

LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 24, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Seek to Stab Rent Control By Fund Cut

FEBRUARY 19—The serious possibility that rent control might be knifed by a little-noticed stab in the back developed today when the House of Representatives voted, 320 to 25, to cut out appropriations for rent control from the forthcoming national budget. The House not only turned down a request for an additional \$5,900,000 for OPA enforcement machinery but directed the agency to hand back to the Treasury some \$9,000,000 of its present funds. Max McCullough, OPA head, warned that unless this decision were reversed rent control would be dead in three days.

In the meantime, indications of growing real estate strength in Congress mounted. Sen. Kenneth S. Wherry, Republican Senate whip, announced that he favored complete end of rent control. Other Senators were pressing for bills enforcing 10 to 20 per cent increases in rents. The relentless landlord and big business pressure for an end of rent control or at least for increases in rent levels seemed to be carrying the day

in Washington. Unless labor and consumer organizations move into immediate and powerful militant action, tenants will soon be paying more rent, which is the equivalent of a wage cut.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15—Asserting that an over-all rent increase would place "an unbearable burden on millions of families" and cause "untold hardship through widespread evictions," William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, today went on record demanding continuance of present rent ceilings until June 30, 1948.

Green's statement was directed to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, a subcommittee of which is preparing a report on rent ceilings. Senator Hawkes (R., N. J.) is leading the fight in behalf of the landlord bloc for a general increase in rent levels.

Together with Hawkes is Senator O'Daniel (D., Tex.), who has come out for abolition of ALL rent ceilings immediately.

Green's statement made unanimous the opposition of the American labor movement to any increase in or abolition of rent ceilings. But more than mere statements are required if the profit-hungry landlord lobby is not to push through an increase. Effective tenant action, organized on a block to block basis and resisting any attempt to raise rents, is the basic need.

AFL, CIO Tell Congress Keep Hands Off Labor!

Dewey Bars Rent Group From Capital

FEBRUARY 18—One thousand representatives of consumer, tenant, veteran and union organizations were today barred from the Assembly chambers in Albany by Governor Dewey's state troopers as they gathered in the capital to demand a state rent control law. Marching under the banners of the Emergency Committee on Rent and Housing, the delegates represented 150 organizations which are fighting to preserve rent controls and to obtain decent housing for the million members they represent.

Permission granted last week by Assembly Speaker Heck to the ECRH to meet in the Assembly chambers was rescinded after a series of attacks by Republican Senators on "the rabble rousers and reds." Protesting that the Dewey administration is already committed to the continuation of rent control, the Republican Legislature nevertheless refused to listen to the delegates who made the journey from New York City. The Democratic minority attempted to make political capital of the Republican stand by loudly decrying the "un-constitutional" action of Governor Dewey. However, neither the Democrats nor the ALP have commented on the specific demands of the marchers.

The ECRH has as its principal demand state continuation of rent control when and if the OPA goes out of existence. To support the demand, the marchers sought to present to the State Legislature petitions bearing the names of hundreds of thousands of tenants and consumers.

The delegation, arriving in Albany on a special train, found the Capitol heavily guarded by a cordon of state troopers. The hostile reception had been carefully arranged by order of the Governor several days in advance.

The ECRH, violently denounced as "reds" by the Republicans, has thus far limited its activities mainly to organizing petition drives and demonstrations.

Sheriff Gave Willie Earle to Lynch Mob

Another Lynch Victim!

"I do not favor lynching. . . . These were the words of South Carolina's governor Strom Thurmond when asked for a comment on last Monday's lynching of a 25-year-old Negro in Greenville County.

The body of Willie Earle, the latest victim of the South's system of lynch law, was found at a frosty roadside near Pickens, S. C., punctured with knife and shot wounds. He had been abducted from Pickens County jail less than two hours before that, where he had been retained in connection with the fatal stabbing of a Greenville taxi driver. There was no legal proof of any kind linking Earle to this crime.

Ed Gilstrap, turnkey of the jail, admitted that he had unlocked Earle's cell and had sur-

rendered him to the lynch mob. And, while admitting that none of the mob were masked, Gilstrap claimed that he had not recognized any of the men who took part in the murder.

The 1940 census lists Pickens, seat of the jail, as having a population of less than 2500 inhabitants, and Greenville, the near-by town in which Earle lived, as having but 34,745. Anyone who has experience with rural districts of this kind knows that for a public official—a jail keeper—it is quite a feat not to know everyone in all the neighboring towns.

What points even more strongly toward implication of the public officials in this lynching is the fact that no less than seven automobiles—which, it would seem, could eas-

ily have been identified—were used by the mob.

Here, again, is an example of the systematized rule of mob violence which terrorizes the Negro people in the South. In one way or another, all the ruling political elements of America are involved in these continual crimes—from the slick and soft-voiced advocates of restrictive covenants in real-estate, through the "white primary" politicians, and down to the hooded thugs of the Klan. Even the most "liberal" among the New Deal Democrats share this bloody responsibility. Let us not forget that Roosevelt, their most vociferous leader, consistently refused to push the federal anti-lynching bills in Congress.

Senate Body Plans Bills Against Labor

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19—Plans for anti-labor legislation were still being gingerly tossed around in Congress this week, but it appeared certain that the Senate Labor Committee, before which open hearings are being held, would report out a bill with certain anti-labor provisions. Provisions held likely to be recommended by the committee are: banning of mass picketing; severe restrictions of "jurisdictional strikes," so loosely defined that they might be used against all strikes; banning of secondary picketing; imposition of "cooling off" periods before strikes can be called—all measures calculated to weaken the power of America's workers.

There was talk in Congress of a law to prohibit the closed shop, but this was mostly talk. The American labor movement is at present far too powerful for this kind of deadly blow to be directed at it. The talk about banning the closed shop was probably intended as a cover behind which the other anti-labor provisions might be sneaked through. Not that Congressmen wouldn't like to smash the closed shop. But they realize that such a bill would call down upon them the wrath of millions of trade unionists in the country at a time when Election Day is drawing closer. They hope that the other anti-labor measures, the so-called "reasonable" and "mild measures," can be sneaked through quietly.

GREEN HITS BILLS

Testifying before the Senate Labor Committee, William Green, president of the AFL, denounced both Sen. Ball's bill to outlaw the closed shop and the revised Case Bill backed by Sens. Taft and Ball which incorporated the so-called "reasonable" anti-labor measures. He charged that such legislation would reintroduce the sweatshop in American life and restore "government by injunction." Green tacitly repudiated an earlier statement in which he backed President Truman's "moderate" anti-labor program, embodying a ban on jurisdictional strikes and for which he has been severely criticized in the labor movement.

The CIO is scheduled to testify later in the week, with Philip Murray and Walter Reuther as leading witnesses. In response to the recent AFL communications urging organic unity between the two organizations, the CIO has appointed a five-man committee to meet with the AFL but has correctly urged an immediate united campaign against anti-labor legislation even if, as is likely, organic unity between the two great union federations cannot be quickly achieved.

In Congress an undercover series of maneuvers between rival wings of the Republican Party complicated the anti-labor legislation preparations. The House Labor Committee, headed by Representative Fred Hartley (R., N. J.), declared that it intended to vote for the Senate committee's anti-labor bill and would not introduce (Continued on page 8)

Paris Printers Fight Stalinist Scab Attack

The strike of the Parisian Printers Union (Union of Press Employees) that has stopped the publication of every daily newspaper in Paris, continues. The main object of the strikers is to obtain a 25 per cent increase in wages to offset the general inflationary conditions that exist in France despite the much-publicized talk of government price reductions.

The main feature in the strike to date has been the open strike-breaking effort by the French Communist Party (Stalinist), which publicly denounced the strike and referred to the union and strikers as "Trotskyists." This vicious action on the part of the Stalinists reached its climax when a group of Stalinist goons and thugs (called a Committee for the Defense of L'Humanité, Stalinist

daily paper) routed union pickets from the offices of the newspaper. This action was branded as open strike-breaking by the union in a blast directed against L'Humanité's publishers. No effort is being made to publish this paper as yet.

The Parisian printers, who previously had struck last month, are continuing their fight despite the Stalinist efforts to get them back to work. As previously reported in LABOR ACTION, they welcomed the assistance given them by La Vérité, weekly newspaper of the French Trotskyist movement and the only paper permitted to be published during the prior strike. The French Trotskyists are undoubtedly active participants in the current strike, and LABOR ACTION will carry details of their work as soon as received.

Draper Challenges Opponents to Debate

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 17—A call to his opponents to appear with him at a jointly sponsored public meeting was issued this week by Hal Draper, Workers Party candidate for councilman from the Seventh District. He asserted his readiness to state fully and unequivocally his position on any or all of the crucial problems which confront the working people of the district, and he invited the other candidates to do likewise. Already on record for a city ordinance to freeze rents, a giant housing construction program, a unified city-owned transit system, and a finish fight against Jim Crow and police strike-breaking, Draper is prepared to answer the most searching questions on these or other points in his platform.

Carl Rasmussen, the incumbent and a candidate to succeed himself, was among those to receive Draper's proposal. His willingness to submit to the challenging questions of his constituents, especially his Negro constituents, is a matter for interesting speculation. Two years ago, when he was making his successful campaign for election, he inserted a big advertisement in the Southwest Wave, a neighborhood paper with a white readership, which, in effect, labeled him as the restrictive covenant candidate. "Protect your property values!" this manifesto screamed, implying that Rasmussen was a staunch defender of Jim Crow covenants and a proponent of rigid racial segregation within the district he was seeking to represent.

Last week, Rasmussen, in his capacity as head of the city planning commission, proposed that the municipality construct a \$17,000,000 parking lot near the Coliseum, a large stadium for football games, rodeos and other sporting events. Draper immediately spoke out against the expenditure of public funds for this purpose "so long as veterans and others must live in garages and trailers," and he reaffirmed his insistence upon a \$100,000,000 city-county housing construction program. "Housing takes priority over entertainment," Draper said, "and 'parking

places' for people must come before parking lots for automobiles."

He directed attention to an estimate in the 1945 Los Angeles City Year Book that for \$25,000,000, 5,000 substandard housing units could be razed and replaced by modern dwellings. This suggests what the city could do to ease the desperate housing shortage with the \$17,000,000 Rasmussen would spend on a parking lot and stadium. That the funds for Draper's housing program are available was indicated only a few days ago when the city government announced a plan to ask the voters' approval of a \$80,000,000 bond issue to finance the construction of a number of public buildings.

PAMPHLET SELLS WELL

Sale of the special campaign pamphlet, "Jim Crow in Los Angeles," is limited only by the number of campaign workers the Los Angeles Branch of the WP can put into the field. One-fourth of the first edition has been sold and a second edition will probably be necessary within a month. Beginning this week and continuing for the remainder of the campaign, a mimeographed newsletter will go out weekly to a selected list of interested people, particularly readers of LABOR ACTION. The first issue stresses attendance at the February 26 "enlarged campaign committee" meeting at Elks Temple on Central Avenue near 40th Street.

During evening visits to homes of contacts, a regularly scheduled part of the campaign work for each member of the branch, persons indicating an interest in the candidate's program are invited to distribute the free campaign folder, sell copies of the pamphlet, arrange home meetings to be addressed by Draper and to publicize the March 30 election eve rally at Elks Temple.

The campaign for Hal Draper is the first which the Workers Party has attempted in Los Angeles. It intends to throw all its energies into reaching thousands of workers with the socialist message.

Chi. Campaign Meeting Stresses Socialist Policy

By TOD WILKINSON

CHICAGO, Feb. 16—Recalling the socialist campaigns and labor struggles prior and subsequent to the First World War, Albert Goldman, candidate of the Workers Party for mayor of Chicago, told an enthusiastic campaign meeting tonight that the current WP campaign represents a revival of socialist political action. The audience, which filled the Sky Room of the Majestic Hotel, contributed \$763 to the Goldman campaign committee. Max Shachtman, national chairman of the WP, speaking in support of the Goldman campaign, said that a workers' government in the United States "would be an atomic bomb for world reaction." Lydia Bennett was chairman of the meeting, which drew many outsiders and friends from other cities.

Next to the pressure of economic conditions, which teaches its own lessons, a political campaign is the best method of educating people to socialism, declared Goldman. "We hope to bring to the Chicago workers through this campaign the fact that the problems of housing, transit, discrimination against Negroes, the school system, are directly connected with the rotting capitalist system and that only socialism can solve these problems," he said.

HOUSING ALWAYS BAD

There never was a time under capitalism when the workers' housing problem was solved, when the worker had available decent homes or apartments at fair rents, said Goldman. The government, which during the war could find billions to spend for death and destruction, today cannot find the money or the materials for housing, not even for those soldiers who were wounded in the war. Goldman observed that the candi-

dates of the capitalist-controlled parties, the Democratic Kennelly and the Republican Root, week after week over the radio are sounding their theme song, "Cut Taxes." To build the housing required by the people of Chicago would mean much higher taxes than at present, said Goldman. "The Workers Party says there should be no tax on incomes under \$5,000, but that income above that should be very heavily taxed, and a capital levy made if necessary in order to get the funds to house the people decently. To turn the housing problem over to private industry is to solve the problem for the rich, but not for the poor."

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

The Chicago union movement missed a great opportunity when it failed to run its own candidates on a labor program in this election, continued Goldman. "Organized labor is doomed if it thinks simply in terms of wages and prices, and turns its back on the whole social problem. The failure of the union movement to act gave the Workers Party no alternative but to present its candidate.

"We support the three candidates of the Revere Copper Local of the CIO Auto Workers Union, running for aldermen in the 32nd, 35th and 36th Wards. This is a step in the direction of a labor party.

"We support Homer Lewis, alderman candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the Third Ward.

"We are unalterably opposed to candidates of the Communist Party. The Stalinists are running a few candidates for the record only, but are perfectly willing to support Kennelly. The Independent Voters League, a semi-Stalinist organization, has come out for Kennelly."

Explaining that his name would not

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Feb. 17—The attempt of R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO vice-president, to make Walter P. Reuther, union president, the scapegoat for the critical situation in the Allis-Chalmers strike, began to boomerang this week.

For John Brophy, as personal representative of Philip Murray, president of the CIO, directly took issue with Thomas on the vicious charges made by Thomas against Reuther.

Besides which, Reuther himself sent a detailed report of all negotiations and actions in the Allis-Chalmers situation. This report presents a devastating case against Thomas!

CHARGES REFUTED

The two major charges which Thomas hurled at Reuther by means of statements to the capitalist press

were: (1) Reuther violated the union constitution by conferring with the Allis-Chalmers management without the presence of the local union officers; (2) Reuther had made a secret and unsatisfactory agreement with the Allis-Chalmers management and tried to shove it down the local union's throat before the recent election to determine bargaining rights!

In reality, these charges are what Thomas and his Stalinist brain-trusters HOPED Reuther would do. Not the least of their bitterness and chagrin flows from the fact that Reuther didn't fall for that kind of trap in the Allis-Chalmers strike.

Instead, as Brophy testifies in his letter, and as substantiated by the minutes of the Policy Committee of the UAW-CIO, every action that Reuther took in the strike was with the approval of the Policy Committee.

Is it a wonder that Thomas ducked away from a meeting with President Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and the other top officers of the UAW-CIO held last week! In every action and in every meeting that Reuther had with management, Brophy was present, representing Murray, who could not come.

As for the second charge about a secret deal, Brophy categorically denies this. Similarly, Reuther presents evidence to show that every "exploratory talk" with the company was made with the full approval of the Policy Committee, was reported in detail beforehand and afterward to the Policy Committee, and that Brother R. J. Thomas was in full agreement!

But to return to the first charge again. The policy that Brophy and Reuther would meet alone with the company, if the company refused to meet with Robert Buse, president of the Allis-Chalmers Local, was agreed to in advance by Thomas and Buse! John Brophy has challenged Thomas to deny this fact!

On the second charge, Brophy in his letter to all UAW-CIO locals says: "At no time did we make any agreement with the company on any point whatsoever, and in particular we reached no agreement on anything being done about the local situation. Our function was to explore the position of the company and report to the Policy Committee. This was done, and nothing more was done. No agreement was reached even to recommend any company proposals to the Policy Committee."

But this is only part of the story. The eleven pages of single-spaced writing in the Reuther and Brophy letters give full details on the Allis-Chalmers situation in the past two months, and they provide ample evidence that once again Thomas has hurled "false, malicious and irresponsible charges," made first in the capitalist press before taking them to the proper union bodies!

Another interesting aspect of this situation, and one which caused a real boomerang against Thomas in his own Local 7 in Detroit, was the fact that on the very day the Allis-Chalmers vote was being taken, one of his chief assistants in Milwaukee, who should have been busy on the Election Day campaign, came to Detroit, appeared suddenly at the Local 7 meeting and read a vicious attack against Reuther issued by Thomas!

What irritated the large membership meeting even more was the fact that only a few days before Local 7 had been asked to send, and did send, two men to Milwaukee to help in the campaign, "because we need everyone possible!"

This latest outburst of Thomas is part of his campaign to regain the presidency as the candidate of the Stalinists and the George Addes-R. T. Leonard bloc. The almost unbelievable lengths to which this bloc has already gone against Reuther, the recklessness of their campaign, testify to the fact that the UAW-CIO is in for its stormiest period.

UAW PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE BEATEN BY HIRED THUGS

CHICAGO, Feb. 18 (By Wire)—The first flareup in the heated local elections in the United Automobile Workers Union occurred today at International Harvester Local 6, which has just gone through an NLRB campaign and was holding its election of officers. Carl Shier, shop committee candidate on the Progressive ticket, was brutally beaten by hired thugs. Shier suffered a compound fracture of his nose and facial lacerations. Identity of the persons who hired the thugs has not yet been established, but the attack on the progressive candidate clearly relates to the union situation. The entire local, and the Chicago labor movement is aroused by this act of hoodliganism.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Phila. Labor Can Publish Its Own Paper

By JACK BRAD

PHILADELPHIA — The questions most commonly asked of those who propose a daily labor paper to replace the disreputable Record are: How can it be done? Is it a practical idea? Won't it cost too much? This is a legitimate problem, since most often it is asked by workers who agree to the need for such a labor daily in Philadelphia. Many Guild strikers have asked this question, too.

