rich man owns a building next to the run-down edifice of St. Mary's. This rich man wants to get the St. Mary building. The nuns, in turn, want the rich man to give them a building which will permit the nuns to run a better and more up-to-date school. In addition to the above, there is a girl whose parents are separated (if I recall the story correctly months after having seen it). The priest and the nun exercise their good offices in the interest of the girl: there are misunderstandings which threaten to be serious and to prevent her from graduating, but these are straightened out in the end and the girl's parents even come together.

The morality of this film needs to be commented upon. For the praise which so many Catholics have showered on this film is strongly suggestive of the growing hollowness of

conventional morality in our time. In the film, the children are presented mainly as existing for the school. Again and again, in little details, we see that this is the case. The new building is more important in the plot than are the children who are to be educated and trained for life in this new building. The nuns and the priest are so presented that in the context of the story itself they act on this premise. The direct actions and the words of the priest and the nuns show them more decidedly to be concerned with the building than with the children. The children, thus, are seen as existing principally for the building. An object here is more important than young and malleable human beings. Behind the formulas of conventional morality and religious high-mindedness and dedication, we see religious instruction and parochial education as emphasizing a building, and as treating the children to be educated as secondary to that building. This unmistakable feature of the film shows that underneath the forms of morality there is moral density.

THE HOLLYWOOD PLOT STRUCTURE

A Hollywood film seems to demand that there be an attractive male and female at the center of every plot. In this film, the male is a priest and the female is a nun. There can, thus, be no love interest. And yet, as I sat in the theatre and looked at this picture, it became clear to me that the habits of concocting plots in the film industry were such that love interest could not be kept out of the story. Thus, the relationship between the priest (Bing Crosby) and the nun (Ingrid Bergman) is one of indubitable flirtatiousness. The priest and the nun develop, between them, a rivalry in which they want to outdo and outwit one another in little incidents and episodes which are witty in the way that Hollywood is usually witty. Wit and humor are here aggressive. The aggressiveness is expressed in rivalry. The rivalry has a concealed sexual character. The priest and the nun come very close to behaving like the usual boy and the usual girl in a film when they are thrown together, and when they engage in the efforts and actions of the selection of any love object as these are endlessly mirrored on the screen. The Hollywood film demands that the masculine and feminine star stand out above all

others. The priest and nun stand out in the typical way. They are thrown together again and again for the purposes of the plot. They are continuously teasing one another. The children are as incidental to this teasing and platonic rivalry as they are to the aim of getting a new building.

One incident concerning the children will, perhaps, here suggest the quality of this picture. One of the boys is beaten up by a little bully. The little bully more or less becomes the champion of the priest. The nun champions the boy who has been beaten up. She does this in order to outdo the priest. She buys some manuals which contain instructions on how to fight. She reads these manuals, shadow boxes, and then teaches her little champion how to fight. Her champion then beats up the bully. The priest is outdone by the nun, and she, as it were, has beaten him at his own game. This little incident seems to be amusing and harmless. And yet its moral implications are far from harmless or merely funny. For here we see a nun and a priest using two boys as expressions of their own teasing rivalry, a rivalry which, in the context of the film, throws a man and a woman in opposition to one another. Just as the children exist for a building, so, in this way, they exist as supernumeraries for the rivalry of a priest and a nun. The fact that the administrators of the Production Code, that critics, priests, Catholic laymen and others could approve of this representation of the children is significant. One can pertinently ask them if in their praise and approval of this film, they examined its moral implications? One can, in addition, ask if they favor schools, educational practices, pedagogical instruction which would be in line with a view such as the one definitely implied in the total representation of the children in this film?

In the end, the nuns gain their aim. They get the building from the crochety rich man. But his aim is accomplished by a little trick. The man's doctor is a Catholic. The priests and the nun participate in the trick which the doctor plays on his patient. He tells the rich man that he is likely to live longer if he becomes generous rather than stingy. He is, thereby, frightened into becoming a generous man. He helps

unfortunate people on the streets, and he gives away a building. Here, a doctor is represented as treating a patient in such a manner. Apparently this rich man is a cardiac case, and also, he shows signs of having hypertension. What do doctors, Catholic and otherwise, think of this form of advice given to patients? This amusingly presented part of the plot also raises moral questions.

In addition, the nun develops tuberculosis. And she is not told what her condition is. The doctor and the priest both participate in this concealment. The concealment of this information introduces the threat of tragedy into the plot. Illness is misrepresented here. But this is a feature that has also been mentioned and attacked. In fact, *New Masses* has been making hay against Hollywood on precisely this point. And in this instance, *New Masses* is correct, not wrong.

SOME MORAL IMPLICATIONS

In addition to the moral implications involved in the above comments, there is another point which can be mentioned. In general, this is one of those films which gives the impression that good cheer, good will, the babying of human beings with a hollow goodness, will lead to valuable human results. This all amounts to the expression of banal and empty sentimentalities about doing good. The moral level of such sentimentalities is the same as that expressed in the popular songs which ooze optimism, and the commercial advertisements which promise the good life to customers who will be smart enough to buy the right products. It is a sentimentalization which tells us that there is a silver lining in every cloud. This is considered, in our day and age, to be affirmation of life, an expression of faith-in humanity. In the name of such optimism and sunny goodness, serious writers are attacked as cynics, and they are denounced as nothing less than enemies of the human race. To try and present images of human beings in terms of the torn, tragic and ambivalent emotions which human beings feel and express in real life is immoral: to present goodness in the way that it is represented in *The Bells of St. Mary's* is moral.

The representation of the children in this film is symptomatic and sig-

nificant. Children are immature and need to be guided. They are, in a sense, at the mercy of adults. Children can be guided and educated either for their own good or for the good of the significant adults who have authority over and influence upon them. Here, the children exist—I repeat—for the benefit of the adults and because they are needed as objects of instruction in a new school building. When the nun becomes ill, she is treated like a child by both her doctor and the priest. She is not told what is really wrong with her. She, whose duty it is to guide the young, cannot be trusted

to face the realities of life and death when these concern her. In pictures such as this, the motion picture industry, in turn, really tells us of a predominant moral attitude current in Hollywood. It is an attitude which treats the audience like children. The realities of life and death cannot be clearly and seriously mirrored on motion picture screens because the audience cannot be trusted to face the realities of life and death which they must face day in and day out in their actual lives. The moral pattern in film then, suggests what are probably the moral attitudes of the picture makers. For, let me re-

peat, important personages of the film industry have praised this film precisely because of its alleged high moral tone. And at the same time that moral films of this calibre are produced, callousness and cynicism develops by leaps and bounds all over America. One asks here: might there be any connection between this kind of film morality and the real callousness we find all around us in our daily lives. An investigation, seeking to answer this question, might be very illuminating.

(Copyright by James T. Farrell, 1946)

The Situation in Georgia --

(Continued from page 3)

tol by use of its defense guards. In such a hypothetical situation, how long would the federal government have deliberated before sending in its troops? How legalistic would the capitalist press be? How many years would they wait to hear the case argued in the courts? Yes, it is a tantalizing thought.

GEORGIA DEMOCRACY AND KLAN'S SUPPORT

There is much else to consider in this Georgia situation. Not the least incredible feature of this situation is that M. E. Thompson represents in some small way democracy, against the whip-lash and terror of the Klan and the powerful interests which support it. In Georgia, Thompson can be a democrat. Like the man who opposed Eugene Talmadge in the primary, Carmichael, M. E. Thompson insists he is as loyal to the viciousness of "white supremacy" as the Talmadges, father and son.

Thompson was chosen as nominee for Lieutenant Governor in a Jim Crow primary. If he had any violent disputes with Talmadge on principles, it has not been revealed. Why then the fuss? The Klan, and the powerful interests behind them, prefer one of their own kind, someone who takes naturally to the rope and fagot, someone who, even if he doesn't object too strenuously to lynch law, won't be too zealous in applying it.

That is how it happens that Thompson represents some small vestige of democracy in Georgia. For if any one has the right to claim the governorship, pending the only real solution of a new election, it is he.

Before we return to the matter of a new election, let us examine the people behind Herman Talmadge. The Klan's connection is well established. The papers have referred openly to the Georgia Power and Light Company. But why have they been so reticent in naming the soft-drink corporation that has contributed heavily to the Talmadge campaign? Why the indirect references to a "coke corporation," a "nationally famous soft-drink," etc.?

We are not saying, but we are asking: do they mean Coca-Cola? Why not name names? Maybe a few million people would like to do something about the "soft-drink" company that backs Klan terror!

NEW ELECTION IS DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION

According to the rule in all states

which have lieutenant governors, the lieutenant governor succeeds to the governor's post in the event the governor dies. That Talmadge died before taking the oath of office is a legal wrinkle best argued by the Constitutional experts. As matters stand, Thompson is apparently right in claiming the governorship. But we think that the people of Georgia should have the opportunity to

today riding high, can be turned to the advantage of the people.