We cannot propose to give a detailed answer. That can only be done by an actual committee assigned to the job by the CIO and AFL, as we propose. Such a committee would have resources open to it far beyond its expectations because the Philadelphia workers would come to its aid. Such a committee would have at its disposal the technical skills of the AFL printing trades, the Guild reporters and numerous skilled organizers as well as the creative intelligence of its quarter of a million members.

Where would it be printed? We have made two suggestions. First, the Record printing properties are for sale. The labor movement could buy

them, and thereby not only acquire a press but foil any reactionary or any other phony liberal like David Stern from muscling into Philadelphia. Second, if the Record properties are unavailable, then we can build from the ground up. The Philadelphia labor movement has done that before, too. This city is the home of the American trade unions. They were built from nothing into the mighty organizations of today.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers built a magnificent modern building at 22nd Street and South only a few years ago. The Hosiery Workers Union has constructed and managed one of the finest housing developments in the city at the Carl Mackly Apartments.

PROBLEM OF MONEY

Where there has been a real desire and will, the money and energy have always been found. Labor has met no obstacle that it could not overcome with unity, decision and a consciousness of its desires.

How will we get the money? There are scores of examples we can follow in answering this question. It is

a problem that has been overcome every time the labor movement has undertaken a large and serious project. There is, for example, the case of the Buffalo Union Leader, which resembles our local situation in some respects. The unions of Buffalo bought an existing printing establishment in which to publish their paper. They paid for it by establishing it as a cooperative, selling cooperative shares to their members.

The Jewish Daily Forward of New York, which began as, though it no longer is, a genuine socialist paper, was financed by nickel and dime collections from needle trades workers. In addition, contributions were made by union locals. Cooperative shares were purchased by individual union

brothers and sisters and by locals. In addition there are a score of other enormous resources. There are the properties owned by unions; there are the union banks, such as the New York Amalgamated Bank. And many, many others.

These are only the beginnings of a suggestion list on these two problems. These technical problems are large and difficult but they are not the decisive obstacles. It may take a bit of doing to overcome them but the first problem is to understand the need for the daily labor newspaper. For that, the widest possible support is necessary. We urge our readers to raise this question in their shops and unions and to write to the CIO and AFL councils.

UE Local Urges Philadelphia Labor Paper

PHILADELPHIA—The following is the text of the resolution adopted by Local 107, UE Westinghouse, on the question of a permanent daily labor paper:

"Whereas there is now not even a pretense of a liberal or pro-labor paper in the city of Philadelphia, and

"Whereas the necessity of labor having a voice of its own among the newspapers of the nation, almost all of which serve in the interests of the industrialists, is becoming more and more obvious to all workers, and

"Whereas the Real Reporter, the paper published by the striking workers of the Record, was an effective voice of the striking Guild workers and demonstrated the ease with which a genuine labor paper could be published;

"Therefore be it resolved that Local 107 call upon all the local unions and councils of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods to contribute to the support of the Real Reporter and urge its continued publication with the goal in mind of transforming it at the earliest practical moment into a daily labor paper" (our emphasis).

We urge our readers in Philadelphia to take this resolution as a suitable model to be introduced in their own shop committees, stewards committees and locals. We hail the action of Local 107 and urge others to follow suit.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

The Negroes, we hope, are watching the tragic fate which has overtaken the Jews of Europe. The Negro people have shown themselves, throughout their long history of oppression, sympathetic to other oppressed races. They have shown their solidarity with China, oppressed by imperialism. They have demonstrated their solidarity with the Indian struggle for independence. The Negro organizations should powerfully and clearly make known their wishes that the doors of the United States be thrown open to the Jews.

But the actual historical development of the Jewish struggle is of vast importance to Negroes. The Jews in Europe had been assimilated to European bourgeois society to an extraordinary degree. It is true that in certain parts of Europe, i.e., Poland, this was not so. But in Berlin and Vienna in particular, Jews were solid citizens, occupying high posts in finance, industry, government and the arts. They intermarried. In many instances Jewish families were Jewish in name only. They had become entirely incorporated in the nation.

The Jewish people in Germany were only a small percentage of the population—one-half of one per cent. The Jewish capitalists and many of the petty bourgeois intellectuals were opposed to communism and revolution. They believed in the ritual and rubbish of parliamentary democracy. More than that. In the early days of Hitler, there were Jews, wealthy ones, who would tell you that Hitler was all right except that he persecuted the Jews. Then, as if hell itself had opened, the imperialist war threatened to engulf European culture. Six million Jews perished.

Why did Hitler order this inhuman barbarism? That he hated Jews, is

no answer. That the Jews formed a sort of whipping boy for the German population and its allies is also true. But in the last years it is obvious that the calculated brutality against Jews and other peoples had a very special political purpose. The more the murders, the greater the massacres, cruelties and bestiality, the more Hitler's soldiers and the officials were tied to the régime. The deeper and wider the river of blood, the harder it would be for the German people to make up their minds to break with Hitler. Thus murder and bestiality were forced to expand and multiply.

Now comes the tragic climax. Today, when all the millions are already dead, the remaining Jews are fighting with rare heroism and determination, against Arab nationalism. It is true, but also against British imperialism. However much we may differ in our political estimate of the aims of the struggling Jews in Palestine and their allies in Europe, we cannot but admire their heroism and rejoice at every blow they give to the power and prestige of British imperialism.

But we cannot help a few reflections. Why has this courage and self-sacrifice appeared so late, when so many are dead and cannot fight? The answer is one full of solemn warning. They believed in the promises and in the strength of bourgeois democracy. Many Jews in Berlin and Vienna and others of the great towns of Europe were revolutionary. But the great mass believed in democracy, they believed in British imperialism, they did not in Germany believe that Hitler could ever come to power. They could not understand that capitalism was doomed, that its progressive days were over, that henceforth it could only drag the human race downward, persecuting with savage

ferocity minorities and the poorest and the most oppressed of the workers and poor farmers. It was a deadly mistake.

Negroes should reflect on this. The Columbians, the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the Camellia, petty gangsters like the pretender Talmadge, these, mischievous as they are, cannot seize power in the United States. But woe betide the country if, in a period of crisis, the capitalists were to find a suitable fascist leader. Then behind him all these evil spirits and Negro-hating rabble will rally. They have their enemies marked down—the Negro people. It is perfectly possible that a catastrophe as destructive to the status of the Negro people in the United States as was Hitlerism to the Jews, can fall upon this country. Who does not realize that we are living in a capitalist world whose foundations are crushed and rocking is living in a fool's paradise.

But fascism does not conquer so easily. It gets its chance only after the workers have failed to seize the revolutionary opportunities which the social crisis again and again presents to them. Against a revolutionary working class, fascism is powerless. Negroes therefore need to think in historical terms. They above all have no reason whatever to cultivate illusions about parliamentary democracy. They know it for the mockery and the sham that it is. They have the historical background and the daily experiences which should place them in the vanguard of those who understand the historical processes at work today. Every Negro in the United States (except the incurable Uncle Toms) should be for the overthrow of bourgeois society. They have little to lose but their chains and a great new world of freedom to win. The lesson of history is plain.

Reactionary Election Laws Force Write-in Campaign for Goldman

By ROBERT FERGUSON

CHICAGO, Feb. 5—The name of Albert Goldman, candidate of the Workers Party for Mayor of Chicago in the spring municipal election, will not appear on the ballot. Instead, a write-in campaign will be conducted.

According to the reactionary election laws of the state of Illinois, any independent or new party candidates must gather a high number of signatures by petitions to gain a place on the ballot in any of the state's political subdivisions. In this spring's Chicago election, Goldman's name would appear on the ballot only if Workers Party supporters obtained a minimum of 88,176 acceptable signatures out of a maximum of 141,080 signatures on their petitions by February 25, deadline for filing.

The laws state that a minimum number of signatures for an independent candidate shall be 5 per cent of the total vote cast in the last preceding election. Interestingly enough, candidates of the oil-line parties need only an insignificant number of signatures on petitions to get placed on the ballot in their party primary races. For instance, the three Republican mayoralty candidates in the Republican primary need signatures representing only one-half of one per cent of the last total Republican vote—or only 4,174 signatures.

It is easy to see how viciously discriminatory these laws are. A capitalist candidate needs only 4,174 signatures; a Workers Party candidate needs 88,176 signatures—or 22 times as many!

Moreover, in every election, unless the minority party gets at least 5 per cent of the total vote cast, it must go through the long and painful sig-

nature-getting process again in the next election to place on the ballot. In this manner, the Republican and Democratic politicians effectively bar minority political expression at the polls.

Because of its inability to produce such a staggering number of signatures in the mayoralty race, the Workers Party will conduct a write-in campaign for Comrade Goldman in the April 1 election.

Already the Workers Party has contacted the American Civil Liberties Union in respect to the violation of democratic rights involved in this disfranchisement of minority views. It is believed that a widespread protest can be raised by working class and other democratically-minded movements against these laws.

The rise of effective independent labor political movements out of the PAC or the unions will in considerable measure be hampered in the future unless these anti-democratic Illinois electoral laws are scrapped.

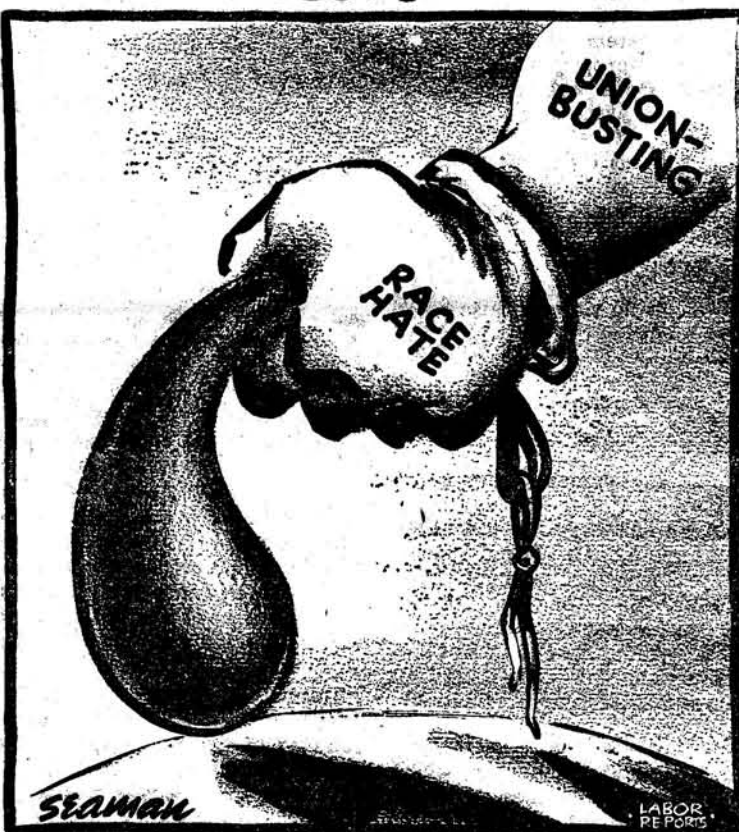
Chicago Readers:

Support the Goldman-for-Mayor Campaign!
Circulate petitions!
Distribute socialist campaign material!
Contribute financially to Radio Speech Fund!

WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

1501 W. Madison Chicago 7, Ill.
CHESAPEAKE 5798
Office Hours: 2 to 5:30 p.m. daily

"HAND IN GLOVE"



TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

BUSINESS FAILURES COMING

America's 60 Families, who own the bulk of this country, enormously strengthened their grip on the nation's wealth in the course of the recent war, by maneuvering the "defense" program in such a way as to channel most of the billions of dollars their way. Now that more normal peacetime conditions prevail, small business is destined to wake up to the facts—through being driven to the wall in the next few years. The Wall Street Journal recently reports that "the death rate among business this year will climb like a kite in a spanking spring breeze."

In the retail field, businesses most vulnerable include restaurants, taverns, night clubs, sporting goods stores and appliance shops. . . . On June 30, 1946, there were over 3.5 million individual businesses in the nation, 700,000 more than at the end of 1943. In November, total liabilities of failing concerns came to \$12.5 million, the highest since December, 1941. . . . The enormous profits being made in so many lines of business in recent years have inflated the acquisitive streak in the American petty bourgeoisie, so many of whom nurse a pitiful ambition to become Napoleons of business and finance. In 1946, four businesses were started for each one that shut its doors.

The Commerce Department has reported 227 new firms and 58 closings for every 1,000 businesses in operation. (The pre-war rate was about one new business for every one that closed.) Construction contracting was the most popular of eight major industry groups. There were 553 such firms opened last year for every 1,000 in existence at the start of the year.

The opening rate per 1,000 for other industry groups follows: Wholesale trade, 306; manufacturing, 269; service industries, 218; retail trade, 207 (chiefly motor vehicles and appliance and radio stores); mining and quarrying, 188; transportation, communications and other public utilities, 149; finance, insurance and real estate, 113. The highest rate of discontinuance was in lumber and basic products, with 156 firms quitting business for every 1,000 in existence.

Discontinuance rates for other manufacturing industries in 1946 were: Machinery, 129; electrical machinery, 93; apparel and other finished products, 90; iron and steel and their products, 80; appliance and radio stores, 77; furniture and finished lumber products, 76; eating and drinking places, 75.

After each war, Big Business proceeds to shake the little capitalists out of the field, but the above figures show that a new crop of suckers comes along each generation. In the year 1920 the number of business failures bounced up nearly 40 per cent. In 1921 three businesses went under for every one that died in 1919, and liabilities totaled more than \$500 million. Since the First World War monopoly has increased so greatly as to constitute almost a different quality.

In the next few years hundreds of thousands of men and women "on the make" to be bosses are going to be rudely shoved back among the masses. Today these aspiring titans of business and finance mouth all the reactionary nonsense that passes for social thinking with Big Business and its toadies. Tomorrow, when their dreams of ease and wealth crumble, their "human nature" will change. They will see things and feel things they had forgotten, or hadn't seen and felt before. Some of this human material may be salvaged and converted into decent humanity, good union men and women, people on the march to change this immeasurably stupid, cruel and inefficient capitalist system into a socialist society.

What makes a business man tick? Where does he obtain that acquisitive drive, that passion for profit, that callousness that can overlook the social consequences of his mad race after the dollar, that ability to rationalize and excuse and justify his living off the unpaid labor of others? From the educational system, the schools, the movies, the press, the churches, of course, for all teach that it is good and desirable to be wealthy. This present system twists and distorts some people until they become little monsters, caricatures of human

beings, almost like the animated dollar signs used by the cartoonists.

Here is a recent story that appeared in the press. A man named Herbert McCulla, was back in 1929, president of the National Junior Chamber of Commerce. Membership in that organization marks one as being an understudy of the wealthy, as possessing all the vices of the 60 Families but lacking their wherewithal. McCulla couldn't wait to make his pile through the socially acceptable methods of squeezing the poor or of careful robbery. He embezzled \$9,000 from the local symphony orchestra association, of which he was secretary. McCulla, of course, was a lover of the arts. He was clumsy about his theft, was caught, confessed, received a prison term in the Nebraska state penitentiary.

There since May, 1945, he has managed to make a net profit of \$1,113 as a manufacturer and dealer in novelty leather goods. He had 18 other convicts working for him, making billfolds and belts for sale to prison visitors.

In addition, McCulla, who describes himself as "a misplaced business man," received \$1,928 from the federal government as a refund on 1944 federal income tax; \$437 from an insurance policy; \$175 from the sale of leather working tools to convicts, and his \$10 monthly salary as prison storekeeper. The warden insisted there was nothing irregular or wrong in McCulla's business proclivities. And, from the viewpoint of capitalist morality, there isn't, for capitalism sanctions the exploitation of the masses, even in prison.

The American Management Association and the National Conference of Public Relations Executives are worried at their failure to sell the American people on the alleged benefits of capitalism. The stenches arising daily from that system continue to blanket all the rose water sprayed about publicly by the capitalist hucksters.

The American Institute of Accounts finds itself in a dilemma. Its secretary, John L. Carey, told a meeting in New York recently that weighty questions have arisen about industry's financial statements. On the one hand, he said, fuller disclosure of company operations might "help to substitute orderly bargaining for industrial strife, and to supplant worker hostility with worker cooperation. If such information would dispel from workers' minds fantastic notions about the size of corporate profits and if it would mollify what has been called labor's dangerous hostility to profits as such, it might do much to preserve the economic system under which we live." The objection to telling a little of the truth in financial statements, he continued, might "be the possible invitation of wage demands which might not otherwise be made and the conceivable use of such information by radical labor leaders as a stepping stone to participation in management decisions."

William Franklin, controller of the Caterpillar Tractor Co., had a brilliant idea. He suggested that a company issue one financial report to employees, and a different type of report to stockholders. Franklin said—and here is something that every union negotiating committee can throw in the teeth of the bosses—that reports to employees often resemble "a child's first reader printed on a valentine." Mr. Franklin is all for changing the names of things. He suggests that the word "surplus" be changed to "profit employed in the business." The new term, he believes, would erase the worker's notion that "surplus is an excess of some sort that the corporation should not be allowed to keep."

And speaking of profits and surpluses: U. S. Rubber announced consolidated net income for 1946 hit an all-time high of \$23 millions, equivalent to \$10.23 a share, compared with \$13 millions and \$4.44 a share in 1945. In addition, the company added \$49 million to its surplus. . . . National Steel Corporation reported net earnings in 1946 of \$20 millions, equal to \$9.17 a share, compared with last year's \$11 million and \$5.04 a share. . . .

MASS PICKETING AIDS CLEVELAND IAM STRIKERS

CLEVELAND, Feb. 15—A picket line of 3,000 men around a plant employing 120 men! That was the ringing answer that the International Association of Machinists gave to a strike-breaking boss in Cleveland.

The 120 employees of the Cleveland Frog & Crossing Co. have been on strike since November 6 for wage increases and a closed shop. The company has been stubborn. After several back-to-work moves fostered by the company have wrecked themselves against union solidarity, the company tried hiring professional strikebreakers.