In this, the labor movement has special opportunities. We read with anger the report that an AFL official voted for Talmadge. That man has no business in the labor movement, and certainly no right to be a labor official. And we hope that the AFL unions will make their protest clear. The AFL and CIO Operations Dixie are in Georgia. They cannot help but be involved in this struggle for power in Georgia. By entering into it vigorously they can mobilize in common action the mass of Negro and white workers. We would like to see the unions in Georgia banding together for a political campaign, demanding a new election, and declaring their readiness to put their own candidate, a candidate that will really fight Jim Crow, in the field.

DEFENSE GUARDS ARE AN URGENT NEED

There is a man fiddling in Talmadge headquarters who acquired considerable fame some thirty years ago fiddling over the body of a lynch victim. His fiddling engagements will increase if Talmadge goes unchallenged, if his Klansmen and guardsmen are not met with the organized opposition of the Georgia people, Negro and white. Talmadge's hooded cohorts will ride against labor organizers as readily as against Negroes, Jews and Catholics.

While the contest runs its course in the courts, and the issue of a new election is debated, the situation calls for the mobilization of the Negro people and the unions to prepare their defense against the Talmadge forces. It is idiotic to rely on the federal government. It has not intervened so far; its experts are debating precedent: does the Arkansas precedent under Ulysses S. Grant apply, or does it not? The federal government acts quickly only when strikers are involved—and then not on behalf of strikers, but on behalf of just such institutions as the Georgia Power and Light Company, and the unnamed "soft-drink" corporation.

Thus, we think it necessary that the unions and the Negro people organize their own defense guards. It is simply a matter of self-protection. It is simply a matter of demonstrating that Georgia's people, black and white, will not let themselves be terrorized by hoodlum bands. It is simply a matter of saying that we have no taste for a certain kind of fiddling.

A Stalinist Apologist On Polish Elections

Opposition poll watchers I talked to said they had nothing to complain of and that their people had not been intimidated during or before the voting period. Granting 100 per cent for accuracy to correspondents who have heard and retold stories of intimidation in other parts of the country, it is still not conceivable to this observer that the strongest kind of anti-government protest could not have been registered by Polish voters in the type of voting I saw—and I saw enough to convince me that what I saw was completely characteristic of the capital of Poland...

This is to say that the picture of wholly fraudulent, rigged elections given Americans before the fact is at best a misrepresentation of a complicated political situation and at worst malicious repetition of malicious untruths.

—Ralph Ingersoll, PM
January 20, 1947

An Answer to the President of General Motors

Is Capitalism Worth Saving? - III

(This is the third in a series of articles by Ernest Erber in reply to Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, on the arguments made by him in behalf of capitalism in his article, "You've Got to Make a Profit," which first appeared in *Collier's* and has since been reprinted in many corporation house organs for the "benefit" of their employees.—Editor.)

By ERNEST ERBER

"The capitalist type of economy is the one best fitted to function in a democracy, because capitalism, like democracy, is a system which places great value on the individual." This argument of Wilson's has become the ace-in-the-hole in the current crop of capitalist apologetics. It adds up to saying that the preservation of democracy requires the preservation of capitalism, or that freedom is only possible under capitalism.

It is quite obvious why this became a favorite argument in behalf of capitalism in recent years. Ever since Stalinist despotism arose in Russia and fascism conquered in most of the rest of Europe, the defenders of capitalism have sought to create the illusion that political democracy has survived in the United States due to the existence of the capitalist economic system.

That capitalism was overthrown by the Russian Revolution and that it has not been restored by the victory of the Stalinist counter-revolution is quite obvious. That is why the apologists of capitalism are so anxious to point to Russia and say, "Look! That is what results from tampering with capitalism." (We will deal with this argument under a separate heading.)

But this argument would fall flat on the ground if one were to realize that equally brutal dictatorships have arisen in capitalist countries and have flourished on the basis of capitalism. This is, of course, what happened in Germany, Italy, Spain and other countries of Europe. It is therefore necessary for the apologists of capitalism to create the concept that régimes like Hitler's and Mussolini's were "anti-capitalist."

That is why capitalist propaganda in this country sought to disown Hitler and Mussolini, especially when it became evident in the late 30's that the United States would be lined up against Germany and Italy in the coming war. That is why the American press sought to picture Hitler as some sort of a "socialist" who was at swords' points with the German capitalists. They eagerly accepted Hitler at his word and helped spread the illusion he sought to create by calling himself a "National Socialist" and by denouncing the "international bankers." This was, of course, intended to make himself popular with the German masses.

The real Socialists of Germany were either killed or kept in concentration camps and the big bankers of Germany cooperated profitably with the Nazi régime. Only Jewish bankers of industrialists were expropriated, their wealth going to Nazi favorites and the elimination of Jewish capitalists helping their Gentile competitors.

HITLER AND CAPITALISM GOT ALONG WELL

The truth is that Hitler and capitalism got along well. Far from being an enemy of the capitalists, Hitler was financed by the biggest industrial and banking combines in Germany. They viewed him as the savior of German capitalism from a com-

unist revolution. His régime did nothing that basically affected the operation of capitalism. On the contrary, he made Germany a capitalist's paradise by dissolving the unions and workers' political organizations and creating the Labor Front, a huge "company union" to which every worker was forced to belong.

The strict government controls which the Nazi régime established over industry were not much different from those which existed in this country under the war economy. German capitalists, like their American cousins, grumbled about shortages, priorities, manpower controls, etc., but German capitalists, like their American cousins, made billions in profits out of the war. If the German controls were stricter and more far-reaching, it was only because the strains of the war upon German economy were much greater than in the United States. The right of German capitalists to own productive property and to exploit the workers was neither abolished nor curbed. Fascism was a different political system than had prevailed previously in Germany and Italy, when these nations operated under parliamentary democracies. But fascism was not a different economic system; it was still capitalism.

We can therefore see that, contrary to Wilson's assertion about capitalism being the type of economy that is "best fitted to function in a democracy," the capitalists of Germany and Italy preferred fascist tyranny as the political system best suited for capitalism.

Does it therefore follow that all capitalists prefer fascism? No, such is not the case. Capitalists prefer political democracy—as long as it suits THEIR interests. But when capitalism breaks down in an economic crisis and when the political situation threatens to undermine capitalist institutions, the capitalists eagerly look for a Hitler or a Mussolini who will save their system by "putting labor in its place."

But since economic crises are inescapable under capitalism and since they bring anti-capitalist political movements in their wake and since these cause the capitalists to see their salvation in fascism, it becomes evident that sooner or later capitalism and democracy prove to be incompatible.

Contrary to Wilson's argument that only capitalism can give us freedom and democracy, we can see from the history of the last twenty-five years that the continued existence of capitalism is guaranteed to give us the barbarian and bestial rule of fascism.

CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY CLASH

Though the contradiction between capitalism and democracy is fundamental, only time and events, however, bring it to the surface where it becomes obvious to everyone. When we live under a mixture of capitalism and democracy, as we do in the United States today, the effects of this contradiction remain latent. Compared to past social orders and to other countries of the world, we enjoy a considerable range of political freedom. Yet the possibility of using this political freedom to affect the course of politics in this country steadily diminishes. When the population of this country was composed overwhelmingly of farmers who owned their land, of small business men, and of craftsmen who worked with their own tools, political democracy was an effective means by which

the mass of the people could influence the course of government. Today, however, the great concentration of wealth at one pole and the huge mass of wage earners at the other, has confronted the nation with fundamental economic questions as the primary problem.

These economic questions cannot be solved within the framework of capitalism. If political democracy is to have any meaning today, it must take its meaning in the struggle to overthrow capitalism. If it does not, capitalism will overthrow political democracy. The two cannot live side by side forever. The worker cannot remain a free citizen with freedom to read what he pleases, speak his mind as he pleases and vote as he pleases during part of the day, while being a wage slave whose every minute is ordered by an autocratic hierarchy of corporation officials from the moment he punches his time clock.

Eugene V. Debs, tireless tribune of the early Socialist movement in this country, was fond of paraphrasing Lincoln and saying that this country would not remain half free and half slave; either the workers will utilize their political democracy to overthrow capitalism and carry democracy into economic life, or the capitalists will overthrow political democracy and carry their industrial dictatorship into political life.

CAPITALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL

"Capitalism... is a system which places great value on the individual," says Wilson. This would be a great joke if it were not at the expense of the workers. An article entitled "Labor Isn't Striking for Money" in a recent issue of *Magazine Digest* makes a point that has rarely appeared in the capitalist press. The article points out that capitalism (it does not, of course, use that term) has robbed the worker of his dignity as a human being and made him into little more than an adjunct of the machine. It quotes from another source to say the following:

"The worker hates to feel himself the prisoner of a timecard. Over his name, in the timecard, in much larger numerals, is his factory number. Nobody knows Joe Worker's last name, except the fellow in Department No. 6 who bowls with him Friday nights. Even his pay is handed to him in an envelope addressed by number only."

The article goes on to describe how workers are bullied by foremen unless they have the protection of a strong union. It then describes the piecework and quota system and says: "There is not much incentive to beating the quota for so many pieces a day, except that if he's low man he'll probably be fired." It then continues to point out the effects of monotony resulting from doing the same operation over and over again, the fear of unemployment due to labor saving devices, advancing age or depressions, etc.

The above true picture of the worker's real life under capitalism should be sufficient to indicate how great a value capitalism places upon the individual. (If Mr. Wilson meant the individual capitalist, we are of course on the wrong track and have to grant that he has a point.)

Capitalism means neither democracy nor individualism. It de-humanizes a man on the job and turns him into an automaton of production. In order to protect its right to thus exploit labor, capitalists will eagerly abolish democracy and make of man also an automaton of a fascist state.

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

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

EMANUEL GARRETT
Editor of Labor Action
Russia and the Nature of Stalinism
February 9 — 8:30 P. M.

DR. OSCAR TROPP
Practicing Psychiatrist
Social Implications of Psychoanalysis
February 16 — 8:30 P. M.

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

MARSHALL REPORT AND CHINESE CIVIL WAR

By HENRY JUDD

The rejection by the Chinese Stalinists (Yenan government) of the new set of peace proposals, and the offer to send an envoy made by Chiang Kai-shek, has brought China's civil war to a new stage. General Chou En-lai, Stalinist leader of the Yenan government, accompanied his rejection of Chiang's offer by a denunciation of the recent statement of General Marshall on the Chinese problem. He made it clear that only if the so-called National Government would give up its recently adopted bureaucratic constitution, and return large territories won from the Stalinists in military operations, would the latter consider a resumption of peace negotiations.

It is clear that the fighting will continue indefinitely, even if only on a minor scale due to heavy winter conditions. The Stalinists, now on the defensive, will attempt to consolidate and protect their holdings while the Chiang Kai-shek nationalist forces will maneuver into position, with vast help and supplies received from America, in preparation for heavy campaigning next Spring and Summer. China's fratricidal strife continues, at the heavy expense of the Chinese people, and gives every indication of going on indefinitely, without any final issue.

Neither side has the forces needed completely to overwhelm the opponent at the moment. Whatever military strength and superiority Chiang has, thanks to American imperialism, is effectively cancelled out by the inefficiency, bureaucratic bungling, reactionary politics and corruption of his government.

In the light of this situation, the meaning of the recently issued report of General Marshall, former special Presidential representative to China, takes on fresh meaning. Marshall was no

doubt fully aware of the hopelessness of a compromise arrangement for the moment, when he issued his report on January 7. Precisely with this understanding did Marshall write his shrewd, diplomatic and hypocritical statement, bent on showing American intervention in China in the best possible light. Marshall's aim was to depict America as the staunch advocate of Chinese democracy, against both extremes of the right-wing Kuomintang and the "left-wing" Communists.

WAR AID CONTINUES

The Chinese government of Chiang contains, said Marshall, "a dominant group of reactionaries who have been opposed, in my opinion, to almost every effort I have made."... These men are interested "in the preservation of their own feudal control of China."... In almost identical language he condemns the Stalinists who "do not hesitate at the most drastic measures to gain their end." From this condemnation of both sides he drew the conclusion that his mediation efforts failed because of "extremist elements" on both sides and that, therefore, what is needed is the assumption of leadership by the liberals, "under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek."

But his condemnation of the Kuomintang is highly qualified, because he accepts its recently adopted Constitution as "democratic" and expressed the belief that under its terms a democratic-constitutional government would be created. Yet, as is well known, the right-wing of the Kuomintang wrote this constitution. Nor can Marshall advance one step beyond unqualified support to Chiang Kai-shek, leading agent and spokesman for the Kuomintang and Chinese conservatism.

And finally, as is well known, there is no let-up in the extended military and economic aid

being advanced to the Chinese government for its war purposes. While Chiang and his régime may be hard to swallow, it is clear that they will continue to get American support. Thus we must brand Marshall's criticism of the Kuomintang as hypocritical. While America is still anxious to bring about a negotiated peace, if this cannot be obtained the reactionary Chiang régime will get the fullest support of the new Secretary of State.

On the other side of the fence, holding high the lamp of the Chinese Stalinists, sits Henry Wallace, now *New Republic* editor. If Marshall has some doubts about Chiang and the Kuomintang gang, Henry Wallace has none at all about the Chinese Stalinists and Russian imperialism! In the *New Republic* (January 20, 1947), we read the following in Henry Wallace's Forum, "We have abandoned, almost by default, the sponsorship of these changes to Russia. We have permitted the Russians to parade themselves before all the colonial peoples of the world as the only enemy of imperialism." Almost without a battle we have yielded to the Russians the loyalty of millions of workers and peasants in Europe because they believe that the Russians and not ourselves are their only guarantors against hunger and war." These fantastic claims on behalf of Russian imperialism are the basis for Wallace's denunciation of American policy as a purely "negative" one. That proves how little he understands the present wave of mass reaction in Europe to this very Stalinist imperialism whose praises he sings.

China's civil strife continues, with no end in sight. Victimized by both sides who, in turn, are bolstered by the two great foreign rivals of the world (America and Russia), the Chinese movement for national liberation must still find its way to that difficult path of freedom of action unbound by any foreign powers.

Record of the Blum Cabinet: A Stopgap for Capitalism

PARIS, Jan. 10—Socialist Premier Leon Blum's attempt to give France a "psychological shock" by lowering prices five per cent has been attended with so much fanfare that some workers imagine prices are falling. The French Employers' Federation in hailing Blum's experiment as a "return to sane economic conceptions" gave the Socialists a kiss of death.

After Blum's régime permitted prices of subway tickets to rise 100 per cent, trains 150 per cent, electricity 52 per cent, gas 48 per cent, coal 25 per cent, steel 35 per cent and food also up to Jan. 2, only then was a five per cent cut decreed. Had Blum made the five per cent cut effective as of November or even December prices, workers might have gained something, however little, however brief.

In his New Year's day broadcast Blum admitted: "For more than 10 years prices have been continually rising in France." Actually they have been rising for more than 30 years. Prices rose from January, 1946's 480 to December's 860 (1938 equals 100). Since there are tremendous shortages of coal, electricity, gas, food, clothes, plus the powerful *marche noir*, the rising tendency has not halted.

Blum introduced "market purification commissions" to spy on stores and report rises to police. He introduced "witness stores" to serve as price standards for each community. But at the same time, on Jan. 4, Blum's régime announced that "three new types of French cheese will soon resume their places in the *British diet*." While French workers are underfed at 1800 calories a day

and receive a slice of cheese (100 grams) a week, Blum exports food.

"THE BRUSQUE HALT"

Moreover Blum, whose Popular Front of 1946 under pressure of the sit-down strikes had granted the 40-hour week, announced on Jan. 2 that labor had assured him it would "consent to a 49-hour week in order to increase production . . . full time and a half for the eight extra hours was not envisaged."

The real situation under Blum has been exposed by the Paris Stock Exchange (*la Bourse*) not by its steady rise in stock values, but by its blunt statement: "There is no new Blum experience." It added: "M. Leon Blum had to choose between a new raise of wages . . . or a brusque halt. He has chosen the brusque halt."

Skilful British analysts declared of the SP slogan, "stabilize prices and save your pockets": "Workers in a number of French newspapers and in the French Civil Service are threatening to strike for higher wages, and French industry as a whole is still menaced with a wave of strikes."

What did Blum do about raising workers' wages? "M. Blum hopes to stave off the labor troubles by improving the buying power of the workers' wages instead of agreeing to the workers' demands for bigger salaries."

Newspaper workers who had been on a slowdown strike for three days were locked out by the publishers yesterday. Government functionaries were finally promised a small wage increase by Blum; but they still threaten to strike. This despite a General Confederation of Labor (CGT) agreement to use union work-

ers as "watch dogs" against price violations and CGT agreement "to support the price policy."

France remains solidly wedged on the inflation road. Her budget is dangerously unbalanced. As Blum issued the "down five per cent" decree the Bank of France issued 10 billion francs of new notes; this week another 12 billion were in circulation. Bills in circulation rose from January 1946's 579 billion francs to December's 734 billion, or a 28.6 per cent increase, despite Blum's acts. Bank of France advances to the state rose from 0 to 67 billion francs.