That was the signal. District IAM President Mathew DeMore sent out word to the shop stewards in other IAM plants. Workers responded by walking off their jobs to close the struck plant tight. They flooded the street for a block around the plant, stopped traffic and swallowed up the vicious "Labor Relations" squad of the Cleveland Police Department. Needless to say, no further effort has been made to reopen the plant.

IAM head DeMore was a recent independent labor candidate for Cleveland. His militant action in this strike will only raise his stock further with Cleveland labor.

It is significant to note here that labor's rank and file, far from being scared by Senators Ball and Taft, are ready to come out fighting when called upon. It is only the top union officialdom that has backed down before big business and its congressmen.

A few more demonstrations like the solidarity and mass action of the Cleveland machinists will do a lot more good than crawling to so-called friends of labor in Washington.

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MARXISM
IN THE
United States

By
LEON TROTSKY

Introduction by
ALBERT GATES

35¢

Churches Drive to Smuggle Religion into School System

One of the most reactionary tendencies in modern American education is the drive to reinsert religious indoctrination in the schools. Traditionally, the American school system is supposed to be totally non-sectarian and non-religious. The school system is supposed to provide general education for the youth of the nation, and leave to individuals any religious instruction they may desire to acquire. This has been the classic position derived from the great capitalist revolutions of the past, especially the French and American revolutions—the doctrine of the separation of church and state. It is a doctrine which socialists have always supported and insisted be brought to complete fruition.

In fact, however, no modern capitalist country has completely separated church and state. The various churches have been too powerful, have had too intimate connections with the ruling economic strata to make possible their complete deprivation of state support. Naturally enough, the churches have always made their first object of interest the school system; whatever their denomination, they have understood the old Jesuit desire to get a child in its earliest years in order to make the deepest impression on him.

SOCIALIST ATTITUDE

And in turn, the labor and socialist movements have always insisted that state education be totally freed from church control or influence. They have understood that the church preached not merely its doctrinal creeds, but attitudes of submission to the powers-that-be, contempt for modern science and contempt for free and tolerant attitudes toward human problems. Wherever the churches gained control of education (especially the Roman church) pupils have been indoctrinated with hatred for such liberating ideas as the dissemination of scientific knowledge about the human body and sex; the use of scientific method; sympathetic understanding of the nature of art and literature;

and above all the meaning of socialism as a political doctrine.

In America there is at present an extremely dangerous tendency to allow the church to reassert control of the schools. Nor is this an isolated phenomenon; it is part of the general tendency toward reaction, mysticism, scholasticism and irrationality in contemporary intellectual life.

A series of inroads have been made by the united forces of all the major churches—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—to destroy the non-religious basis of the public schools.

Jim Farley Spills the Beans

A concrete example of how church forces are trying to gain control of the educational system in this country may be seen in a speech by James A. Farley, former Democratic Party national chairman and a prominent Catholic layman. The speech, delivered at an alumni meeting of New York City College graduates, urged the elimination from teaching staffs of "those who by precept or suggestion point the way or give encouragement to the spreading of subversive and anti-God propaganda."

Farley declared his belief that the function of education today is to teach "the greatness, glory and beneficence of the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, our economic system of free enterprise... and devout belief in the guidance of Almighty God."

The most recent and dramatic instance was the Supreme Court decision in favor of New Jersey's parochial school bus law under which the state of New Jersey used state funds for the transportation of parochial school students. The law was challenged—in our opinion, rightly so—that funds collected from all taxpayers, who include members of other re-

ligions and atheists, should not be used for the support of one church. The Supreme Court in its decision struck a blow against educational freedom and supported the practice of the church's use of government funds for its own purposes.

Another striking case was the recent suit by Mrs. Vashti McCollum, wife of a University of Illinois professor, who charged that her child was being embarrassed in school because he was the only one who did not take religious instruction, which had been instituted in the schools of Illinois. The State Supreme Court denied her claim.

RELIGION IN SCHOOLS

Last year, in New York City, the principal of Flushing High School got a bright idea and began the practice of reciting the Lords Prayer in the school assemblies, even though he must have known that there were students of Jewish origin and students who accepted no religion who would be embarrassed by the practice. Protest was so vehement that the practice was dropped.

At present, priests and nuns spread Jesuit doctrines in schools in certain parts of Maine. Protestant doctrine is spread in certain schools of Vermont.

Gradually, then, the churches are slipping into the school system, each eager to spread its own doctrine and make converts even though using funds raised from taxpayers of different or no belief. (The morality of this church practice we shall not here discuss.)

It is therefore necessary for those forces, such as trade unions and fraternal organizations, which at present are becoming aware of the dangerous situation in American education in their platform:

Complete separation of church and government education. No official funds to be used for private religious instruction. Where individuals wish religious education, they should organize it on their own time and with their own money. No church indoctrination in public schools.

In Mississippi: \$57 for White Students but \$7 for Negroes

By JULIUS FALK

The unenviable position of America's teachers is beginning to emerge from obscurity. Front page articles reporting teacher conditions and teacher demands are common today. Their problems have aroused nationwide interest in the status of American education. They have been awakened not merely to the new problems created by the teacher shortage but to the aggravated traditional problems of our school system: inadequate school budgets, lack of health programs, unequal educational facilities. . . . Taking cognizance of this public interest in education, a number of feature writers have been assigned series of articles on the social and economic status of the teaching profession and on education in general.

Insofar as many of these newspaper studies are objective and factual they are useful. But the objectivity of capitalist journalism obviously has its limits. The most shocking condition in our school system is permitted to pass without serious reporting or editorial comment. That condition is—discrimination of students because of color or creed.

Educational discrimination is still typical of the South and is becoming more and more of a problem in the North. Religious and racial minorities

above the Mason and Dixon line are finding discrimination, condoned by local and state authorities, an ever increasing obstacle in their path. The failure of the New York State legislature to provide a bias-free state university is just one of the many cases in point.

However, it is still in the South that unequal educational opportunities are most shocking. There young Negroes are forced by state segregation laws to attend separate schools which are for the most part broken down and unsafe, staffed with inferior teachers and without proper equipment.

In The New York Times of Feb. 18, Benjamin Fine, that paper's education director, devotes his ninth in a series of ten articles to the differences between state expenditures for education. He correctly points out that Mississippi spends only \$25 on an average for each child as compared with five times that sum spent in New York. All of which is true and important. But why doesn't Mr. Fine point out that the \$25 spent in Mississippi is only an average? Actually it is \$57 spent for white pupil and only \$7 for Negro pupil. Is the omission of this fact a mere accident, or is it the typical method which capitalist journalists use to cover up the rotten society.

This intra-state racial discrimination has even more significance than the inter-state school budget differential. The source material for Fine's figures and those offered here were the same: a nation-wide 1940 census. Yet the more innocuous figure is used by Fine and thereby the damning fact is evaded. Nor does he indicate that the same census concealed that only 32 per cent of the amount spent for the education of white pupils was allocated by the authorities for Negroes in nine southern states during 1939 and 1940. Nor does he show that racial discrimination among southern teachers parallels the fate suffered by Negro students in the South. In 17 southern states Negro teachers, working under infinitely more difficult conditions, received only half the pay of white teachers.

Is it any wonder that only two out of five Negroes, trapped between economic poverty and unequal state allowances for schools and teachers, have been able to pass the fourth grade in school? Another fact conveniently forgotten by Mr. Fine in an article which discusses the educational levels of the American people! The facts are there; but Mr. Fine is interested only in some of them. We intend to publicize all of them.

Teachers Struggle Points To the Crisis in Education

By A TEACHER

THE United States has been made conscious of a crisis in its educational system. Press and radio have done a good job of establishing the statistical facts about the serious deterioration in public school instruction. The essential facts are now common knowledge. Several million children are without systematic educational supervision because more than a hundred thousand teachers have quit their jobs for better paying ones in industry or other fields. Desperate educational authorities have resorted to the employment of poorly qualified or almost utterly unqualified instructors and can't get enough of even makeshift substitutes. Text-books are antiquated; supplies are insufficient; buildings are in need of repair; new buildings are needed; training schools for teachers are not adequately enrolled. Morale is at a low point among teachers and pupils. The imperialist colossus which was going to reeducate the German people in democracy is giving the whole world an object lesson in the value which it attaches to public education.

State and city governments are either indifferent to the situation or unwilling or powerless to take action to meet it. Hundreds of millions of dollars are needed to stop the descent of the system into chaos. Attempts to appropriate adequate funds meet with the determined opposition of banking and realty interests. They refuse to pay higher taxes. Congress is the arena for bitter struggles to raise rents, ease the tax burdens of the rich, monopolize atomic energy in the hands of giant utilities and cartels, appropriate eleven and a half billion dollars for "defense"; but no voice is raised, no program is offered to arrest the decline of the educational system, once the pride of a ruling class which flaunted its educational largesse.

A STRUGGLE TO HELP BOTH TEACHERS AND PUPILS

Only the teachers are left to fight the battle for education. They are the spearhead of the struggle. Prominence has been given to the demands of the teachers for decent salary schedules. Little attention has been given to the fact that they have shown a keen concern for the effects of the situation on their pupils and on the educational system as a whole. To demands for pay increases they have added requests and demands for improved buildings, new buildings, smaller classes, up to date texts, competent administrators, increased state and city aid to education.

It is unavoidable that they should do so since all the factors which drive them out of the system or compel them to undertake tasks beyond their strength or which impair their capacity and efficiency is a direct injury to the children in their charge. And conversely whatever improves their position is of direct benefit to their pupils. The struggle of the teachers for economic improvement is thus at the same time a struggle to publicize all of them.

Some Facts on Education

- Average teacher pay in the United States is \$1925 per annum, or \$37 per week.
- Most teachers in the United States do not have tenure and can therefore be fired for any number of unjustifiable reasons.
- In many states, sick leave provisions do not exist or are insignificant, and maternity leaves are seldom granted.
- The hide-bound principle of excluding married women teachers from the school system is still characteristic of American education.
- Retirement provisions have been proved inadequate. Some states only make a gesture with a \$10 to \$15 per week pension to teachers retiring after 65 or 70 years of age.
- In 1932, a year of depression, a greater proportion of the federal budget was spent on our educational system than is proposed for the budget of 1947, a year of promised "prosperity."

For these and many other reasons, which make the teaching profession unattractive today, we find that:

- Capable teachers are leaving the school system by the thousands and competent candidates are turning to other professions. The result is: 125,000 "teachers" who cannot meet state teaching qualifications, but are given "emergency licenses" to fill in vacancies.
- About 36,000 of these teachers have no more than a high school education and 80,000 have not completed more than two years of college.

By and large this struggle is confined to the channels of pressure on state legislatures and city governments. It is the plaything of Democratic and Republican party politicians. The "outs" utilize it to embarrass the "ins." In New York State which is the political focus of the struggle since Governor Dewey is regarded as the titular head of the Republican Party and the leading contender for its presidential nomination next year, we have seen the skillful maneuvers at work. Democratic Party Assemblymen and Senators at Albany who have been indifferent to the plight of the teachers for years have become vociferous critics of Dewey's cynical trafficking with the

craft and Republican party feuds. They CAN take a long step forward on the road to integration with the labor movement with which their destiny and the fate of public education is inextricably tied.

The fact that so elementary a truth has to be expounded, and that teachers are not a part of the labor movement, is at once a striking proof of the backwardness of the labor movement in the United States and of the teachers themselves. Compare the situation of the teachers in England. There three-quarters of the teachers are organized in the National Union of Teachers which negotiates wage schedules with the national government. It has succeeded in reducing the anarchy of two hundred discriminatory and inadequate local schedules to three standard schedules for cities, towns and rural areas. It uses the strike weapon as a matter of avowed policy. In eight years it conducted twenty-two strikes to enforce its demands and schedules. During the recent war it threatened a nation-wide strike unless the government granted adequate cost-of-living bonuses. An archaic law which proscribes the affiliation of public employees with unions has prevented it from affiliating with the Trades Union Congress or the Labor Party. It is nominally independent but in the essence of the matter, in policy, philosophy and practice, it is an integral part of the labor movement.

Consider the situation in France. There a hundred and thirty thousand teachers out of a total of 150,000 are organized in the French Teachers Union which is directly affiliated with the Confederation Generale du Travail. French teachers have not hesitated to employ the strike weapon.

In this country the American Federation of Teachers which is growing (Continued on page 6)

Two New Atomic Bombs Could Make Manhattan a Ghost Town!

By GEORGE TOBIN

Despite the soothing propaganda of the militarists to the effect that the atomic bomb is just another weapon only a wee bit more destructive than previous weapons, it is now revealed that even the primitive atomic bomb which was used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki can be made infinitely more horrible by a slight change in the way it is applied. This is one of the lessons learned by U. S. military experts from the Bikini tests.

The bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were exploded in the air. The killing, crippling and debilitating effects on the people of these cities took place within the relatively short period of a few weeks after the explosion. Once this period was over, the surviving citizens of these cities could feel secure in the knowledge that they are no longer in any danger . . . until another atomic bomb is exploded. According to most reports, the explosions in the air did not poison the food, water and air on which people live.

But modern capitalist science marches on. We are now informed by Time Magazine (Feb. 17, 1947) of an interesting statement made by Dr. Stafford L. Warren, chief radiological safety officer at the Bikini tests. He says:

"Two atomic bombs—dropped (in the water) on either side of the Statue of Liberty—and a nice upriver wind could turn the whole of Manhattan into a ghost town for 50 to 100 years. . . . Four or five bombs dropped along the water at Chicago would put Chicago and make all the Great Lakes untenable."

Time goes on to explain that the underwater test at Bikini produced a vast and continuing amount of radioactivity not present in the previous air explosions. Says Dr. Warren of the Bikini underwater test:

"That second one at Bikini really ties this business up in a knot. . . . Literally astronomical quantities of radioactive material had become intimately mixed with the sea water, mist and spray which accompanied the formation of the giant mushroom of water which rose from the lagoon. . . . (Such atomic mist) will deposit huge amounts of radium-equivalent—anywhere from a ton to 100 tons. . . . When this moves in over a city you have to evacuate the people right away or they will die from gamma radiation. You couldn't clean the area. The fissionable material would get into the water—into everything,

It would get into next year's crop. . . . "I'm not so worried about the killing of 50 to 75 million people as I am about the wiping out of resources."

The Bikini test has been worth its cost to the rulers of this country. They know now that to achieve the best effect in bringing democracy, Christianity and civilization to the heathen, they will make sure to drop their atomic bombs in water. And we can be sure that the rulers of Russia, who are engaged in atomic research behind their iron curtain, have watched Bikini carefully and learned the same lesson for the time when they plan to bring their brand of "democracy" to the people of other lands.

ATOMIC IRON CURTAIN

The government of the United States has laid down an iron curtain of its own, and together with the capitalist press and radio is engaged in a conspiracy of silence for the purpose of keeping the common people of America ignorant of the horrors they are preparing for us. The labor leaders like Bill Green and Phil Murray who are still practicing the horse-and-buggy type of trade unionism are also part of this conspiracy of silence, thus giving aid

and comfort to the war criminals who are preparing the atrocities of the next war. Only occasionally does an item leak through the curtain into the daylight. From the facts that have been made public we know that:

- Oak Ridge is working seven days a week, 24 hours a day, piling up atomic bombs.
- Design work is proceeding on long range pilotless missiles of the V-2 type, capable of crossing oceans.
- The government is conducting a survey of caverns, to prepare for relocating industry underground.
- Feverish research is going on in the field of germ-sprays and radioactive poison gases.

This activity shows how much the capitalist government believes what its own diplomats are saying in the U. N. about peace. All the U. N. double-talk is a screen behind which the two imperialist blocs, headed by the U. S. and Russia, are jockeying for position in preparation for the atomic war to decide who will boss the world. There won't be much of a world left when they get through, unless the workers of all countries succeed in abolishing the present barbarism in time to prevent a radioactive rain of death.

IT'S MOVING DAY IN ST. CLAIRSVILLE!

The portal-to-portal pay problem has been neatly solved by the operators of the Willow Grove Mine at St. Clairsville, Ohio. They've simply moved the portal closer to the mine.

"When they used the 'original portal,' the Morgantown, W. Va., Post reports, 'the men rode four miles to their working places. Now they ride a passenger elevator for 22 seconds, walk through a concrete electric-lighted corridor, push through what is believed to be the only revolving door in the coal mine industry, and there they are—practically within spitting distance of the coal seam.'"

While the operators are in the moving mood there are a few other jobs they might take on, such as:

- (1) Moving some decent houses into the mining camps to replace the present shacks.
- (2) Moving modern toilets, plumbing and heating units into the houses.
- (3) Moving some sidewalks and streets around the houses.
- (4) Moving the whole works away from the mines to a location where decent social, educational and medical facilities could be established.
- (5) Moving the mine workers closer to those unprecedented profits which were made last year.
- (6) Moving themselves out altogether, permitting the mines to be nationalized under control of the UMW, thereby guaranteeing coal to this country and the rest of the world—and steadier work and better working conditions to the miners.

As long as there is moving to be done, let's do it right. While the operators are so anxiously getting us "within spitting distance of the coal seam" we might as well be getting ourselves within spitting distance of socialism.—F.

The Reactionaries Think It's Terrible!

What Is "Progressive Education?"

By OSCAR WILLIAMS

For some twenty-five years now, the reactionary newspapers and in particular, the Hearst press, have been attacking "progressive education." Working hand in glove with the yellow press has been the American Legion, the National Association of Manufacturers and other reactionary groups.

The attack of these groups has been simple, if not honest or logical. Distorting the ideas of educators such as John Dewey, they have tried to tell the public that "progressive education" means "free love," disrespect for the institution of the family and communism.

Lately, the reactionaries have gotten more respectable support. The New York Times for the past few years has been running periodic "exposés" of American education—all designed to prove that the man in the street, the product of the American elementary schools, the high schools and even the colleges and the universities, knows nothing of American history.