ANTI-WORKING CLASS REGIME

Blum has made no effort to control these new issues. Nor has the Socialist Party made a single step to control profits, or to impose a tax on capital. In 1946 production rose 100 per cent, prices rose 72 per cent and profits of the larger corporations rose almost 100 per cent. But wages lagged far behind with only a general 20 per cent rise. It is no wonder, say informed observers, that Blum has not been able to end strikes.

Socialist Party actions to prevent wage increases and continue the lag of wages behind prices, profits and production are not the only anti-working class action Socialists have led in four weeks of rule that end in mid-January.

To crown its policy of opposing wage increases for French workers at home and opposing independence of colonies, the "all-Socialist" régime practically took over the Saar coal basin.

Wherever it has acted the "all-Socialist" régime has underlined its hostility to workers of France, India, China and the Saar.

GERMANY TODAY: RAGS, LICE AND HUNGER

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Dec. 25—In the bitterest cold wave since wartime destruction levelled much of Germany, British medical authorities announced: "There will be no colds in Germany this winter; there will be only pneumonia, followed by death." Lack of coal and lowered resistance to disease arising from a diet of less than 1,550 calories is the reason.

What means 1,550 calories?

Item	Ounces	Calories	Equivalent
Bread	12	877	4 thick slices
Cereal	2	206	a handful
Potatoes	10	186	3 small potatoes
Fats	1/4	51	1 teaspoonful
Jam (no sugar)	3/5	36	1 small forkful
Meat	3/5	28	1 small forkful
Fish	1	36	1 forkful
Cheese	1/10	5	like 1 small peanut
Vegetables	2-1/2	11	1/2 g carrot
Pulse and nuts	3/10	51	1/2 handful
Coffee (ersatz)	1/5	—	zero

will have more than the 1,550 calories to eat—farmers and the rich," wrote an American observer.

In one part of the British zone where children were given a daily school dinner of a thick soup made from flaked oats, dried milk and cracked biscuit, an officer described "the almost miraculous change which takes place after only a week of school dinners. The children become bright-eyed and playful, and

are able to concentrate for a time on their lessons." Generally most starving children do not receive such school dinners.

Though American Occupation Forces commander, General McNarney, said soldiers should no longer "hate the Germans," and U. S. Chaplains began urging "love for German children" at Christmas parties, German workers denounced the words "Merry Christmas" as a bitter joke when only 50,000 children out of 60,000,

000 Germans get one meal for one day from the so-generous conquerors. One woman said of the children: "But what about those who are too weak from lack of food to participate?"

However, the reality of occupation is shown not by infrequent propaganda parties which only accentuate the lack of food from one holiday to another, but by the continued evictions of German workers, particularly known anti-fascists, by American military units. Karl Scharnagl, Mayor of Munich, made a personal radio appeal to Munich residents on Dec. 20 to avoid "demonstrations" against house seizures or "reprisals" would certainly result. In the Munich area 1,580 houses have been seized by American forces.

The spirit of Christmas evidently animates the British army too. Hundreds of Hamburg families earmarked for eviction to make way for 2,000 newly arriving British families have been given a Christmas "amnesty," announced the Labor Party's Armed Forces. (4) The "amnesty" will last "until January 6, when evictions will start again." Halting of evictions "is understood to have been decided because of the mounting ill-feeling and indignation among the population, of whom about 9,000 have already been uprooted."

Starving humanity uprooted from houses is equalled if not surpassed in degradation by the degradation of the children of workers. Sneaking out into the night gangs of youths from

12 to 19 years of age, including many girls, are stealing livestock, bicycles, clothes, food, ration cards and tobacco in a crime wave which is rising in all four zones. During November 2,265 women were arrested in Berlin as suspected prostitutes.

An American military government report of Kothheim, a town of 11,200, described the typical case of a woman, her battle-wounded husband and five children: "Two children—three and five years old—possess no footwear. An infant was wrapped in rags, and lay on a sofa of rags. Lice and fleas did not mean anything extraordinary to the woman. The sanitary conditions were beyond description.

"The windows were holes in walls. Tattered, torn blankets were supposed to prevent cold air from penetrating. The ceiling of the room was covered up with a defective umbrella. The woman was preparing a dinner of vegetable parings."

No shoes. Rags. Lice and fleas and vegetable parings.

So ends one and a half years of military occupation in Germany on Christmas, 1946.

- 1—Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, Feb. 6, 1946;
- 2—British Select Committee on Estimates, House of Commons, Nov. 5, 1946;
- 3—New Statesman and Nation, Nov. 30, 1946;
- 4—Continental Daily Mail, Dec. 20, 1946.

NMU Fight Goes to Ranks --

(Continued from page 3)

plotting the decent sentiments of the membership for Maritime unity. Curran has right on his side when he charges that "the CMU is narrow." He might have added that it is a Stalinist set-up with the aim of controlling the waterfront in the interests of its political policies which begin in the Kremlin.

Curran was especially bitter at the Stalinist slander campaign and promises to tell the truth about the CP faction in the leadership! He already revealed that it was Stack who wanted to chase Smith out of the union on the charges of being "a fink." "I didn't raise any of that muck, and rake it before the Council, that he was in office illegally," he said.

In answer to the charge of red-baiting, he said: "I have not started any war to oust the Communists out of this union, nor will I. But if a group of people, who call themselves Communists, who are officers of the union, are attempting to utilize that party (Curran may or may not be naive)—then I think that party should disassociate themselves from these people, because they are not Marxists by any stretch, not from the small study I have made of Marxism; the party must disassociate themselves from these people."

Elsewhere, Curran adds on this point: "I think the Communist Party, if it is a Marxist Party, today has allowed itself to degrade down to the point where it is nothing but a job security amalgamation on the waterfront, and a rule or ruin group on the waterfront."

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE
Curran is correct when he denies that the Stalinists in his union are Marxists. But conclusion to be drawn from that is not that they are different from the Communist Party, or that their "Marxism" is slightly off, but that the Communist Party itself is not a Marxist Party; quite the contrary, it is anti-Marxist. The Stalinist group is not merely a "job security amalgamation" but a well-organized political group in the union, acting according to the "party line" and fighting for the political interests of Stalinism.

If Curran does not bear that constantly in mind, he will never understand why the Stalinists act as they do. If he does not understand the intimate relationship between Russian foreign policy and Stalinist policy in this country, he will never understand the Stalinist role as agents of totalitarian Russia. No, the Communist Party will not separate itself from its creatures in the NMU; on the contrary, it will only organize their fight more cleverly and more systematically.

There appears to be no halting this fight. The Stalinist gang is out to get Curran; he is too dangerous to their interests. And for Curran, this is a fight for his life in the union, whether he understands it or not. After many years of association with the Stalinists, he is beginning to learn that they are the greatest internal danger to unionism. But Curran will come to understand that he cannot fight them successfully unless he has a superior program of progressive and militant unionism. He must know that the Stalinists

can change their line repeatedly, appearing one day as super-patriots, the next, as militant unionists. Therefore he will have to expose their lack of principle and their trifling with the interests of the union.

It is good that Curran refuses to engage in a red-baiting campaign. That would be the worst thing he could do; it would be self-defeating. At the same time it should not deter him from an open and vigorous fight against the Stalinists who can best be defeated by superior policies. An organizational fight against them would resolve nothing and create the dangers of a reactionary turn in union politics and tactics.

Curran is on the right road in trying to organize a fight against government encroachment on the rights of the maritime workers. He is correct in trying to establish unity between all maritime unions, CIO and AFL. There are, however, some dangers ahead in the craft ideology of the AFL unions, their practice of Jim Crow and red-baiting. But if Curran is uncompromising, he can do a great deal to change these conditions. Unity of all maritime workers and unions would make them an unbeatable force on the waterfront but it can only be done by a genuine and vigorous union program, by defeating the government policy, the shipping companies and the Stalinists.

Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

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

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

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

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

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

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

"I WAS IN A STALINIST PRISON CAMP . . ."

We print below excerpts from a letter received by a friend from an old socialist in Germany. Though the letter does not attempt to discuss the political situation, it presents a vivid and stark picture of life in the Russian prisoner-of-war camps and of the effects of the power of Stalinism generally. It should be remembered that the general Seydlitz referred to is one of those captured generals who, with Marshal Paulus, formed the "Free German Committee," which served as a tool of Stalinist policy. The letter has been cut in a few unessential places for reasons of space.—Editor.

I work here in an office of the employment service where the prisoners of war returning from Russia come for help. Nearly none of them is able to work, nearly all suffer from rash, drowsy, dysentery and similar sickness of undernourishment. And how do they look? They cover their body with rags, hungry are they and really poor like beggars. But do not tell me that I'm exaggerating! Nobody can evade this open and clear message from the country of "Communism," from Stalin's country. Yesterday a woman dropped in and told me: A man released from Russia visited her and begged her to inform his mother about his return. He deemed it necessary to prepare his mother for the *Wiederssehen*—otherwise she would not survive his sight. . . .

One of the Russian war prisoners told me that he was captured in the environment of Berlin by a Seydlitz officer (Seydlitz is a general who, together with Paulus belong to the "Free German Committee," created by the Stalinists), himself from Berlin. This officer and the others had always lied to the prisoners and said that they were going home. Only when they crossed the Russian frontier did the prisoners understand what was really going on. And only in one point had they been told the truth: that they would live as equals with the Russian civilians. That had been really true: He was sent to Stalino into a former convict camp, where the civilians had exactly as little as the war prisoners. I asked this man what they were given to eat. He said: 3/4 of a quart watersoup with carrot leaves and 300 grams of black and undone bread. Then the same bread

and soup with other leaves. At other times green tomatoes or green pickles and bread. No fat.

THE RUSSIAN "MODEL" CAMPS

When this war prisoner came to our office we just had lunchtime and so we had time to listen to his story. We are interested to learn about Russia, because everyone of us has a friend or relative who is in Russian captivity. So we asked him for an explanation of why there were other war prisoners who could tell of better experiences they had in Russia.

Yes, he answered, he himself had spoken to one of them. There was a sport teacher from Heiligenstadt (in the Russian zone) who came from a camp not far from Moscow. In this "model" camp the prisoners of war had even received cake. The Russians are quite able to have two or three of them. But these camps are only for selected people, for example people from the "famous" Seydlitz or Paulus army.

Now I asked him why he had pronounced the names of Seydlitz and Paulus in particular.

I told you, he said, that I was taken prisoner by a Seydlitz officer. The first question he posed to me was: "Where is your watch?" The second: "Where are your papers?" Thirdly, he gave me a hard blow in the face. Then he took away from me my watch and the papers. I could not understand why the officer was so interested in my family status. I learned to understand this by the treatment another prisoner received, a Oberfeldmeister in the rank of captain. He was beaten by the officer until he delivered his wedding ring—the officer had deduced from the family status in the captain's papers that he must have one.

After the beating of the captain the officer left us, he continued. A Russian soldier came and asked us if we had already received something to eat. No, we had not! The soldier went away and soon came back with a pail full of beefsoup from the Russian kitchen and gave it to us. A woman declared she would bring us dishes. At this moment the Seydlitz officer showed up again, asked who had given us the food, took it away from us and said: "You Nazi-swines would like to eat? Die in a ditch shall you." After four days we received our first black Russian bread and pea soup.

On the way to the Russian frontier we pro-

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A REPORT ON THE RECENT SWP CONVENTION

Bureaucratism and Political Weakness

Several weeks ago we printed a notice of the expulsion of Felix Morrow and David Jeffries from the Socialist Workers Party at that organization's recent convention in Chicago. The purpose of that bureaucratic action by the Cannon leadership of the SWP was to deprive the SWP Minority of its leadership. Since then the SWP Minority has issued an appeal to all the sections of the Fourth International to move for the reversal of the expulsion at the forthcoming World Congress of the Fourth International. The document issued by the Minority is too long for total publication here, but we excerpt below sections of it describing the SWP convention, for the information of our readers—Editor.

The convention had committed no other outrage than the expulsion of Comrades Morrow and Jeffries, it would have been sufficient to mark a milestone in the bureaucratism of the SWP. And yet, placed beside the conduct of the convention as a whole, the expulsions almost begin to take on the appearance of minor bureaucratic acts....

To give the most devastating picture of this convention, it is merely necessary to record one by one the procedures taken and the motions passed.

On the eve of the convention (literally the night before) the Minority was informed that the traditional custom of equal time for National Committee Minority reporters was to be disregarded. The Minority was to be granted one hour to the Majority's hour and a half for the International reports and three-quarters of an hour to the Majority's hour and a quarter for the reports on the "American Theses." Two pretexts for this unheard of procedure were advanced by the Majority: (1) that the Minority was, after all, a "small minority," and (2) that the minority had only to criticize while the Majority had to give "a complete picture of events...."

This was only a forerunner of what was to come. When the discussion

began from the floor on the International report, Minority speakers were ignored as four consecutive majority speakers took the stand. When this procedure was protested by the Minority and a motion for alternate speakers put before the convention, the protest was cut short and the motion voted down without so much as an argument in justification. All in all, six Majority speakers got the floor to only one representative of the Minority....

The remainder of the convention continued in the same pattern: In the discussion on U. S. Tasks only one additional Minority speaker got the floor as against a dozen Majority supporters. The final touch came in the "Unity" discussion on the final evening of the convention. The Majority reporter had spoken for his half-hour period and had been unanimously granted a ten-minute extension. Immediately thereafter, the Minority reporter requested a ten-minute extension at the end of his time and was just as unanimously refused.

permanent prosperity of American capitalism. This method was standard procedure for the entire convention....

It is impossible to plumb the depths to which the Cannonites descended in this convention. Personal attacks on members of the Minority, the signal for which was given by Cannon in his hour-and-a-half summary on the "American Theses," brought down the house in thunderous applause more reminiscent of a football rally than a serious political gathering. All any speaker was required to do in order to obtain an ovation was to launch into personal defamation of the Minority. Minority speakers were met with the greatest hostility, manifested by constant jeering, hissing and other disturbances during the speeches. This was the atmosphere necessary to pave the way for the expulsions.

We could speak, in addition, of the political dishonesty of the Majority; of its refusal, for example, to vote on the Jewish resolution and thereby take a position; of its two key amendments to the wage-price resolution which destroyed two of its main arguments against the Minority position; of its sudden recognition, in reporting on U. S. Tasks, of the importance of "all-sided political activity" in order to disarm the Minority criticism—we could speak in detail of all this, which in itself constitutes the most damning indictment of the Majority. But of what additional import would this be against the background we have already described? The degeneration of Cannonism has already gone so far that it is no longer necessary to take special note of its political dishonesty—this is accepted as a matter of course, as something to be expected from the Majority, and we concentrate our fire upon the newest stage of degeneration—open organizational bureaucratism....

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After reading this account of the organizational procedure of the convention it does not take a great deal of imagination to realize what the political tone must have been. From the very first speech when E. R. Frank consciously distorted the entire Minority position on international questions, attributing to it positions it had never taken, no one from the Majority attempted to make an honest presentation of what the Minority stood for and argue against it fairly. Falsification and abuse became the substitute for argumentation. When the Minority asserted, for example, that a major economic crisis in America would be postponed for a few years, every Majority speaker was quick to attack the Minority for faith in the

Comrades Morrow and Jeffries were not expelled on any specific charges, but on a general charge of "disloyalty and disruption," reminiscent, even in its phraseology, of the Stalinist method. These general charges, designed in the first place to conceal the real political motivation for the expulsions, were substantiated by "examples" of organizational "disloyalty," but it is extremely significant that these three "examples," the only concrete justifications for the convention action, were not in themselves the grounds for expulsion—they remained merely "examples." The reason for this is not hard to find. If the Cannonites are backed to the wall and these three "examples" torn to the ground in subsequent international discussion, they will be able to maintain that this changes nothing since the expulsions were based on "general" disloyalty! Thus there is always a way out....

Our analysis has shown how flimsy is the case for the outrageous expulsions. In the light of this we appeal to all sections of the Fourth International to voice their protest against these bureaucratic measures, and we appeal specifically to the coming World Congress of the International to reverse these expulsions and reinstate Comrades Morrow and Jeffries in the Socialist Workers Party.

The bureaucratism of this SWP convention, marking a new stage in the bureaucratization of the party, is, like all bureaucratism, the sign of terrible political weakness. Unable, as the whole course of the discussion in general and the convention in particular have revealed, either to counter the political positions of the Minority or to solve the problems of the revolutionary movement, the Majority resorts to bureaucratic violations in the first case and to ritualistic exhortations in the second. Neither of these will advance the cause of revolutionary socialism one inch; on the contrary, they set it back immeasurably. The continually increasing bureaucratism in the SWP is analogous to the rising mercury in a fever thermometer; it marks the growing disease of the organism.

Fraternally,
The SWP Minority.

First State Conference Of Ohio WP

By G. McDermott

CLEVELAND—Ohio members of the Workers Party have just concluded their first state conference.

The meeting of members of the Cleveland, Akron and Youngstown-Warren branches, as well as individual members from other Ohio cities, took place in Cleveland. Nathan Gould, national organizational secretary of the party, visited the conference for the National Office in New York City. Members of the Cleveland Socialist Youth League as well as friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party were present.

Efforts of the union movement to better labor's conditions were one of the chief subjects discussed as militants from a number of CIO and AFE locals took up this subject. Participation in the fight for veterans' rights also was discussed, as was the building of a strong Socialist Youth movement. Methods of increasing the circulation of LABOR ACTION, The New International and publications of the Workers Party were considered.