If the reader takes seriously the results of the questionnaires submit-

ted to the public by the Times, one can only draw the conclusion that the average American believes that Alexander Hamilton invented the telephone, thinks that the Civil War was fought against the Russians and similar absurdities. Whether this is true or not is immaterial. The Times uses it to prove the "failure of American education." The responsibility for this they put at the door of "progressive education," which has somehow smuggled its way into the educational system of the nation.

Finally, the proponents of a return to the old method of teaching the students the "absolute truths" of the past have received their principal theoretical support from a group of ex-liberals who are now in alliance with the thinkers of the Catholic Church. These intellectuals are men of great influence in the large universities and the wealthy philanthropic foundations. They serve to give the necessary intellectual cover and apology for the bare reactionary program of the Hearsts and the Legion.

Sidney Hook's recent book, EDUCATION AND THE COMMON

MAN, is an excellent explanation and defense of a liberal, free education and an extremely effective attack against the educational theories represented by Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago; Mortimer Adler and Mark Van Doren of Chicago and Columbia Universities.

Hook first explains what the ideals and methods of "progressive education" are. The very explanation of the meaning of this doctrine shows the reactionary forces in society struggling against it. The first objective of the ends of education, says Hook, should be to "aim to develop the powers of critical independent thought." To accomplish this end, the teachers must not hesitate to make available to their students all the facts. The schools cannot start out with any assumptions of "absolute truth."

It is any wonder that the reactionaries should attack an educational system which does not indoctrinate the young with the ideas of patriotism—which permits the young people to examine all the facts and en-

(Continued on page 6)

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Japanese Labor Movement Tastes MacArthur 'Democracy'

By JACK BRAD

On January 31 General Douglas MacArthur finally broke the scheduled general strike of Japanese labor unions by, in effect, intimidating and threatening its leadership and throwing the full American authority against the strike. Since then the seething social crisis which gave birth to the general strike has produced a new series of remarkable events which reflect the maturity of the Japanese labor movement on the economic field and indicate the essential road to the future.

Faced with MacArthur's threatened direct intervention, the unions were forced to call off the strike. They were not in a position to challenge armed American troops. Memories of B-29's and the atomic bomb are still fresh; and these are the symbols of the American military. With remarkable perspicacity and heroism, the labor movement did not plunge into rout but reformed its ranks along new lines:

1) One union did proceed to strike, the All-Japan Expressmen's Union of about 130,000 members. This key union's defiance served as a symbol.

2) Open and veiled protests were made. Most significant was the appeal made to the Four Power Allied Commission and the Far Eastern Commission in Washington by workers of the Kanagawa Prefecture. This is the first time since V-J Day that any substantial body of workers has gone over MacArthur's head and in so doing expressed its lack of confidence in him. This petition was suppressed in the Japanese press by the American censorship, as is most other news that reflects ill on the military occupation.

UNIFY LABOR GROUPS

3) A major step toward self-defense was taken by the organized unions. The Congress of Industrial Unions, the Japanese Federation of Labor, and thirty independents, in-

cluding coal miners, seamen and railwaymen, have issued a call for unification into an All-Japan Council of Labor Unions. It was specifically stated in the call that this council will succeed the joint strike committee outlawed by MacArthur.

4) As a result of the political and social blind alley to which the occupation has driven all classes of Japanese society there has occurred a revival of rightist gangsterism in recent months. The worst outrage of these hoodlums was the dagger attack on K. Kikunami, Stalinist head of the CIU. The answer of the unions was given several weeks ago with the formation of workers' defense guards, in many cases based around ex-service men.

These have been the major realignments of the trade unions. They indicated comprehension of the threat inherent in MacArthur's strike-breaking order. They also indicate that an independent class struggle policy is the only one possible if the unions are to continue to be independent and to expand, even though this policy brings the unions increasingly into opposition to MacArthur.

NEW GENERAL ELECTION

MacArthur's response to these unions has been to call for a new general election. The reformist leadership of both the Socialist and Communist Parties hailed this as a great democratic act. The truth is that the entire working class and its organizations have been demanding a new election for more than six months. It was the vigorous extra-parliamentary activity of the workers which wrung this concession from MacArthur. It does not, however, mean a new democratic era.

The Stalinist and Socialist leaders would like to deceive the masses into believing this fable of a new democratic era. By so doing they would reinvigorate the now-larnished reputation of MacArthur. Such a policy of continued dependence on MacAr-

thur to bring democracy to Japan will lead to great disasters, of which the breaking of the general strike was only a foretaste.

MacArthur was forced to call for a new election because the Yoshida government, that still-born shadow of quislingism which is MacArthur's own creation, was no longer a protagonist of any kind. It had simply been submerged beneath the class offensive of the unions. Its feebleness and its helpless dependence have become complete. The veil was stripped and there stood forth clearly the basic antagonism between the working class and the occupation. If MacArthur proved unable to cover this real antagonism he would be forced to rule by direct military law and the myth of the cheapness and efficiency of the Japanese occupation would disappear. More important, MacArthur would have roused the opposition of the masses to the occupation and created the conditions for struggle against it.

The call for a general election is, therefore, an attempt to re-establish quiescent rule. An increased Socialist parliamentary delegation is expected to act as a further safety valve for the masses and to deflect their class energies. It is expected to widen the base of the régime. The present Yoshida régime has long been a minority government, whereas the Socialists have over 45 per cent of popular support. Such a more broadly based régime is expected to give some viability to that other MacArthur creation: the new constitution which is to go into effect on May 3.

The Socialists will undoubtedly win a resounding victory in the elections. If this is permitted to derail the class struggle and in particular the beginnings of the anti-occupation struggle, then the working class will not have begun to solve its basic problems. The central issue remains: Class opposition to the invader and occupier; restoration of national freedom and independence.

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

The Wrangle Over China

Part I

The Marshall report on China, if it did little to reveal the actual economic and political forces intersecting in China, at least had the merit of focusing attention on that tortured land. Just what is going on there?

Needless to say, the actuality is considerably different from the simplicities of the Marshall report. If it is convenient to set dates, the fall of Singapore to the Japanese in 1942 greatly reduced British influence in the Far East. The crushing defeat of Japan by the United States three years later guaranteed the dominant role of United States imperialism in the orient for the coming period. But the dominant role is not synonymous with the sole one. For a struggle with Russia, symmetrical to the one taking place in Europe, is being enacted throughout the orient. It is this antagonism which forms the basis of United States foreign policy in the Far East.

WHAT THE U. S. WANTS

What does the United States want? Stated most simply it wants to line up in the American camp the largest possible number of Asiatic peoples for the war against Russia which is being openly and systematically prepared. Hence the exceptionally judicious treatment of the Japanese. Hence the very rude pressure being applied to decadent French imperialism, whose contemptible warfare against the Indo-Chinese threatens to detonate the accumulated hatred of imperialist exploitation in the entire Far East.

How does Washington view China? A. Suchsdorf, writing in *The American Scholar*, does not put it badly: "She is a market, a political proving ground, a reservoir of military manpower, a strategic base, and one-fifth of the Big Five. As China goes, so in time will go the colonial peoples today squatting on their haunches in Lahore, in Surabaya, in Leopoldville. . . . China's troubles have become universal. . . . These days, if you punch China, we roar."

Unfortunately for Wall Street's global aspirations, Stalinist Russia also views China in much the same light. The Kremlin gang, disposing of a large Stalinist party in China itself, and a very large, if poorly equipped, peasant army, is able to intervene directly in Chinese affairs in a manner totally denied United States capitalism. In 1937 the Stalinists had an army of 100,000 men and governed 1,500,000 people. By the summer of 1946 they claimed to have a regular army of 1,000,000 men supported by a peasant militia of 2,000,000 and to govern 131,000,000 persons.

THE CHINESE STALINIST ARMIES

The tidal wave of revolutionary struggle generated by World War I struck China in the mid-twenties. A surge of anti-imperialist activity inundated China. At the point of its greatest amplitude in 1927 the movement collapsed, due to the counter-revolutionary attacks of Chiang Kai-shek upon the radical labor movement and to the false policy of the Comintern, already badly degenerated. The Communist Party lost its base in the urban working class and was never able to re-establish it.

From that time on Stalinist influence in China has been based upon the peasantry. Generally speaking, the Kuomintang has controlled the urban centers and the more developed areas along the seaboard. The influence of the Stalinists over the peasantry is based upon its ability, if not to resolve, then to ameliorate the inequities of the holding system—a key problem in a semi-colonial country like China cursed with all sorts of vestigial remnants of feudalism.

The Stalinist agrarian program has varied somewhat according to the necessities of Russian foreign policy. But its main outlines have remained the same. Outright expropriation of the landlord class, as took place during the Russian revolution, has not been resorted to. The Stalinists have sought, rather, to modify excesses of the landlord system: taxes and rents have been reduced and wages, hours and working conditions fixed. Seizure of lands was relatively limited.

During the war, in the interests of a working agreement with the Kuomintang against the Japanese, policies were considerably modified. "These called for," says Tillman Durdin, writing from Nanking, "regard for the landlords' rights under proper regulation and for reducing large holdings through a progressive tax system and urged social unity and cooperation between the classes."

POLICY FOLLOWING THE WAR

The defeat of the Japanese, and the control of the extensive areas turned over to the Chinese Stalinists by the Russians as they withdrew, permitted the Stalinists to exercise a freer hand. ". . . they instituted a limited distribution through the confiscation of the lands of persons classed as traitors or puppets. These lands were given to landless peasants. In a second stage, confiscation was enlarged to include the taking of land in 'fines' from the 'bad gentry'."

"The third stage was inaugurated last summer. This is characterized by a general confiscation of the bigger part of the large landholdings regardless of the characteristics of the landowner. . . . In some areas all the lands were split up more or less equally. In others the landlord was allowed to keep a fairly large part of his holdings if he was cooperative or 'patriotic,' as the Communists termed it."

It is this land policy which is the source of the Stalinists' strength. It must even have a certain appeal to certain of the landlords who have seen the Stalinists intervene against the "excesses" of the peasantry who resorted to direct action, especially during the period following the defeat of Japan.

Hey, Stupid! Get the Distinction?

"There can be no doubt that the atomic bomb marks the climax of a development away from the concepts of an earlier age, which justified war but tried to make it more humane, toward a new concept which accepts the threat of total war, but outlaws aggressive war as such, without depriving the defense of available weapons. That is the end toward which the moral conscience of the world must work if mankind is to escape destruction."

The New York Times (Jan. 28, 1947).

Editorials

Schuschnigg Comes to America

Kurt von Schuschnigg, Austria's last Chancellor, is now on a lecture tour of the United States. We hope that he will be greeted, wherever he speaks, by large masses of pickets.

Thirteen years ago, the Dolfuss government, in which Schuschnigg held the post of Minister of Justice, opened its guns on the workers who lived in the government houses built under the Social-Democratic régime. This brutal assault on workers who were courageously trying to resist totalitarian encroachments on their liberty, aroused the indignation of the working class movement the world over. Today, thirteen years after this despicable crime, Schuschnigg publicly dares justify the attack.

In an interview with Ernest Eppler, who was a resident of one of these workers' homes, published in the newspaper PM, and subsequently in a lecture delivered at New York's Town Hall, Schuschnigg "regretted" the murderous assault and added that "it was necessary, it was absolutely necessary." These are his own words, and they are sufficient to describe Schuschnigg, the Dolfuss régime which ended when the little Chancellor was assassinated, and his own régime which followed.

That this man appears, dares to appear, as a spokesman for Austrian democracy, makes his tour a double insult to workers. The Dolfuss and Schuschnigg régimes were totalitarian police régimes, intimately tied up with Mussolini fascism, and imposed on the people by Austrian big business, which tried to suppress the Austrian

working class without yielding, for their own reasons, to Hitler.

The Nazis assassinated Dolfuss and six months later overran Austria, ousting Schuschnigg. It was NOT because Dolfuss or Schuschnigg represented democratic ideals against Hitler Nazism. It was rather a case of their preferring native totalitarian methods to being dictated to by Hitler. They asked for and got Mussolini's aid. It was, says Schuschnigg NOW, "a great help" when "Mussolini sent a few divisions to the Brenner Pass." In a book he recently published, Schuschnigg has not a word to say in criticism of fascism and only praise for Mussolini until the latter "sold out" the Austrian totalitarians by agreeing to Hitler's plan for Austrian Anschluss.

His government was not democratic, and his attempt to justify his armed assault on workers' dwellings by asserting that it was a case of a democratic government defending itself against rebellion should not go unanswered. The Schuschnigg government fought not against fascism but against trade unionists and socialists!

The United States, which would not permit the great revolutionist, Leon Trotsky, to enter and which bars its gates against the admittance of genuine working class democrats, that is, revolutionists, permits this monster, to circulate freely, to lecture. It would be an excellent tribute to the memory of the socialist fighters of Austria who held out against fascism until they were massacred, if Mr. Schuschnigg were met with a fitting response on his tour.

What Can the Germans Read?

Not satisfied with exercising the most rigid censorship controls over the papers published in the American zone of occupation in Germany, the military authorities, until last week, forbade the sending of any American publications—of any type whatever—into that country. Since the war's end almost two years ago, the mails to Germany were closed so far as any printed matter was concerned.

Last week the State Department and the Post Office announced the lifting of this ban. Henceforth, printed matter may be sent, in limited quantities, to the American occupation zone. All other zones (French, British and Russian) are still shut to publications.

But the announcement has a qualification to it. The title and contents of the publication must be stated on the outside of the package so that the powers that be may pass on it before allowing it to go to Germany! "Subversive material" (there's that fly-in-the-ointment phrase!) will not be permitted.

We Start a New Sub Drive

The LABOR ACTION business department this week announced plans for its forthcoming subscription drive, during the entire month of March, to obtain 2,000 new readers to the paper.

An introductory offer of LABOR ACTION for six months, or a year's subscription together with a copy of Ernest Erber's pamphlet "Plenty for All," features the drive. Branches of the Workers Party are now mobilizing behind LABOR ACTION with the intention of putting over the 2,000 quota within a period of one month. Four Red Sunday mobilizations for the purpose of visting people to get subscriptions will be held.

In addition, various worthy prizes are being offered—both to Workers Party branches and individual sub-getters—for those who do the best job during the month. Everything points to a successful

Perhaps we shall soon learn what is meant by "subversive material" in this instance. Will it mean a newspaper like LABOR ACTION, which champions the right of self-determination for the German people, in all zones, and which has consistently exposed the brutal imperialist policies pursued by the occupation authorities, leading to the mass hunger and misery of Germany today? Does "subversive" mean a newspaper that condemns the American occupation policy as directed against the democratic interests of the people of that country?

Democracy, according to even the most hypocritical spokesmen of the American "democratic re-education" military government for Germany, requires the right to read and study all points of view. The American labor and socialist movement has a definite point of view to present to the German people. This demands the democratic right for any and all publications to enter Germany and be freely circulated among its people.

NEXT WEEK:

WHO ARE THE RULERS OF STALINIST POLAND?

By A. Rudzienski

AN EXCLUSIVE EXPOSE!

International Socialist Notes

The second issue of our French comrades' youth paper, *Les Jeunes Gardes* (The Young Guard), has just appeared. On the masthead it carries a slogan of special significance in connection with the present war of the French imperialists against the Viet Nameese people. "L'ennemi est dans notre propre pays" (The enemy is in our own country). The banner headline states "No-One Volunteer for Indo-China." The anti-militarist emphasis is strengthened with correspondence from the barracks, and an article demonstrating how an elite professional army, on which the bourgeoisie can rely, is being built.

Attacks on the democratic rights of the Trotskyist movement in France are increasing. We have reported previously the suppression of our Indo-Chinese anti-war demonstration in Paris on December 6 and the arrest and imprisonment of Comrade Pierre Conte. Now a series of new incidents has taken place.

The most serious was the attempted banning of a meeting of protest against Pierre Conte's arrest, scheduled to be held in his home town of Pontoise, one of the industrial suburbs of Paris. A *Vérité* salesman in Pontoise was arrested, all posters announcing the meeting were torn down by the police and the whole town police were mobilized in front of the hall to prevent the meeting. Despite police orders, Yvan Craipeau, general secretary of the PCI, spoke in front of the hall and led the audience in a march to Conte's home, where the meeting was resumed. The most ironic element in the situation was the fact that the Socialist Party section of Pontoise, under "left" leadership, endorsed the meeting at the last minute, although it is their "comrade," the Socialist Minister of the Interior Depreux, who enforces the government ban on meetings dealing with the Indo-Chinese war and who is in charge of the police.

The last membership meeting of the Paris region of the PCI was graced with the presence of a plain-clothesman, who, upon identification, was invited to leave. The sections of the Socialist Party are being asked to protest against any policy of persecution and spying on workers' meetings by the Ministry of the Interior. Meanwhile the Ministry is continuing to enforce its ban on meetings against the imperialist war in Indo-China, having forcibly prevented the holding of PCI meetings in two more Paris suburbs, Taverny and Saint-Leu.

In Clermont-Ferrand, capital city of the Puy-de-Dôme Department, the first step has been taken against written material on the Indo-Chinese war, with the banning of an anti-war poster of the PCI. It remains to be seen whether the government will attempt next to censor articles denouncing the French imperialist attack on the Viet Nameese people.

Books You Should Know...

THE FATE OF WRITING IN AMERICA, by James T. Farrell, New Directions, New York; 25 cents.

Reviewed by ARTHUR STEIN

The problem with which this pamphlet deals is the threat of commercialism to the writing and publication of serious literature in the United States. And though many will feel that a discussion of this factor alone is not sufficient to give an indication of "the fate of writing in America," the pamphlet certainly represents a substantial contribution.

Farrell's main theme is that there is a significant difference between the conditions under which the "art" of Hollywood and the radio is produced, and the conditions under which books are written and published.

The movie and radio industries involve enormous amounts of capital and are therefore completely controlled by the most important and richest circles of the American finance capitalists. In these industries, the conflict between art and commodity production has already been solved: art has been decisively defeated. Movie and radio scripts are being produced according to the strict specifications of the rulers of our profit-hungry economy; there remain few loopholes through which the genuine feelings of an artist might slip through to the public. Each script is carefully censored for any possible

derogatory remark upon a group of potential customers or sponsors.