The conference laid plans for strengthening the Ohio branches and for establishing new branches in other Ohio cities. Closer cooperation between cities was planned and a permanent Ohio committee set up to make this possible.

Negro and white workers, women workers, housewives, veterans and students all participated in the exchange of ideas, experience and information. The Ohio comrades returned to their homes determined and inspired to build the Workers Party in Ohio and the nation into a force powerful enough to lead the mass of workers, small farmers and oppressed minorities toward a socialist tomorrow.

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Max Shachtman
National Chairman, Workers Party

PRESS MANAGER'S

PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

We take this opportunity to announce plans for a LABOR ACTION subscription drive to be held throughout the country, beginning on March 1 of this year and ending on March 31—a one-month subscription campaign. This drive will be in conjunction with the seventh anniversary of the founding of the Workers Party, and its aim will be to get 2,000 new subscribers to our paper.

We are announcing this campaign well in advance of schedule, so that all LABOR ACTION agents and comrades of the Workers Party who will bear the brunt of the job of getting these 2,000 subs can know about it and be prepared to participate in this work. We are attempting something novel in this campaign—a campaign of short duration, sweet and snappy, intended to have a quick success.

This means that the campaign must be thoroughly planned in advance so that on March 1 it can get off to a speedy start. Details on various aspects of the campaign will shortly be announced: quotas, prizes for best sub-getters, a special subscription offer, etc. The Press Department plans to give plenty of assistance to its supporters in the form of a gift subscription offer, posters and publicity and prizes. This campaign will be a real test of the popularity of the paper and the ability and initiative of its supporters. The date set to begin is March 1, 1947—the time to start preparations is now.

The following subscriptions and renewals were received during the week, with Philadelphia taking the lead:

PHILADELPHIA	7
San Francisco	5
Buffalo	4
Cleveland	3
Louisville	2
New York City	2
Chicago	1
Detroit	1
Los Angeles	1
West Virginia	1
Miscellaneous	5
TOTAL	32

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

A Rave Note on Ranger Column

Congratulations to Jack Ranger and his column, "Tapping the Wall Street Wire." He does a fine job of analysis and documentation. The treatment on 1-13-47 of "A Close-up of the Economy" substantiated the suspicions of the lower and middle classes that they are all once more playing at the game of making "ends meet." Practically everyone is working at a job and working full time, yet, almost as universally, no one is quite earning enough to make expenses.

Folks can pay for their food, clothing and housing, but those unexpected essentials such as replacing a blown tire or doctor's bill drain away even more than the last dollar of the previous pay. So there is nothing to do but to cash a war bond and when they are gone to get a loan from the sharks. It's not a question of a worker not being able to buy what he produces or even what he wants but rather a question of not even being able to buy all those essentials of life which he and his family urgently need.

One only has to look back a few years, to before the war boom, to see that this state of affairs is not a new one. Who does not remember the mortgaged homes, the surrendered insurance policies and the gutted

savings accounts! Also, who does not remember the domestic situations which arose from these conditions; the feeling of frustration in the wage earner who could not earn enough to support his family, the despair of the thrifty wife when budgets never quite worked out, the children who accused their parents of denying them the good things of life, the parents who relentlessly reminded the child of the great sacrifices they were making in his behalf, the crossfire between the parents accusing each other of wasting money and of incompetence.

All the homes across the country will, or rather are, beginning once again to feel the social implications of the economy as pictured by Ranger. The aged and the children will become an unbearable burden on those between 20 and 40 years of age. The middle aged beyond 40 are finding it difficult to obtain employment. Each day every household receives its share of "misery in small doses."

The capitalist system certainly makes the domestic situations difficult if not impossible because of the economic straits which exist in most homes. Instead of attacking the system which is responsible, the members of most families wear themselves out in ceaseless and fruitless battle with each other.

I believe Ranger's "Close-up of the Economy" is a true picture and also

that the domestic crises which I have tried to picture will almost inevitably a real home should seriously consider how he can remove the greatest obstacles which bar his achievement.

Frank Harper.

Once Again, the Palestine Issue

Dear Editor:

In the course of Albert Gates' reply to Ed Findley, Gates writes that "British imperialism is also vigorously assisted by the attitude of the Jews toward the Arabs, when the latter express themselves toward the Arabs in a language that is, from the point of socialism and internationalism, impermissible, reactionary, coupled with overtones of 'racism.'"

Now, Gates does NOT write "attitude of Jewish leaders," as he does when he writes "British imperialism has succeeded with the assistance of the Arab overlords, in whipping up resistance and resentment, of large segments of the Arab masses to Jewish immigration."

Gates does not mention the fact that the bulk of the Arab masses, misled by their leaders and the British, not only oppose Jewish immigration, but have also organized mass pogroms against the Jews and "have expressed themselves toward the bly accompany the economy. The

only way to eliminate these domestic crises is to build a socialist world by building a socialist movement. Anyone seriously interested in building Jews in a language that is, from the point of socialism and internationalism, impermissible, reaction, coupled with overtones of 'racism.'"

Overlooking the recent concentration camps, terror, floggings, etc., in Palestine, Gates still seems to be under the influence of the Stalinist propaganda which has told us that the Jews enter Palestine as imperialist oppressors and as agents of British imperialism.

Gates reminds us that "we are discussing the question before audiences which attract many Jews, and the majority of them do not have what is, in our opinion, a clear and correct position on the question. We are appealing to them because we have direct contact with them and because they hold a key to the solution of this whole question."

Gates is so anxious to disassociate himself from and correct the chauvinist attitude of many Jews that he forgets that the main problem is to correct and disassociate ourselves from the bulk of the American public who have anti-Semitic prejudices and who believe that the Jews have been oppressing the Arabs.

As for Gates' lamentable statement that "the Jews desire to go to a country which is predominantly Arab. In coming to such a country, the respon-

sibility of Jews for a correct attitude toward the Arab is greater than that of the Arabs, especially because of the latter's hostility to increased Jewish immigration. The Jews have to overcome this hostility and win the Arabs to their side; they cannot do it except on the basis of our program," may I suggest that before Gates reminds us with a paternal attitude that "emotion and sentiment, however understandable, will not solve the problem of the Jews in Palestine," that he learn that one does not have to prove to oneself all the time that he is not one of "those bad Jews after all."

Comradely yours,
Irving Berg.

It is quite impossible to reply adequately to the many statements made above without writing a lengthy article on the Jewish question. Berg, unfortunately, is overlooking everything we have written at great length on this problem in its various manifestations. Otherwise he could not write that we overlook the widespread anti-Semitism in this country. On the contrary, as our readers are fully aware, we have given consistent attention to it. The only thing I can do at this point is to ask our readers to watch for an article which I am preparing for a future issue of The New International, where these problems will be treated in detail.

Albert Gates.

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Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg:

Three Titans of the Socialist Revolution



On this page we are commemorating three of the titans of twentieth century history—V. I. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. This month it is 28 years since Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered in Germany by henchmen of the Social Democracy during the wave of revolutionary fervor which swept the European working class after the Russian Revolution; and, as has been customary in our press, we seize this occasion to commemorate the memories of these master builders of the socialist movement.

The name of Lenin is well known in this country. Probably the most impressive human figure of our century, Lenin has by now become inseparably linked with the first successful working class revolution in the world. But Lenin was not only the leader of the Russian Revolution—tremendous achievement though that was; he was also a major thinker in the socialist movement who contributed writings and conceptions of lasting validity. And he was a man so passionately and fully devoted to the cause of human liberation that he has become a symbol of the entire movement.

Though Luxemburg and Liebknecht are not as well known in America, except to active revolutionary socialists, there is every reason why they should be.

Rosa Luxemburg is a unique figure not only in modern but in world history. She was a woman of powerful intellect who entered into intellectual combat with the impressive socialist theoreticians of her day and showed that her ability was second to none. In her own way, she championed the revolutionary conceptions in Poland and Germany which Lenin championed in Russia against those reformist socialists who were beginning to make of socialism a form of polite liberalism. She was the active leader of the left wing of the German movement, went to jail during the First World War because of her anti-imperialist convictions, was a leader of the tragic Spartacist revolt in post-war Germany and



was killed by gunmen in the hire of the German capitalists and their wretched accomplices, the Social Democrats.

Linked with Rosa's name is that of Karl Liebknecht. Though not as eminent a theoretician as either Lenin or Luxemburg, he was one of the most beloved and fearless of that heroic generation of revolutionists who reached their bloom during and after the First World War. Liebknecht was a man of warmth and had a superb ability to maintain contact with the masses of people. He is especially remembered for his stirring anti-war speeches in Germany during the first imperialist war, for which he suffered imprisonment. The human aspirations which form the groundwork of the socialist cause were expressed in this revolutionist's life, also cut short by the same thugs who murdered Luxemburg.