Farrell here quotes from "The Hays Office," by Raymond Moley: "The casual line of a popular star—'They say white bread is not good for you'—brought literally thousands of angry letters from millers, bakers, grain-elevator men and farm organizations."

And when we consider that the assets of the tobacco industry in America probably run into the billions, it is not difficult to imagine that a hint at the harmful results of excessive smoking would be considered a cardinal sin in Hollywood. Art, which must always be based on honesty and on the spontaneity and individuality of the artist, becomes necessarily extinguished under these conditions.

In contrast to this complete "commodity production" in the radio and movies, Farrell finds that the situation in the American book publishing industry does not look quite as black. Since the necessary investment here is not nearly as great as it is in the movies and in the radio industry, the big finance capitalists of Wall Street do not, as yet, monopolize the field. As a result, cultural values in books—and the prestige gained through the publication of serious literature—are still important factors in the book industry.

Farrell does not claim that this situation will necessarily continue in-

definitely, but he does feel that, at worst, it is much too early to throw up one's hands in despair. He feels, furthermore, that public taste is constantly improving, and that there will always be a demand for serious books. He ends his essay with a moving appeal to the writers of America to maintain their intellectual integrity, to refrain from selling their artistic souls for the sake of big money or sensational successes.

Now Available!

Labor Action Book Service is pleased to announce receipt of:

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A two-volume Marxist study of the class French Revolution, in the light of the theory of the Permanent Revolution, by the author of "Fascism and Big Business." Over 900 pages, in French.

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Indo China: Inside Story of French Imperialism's Suppression of Colonial Freedom Told by a French Socialist

The following is excerpted from a speech delivered at the LABOR ACTION forum in New York last week by a French comrade who had visited this country. It is an excellent survey of the events in Indo-China and will give our readers a clearer picture of what is happening in that country from the point of view of revolutionary socialists who stand for the unconditional independence of all of Indo-China. The speech was translated by Henry Judd.

The recent events in Indo-China make me, a Frenchman, ashamed of being a Frenchman.

I walked into a newsreel theater here in New York and saw the pictures of Indo-China, and the war going on there. I said to myself that what I saw there made me incapable of believing that such a thing could have transpired—that such a thing was possible. I saw women being tied and thrown into trucks by French soldiers. It was brutal and revolting.

The question of Indo-China is an old question—it is not a question beginning from today—it is a problem that goes back a long ways.

I was in Indo-China in 1930. Accidentally, I witnessed a rebellion that took place that time in Hanoi. I saw at that time how French imperialism suppressed that particular movement. The atmosphere that was created in Indo-China at that moment was exactly the same as that created by the Gestapo in Germany and in Europe later on. To give you one example: I had the opportunity to speak with many Indo-Chinese of different social classes. When I left Indo-China, the French Governor General had upon his table a high stack of dossiers containing reports of my conversations with these people. Already, at that time, there were concentration camps of the same type that Hitler organized, and they contained tens of thousands of Indo-Chinese prisoners in French Guiana and elsewhere.

A BLOODY MONK
After the liberation of France in 1944 the whole thing began all over again, just as before the war. Gen-

A Test Case for Freedom

The war in Indo-China has become a test case for all those political tendencies which profess to stand for democracy and the right of nations to self-determination.

The record of French imperialism on the Indo-Chinese peninsula since the end of the war is one which, from the point of view of the most elementary democratic principles, is totally indefensible. Not only do the Paris imperialists use former Japanese troops in this venture, but also, in the ranks of the notorious French Foreign Legion there are mercenaries of German Nazi origin who continue the work they did—for a different master now—in Poland, Belgium, and France itself. In a recent brawl in Saigon, drunken German soldiers marched through the streets, singing the Nazi "Horst Wessel" song with perfect impunity from disciplinary actions by the French.

What makes the Indo-Chinese situation of vital interest to American workers is the fact that the supplies used in this campaign by the French militarists could have come from no other place but the United States. In that sense, the American State Department shares responsibility for the warfare in Indo-China, especially since French dependence upon the good-will of the U. S. at the present time is sufficient to convert even the slightest hint from the pen of General Marshall into a command which Paris would feel absolutely obliged to obey.

All the other parties in France—the bourgeois MRP, the monarchists, the fascists—have substantially the same position as do the "left" parties. The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French Section of the Fourth International, stands alone in its clear and unambiguous demand for the freedom and right to self-determination of the people of Indo-China.

al de Gaulle had taken over power and he made as the central point of his program to give back to France its previous grandeur—that is, to revive France as a great colonial empire. General de Gaulle had the impression that since the 1940 defeat France had lost much prestige and that the colonial peoples did not have the former respect due to France. Gen. de Gaulle said, it will be very difficult to reconquer Indo-China, but at any rate we will send troops and begin a war against the people and prove to the natives that we are still a great power.

So he then sent to Indo-China a man who was a personal friend of his, the head of a religious group, a Catholic monk, Admiral d'Argenlieu, a monk who abruptly left his monastery to help de Gaulle liberate France and then to spill some blood in Indo-China.

Since this period there has been, in reality, in France two policies with

respect to Indo-China. A policy inspired by the Communist Party, and partly by the Socialist Party, which sought, at no matter what price, to come to an agreement with the Viet Minh Party and Ho Chi Minh. But at the same time Admiral d'Argenlieu opposed, by all means, this policy and did everything possible to prevent an agreement with Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Nam government.

I would like now to speak briefly on the policy and tactics of Ho Chi Minh. First of all, we must understand that the nationalist struggle of the Viet Namese people in 1945 was not inspired by any one political party such as the Communist Party. It was an uprising of an entire people for its liberty. We could not find a contrast of such a broad movement except in France during the great revolution and the Russian revolution. That is due to the fact that Indo-China has a social structure which is different from that of other

colonial countries. Indo-China is a country that does not have feudalism and in which the native bourgeoisie is very small. Its property base is very narrow and restricted. The only real bourgeois elements in Indo-China are the big rice farmers and landlords of Cochinchina. But these men have a greater fear of a mass movement which would put in danger their private property holdings than of French imperialism.

THE THEORY OF TROTSKY

It is particularly in Indo-China that we find an excellent illustration of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. There is not, in Indo-China, a bourgeoisie capable of leading a purely bourgeois revolution and a purely national-liberation movement. Consequently, in Indo-China the revolution can only be made, if only possible, by the exploited masses. These masses are on the one hand small groups of workers in the industries created by French imperialism, and on the other hand the great mass of small cultivators, small peasants, who are extremely poor and very close to the proletariat. This is why for 15 or for 20 years there has not been in Indo-China a movement purely nationalist in character.

The fact is that the movement that existed in Indo-China before the 1939 war was not a nationalist one. It consisted of the Stalinist Party and the Fourth International. After the collapse of Japan, we witnessed the actual seizure of power by the proletariat and the poor peasants. Throughout the country it created local committees, quite similar to Soviets and the peasants organized a popular militia.

It was at this moment that, tragically enough, Stalinism put its hand upon this mass movement, the movement that the Stalinists had not created and which was far deeper and far broader than Stalinism itself could have made it.

Stalinism was assisted by the enormous personal prestige of Ho Chi Minh, a prestige of which Ho Chi Minh himself was very well aware. When he spoke to me in Paris last summer he told me that even if the

masses became disappointed or disillusioned in his policy they would continue to follow him. Stalinism, in order to really get hold of this movement found it necessary to cut off the masses from the more progressive and revolutionary elements of the Fourth Internationalists.

In the light of this I want to give you some details about Ta Thu Thau. It is quite possible that Ta Thu Thau was assassinated by the Stalinists. I will tell you exactly the story that one of the Indo-Chinese Stalinist leaders told me at Paris. Ta Thu Thau, travelling in an automobile during the uprising of the masses, crossed an area where the people were up in arms. By curious coincidence, in the village about which I am speaking, the Stalinists were in control of all the levers of political and military command. A guard demanded of Ta that he step out of his automobile and produce his papers. He replied a bit brusquely, "How come you ask me, Ta Thu Thau, to show my papers?" What I am saying is the story told me, not my interpretation of it. The guard placed him against the nearby wall and shot him.

The policy that Moscow has dictated to Ho Chi Minh is as follows: We prefer, says Moscow, the existence or the presence in Indo-China of the French, the so-called democratic French, rather than the presence of America. Consequently, it was demanded of Ho Chi Minh that he find a basis for agreement or compromise with the French, as well as with his own native ruling class. It is as a consequence of this that Ho Chi Minh made the Indo-Chinese revolutionary movement go back. He limited the power of the local committees, he disarmed the militia—in short, he cut down considerably the power and initiative of the masses in favor of the power of the central government.

HO CHIN MINH'S ACTIVITY

I had a discussion with Ho Chi Minh on this question and I made an allusion to Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. He replied that all that is true, but it is all in the books and between books and reality there is a great difference

and the difference is the realities of international politics. By that he meant the desire of Moscow that the French remain in power rather than the Americans. As a result of this, Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement with the French government, the agreement of March 6th. This agreement was, in my opinion, a serious error for the Viet Nam government, because the French troops at that time occupied only Cochinchina. North of the 16th parallel there were no French troops, only Chinese. And the result of the agreement of March 6th was to peacefully permit the French troops of Leclerc to occupy the province of Tongking.

At this moment, the French Trotskyists who had spoken with Ho Chi Minh and other representatives of Viet Nam, warned them that if by chance the French do not keep their word they would find themselves in a catastrophic situation, because the French soldiers would already be there. To this Ho Chi Minh replied, if contrary to my hopes, the French do not keep their word, we will fight them as one man to the last. And today he is keeping that word.

And this is why today, despite our political criticisms of Ho Chi Minh's policies, we render with emotion homage to him and his people. Henry Judd said before that the French resumed the war in order to create the possibility for another and new agreement, more favorable to them than the previous one. This is correct but the explanation is not in my opinion sufficient.

The real reason for the resumption of the war is that at this moment the French are in danger of losing their entire colonial empire. Morocco, Algeria and even Madagascar await at this moment only the signal to begin the struggle for their liberation. And the French government is forced to renew its attack, to adopt a policy of violence, in order to frighten these other colonial peoples. I am convinced that in this desperate situation, the French bourgeoisie has committed an almost fatal mistake. I am almost certain that France will not succeed in putting down this revolt.

THE FRENCH TROTSKYISTS

And now to finish with a few words. I would like to answer the question as to what the French Fourth Internationalist Party has been doing in this affair. First of all, the day following the liberation we had to face in France the problem of the Indo-Chinese who are now living in France. There are three categories of Indo-Chinese living in France. First of all, the students, in-

lectuals, professionals, doctors, and so on. Secondly, workers who are not soldiers but who are sent from Indo-China and forced to become workers in war industries. And finally, soldiers brought to France—Indo-Chinese soldiers called sharpshooters.

It was these three categories, numbering about 25,000, who constituted themselves as an Indo-Chinese delegation in France. This delegation was admirably organized. The type of life of these workers and soldiers permitted their organization an easy time because they were concentrated in war camps and army barracks. They elected their delegates and these delegates came together in a national congress. And the intellectual element put itself at the service of the workers delegations in a remarkable fashion. We saw doctors working in the hospitals, technicians of all kinds who put themselves at the service of workers delegates as secretaries and organizers and spokesmen.

The French party played an important role in this. While respecting the independence and the initiative of the Viet Namese, it participated in the organization, and aided the organization of these local committees. They were organized so well that when Ho Chi Minh came to France he felt an attitude of discontent on the part of the Indo-Chinese workers and soldiers against his compromise policy. This was not an open actual achievement on the part of the party but it had been carried out under the influence of the French Trotskyist organization. Since the war began again, two meetings were organized.

You have seen in the Fourth International press here that the first meeting was banned by the police and when held it was attacked and the participants beaten up by the French police. The second meeting took place last week. It was also forbidden and the General Secretary of the party was arrested and is still in prison.

The French party finds itself in a difficult position with respect to its activities on behalf of Indo-China because it is operating in a war atmosphere. You know from previous experience that when there is a war on the revolutionists find themselves alone. All the organizations that had previously expressed their sympathy for the Indo-Chinese are quiet now—no longer wish to do anything. But this isolation does not frighten us. On the contrary, it is living proof to the Viet Namese people and the nationalist movements in other "colonies" that only the Fourth International is at their side at the time when they have to fight.

The Role of the Vatican in Indo-China

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Jan. 31—To read the official French dispatches about Indo-China, "the jewel of the French colonial empire," is to read what the bank of Indo-China has to say. Not a single fact representing the view of the Indo-Chinese is permitted to penetrate the new censorship which is only slightly stronger than earlier bank control of news from this colony.

The Viet-Nam revolt of Dec. 19 is an attempt to link up rich but thinly populated Cochinchina in the south with the poor but heavily populated northern lands of Tonkin and Laos and one-half of Annam, which had been separated from Cochinchina and Cambodia by an earlier French measure of 1946. Against the Indo-Chinese are ranged the Social-Democrats and Stalinists of continental France. They are in excellent company: former German SS troops and Japanese forces are in the French army, operating under direct orders of representatives of the bank of Indo-China, to crush the uprising.

Admiral d'Argenlieu, High Commissioner for Indo-China and a personal appointee of the bank of Indo-China, is called the "archbishop" by the left press because of his years as a Carmelite monk. He says the war is a struggle between European democracy and "international Marxism." But what democracy is there in the Catholic Church or the bank of Indo-China which served Vichy-fascist and Japanese imperialist as well as French imperialist interests?

The close connection of the bank of Indo-China with the "Catholic World" (le Monde Catholique) of high finance is an open secret in France, though carefully kept out of public view. This does not prevent the French labor press from asking, "Does the Pope direct French colonial policy?" Or, "did General Leclerc report to the Pope last year?"

THE BANK OF INDO-CHINA

When Lt. Henri Leclerc, son of General Leclerc, returned with other wounded from Indo-Chinese fighting, he said on Jan. 30 to Socialist Pres-

ident Vincent Auriol: "At Hanoi, Viet-Namese troops, before evacuating the town, looted the bank of Indo-China to the last franc."

This is the bank that controls most of this country of 23,000,000 people. Lt. Leclerc, like his father, General Leclerc (now rumored to be the successor of Admiral d'Argenlieu as High Commissioner) reflects the tremendous importance of Indo-China to the "Catholic World" that controls the French army, French banks and French colonies.

Astride even the huge bank of Indo-China rests the General Colonial Company which though quite young (founded in 1920) is the overall ruler of the banks of Paris, the Low Countries, Credit Lyonnais and numerous others. Augustin Hamon shows in his exposé, "Les Maitres de la France" (Vol. III, 1938), that the big men and families behind these banks and holding companies—Lebon, Moreau, Renaudin, Roudy, Olivier and others—are key leaders of the Catholic World.

Their connections criss-cross all

leading corporations, banks and holding groups, and political administrators, in as skillful a system of interlocking directorates and political rube as ever controlled a colonial satrapy.

The Asiatic and African company is linked to the bank of Indo-China and the Messageries Navigation through the Estier-Delpech family. A former state inspector general of mines and one-time state Resident Superior in Indo-China, Pierre Guesde, a ranking Catholic leader, "is the administrator. He is naturally the representative of this bank in the corporation." (Hamon, p. 191.)

Indo-Chinese and African Commercial Union has as one of its administrators Vice Admiral Charles Dumensil, linked by marriage to several financial groups." (p. 192.) Other military leaders have similar family ties to financial circles.

The Corporation of Industries of Dredging and Public Works had as president of its council, Paul Baudouin, director general of the bank of Indo-China, and Vichy's High Commissioner for Indo-China. He united economic and political control in his own person. Baudouin, now in Fresnes prison on charges of collaboration, was consulted by the Socialist Minister for Colonies, Marius Moutet, before his December trip to Indo-China! This scandalous situation was hushed up in Paris.

The Franco-Indo-Chinese Company, says Hamon, "appears to be a business in the hands of several families, above all of the Catholic world." (p. 195.) They are linked to the bank of Indo-China through family connections. When one speaks of France's "200 families" it is not well known abroad how closely these descendants of the aristocracy, granted colonial domains as fiefs, and working hand in glove with the Catholic Church and its missionaries, have maintained exclusive control of the colonies for a century.

MANY-SIDED FINANCIAL CONTROL

After North Africa, Indo-China is France's most important colony. "The nerve center of the capitalist organism in this region is the bank of Indo-China," writes Hamon. Its zone of influence included Djibouti, Madagascar, French West Africa and through cartel arrangements, parts of China as well.

A bank of issue, credit and deposits, it controls nearly all Indo-Chinese production. Its administrative council is particularly interesting because bank leaders were at once colonial political leaders and economic directors. Labussiere was a "former state councillor." "The bank of Indo-China controls the economy of the colony and as a result the politics of the colony," says Hamon. Its directors also sit on the chief banks of Paris: Credit Lyonnais, Comptoir National d'escompte, Credit Industriel and Commercial, Credit Foncier, Bank of Paris and of the Low

Countries, Societe Generale. "These financial organisms are the real masters of the bank of Indo-China," adds Hamon.

La Haute Banque (the high bank) which is the French name for the master banking families of Rothschild, Mirabaud, Mallet, Neufville, Stern and Lazard brothers are the administrators of the bank of Indo-China, and are linked "to Catholic finance and some other lords of lesser power. They do not act directly but through intermediary persons and also through intermediary banking organisms." (p. 28.)

Baudouin, head of the bank of Indo-China, is a remarkable adept tool of the financial oligarchy. "M. Paul Baudouin was one of two experts chosen by M. Vincent Auriol, minister of the Popular Front, to counsel it in its financial acts," writes Hamon. In 1936 Hamon called Baudouin's use (!) by the Socialists "pleasant irony." Today Auriol is president of France and Baudouin, though a prisoner awaiting trial for collaboration after having failed to reach Spain, is still consulted by the Socialists and others on how to deal with the Indo-Chinese. And the bank of Indo-China retains its grip, whether under Vichy, Japan or the Socialist Auriol.

THE HIERARCHY AS MASTER

Looking at the totality of these corporations and banks, Hamon concludes that "one is led to state that the great majority of these members belong to the category of Catholic capitalists or their representatives. It follows from that that the Catholic Church, with its congregations, invested capital in colonial enterprises. And that is logical, for most of these exploitations are in 'mission' countries where the church has considerable moral interests."

While France itself is considered generally anti-clerical, Hamon clarifies this seeming contradiction in Catholic control: "This majority of Catholic directors in colonial industries explains the influence of Catholic clericalism in the colonies and consequently in the politics of even so-called anti-clerical governments. One recalls the words of Gambetta: 'Anti-clericalism is not an article of export.'"

Actual investments by the Catholic Church are numerous, but are hidden behind dummy investors and representatives. Catholic missionaries were the principal means for establishing not merely capitalist industry in Indo-China, but Catholic capitalist industries.

Indo-China proper under the Catholics does not have even the rights of North Africa. Instead it has been divided into two distinct parts, separated by the 16th parallel, the Annamites supposedly to rule an autonomous area north of the parallel, while France retains direct control of the richest area, Cochinchina, which is south of the line.

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!

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

HENRY JUDD

Author of "Revolt in India"
"The Next Stage in India"
February 23 — 8:30 P. M.

ETHEL GOLDWATER

Author of "The Independent Woman—A New Course"
"Do Women Want Independence?"
March 2 — 8:30 P. M.

ERNEST ERBER

Education Director, Workers Party
"Marxism and Moral Values"
March 9 — 8:30 P. M.

Admission: 50 Cents — Series of Four: \$1.50

ALL LECTURES AT 114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

An Exclusive Report to Labor Action:

The South American Stalinists Sell Out for "a Plate of Lentils"

By LUIS H. VELASCO

THE South American continent is a virgin territory of enormous natural resources, rich in basic materials, but until recently poor in industry and capital; hence a rich and savory dish for imperialism. Outside of the most advanced countries (Brazil, Argentina and to a certain extent Chile), the major part of this continent is submerged under a semi-feudal economy and social structure, without revolutionary changes since the Spanish-colonial era. Only Brazil and Argentina succeeded in recent decades in making important progress in the industrialization of their countries, which was so important that it changed their economic and social structure.

Both Brazil and Argentina today possess industry which is of great weight in South America. Thereby political and social convulsions are being prepared in these countries. The European wars and the self-destruction of the European imperialisms allowed Brazil and Argentina to achieve a certain degree of national economic independence. But this breathing-spell has already ended. In our times there are neither countries nor continents which are isolated. In the mortal inter-imperialist struggle, the Western Hemisphere is another battle-ground between the United States and Stalinist Russia.

The "good neighbor" policy of Roosevelt established strong support for American imperialism. The credits bestowed on Brazil are simultaneously the basis for the "continental defense" and North American economic penetration. The important obstacle in this path is Argentina, whose growing industry is opposed to the colonial methods of Wall Street, having been buttressed by the political and economic support of German imperialism before the war's end. As a result of her defeat in the war, Germany's positions in Argentina have been largely lost, as is the case with the French and partially the British. Today the rival suitors for the rich "creole virgin" are Yankee capitalism and the bureaucratic imperialism of Stalin!

Yankee imperialism wields powerful economic weapons in its penetra-

In accordance with its policy of printing articles by revolutionary socialists from every part of the globe, LABOR ACTION is pleased to print here this highly informative article by Comrade Luis H. Velasco, a South American socialist. It provides information and analysis in harmony with the article of Anthony Ferrara in last week's LABOR ACTION. Especially striking is its report on the role of the South American Stalinists who have turned to the support of such reactionaries and semi-fascists as Peron in Argentina.—Ed.

tion; loans, export of commodities, money, purchase of basic materials and South American products. During the war the United States developed all of South American rubber, primarily Brazilian and Bolivian. It also bought minerals, primarily Bolivian tin. Isolated from European industry, the South American countries had to buy the surplus of North American industry, often at higher prices and of poorer quality. This Yankee "commercial" policy causes much anti-American reaction among the Latin-American peoples, thus facilitating the subsequent penetration of Russia, which is trying to replace German imperialism in South America.

THE GROWTH OF THE STALINIST PARTIES

In the course of the late war the Stalinist parties succeeded, thanks to the growth of Russian military prestige, in winning relatively strong positions. This process was favored still further by the defeat of Nazism. The *meztizo* [white and Indian hybrid—tr.] petty-bourgeoisie suffers from a sickly nationalism and therefore first threw itself into the arms of Nazism and now native Stalinism. The South American workers do not have class traditions, since the social strata still are in the process of formation and therefore are easy prey for fascism and native Stalinism, as in Argentina.

South American national politics is not based on the struggle of political programs which correspond to consistent social relations and definite social classes. Social relations in South America lack consistency and firmness. The struggle for power reduced itself, until recently, to the struggle of segments and cliques of the feudo-bourgeoisie and the military. Thus the notorious native "caudillismo" [fuehrer-principle—tr.]

There are no programs or firm political movements with a long perspective, but native caudillos who in-

stall the bloody dictatorships and govern the country according to their "seigniorial" pleasure. It is therefore a fertile soil for penetration of Stalinism which, by leaning on caudillismo, knows how to nourish the hopes of the petty-bourgeois masses by "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" phrases, in order to raise social armies in the service of Russian imperialism, just as Nazism knew how to raise its fifth columns in the service of German imperialism.

Native Stalinism, not burdened by a revolutionary tradition, has no need for ideological or moral scruples. It therefore proceeds with complete cynicism and unlimited opportunism, to poison the workers with synthetic nationalism (in South America there is no natural, historical nationalism), with up-to-date caudillismo "a la russe" and with ersatz, "made-in-Moscow" socialism.

HOW PRESTES SOLD OUT FOR A PLATE OF LENTILS

The industrial development in Brazil created a relatively strong labor movement which knew how to emancipate itself from the influence of the dictator, Getulio Vargas. The Communist leader, Carlos Luis Prestes, formerly called the "knight of hope," who spent nine years in Vargas' prison, sold out his glorious past and the "hope" of the "cariocas" proletariat to their persecutor for a miserable plate of lentils—his freedom and the "legalization" of the Communist Party. In the Brazilian elections, where the candidate of bourgeois "democracy," Gomes, ran against General Dutra and against Vargas, the Communists supported Vargas and indirectly the ex-fascist, Dutra. Now, seeing the pro-Yankee policy of Dutra, they go over to a noisy opposition, characterized by declarations "against imperialism" and oaths of loyalty to Stalinist Russia. The knight of hope became a hireling of Stalinism and Vargasism.

In Argentina the Stalinists, head-

ed by Geronimo Ghioldi, unleashed a campaign of resounding phrases against "Nazi-fascist Peron," forming the "democratic front" with the bourgeoisie and the reformist socialists of Palacios, sponsored by the unsuccessful politician from the United States, Braden.

But when Peron won, the master in the Kremlin ordered a change of front and the Argentine Communists ordered their adherents to support the "progressive" policy of Peron. The GPU caught poor Braden in a trap, thus undermining the Yankee "good neighbor" policy. Now the same Stalinists combat "Bradenism." The Stalinist maneuver prepares the ground for the resumption of political and commercial relations between Argentina and Stalinist Russia. Nevertheless, in spite of the promises of the Stalinists, Peron feels himself strong and admits no partners; the social base of Peron is broad and that of the Stalinists narrow. They are reduced to a policy of adulatory phrases and sterile courtesies toward the Nazi-fascist regime of Peron.

The Chilean Stalinists have had the greatest successes in the last presidential elections, where in a coalition with the radical party, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla was elected as a Stalinist candidate.* The new Chilean régime, supported by the Stalinists, affirmed a commercial treaty with Peron's Argentina, obtaining a loan of 300,000,000 Argentine pesos. It is the first success of the Kremlin, which is trying to form an anti-Yankee bloc around Argentine fascism, but a very dubious success, since Peron does not intend to submit to Russian penetration. He is merely playing the Muscovite card in the game of blackmail against North American capitalism.

THE STALINIST POLICIES IN BOLIVIA AND PERU

Now the Stalinist penetration tries to ally Bolivia with the Peron bloc. The fall of Villaruel brought very sour comments in Moscow as a "Yankee plot," in spite of the ingenious enthusiasm of the Chilean and Bolivian Stalinists. Villaruel and Paz Estenssoro, high Peruvian Nazi-fascist, were allied with Peron and

*The three Chilean ministers are the first American Stalinists with state portfolios. Of course, their conscience does not bother them in forming a coalition with the bourgeoisie, something greatly condemned by the Stalinists themselves in their early years.

therefore with Stalin. The PIR (Stalinists), expelled from the Bolivian bourgeois democratic front, tried to join the proletarian "left front." Receiving a kick from the Bolivian proletariat, they joined a coalition with the Bolivian liberals to assure the electoral triumph of the liberal, Guachalla, former Bolivian ambassador to the United States.

In Peru, the Stalinists are of no importance, being reduced to a "tail" of APRA, the petty-bourgeois party of Haya de la Torre.

The Stalinist policy in all of South America has two aims and two "principles": (1) to serve Russian imperialism and (2) to get the seat of power at all costs, even in a minor role, in order to accomplish the first task assigned by Moscow.

TWO CURRENTS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

The left-wing current is divided in all countries into two branches: the official Trotskyists and the revolutionary socialists. In Brazil both groups exist, the revolutionary socialist party in our opinion developing a more agile political activity and theoretical work of some prominence. In Argentina, aside from the Trotskyist organization, there is a strong left wing in the socialist party, primarily in the youth, led by the Marxists who edit "The Initiator," youth organ, and "Socialism," organ of left socialism in Jujuy, one of the centers of the sugar proletariat. In Chile also, aside from the able Trotskyist organization, there are the left socialists who combat Stalinism. In Peru the left-wing intellectuals are grouped around the review, "Continental," while the section of the Fourth International publishes "Revolution."

Nevertheless, incredible as it may seem, the left-wing labor movement is strongest in Bolivia. This phenomenon is a result of the unilateral Bolivian economy which rests upon mining development, primarily tin. Utilizing the fall of Nazi-fascism, the Bolivian Trotskyists who make up the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) knew how to lead the mining proletariat and to

direct the magnificent miners' congress. On the initiative of the miners' union, the Workers' Center, a new class union center, was formed.

The Bolivian bourgeoisie is very frightened, for the 60,000 mine workers can paralyze the entire national economy. The Stalinists offer their services as hangers-on to the mining magnates against the mining proletariat. In addition, the PSOB, the Socialist Workers Party of Navarro, edits a newspaper, "Batalla," adding to the practical work of the POR consistency of doctrine and agitation. The Bolivian Trotskyists are the first in all of South America to lead

a mass movement. They are the first on the whole American continent to win Trotskyist parliamentary seats.

The task of the North American Marxist parties consists in tying themselves with fraternal bonds to the left Latin-American currents, giving them theoretical consistency and practical help of class solidarity, in order to build the American proletarian third camp against imperialism and Stalinism. In order to accomplish this task it is necessary to unite both left currents into a single party, conquering all the sectarianisms and prejudices of groups and leaders.

Crisis in Education - -

(Continued from page 3)

ing by leaps and bounds in the present situation, is affiliated with the AFL and the CIO has organized a number of locals in various cities. This is a good omen. But teachers are still full of antiquated prejudices about the incompatibility of professional dignity and the use of the strike weapon. Such views are reflected in the no-strike policy of the American Federation of Teachers and in public statements by its leaders. The CIO locals which talk more militantly do not have an avowed strike policy. Under the pressure of necessity, AFT locals have conducted strikes. Strike sentiment among its members forced the Executive Council of the AFT to endorse the St. Paul strike, albeit after it was over. The strike of the Buffalo teachers scheduled for February 24 will be conducted by an AFT local. By a vote of more than two to one on Feb. 15 the Detroit local of the AFT voted for a strike.

In New York failure on the part of the leaders of the present struggle to give a clear and unambiguous push in the direction of a strike caused the teachers to lose a favorable moment to decide on such action and enables Dewey to maneuver skillfully against them. Shortly before Dewey made his recommendations to the state legislature last month for inadequate and temporary salary increases, strike sentiment among New York City teachers was at its height. Had a strike vote been taken then it is more than likely it would have shown a majority for a strike. The threat of a strike in the largest educational sys-

tem in the country would have been a compelling factor in granting better salary increases and making them permanent.

But the leadership here composed of Stalinists, Socialists, Democratic Party politicians, and a variety of others, decided against a poll. Dewey made his recommendations and took the edge off the dissatisfaction of the public and teacher protest. Strike sentiment in New York City declined although a strong minority is still for it.

But upstate where the conditions of the teachers is worse than it is in New York City, Dewey's maneuver failed to allay the protest. The Buffalo teachers are apparently determined to strike. And teachers in other cities continue to exert strong pressure on their Assemblies for more adequate pay and increased state aid. This pressure is reflected on Dewey and there is now the possibility that some additional concessions may be made to upstate teachers.

Should this come to pass the New York teachers will be left in an awkward position. If they are it will be because they were misled at the critical moment.

ROLE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE TEACHERS STRUGGLE

Why does the labor movement sit by while the teachers conduct a single handed fight? Why is there no ground swell of indignation against the unsatisfactory situation in education? Why is there no concern over the inadequate education the children of workers are receiving in a decaying system? What a strange spectacle it is to see the labor movement which pioneered for free universal public education a century ago stand aloof from the present struggle! What is the significance of an attitude which at least by implication assigns to the class enemy an exclusive proprietary right and concern with the problem of public education? If the embattled teachers achieve nothing else than that they force this issue on the consciousness of the labor and revolutionary movements they will have made a great contribution.

Labor has a right and an obligation to intervene in the present struggle. Support of the teachers fight is a means of improving the education of working class children who constitute a majority of all the pupils.

Progressive Education - -

(Continued from page 3)

very start by the conditions which capitalism necessarily imposes upon them: overcrowded schools and consequent complete inability of the average teacher to pay adequate attention to each student; textbooks, the great majority of which are written in conformity with the ideas of the American Legion rather than any sincere attempt to present all the facts; individual teaching systems under the domination of conservative school boards which, at the most, borrow only from the methods of progressive education and completely reject its ends; and finally, the great obstacle of a society whose every propaganda organ, radio, newspapers, magazines and movies, is busy indoctrinating the young people with the eternal verities of American capitalism.

This book, nevertheless, is of great value. It strips bare all the pretenses of the intellectual defenders of reaction. Hook takes up all the arguments for studying life through the medium of the "100 great books" and demonstrates with unassailable logic that in reality such a program can only result in turning out unthinking, uncritical slaves fit only for life in a totalitarian system, but not for participation in a democratic society.

THINGS ARE TOUGH ALL OVER DEPARTMENT

From The New Yorker magazine, Feb. 8, 1947, page 64:

"The women of New York, trapped in their basic black wools, and tired old minks, grow fretful in February and look for release..." etc.

Pretty tough when even the mink are tired.

The Story of Jim Crow in Los Angeles-IV

The following excerpt continues the publication in LABOR ACTION of an election campaign pamphlet published by the Los Angeles branch of the Workers Party. Its author is Hal Draper, candidate of the Workers Party for city councilman from the Seventh District of Los Angeles. We are publishing this pamphlet not only because of the material it contains on the Los Angeles situation, but also because its description and analysis of Jim Crow, as well as its program to fight Jim Crow, are of interest to readers throughout the country. Readers wishing to purchase copies of the pamphlet may do so by writing to the Workers Party, at 316 1/2 W. Pico, Los Angeles.

Walter Wanger, the motion picture producer and a member of the Committee, contributed the brilliant suggestion that the police should improve its public relations with the Negro press, and a motion was passed. That's all, folks.

All the cases of police brutality we have mentioned took place after this conference.

Negro police officers on the force have always been relegated to routine tasks in uniform and neither promoted nor given incentive and opportunity. There has been a steady decline under Bowron's administration in the number of Negroes assigned to the Newton Street detective bureau. When the present crew came into City Hall in 1938, a Negro was acting captain at the station. Now there is not one colored detective-lieutenant there and only two detectives. In the entire force the number of Negro detectives has gone down almost half, and the number of detective-lieutenants to zero. Does anyone think these facts have no connection with the mounting menace of KKKism in the police force?

What does "respect for law and order" begin to mean under such conditions? How can one expect Negroes, who see the hand of the government and its police raised against them every day of their lives, to feel anything but resentment against an authority which oppresses them so cruelly? Economic exploitation and racial oppression—these are the twin evils of capitalism which produce crime as a blind, anti-social protest against an intolerable way of life forced on subject groups, whether white or Negro.

Poison—Beware!

Anyone who thinks this is just the Negroes' fight is making the mistake that keeps Jim Crow going and growing.

That goes for white workers who think race prejudice is not their concern. That also goes for Negro workers who come to the conclusion: "The whole white race is my enemy." If both sides keep the conflict on a race basis, then Jim Crow wins automatically.

Let's be practical about it. For Negro workers, race hatred is a club. For white labor, race hatred is a slow poison. The only ones who benefit are those who exploit both. The only hope of victory is through working-class solidarity.

Negroes belong to a minority group, so called, by virtue of color. But Negro workers (and 90 per cent of Negroes are

workers) belong to the great MAJORITY GROUP of this country. That great MAJORITY GROUP is the working class, all of whom are exploited by the capitalist profit-makers in an economic system that breeds race-hatred along with the profit.

When that MAJORITY GROUP closes its ranks and understands its interests as an awakened CLASS, the Jim Crow system will disappear like its ancestor, the slave system.

That is why the first principle of capitalism is—DIVIDE AND RULE. Set native-born against foreign-born, Jew against Gentile, Negro against white, and laugh your head off while you pick the pockets of all of them.

So the poison of "white supremacy" is carefully pumped into the heads of white workers by the whole machinery of education, movies, radio, newspapers, and so on.

One of the factories of these racial myths is right in our city—the big dream factory known as Hollywood. Here, where the pap for people's thinking is doctored up and slanted, the Negro people are systematically portrayed only in the role of humble menial, entertainer or Uncle Tom—so that when Europeans met American Negro soldiers in the life they were honestly surprised to find just MEN like themselves.