They were of the heroic generation, these three. There were others with them: Trotsky, Rakovsky, Bukharin, and many, many others. In the succeeding years of Stalinist counter-revolution and reaction, many of this generation were murdered, others had their memories besmirched and still others their names taken in vain. For who can doubt that such incorruptible revolutionary and democratic socialists as these three would have viewed with hatred and horror the totalitarian monster of Stalinism which has dealt so many death blows to the cause of socialist revolution?

Yet in the minds and hearts of all revolutionary socialists there is the keen memory of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. In our work to build a socialist society, in our desire to study the experiences and writings of our predecessors and in our passion to rebel against injustice, we feel that we are continuing along the paths which they cleared. No human work could be more vital.

By ARTHUR STEIN

JANUARY 21 marks the twenty-second anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin. It has become a tradition in our movement to note this date with meetings and articles in commemoration of this hero of history's only successful proletarian revolution; the memory of Lenin continues with us as a symbol of a period in which the international working class saw its greatest triumph and was imbued with a never-again-duplicated optimism and self-confidence.

Lenin was the product of a generation of revolutionary heroes—he was the contemporary of figures like Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg,

and Leon Trotsky. One would search in vain for similar personalities in our time; the peculiar combination of an independent, imaginative and firm theoretical understanding, a spotless personal integrity, an absolutely selfless devotion to human progress, and a tireless energy and towering organizational genius is difficult to find in single individuals. This lack, of course, is but a manifestation of the differences between the time of Lenin and our own time.

**A MAN WHO LED
A FULL, RICH LIFE**

Lenin's life, completely centered around the struggle for human freedom, was certainly the fullest, rich-

est, and most productive imaginable. It was one of the rare examples of an almost complete lack of waste: all of Lenin's energies went into his life's work. His contributions to revolutionary socialism are truly remarkable. He is the author of one of the most authoritative classics in the economic literature of the world—"The Development of Capitalism in Russia." Lenin's other major contributions to Marxist economic literature, "Imperialism," and "State and Revolution" have long been one of the indispensable tools of our movement everywhere. But his selected and collected works contain some of his most important contributions on revolutionary politics, the

class struggle, role of the party, economic and political questions.

In the course of the many polemics in which he engaged the opponents of Marxism from all sides, Lenin produced many interesting contributions to the literature of Marxist philosophy. His most important work in that field is "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," which he completed in 1908. A volume called "Marx-Engels-Marxism" contains a collection of his shorter writings on this subject.

In any attempt to evaluate the significance of all Lenin's life, however, what should be pointed to as his most important objective achievement is probably his revolutionary serious-

ness, manifested in his constant insistence on translating Marxist theory into practice. With Lenin, Marxism was above all a guide to action. For the first time in history, conditions had provided an atmosphere in which Marx's "Capital" could have practical meaning in the daily lives of many millions of people, and Lenin was impatient with all those who shrunk from the necessary boldness to seize this opportunity.

It is under the heading of this quality of fearlessly drawing practical conclusions from theoretic beliefs that we must place Lenin's role in splitting the revolutionists away from the Russian social democracy, his immediate and firm anti-war position in 1914, his call for proletarian power in April, 1917, and, finally, his struggle against opportunism and the founding of the Communist International.

A few words should be said about the "epigones" of Lenin, those of his professed disciples who make it a practice to pervert and to falsify his doctrines. These, of course, are Stalin and his followers, whose sickening adulatory excesses concerning Lenin are equalled only by their degradingly ludicrous self-praise.

Stalin's complete ideological alienation from Leninism has again and again been demonstrated by Trotsky in his various writings; there can be no common ground anywhere between the spirit of totalitarian police terror of the Stalin regime and the scrupulously defended personal liberties, the spirit of Socialist freedom, and the democratic discussions under Lenin's leadership in the Bolshevik party. The "communism" of Stalin bears the same relationship to the communism of Lenin as the "Democratic" designation of Bilbo bears to the real spirit and practice of democracy.

There remains now the problem of what Lenin can mean to our struggle for socialism today. As I have tried to indicate above, it would be absurd to assume that the period of Lenin is identical with the period in which we live. But to say that we do not today witness proletarian revolutions, as in Lenin's day, is not the same as saying that such a period will not or cannot come again.

Lenin will always be one of the greatest of the teachers of our movement. As long as capitalism remains, his contributions to the theory and practice of socialism will remain relevant. But above and beyond that, his memory will remain for us a symbol of the heroic tradition of which we are the legitimate heirs; it will continue, above all, to be a symbol of the socialist future toward which we strive.

One of Lenin's Greatest Achievements Is His Still Valid Study of Imperialism

By ABE VICTOR

It so happens that Lenin's booklet *Imperialism* was exactly thirty years old several months ago; but it is not merely as an anniversary, however important the book, that Lenin's *Imperialism* deserves renewed consideration. The problem of imperialism continues to plague all of humanity; the analysts of imperialism, on the other hand, shrink back into the safety of obscure jottings and protected musings about a world cancer which calls for boldness, for thoroughness and for the courage to face an unpleasant truth.

Analysis of the economic and political nature of imperialism, not merely by the sober and far-seeing advocates of world socialism, but even by the bourgeois economists, however deluded they were, was a growing, developing, internationally accepted project in the journals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The world in 1860 had passed far beyond the Imperium Romanum, the empire which Julius Caesar founded in 45 BC, when he flung the tentacles of his military machine and with them his personal power into all Roman countries, and entrenched this power by assuming the title "Imperator." The world had, in fact, passed far beyond anything like the Greek Empire of Alexander the Great, or of the Emperor Charlemagne of southwestern Europe.

Economists in the second half of the nineteenth century were concerned with the imperialism of the most highly developed bourgeois economies, the imperialism of the western nations, the imperialism which emerged directly from the structural character of finance capital.

BACKGROUND TO IMPERIALISM

In the third volume of *Capital*, Karl Marx undertook, for the first time, to demonstrate the subdivision of capital into industrial, commercial and money capital. This was the beginning of the evolution of all modern analysis of imperialism. On the basis of the analysis furnished by Marx, Kautsky, Hilferding, Bauer and Cunow were able to develop the analysis of banking, the relation of the banks to monopoly capitalism, the centralization of the banking system, the export of capital abroad, and the subordination to foreign branch banking of the state power in smaller and less advanced countries. The German Social Democrats, who were great scholars and important contributors to the growth of Marxist political and economic theory, were unfortunately corrupted by the growth of opportunism in the European Social-Democracy. They were able to discover the nature of finance capital without realizing many of its direct political implications.

Hilferding's book, *Finance Capital*, was one of the most important contributions to the development of economic research and theory in the field of imperialism, as was the book entitled *Imperialism* by the Englishman, Hobson.

In the spring of 1916, from his exile in Zurich, Switzerland, Lenin was able to secure a copy of J. A. Hobson's book in spite of the difficulty in obtaining French and English literature. In preparation for his pamphlet he read Hobson, Hilferding and collected numerous statistical evidences from German periodicals which specialized in the analysis of the German market, banking system and financial operations. He then proceeded, in 125

pages, to compress the findings of both Hilferding and Hobson on the concentration of production and monopolies, on the banks and their role in the new finance capitalism, on finance capital and the financial oligarchy, on the export of capital, on the division of the world, and on the place of imperialism in history.

LENIN'S GREAT STUDY

Lenin, naturally, used only that data which was absolutely necessary to prove his thesis. He was forced, considering the limited size of his projected booklet and the censorship imposed on him, to leave out tremendous quantities of data which he had available. In addition, he had no access to other quantities of material because of the exigencies of the war. Since then, however, this work has been implemented by the last chapters of Lewis Corey's *Decline of American Capitalism* and by other American economists who were profoundly influenced by the Marxist studies of the role of finance capital in international diplomacy, conflict and war.

Lenin's book was destined, however, to play a tragic and somewhat ironic part in the development of recent Marxist politics. The primary concern of Hilferding, Hobson and Kautsky as well as of Lenin had been with capitalist imperialism, the imperialism of monopoly capitalism, of the great banking monopolies, of Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Japan and the United States. This is properly the problem of present-day capitalism. Lenin, however, never stated that imperialism was peculiar to capitalist society. In others of his writings, as well as in *Imperialism*, he stated that war is proper to the economic system based on slavery and on feudalism as well, that there were imperialist wars on the basis of slavery. Lenin even cited the war between Rome and Carthage as an imperialist war on both sides. "Every war in which both belligerent camps are fighting to oppress foreign countries or peoples and for the division of the booty, that is, over who shall oppress more and who shall plunder more, must be called imperialist."

When it is said of *Imperialism* that it created a division between the system preceding finance capitalism and the epoch of modern imperialism, what is meant is that the period of pre-monopoly capitalism in Western Europe was characterized predominantly by national wars. Anyone who concludes from this, however, that in all the preceding eras of history there were no imperialist wars generally, would be guilty of a complete misconception of history and a grave vulgarization of Lenin on imperialism. It would mean that the "colonial wars" which bear a great importance to the wars of the imperialist epoch, had been completely forgotten.