This is the kind of poison, spread not by the Gerald Smiths and the KKK but by respectable powers in our society like Hollywood and the press, which lies at the bottom of race riots. Los Angeles too has seen these.

There was the pogrom of June, 1943, which the newspapers camouflaged under the name of the "zoot-suit riots." Carey McWilliams described it in his book, *Southern California Country*: "Roaming the downtown streets, a mob of 3,000 hoodlums dragged Mexicans, Filipinos and Negroes from motion-picture theaters and street cars, beat them on the streets and sidewalks and in many cases stripped them of their clothing. During the rioting, policemen watched the violence, made no attempt to intervene, and arrested the victims of the mob after the mob had finally abandoned them."

This, like the notorious Sleepy Lagoon case of August, 1942, involved the Mexican minority mainly, but perhaps even more dangerous have been recent outbreaks of race violence in the public schools directed against Negroes. In January the Gompers Junior High and in July the Manual Arts High School saw vicious attacks by white boys upon colored pupils, and in 1945 there had also been several similar events in schools.

The racist poison seeps from the top down to those who are the stupidest, most uneducated and fascist-minded, and gives them the idea of venting all their hatreds and fears of insecurity upon minority peoples as scapegoats. If they can even succeed in setting one minority against another, then indeed the race-baiters enjoy a good belly-laugh.

Last July many Negroes in Los Angeles received postcards from something-called the "Gentile League" warning them to "Beware of the Jews" and "slimy Jewish finance." All this has the same origin as similar propaganda against Negroes. Divide and rule!

The same Jewish fraternity at USC which was the victim of the KKK outrage had itself not long before been one of the signers of the anti-Negro restrictive covenant there. In the same way, Negroes who fall for anti-Semitic or nationalistic anti-white propaganda are digging their own pitfalls. Victory lies only in real unity on class lines—black and white labor fighting together to give the nation's wealth back to the nation's workers.

Labor Is the Enemy of Jim Crow

This means in the first place a determined struggle inside the trade unions to destroy every sign of Jim Crow in the labor movement. Every Negro worker knows how widespread this disgrace is, especially in the AFL. The fight against it is gaining, nationally and in Los Angeles. The great "Operation Dixie" of the CIO and AFL, the drive to organize Southern labor, is forcing even race-minded AFL craft unions to reconsider their restrictions, because the fight itself makes clear that labor can advance only with racial solidarity.

In Los Angeles the AFL Central Council has taken a step against the great evil through a new Committee to Combat Intolerance and through aid to the East Side Labor Committee. This is still only a token. But this is the direction for the struggle—not to reject the unions with scorn but to fight to make them clean instruments of class solidarity.

Even with the running sore of Jim Crowism in many trade unions, it is the labor movement and only labor which has been the greatest enemy of race discrimination. In Los Angeles, the pressure of the CIO Auto Workers is forcing the auto plants to open the doors to Negro production workers. After a fight by Local 216 and the threat of action by CIO-UAW President Walter Reuther, the General Motors plant in Southgate last July yielded and began hiring Negroes in production departments.

Labor stands to gain by abolishing Jim Crow—Capital needs the Jim Crow system—this is why the working class movement is basically the ally of the Negro struggle.

Negroes can no more distrust any white just because he is white than they can trust any Negro just because of his race. It is not a question of color. In the early months of 1946, the Culinary Workers Union started an organization drive in the Central Avenue district. The average wage of culinary workers in this area was 20 to 50 per cent lower than in other sections of the city. Negro employers came forth with the very same arguments for segregation and wage discrimination as their white capitalist brethren.

The Central Avenue "community" turned out to be not one but TWO: the community of employers versus the community of labor. Race segregation and Jim Crowism, it was made clear, is indeed in the interests of certain Negro business and professional elements, who use the segregated Negro districts as their own preserves for exploiting the members of their own race. Black or white, the stream of profit is thicker than the blood stream.

With the Workers Party

AKRON
Write to Box 221 for information.

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

For details of Workers Party branch, contact above address.

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

CHICAGO
LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.
Telephone—CH 5426-5788

Office hours: 8-8:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLASSES—every Friday night at 8 o'clock on a series of Marxist classics. Led by Albert Goldman.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE business meetings held every Sunday at 7:30. Forums held three times a month on Sundays at 8:30.

CLEVELAND
The Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m.

The Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tuesday.

Definite headquarters are not yet established for either of these meetings.

Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.

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

DETROIT
Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10. Telephone: PL 5593.

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

LOS ANGELES
Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico, near Olive. Telephone: Richmond 7-2330.

Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday.

March 16, Sunday, at 8 p.m.—Hear Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, on "Socialism in the Atomic Age," at the Embassy Auditorium, South Hall, 9th and Grand.

All LABOR ACTION readers in Los Angeles are invited to help in our election campaign now going on in the 7th Councilmanic District. We need your aid. Write or phone the above address (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067) to find out how you can participate. Pitch in!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For further information concerning the WORKERS PARTY, the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE and LABOR ACTION WRITE to the Workers Party City Center at 114 West 14th St., third floor, or phone CHelsea 2-9681.

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

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

PHILADELPHIA
HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Girard Avenue (3rd floor).

WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.

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

LABOR ACTION FORUMS each Sunday at 8:15 p.m. LABOR ACTION HALL, 1139 West Girard Ave., N. E. corner of 12th and Girard.

ST. LOUIS
Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbit Avenue, University City 14.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 206, Oakland 7, Calif.

Open forums held every other Sunday, starting Sunday, January 19. Forums held at above address (a few doors off Broadway on Tenth). Forums start at 8:00 p.m. Admission free. Refreshments served. For exact schedule of dates and subjects, write above address.

SEATTLE
Write to P. O. Box 28, University Post Office, for information.

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

New International Surveys Critical Situation in Spain

By ELEANOR MASON

When Franco goes will the generals remain? That Franco's days are numbered, no one doubts for a moment. From the extreme right-wing generals and monarchists to the masses who strike under the eyes of armed police—everyone knows that the régime, bereft of all its economic, political and moral props, must collapse. The Spanish problem today, therefore, revolves about the question of how the Franco régime will

be displaced and by whom. The answer to this question provides the key which will unlock the Spanish enigma. This is the problem dealt with in "After Franco—What?" in the February issue of the *The New Internationalist*.

Two major forces are engaged in the struggle for power in Spain. Within the country the working class, spurred on by its intolerable economic plight, is cautiously but firmly demonstrating its opposition. Internationally, in the United Nations and within the rival coalitions of Spanish politicians in exile, the imperialist rivals are working in frenzied haste "to consummate their particular aims before the revolution from below takes place."

But the immediate danger to the Franco régime does not come from the working class opposition. The armed forces of the underground are still too weak to strike for power without an internal crisis of the régime. "Franco's main and immediate danger comes from the growing and articulate opposition that emanates from the bourgeoisie and the military hierarchy." General Antonio Aranda, commander of Franco's forces on the Asturian front during the civil war, was recently sent into exile just before he was to testify at a trial of fourteen Spanish republicans accused of conspiring to overthrow the Franco régime in 1944. His exile disrupted negotiations he had obviously been carrying on with leaders of the Democratic Alliance.

Where You Can Buy Labor Action and New Internationalist

AKRON
Kallas Cigar Store, 1 W. Market St. News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. National News Co., 333 S. Main St. La Salle Confectionery, 629 S. Main St.

BALTIMORE
Fayette and Calvert Streets

CLEVELAND
Wheatman's Store, 719 Prospect Ave.

DETROIT
Bookstore, 9109 Woodward, near Clairmont. Cas's Warren Drugstore, opposite Wayne University.

Family Newsstand, downtown, in front of Family Theater. Highland Park Newsstand, 13501 Woodward, near Davison.

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

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

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Southwest corner, Fifth and Penn Sts LABOR ACTION only.

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SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
San Francisco: 2059 Fillmore St. Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd Street. McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St. Paul Elder's Bookstore, 239 Post St. (N1 only).

Berkeley: Wheelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

SEATTLE
102 Washington Street.

lowerers with a good conscience. This he does by raising questions of the utmost relevance, but stating them incorrectly and answering them falsely. "Through intricate arguments and refined mental reservations" Koestler gives his followers the necessary ideology which permits them "to find certainty when howling with the pack"—for example, support of the last war.

In "Thieves in the Night" Koestler emerges as the partisan of extreme Jewish nationalism and the dedication of his book to Jabotinsky only serves to underscore his views. Koestler's entire support goes to the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Throughout the book there are allusions that Palestine through some mystical interconnection between the country and its inhabitants belongs to the Jews.

And, says Brooks, because the book is above all a political tract and not a novel, characterizations are extremely crude black-and-white delineations. "All Jewish advocates of a brute-force conquest of their country are noble characters," anyone else vicious, morose. A Jew who advocates an understanding with the Arabs and their acceptance into the unions is personally marked by a squint and physical cowardice. There is not one sympathetic Arab in the book.

To both the admirers and antagonists of Arthur Koestler we recommend this thought-provoking review of his latest work.

OTHER ARTICLES

"The Marxist Movement in Ceylon," an important document of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, establishes the program for the revolutionary party in Ceylon. Of interest to the American reader is the valuable historical material and the picture of the current political scene in Ceylon.

"Post-Stuttgart Germany," by Gertrude Blackwell and Henry Judd, examines the reversal of imperialist policy in Germany with a detailed economic analysis.

The balance of the February issue is given over to Irving Howe's reply in the controversy over historical method; "The Role of Centristism in France" by Saul Berg—an historical survey of French centrist politics; reviews of F. L. Schuman's "Soviet Politics" and John Dos Passos' "First Encounter."

Note to Readers:

We have a number of back copies of *The New Internationalist*, which we will send as sample copies for the price of postage. Send us your name and address, together with a three-cent stamp, or send us a list of your friends who you think should know about the NI, and enclose three cents per name.

"Socialism a Practical Necessity" - Shachtman At Meeting in Detroit

DETROIT—On Sunday, February 9, an audience of eighty members and friends of the Workers Party heard Comrade Max Shachtman speak on the subject of "Socialism, the Road to Peace and Security."

In his talk, Comrade Shachtman demonstrated conclusively that insecurity and war were inherent in capitalism. He showed that whereas capitalism was capable of producing miracles of production for war, for destructive purposes, it was incapable of beginning to organize production for peace, for full employment and a decent life. Even while there is a temporary boom on, everybody lives under the fear of the impending depression. The only discussions today are not WHETHER there will be a depression but WHEN it will come and how severe it will be. Security and capitalism are no longer compatible, Shachtman pointed out, and the miracle of war production exposes the bankruptcy of capitalism to produce for peace and the welfare of humanity.

In his talk, Comrade Shachtman further pointed out that peace was no longer possible and the intervals between wars were no more than "armed truces," breathing spells in which the belligerents of the next wars jockeyed for positions and built up their armaments. But the next war will not be a simple "how and arrow" affair, but Atomic War No. 1, the war to end all wars and with it civilization itself. This was not due to the presence of "bad" men in governments, the speaker demonstrated, but to the inexorable working of the capitalist system. And the way out for humanity lies in the destruction of the capitalist system and the institution of socialism. Failing this, civilization will plummet into barbarism. Socialism is no longer an ideal of dreamers but a practical solution to the immediate needs of every human being.

The audience, composed mainly of workers from Detroit shops and students from Wayne University, found the evening very stimulating. After the meeting broke up, many people continued discussion in small groups. Sixteen dollars' worth of Workers Party literature was sold, most interest being shown in the new pamphlet of the Workers Party on "Marxism in the United States," by Leon Trotsky.

Chicago WP Backs Lewis In 3rd Ward

CHICAGO—The Chicago Branch of the Workers Party has announced its support of Homer Lewis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for alderman in the Third Ward. The Workers Party comrades have asked the SWP to inform them as to what they can do to further the campaign for Homer Lewis.

In a letter to the SWP stating its support of Comrade Lewis, the WP says:

"We take this step in view of the fact that the platform on which he is running is in many respects identical with that of our party's candidate for mayor of Chicago, Albert Goldman."

The letter also states its criticism of Point No. 6 in the SWP platform, calling it ambiguous. Point 6 declares the SWP's opposition to all imperialist wars, but the WP notes, and takes exception to, the SWP's defense of Stalinist Russia, which the letter describes as "a terrible blow to the world socialist movement."



WORKERS PARTY PUBLICATIONS

The two new pamphlets put out by Workers Party Publications have now been off the press for several weeks and both have been advertised and reviewed in LABOR ACTION. We are anxious to push sales on both these pamphlets (*Trotsky's Marxism in the United States* and Goldman's *The Question of Unity between the WP and SWP*). They are available at 35 cents and 50 cents respectively, with a 33 per cent reduction when ordered in bundle lots.

Although we have already filled many orders on these pamphlets, and individual sales promise to be good, we find we are lagging behind in getting them into the hands of people. Branches of the Workers Party that have not done so, should immediately send us in their order for these pamphlets. They are both highly valuable works, and can easily be sold and distributed. The Trotsky pamphlet has a broad general interest among sympathizers and intellectuals; while the Goldman pamphlet on the Unity Question will find ready sale among members of the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party. We ask all our literature agents to get busy on the job of pushing the two new Workers Party publications.

Below is the list of renewals and new subscriptions received during the past week by LABOR ACTION. Most agents are now busy laying plans for the forthcoming subscription drive (March), and gathering steam for the carrying through of their quotas:

AKRON	7
Cleveland	5
Philadelphia	4
New York City	3
Los Angeles	2
Missouri	2
Buffalo	1
Chicago	1
St. Louis	1
West Virginia	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	28

As of now, the following branches of the Workers Party have accepted their proposed quotas in the coming LABOR ACTION March subscription campaign. Newark branch, Streator branch, Philadelphia branch and San Francisco. Local New York has likewise indicated its readiness to accept the quota, and under the guiding hand of Phyllis Hoffman, the new Literature Director for the local, is making plans for the job. Local New York is responsible for obtaining the largest quota—600 of the 2,000 total goal.

Literature Agent Miriam Evans writes us from Detroit about the successful sale of literature at the recent Shachtman meeting. "It was one of the biggest sales of literature at a meeting ever made in Detroit. This was a very good meeting. One thing that some of the comrades thought a good idea was having all the major pamphlets on display in front of the audience." About \$25 worth of literature was sold—including almost 50 pamphlets, books, etc.

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

A Question About On-the-Job Training

Dear Sir:
In the January 20 issue of LABOR ACTION, James Fenwick, in his article, "Taking Off, Mr. Bolster?" refers to the wage cuts instituted by Omar Bradley in the on-the-job training program. I would like to know how the on-the-job training program caused wage cuts.
Sincerely,
L. J., Wilmington, Ohio.

The article in question did not make the point that the on-the-job training program caused wage cuts. It stated that General Bradley "initiated the wage cuts in the on-the-job training program."

It was Bradley who last year, utilizing the excuse that some employers were chiseling on the program by "training" executives for their posts at fancy figures like \$700 a month, proposed that subsistence grants not be given beyond a total income of \$175 per month for single men and \$200 per month for married men. The proposal was incorporated in Senate Bill 2477 and passed by Congress. This meant a wage cut for a considerable number of veterans who were earning more than these figures. This is what was referred to in the article.

The program itself, however, did induce unscrupulous employers to institute wage cuts, as the following story from Newsweek reveals: "A veteran working as a garage mechanic in a small Southern town was getting \$35 a week. When the garage offered to train him as a foreman, he accepted. They promptly cut his pay to \$23 a week, explaining that his subsistence allowance would more than make up the difference." This action by Bradley was roundly condemned as late as a few weeks ago by the UAW Veterans' Conference which met in Washington.

OK, L. J?
James Fenwick.

Disputes Stein Review Of Farrell's Stories

Dear Editor:
When Arthur Stein, in reviewing the Penguin book of short stories by James T. Farrell, stated that "the photographic quality of his work is often carried to a painful extreme," he is parroting a typically philistine criticism made of Farrell's work in the capitalist press, and "popular front" weeklies. In writing out of his own experience, Farrell succeeded in recreating a sense of American life such as no other writer has done since Dreiser. Like Flaubert, Zola, Gogol and Tolstoy, Farrell holds a mirror up to the life that he sees, but to say that his work is photographic is to completely ignore the painstaking selectivity of his material and the ever-present irony which fills almost every story he has written. Does Stein think it is "photographic" because the characters speak like their prototypes in real life; that Irish Catholics from Chicago's South Side in Farrell's stories talk like Irish Catholics from Chicago's South Side? Is it "photographic" because the lives of ordinary people are honestly described?

I suspect that Stein has that popular conception of literature that novels and stories should entertain the readers, that when he reads Farrell he has the uncomfortable feeling of seeing himself in society from a point outside society and this picture presented of life in capitalist America—with its endless banality, greyness, emptiness—comes as a shock even to a Marxist. This disturbing realization might be compared to the uncomfortable feeling some people get in hearing a recording of their own voice for the first time. Perhaps more than one revolutionary socialist hurries through a Farrell book and takes up Fitzgerald, Koestler, or even Howard Fast.

I would like to have commented at length on Stein's other reproach to Farrell for not giving a more revolu-

Two Subs for an Excellent Paper

Editor:
After receiving several sample copies of your excellent paper, we would like to subscribe for two six month subscriptions. Enclosed please find a dollar bill in payment for your modern herald of truth.
D. L. Missouri.

Reader J. Lovejoy suffers from a number of unfortunate misapprehensions in his interpretation of my review of the Farrell book. I have never REPROACHED Farrell—or anyone else, for that matter—for not waving the red flag. My comments on this matter in the review were an observation, not a criticism, of Farrell's method. Like J. Lovejoy, I find the school of "proletarian literature" distasteful.

I did imply, in my review, a criticism of the photographic quality in Farrell's work. To claim, as does J. Lovejoy, that this type of criticism "completely ignores the painstaking selectivity" is to imply that photography does not select. I have yet to see a photograph which presents all the details in the universe without any kind of selection.