A NEW MODERN IMPERIALISM

In 1939 the modern world was startled by the appearance, in the midst of the "normal" and "understandable" bloody imperialism of the Western capitalist powers, of a throwback, a distorted version of the long since dead societies in which Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great and Charlemagne had entrenched their power. Stalinist Russia entered into a war of bureaucratic expansion, of subjugation and oppression of other peoples. The Stalinist bureaucracy showed a decided interest, remi-

niscient of the modern Western monopolist banks, but also of the Eastern empire of Alexander, in the oil wells of the Western Ukraine, the copper and nickel mines of Finland, an interest in stocks of manufactured commodities stacked in the warehouses of Poland, and an important interest in the skilled and semi-skilled workers of the territories occupied by Russian troops. And then, as if guided by the whispers of the ghosts of the ancient Roman military governors themselves, the Stalinist régime made plans for placing a million ruthless Russian bureaucrats in the seats of power in the occupied East-Polish territories.

As a result of this new Russian imperialism, the people of Finland and Poland were pressured into intensifying their bourgeois-patriotic feelings instead of being taught to heighten their class-consciousness; they were driven into the political aura of their own ruling class, even the more reactionary sections of it, instead of being brought closer to the revolution; they became more anti-pathetic toward the principles, achievements and defense of the Russian Revolution instead of becoming more sympathetic toward them; the participation of Stalinist Russia in the attacks against Poland and Finland retarded the interests of the world socialist revolution and enormously strengthened the position of the modern bourgeois imperialist powers.

Whole sections of the revolutionary movement were bewildered by this new development in world politics. Lenin's *Imperialism*, its analysis of finance capital in no way fitted the actions of Stalinist Russia. The fault, however, lay not with Lenin but with the literal and limited interpretation of his pamphlet by the more bureaucratic and conservative leaders of the socialist movement.

Lenin, however, had an imaginative and penetrating mind which he exercised without the fear that comes from long years of ignorant and biblical acceptance of doctrine. Having written *Imperialism* for the purpose of getting past the censor, Lenin, in his preface, advised his readers to substitute Russia for Japan and Finland, Poland, the Ukraine etc., for Korea.

Readers of *Imperialism* today would do well to stretch their imaginations even more, to understand that the investment of finance capital abroad differs from the plundering of occupied countries but that both forms of imperialism are possible, and that the peculiar conjunction of events which created bureaucratic collectivist Russia in the midst of a capitalist world made it possible for the modern form and the "sport" form of imperialism to exist side by side.

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KARL LIEBKNECHT

As Far Back as 1906, Karl Liebknecht Wrote an Eloquent Socialist Warning Against Capitalist Militarism:

Modern Militarism Which "Arms the People Against Itself . . ."

By SUSAN GREEN

The number of employees of the War and Navy Departments give a measure of the growth of peacetime militarism in this country. Army and Navy desk workers in Washington number 850,000, as against a mere 43,000—one-twentieth—federal employees for all national housing and federal works agencies.

We might say that the appointment of General Marshall as Secretary of State strengthens the fusion between American imperialism and its indispensable mate, militarism, though this latest appointment only highlights similar unions between imperialism and militarism. For generals fill ambassadorships and other government posts.

So we see in the United States, where such things just couldn't happen, the colossus of militarism spreading its vicious tentacles. Against the background of the living menace of militarism in the last stronghold of capitalist democracy, a reading of Karl Liebknecht's little book entitled *Militarism* is instructive. This book is based on a revised lecture delivered by Liebknecht at a conference of young people in Germany way back in 1906—for which

lecture, by the way, the author was found guilty of treason and thrown into prison. Though four decades old and directed primarily against German militarism which Liebknecht fought tooth and nail all his life, the lecture has that historic sweep and penetration which puts it down as a classic for study in understanding capitalist militarism of any time and any country.

"Militarism," said Liebknecht, "is not specifically a capitalistic institution. It is, on the contrary, an institution peculiar and essential to all societies divided in classes, of which capitalist society is the last. It is true that capitalism develops, like every other society divided in classes, a kind of militarism peculiar to itself. . . ."

Liebknecht pointed out that especially suited to the capitalist stage of development, is the army based on universal military service. Of this Mr. Truman and others seem well aware today. The most dangerous plan of the ruling class is to indoctrinate the youth in the spirit of militarism. When President Truman asked Congress for a universal military training law, he revealed its true purpose in his usual blundering,

but blunt way, "I don't like to think of it as a universal military training program. I want it to be a universal training program, giving our young people a background in disciplinary approach. . . ."

So youth, at the impressionable age of eighteen, is to be put under the tutelage of army officers to be trained "in the disciplinary approach"—and Liebknecht knew what such an army is. Such an army, he said, "constituted by the people, is not an army of the people but an army against the people, or becomes increasingly converted into such a one."

Stressing further the anti-people's character of the so-called people's army, is this forceful passage: "This is modern militarism, which attempts nothing less than squaring the circle, which arms the people against the people itself; which, by trying with all means to force upon social division an artificial division according to ages, makes bold to turn the workman into an oppressor and an enemy, into a murderer of members of his own class and his friends, of his parents, sisters, brothers and children, into a murderer of his own past and future; which pretends to be demo-

cratic and despotic, enlightened and mechanical, popular and anti-popular at the same time."

In another section of the book, Liebknecht's use of the phrase "Militarism for Abroad" strikes a most familiar chord today. Who says that American militarism today is to be turned against the American people? Doesn't everyone understand that it is strictly for "abroad," to "defend the nation," and, above all, to prevent another war? This lying argument of the ruling classes is as old as Methuselah and was used by the German junkers no less than by all other imperialists.

The chapter on "Means and Effects" describing how Prusso-German bureaucratic, feudal and capitalist militarism built and maintained itself, reveals parallel methods employed right now in this country. The appeals to ambition and vanity, the glorification of soldiering, so-called special privileges, enticements for re-enlistment, the military disciplinary system, substitution of jingoism for thinking, loud opposition to any progressive idea—"Thus they attempt to tame men as they tame animals. Thus the recruits are drugged, confused, flattered,

bribed, oppressed, imprisoned, polished and beaten; thus one grain is added to the other and mixed and kneaded to furnish the mortar for the immense edifice of the army; thus one stone is laid upon the other in a well calculated fashion to form a bulwark against the forces of subversion."

However, modern militarism—with its two-fold function of preparing for foreign war and also for suppressing labor—is in a quandary. Liebknecht posed the contradiction, more true today with the complicated instruments of war, than in his day. "The two tasks of militarism, as will be seen, do not at all harmonize always in the department of military education, but are often at cross-purposes. That is not only true of training, but also in regard to equipment. War training demands ever more imperatively a continuously growing measure of initiative on the part of the soldier." However, on the home front, "As a 'watch-dog of capital' the soldier does not require any initiative, he is not even allowed to possess it. . . . In short, war against the foreign foe requires men; war against the foe at home, slaves, machines."

Aside from the indoctrination di-

rectly for the army, militarism influences the entire civilian population in many ways, subtle and obvious. For instance, a large military establishment entails huge orders from which private enterprise, in many fields, derives boom business. Around the military forms a special-interest group whose pockets are lined by it. These elements defend the military régime and spread propaganda for it. Among the facts that can be cited to underscore the spread of militarism throughout American life, is that more and more schools of higher learning depend for research, in whole or in part, on Army or Navy funds. This is cemented the tie between militarism and education, science, and so-called culture.

Still, militarism is by no means an unmitigated boon to capitalists, though capitalism cannot function without it. The expense of maintaining the colossus worries the monarchs of money. The military budgets of 1906 were as mole hills compared to the almost fifteen billions proposed by Mr. Truman—a proposal that forty per cent of peacetime government expenditures be used for war preparation. At the same time, the capitalist politicians are under

pressure to reduce the taxes paid by capitalists. Quite a dilemma. Liebknecht pointed out that much of the financial burden is shifted to those least able to carry it, as witness the twenty per cent pay-as-you-go tax on wages taken out of every American worker's pay envelope today.

In the everyday life of the workers militarism spells unfair competition to their labor. In Liebknecht's day the junkers used "soldiers to help with the harvest" just as they were used in "free" America during the war. The military in the shameful role of scabs and strikebreakers has gone with capitalist militarism from its inception. As militarism takes stronger hold of civilian life, the custom will be more common in this country. Furthermore, the military spirit and methods will be turned against militant workers in a revolutionary party who engage in revolutionary action. In Liebknecht's words "To do away with militarism or to weaken it as much as possible is thus a question of vital importance in waging the struggle for political emancipation. . . ."

The struggle against capitalist militarism is the working class struggle against capitalism itself.