What I think wrong with "photography" in literature, therefore, is not that it involves a lack of selectivity, but rather that its selectivity is mechanical, arbitrary and unimaginative.
Arthur Stein.

Revolutionary Politics And Jewish Question

Dear Editor:
I wish to call attention to LABOR ACTION readers to a most unusual statement appearing in the Militant of Jan. 25, 1947. The article is by T. Cliff, that paper's Palestine expert, and is endorsed by the editors in the following terms: "the article reprints that below... outlines the only policy that can lead the Jewish masses out of the blind alley..." There can, therefore, be no question as to the official nature of this article.

It is with some restraint that I quote the final point of this article: "No immigration and colonization against the wishes of the Arab masses." To my knowledge this is the first time in the history of the Marxist movement that an internationalist movement called for perpetuation of national barriers, under no matter what pretext.

Of course even the blind can see that the program of "no immigration" is a basic precondition for the solution of the Jewish problem. But must the blind write the political program of revolutionary parties?

JACK BRAD,
Philadelphia.

"ANTI-RED" DRIVE A SMOKESCREEN-- PHILLY SPEAKER

"The ruling class in the United States is using the anti-Red drive as a smokescreen to hide its own anti-working class drive," said Jack Brad as he led the discussion on "The Role of Stalinism in the Unions" at the Philadelphia Labor Action Forum on February 9. The speaker went on to warn the audience that the Stalinists and their programs are a menace in the labor unions that can only be combated by an intelligent and militant rank and file with a program of its own.

The Stalinists in the unions carry out the dictates of their leaders in Moscow, even if these dictates require actions contrary to the interests of their fellow workers. Brad gave several examples of Stalinist sell-outs: during wartime, the advocacy of the speed-up, labor-management committees, the War Labor Board and forced arbitration; the record of looting union treasuries; the stab in the back of the UAW by the UE during the GM strike, and the scabbing of Bridges' union during the Montgomery Ward strike.

Emphasis was placed not only on the despicable tactics of the Stalinists as they twist and turn to follow the party line, but also on the fact that sometimes that line permits them to pose as militants. The Stalinists are therefore masters of the technique of attaching themselves to a militant rank and file movement and of disorienting and misleading it for their own interest.

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Economic Paralysis Proves Failure of Reformist Policies

British Labor Government Wracked by Coal Crisis

By HENRY JUDD

Although there is no question that the British Labor Government will surmount the current crisis without the need of either forming a coalition government with Churchill, or resigning and holding a General Election, it is clear that a severe blow has been dealt it—a blow which goes beyond the immediate aspects of the English crisis. In effect, the brand of "socialism" put into practice by Atlee and his Labor Cabinet has been tested by its first crisis and has, as was foretold by revolutionary socialists, failed pitifully. This failure, at the moment, has largely benefited the reactionary forces of American and British politics.

The English crisis is, obviously, due to more than the immediate situation. Just as it was expected, just as it is certain that the Labor Government will momentarily pull out of it, just so certainly can one predict its recurrence. It is a fundamental crisis, lying within England's social structure, its world position and the steady decline of the Empire. Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, N. Y. Times columnist, is correct in writing:

"The present emergency is not merely a coal strike. Nor is it the consequence of unprecedented cold weather or a failure of the Labor Government. . . . It is the climax of a series of crises, all symptomatic of what the war has done to Britain

and to the entire economic and political structure of the Empire. British post-war policy of production for export and nothing for the home consumer is a policy of desperation. It lessens incentive to work and strains the Spartan spirit to the breaking point, but it is necessary if Britain is ever to be able to pay with her products for the food and raw materials she is obliged to import. Without world trade these islands might as well be sunk in the ocean, another Atlantis lost in the awful flux of the tides of power."

Under the back-breaking strain of a month of incredibly severe winter weather, storms and snow, English industry came virtually to a full halt last week. Half the plants were closed; the other half operating only partly. Four million workers were completely idle; two million were drawing their unemployment insurance (the pre-war dole had revived).

A DEEP-GOING CRISIS

Rations of bread and other foods were just as short and poor in quality as during the worst of the war periods. The famous British queueing up was on in full force in front of the greengrocer's and restaurants, together with dimmed out and even blacked out cities and towns. An atmosphere of cold and darkness gripped the islands, though the war had ended, for England, almost two years ago. Transport, power, gas and electricity were in varying degrees of

paralysis, as though a hundred atom bombs had struck the island. This is a social crisis that will not be removed by improvement in weather, and the resumption of coal deliveries. At the conclusion of the war, the English working class overwhelmingly voted into power the British Labor Party. This government had a mandate from the masses to move forward on the road to socialism, to reconstruct a Britain damaged by the war, to modernize and improve the industrial plant and products of the country with a view to raising the living standards of the people. But the British Labor leadership, far from socialist and revolutionary in character, has proceeded to act within the premises and confines of the pre-war Britain—that is, capitalist, imperialist Britain, ruler of India and the colonies. Even the measures of nationalization of various industries (including the crucial coal industry) were steps taken to bolster capitalism. Now we see the results—a failure predicted by the English Trotskyists.

Great Britain today is a declining

power, a power in retreat on a world-wide scale, before America and Russia. These two mighty rivals are squeezing her to the wall. England is broke economically, drained financially. To pay for its loans from America, England must export everything exportable. But then, what happens to the desire of the Labor Party masses for the rebuilding of their country, the lifting of their living standards?

BEVIN'S STATEMENT

That, clearly, becomes a mockery, given the policy of the Labor Government. You cannot build homes, repair dwellings, distribute needed consumers' goods if the country is to sell everything abroad in order to get dollars with which to pay for American and Canadian food exports. It is precisely this contradiction of a chaotic, unplanned English economy competing in a world of mighty rivals that is responsible for the absolutely hopeless dilemma of British capitalism, administered today by the Labor Party.

Foreign Minister Bevin, in a re-

cent speech, underscored this dilemma. Walling about the inability of England to make progress at international conferences because of its obvious weakness by contrast with the Big Two, Mr. Bevin said England needs three things:

(1) Coal—England has not sufficient coal even for its own needs! This is the immediate cause of the crisis. In 1946, England mined 35,000,000 less tons of coal than had been dug nine years before, in 1937. There were 100,000 less coal miners working in the industry; the entire trend of workers was away from the difficult and unpleasant task of coal mining. Two hundred and fifty thousand English miners are over 50 years of age; few youth enter the pits. The coal owners have successfully saddled the nation with the huge price paid to them for the nationalization of the mines they ran into the ground.

The industry is poorly equipped, not centralized or modernized and will be a losing proposition for a long time. An American miner averages four times the daily production of an English miner. Coal, England's

oldest major industry, suffers all the concentrated ailments of antiquated British capitalism. Its symptoms of illness are only the most pronounced. (2) Manufactured goods for export—English workers will not work hard for export purposes. Furthermore, lack of power hampers full production; not to speak of America's savage competition and Russia's shutting of the door to previous markets in Poland, the Balkans, etc. To top this, England has no other power reserves besides its decrepit coal industry.

(3) Financial credits to extend abroad: England came out of the war with \$14 billion in debts to America and the colonies, including India. England, far from being able to extend credits, finds herself unable to borrow for her own needs. The American \$5 billion loan will shortly be exhausted. American imperialism will demand a heavy price for a further loan. The dilemma is impossible to resolve. The three things that Bevin demands for a strengthening of the imperialism voice are unobtainable.

The response of the British Labor Government is to call upon the masses—the same people who passed through six years of war—for greater "austerity," "harder work" and "higher productivity." All this, of course, to continue the export program of British imperialism. We do not think the response will be favorable. The Conservative Party of Tory Churchill, while utilizing the crisis to bait and throw discredit upon the alleged "socialist" program of the Labor Party, is impotent and programless in the situation. It has nothing to offer, except to stimulate the most reactionary circles of British politics for the future.

The Labor Party will muddle out of its current mess, only to face an even greater one in the near future—perhaps when it must again turn to America for further loans and help. But the Labor Party has undoubtedly lost much in popular prestige among its supporters. Next week we shall examine the program proposed by the English Fourth Internationalists as a way out of this situation.

Gerhart Eisler: A Key Figure in the GPU Gang

Sudden Attack by U. S. Govt. Motivated by Diplomatic Conflict with Eisler's Master, Stalinist Russia

By ALBERT GATES

THE case of Gerhart Eisler has several interesting aspects. One of these is that so long as the military alliance between the United States, Great Britain and Russia seemed enduring, this known GPU agent was permitted to go about freely in his assignment of strengthening Stalinism in this country. But as soon as Anglo-American-Russian relations began to deteriorate, the administration arrested Eisler with a well-documented case of his activities. In addition to the materials furnished by the FBI, which seemed to have a rather complete dossier of Eisler's activities, it had the services of Louis Budenz, recently reconverted to Catholicism.

We are not greatly concerned with the technical-legal aspects of the Eisler case. As LABOR ACTION has repeatedly asserted, all governments spy upon each other. Eisler is not charged with being a government spy in the ordinary sense of the word. And even if he was, it would make no difference since spying is one of the arts of imperialist government. The Eisler case interests us because Gerhart Eisler is not a spy in the ordinary meaning of the word. Eisler is a unique type of Stalinist agent who operates behind the scenes to manipulate the workers' movement through the Stalinist parties. And it is as an instrument of the GPU, as one who commits the greatest crimes against the working class, that Eisler interests us. An Eisler is the highest authority in the Communist Party of whatever

country he may be assigned to by his superiors in the Kremlin. This authority extends over elected and appointed officials, even though technically, a man like Eisler is not even a member of the party. He determines party strategy and tactics based on the latest instructions from Moscow. He may even preside over the appointment of party officials. A man like Gerhart Eisler fits in perfectly with the totalitarian system of Stalinism where the control of the party by its membership is made impossible by the very nature of its hierarchical system.

Our interest in the Eisler case arises from our determination to defend the workers' movement from the reactionary and counter-revolutionary influence which he exerts as a representative of Stalin's bureaucratic regime. It is this aspect of the case which is most important. That the U. S. government pretends to be horrified by its "discovery" that Eisler is a Russian agent, is merely evidence of its own hypocrisy.

Eisler was known to the FBI for a long time. It was common knowledge in the workers' movement in New York that Eisler had been here for years and directed the affairs of the American Communist Party and the Stalinist forces in German refugee circles. Ruth Fischer, a former leader of the German Communist Party and sister of Eisler, has been writing about his activities for over two years—they were disclosures based on intimate knowledge of his past.

NEVER A PUBLIC FIGURE

Eisler's career in the workers' movement is indeed curious because it has never been open and public.

He was and is an adventurer type to whom principle and ideals mean nothing. While for many years a member of the German Communist Party, he was never a public figure in that organization. As an appointed functionary, Eisler's political career always depended upon his being in the good graces of his sponsors, or more precisely, upon adapting himself to the constantly changing policies of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International.

At one time, for example, his intervention in the affairs of the German CP as an oppositionist to the Thaelmann leadership resulted in his exile to Moscow. In order to make his isolation from German affairs complete, it is reported that he was even forbidden to read the German press. Then began his period of adaptation.

As an apparatus man of the Comintern, Eisler was sent to China, Austria, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. During the years 1929-33 he was not in Germany at all, except possibly in transit to some other country. He, therefore, could not have been a refugee from German Nazism in the same way as thousands of others. Everyone employed by the Comintern apparatus knew that Eisler was in the United States between 1933 and 1938.

RETURNS AS "REFUGEE"

He returned to the U. S. as a "refugee" in the early forties claiming that he was not permitted to go on to Mexico but was retained in this country against his wishes. And this is indeed a curious phenomenon, since hundreds of refugees with transit visa did make their way to Mexico through the U. S., while hun-

dreds of others were not even permitted to land in this country on the way to Mexico. But Eisler, curiously enough, was permitted to land and was forced to remain here against his wishes!

Eisler was interned in the refugee camp at Vernet, France, not because he was a refugee, but because he was a Stalinist agent. All the Stalinist refugees were interned then because they were defenders of the Hitler-Stalin pact and supported, in effect, Germany's war against the Allies. At Vernet, Eisler set up the Comintern apparatus which determined those individuals who by their loyalty to Stalinism, were picked to go as refugees to Mexico, Cuba and the United States. Those whose loyalties were questioned, remained in France, many of them later to succumb to the brutalities of the German Gestapo.

The most curious part of Eisler's career is the fact that he survived the many purges in Moscow. In Germany, he was at one time an "oppositionist." He was known as a protégé of Hugo Eberlein in Germany, and of Bukharin in the Comintern. Both Eberlein and Bukharin were murdered in the purges. In addition, the German Communist refugee movement in Moscow was practically wiped out in the purges of 1937-38.

WHY DID HE SURVIVE?

Eisler's survival is mysterious precisely because he was, in the context of Russian and Comintern politics, an oppositionist, a Bukharinist. In addition, he was the brother of Ruth Fischer, who was long associated with Zinoviev and had been close to the Trotskyist movement. Ruth Fischer was linked to Zinoviev

in his trial, and also to Trotsky. But strangely enough, while all of Eisler's friends and co-workers were picked up in the net of these purges, he survived. It is this which lends credence to the belief that Eisler's role in those years was as an informer on his former comrades.

This, then, is the man who was brought before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as vile a congressional committee as has ever been devised by the little men in Washington. So far as the state conflict between Russia and the U. S. is concerned, we say a plague on both their houses and their imperialist intrigue. So far as Eisler is concerned we say: this man is a GPU agent, a dangerous enemy of the working class, a despicable apparatus man who manipulates the workers' movement in behalf of the cruel totalitarian régime of Joseph Stalin.

The workers' movement can have no responsibility for a Gerhart Eisler. Its task is to root out these elements, deprive them of all influence and control of the revolutionary socialist movement. In this respect, Ruth Fischer, whatever errors she may have made in her campaign against her Stalinist brother, was absolutely correct when she stated:

"I consider Eisler the perfect terrorist type, most dangerous for the people, and particularly the socialists of both America and Germany. . . . In fighting Eisler here in the states, I hope to give some slight help to my socialist friends in Germany, who have to do the same thing but under immeasurably more dangerous circumstances."

Hands Off Labor!--

(Continued from page 1)

one of its own. Hartley's group of Republicans is in league with the movement for nominating Governor Thomas Dewey of New York for President on the Republican ticket, while the Senate group favors Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio for the nomination. The House group is trying to avoid the onus of having its candidate connected with a severe anti-labor bill and wishes to pass the buck to the Taft gang. Both groups agree, however, on the desire for anti-labor legislation.

To the American workers, however, what is essential is that a total fight must be conducted against all and any anti-labor legislation. The cards are stacked for the bosses as is:

own the industries, control the government, have an iron grip on the press, schools, radio and other forms of public persuasion. To introduce legislation, as Congressmen are doing, in the name of "giving the employers equal strength with labor" is simply nonsense.

So long as capitalism exists and bosses own the means of production, they have the power of economic and political control, against which labor has only the power of its numbers. That's why labor must rally now for a concerted struggle to prevent one single piece of anti-labor legislation being passed by the Congress controlled by the two old capitalist parties.

COMPANY DOCTORS REPORT ACCIDENTS AS 'HEART FAILURE'

The annual convention of District 4 of the United Mine Workers, held early this month in Uniontown, Pa., once again brought into the daylight that peculiar representative of the medical profession known as the company doctor.

"Convention delegates," reports the Dominion-News of Morgantown, W. Va., "heard former State Senator Anthony Cavalcante and Dr. George W. Teagarden, chief deputy coroner of Greene County, Pa., declare that company doctors on numerous occasions signed death certificates for 'heart disease' when it later had been determined that the deceased miners had met their death through electrocution or other industrial accidents. . . ."

"Other mine fatalities recorded as 'heart failure' actually had been caused by fractured skulls, cerebral hemorrhages and the like, the former Senator said.

"Dr. Teagarden said a Fayette deputy coroner had signed a heart disease certificate for a miner whose death was 'due to a fractured skull incurred when struck by a pole.'"

Practices such as these help to demonstrate why the health and welfare fund demand of the UMW, which the operators are trying to worm out of, is not a measure designed merely to harass the operators but flows from the miserable lives imposed upon the miners by the industry itself.

National Itinerary For Gates Tour

- 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—March 20, 21.
- Omaha—March 22, 23.
- St. Louis—March 24, 25.
- Louisville—March 26, 27.
- West Virginia—March 30, 31.
- Baltimore—April 2.
- Philadelphia—April 3.
- Reading—April 4.
- Newark—April 6.

Why We Need A Labor Party

"We can't solve our problems if we try to act as a narrow economic pressure group. We have to fight to advance the welfare of the whole community and the whole nation. We say in 1947, and we say it loud, that wages, prices and profits are our business just as much as the company."
—Walter Reuther at the Cleveland UAW education conference, as reported in the February issue of the United Auto Worker.

Boss Politicians Wrangle Over Atomic Energy Commission

What Are the Issues in the Dispute Over Lilienthal?

By SUSAN GREEN

In the drawn-out dispute over President Truman's appointment of David Lilienthal to head the Atomic Energy Commission, the working people are really outside looking in. As far as our well-being is concerned, it doesn't make too much difference whether Lilienthal or someone else favored by the Republicans chairmen the powerful AEC, with its control of the big projects at Oak Ridge and Hanford, of the supply of atom bombs, of all deposits of uranium and other fissionable matter, of government laboratories, of atomic research by universities and private concerns.

If Lilienthal is confirmed, he will try to run the commission to serve the over-all interests of American imperialism and to slap down the greedy hands of certain capitalist groups eager to have AEC cater to them. If a capitalist politician of narrower outlook gets the job, these private interest groups will be happier. But actually, because atomic energy means so much for the survival of and for world dominance by the capitalist system of this country, the over-all ruling class interests will have to prevail; thus there will have to be pretty tight government control no matter who heads AEC.

What concerns the working people is that neither the Lilienthal type of politician nor one approved by his opponents will prevent the use of atomic energy to annihilate whole cities and peoples; nor will either give up imperialist and profit considerations, to release this marvelous force so that the whole people may work less and enjoy more.

Still there is much of interest and enlightenment in the petty maneuvers of the capitalist politicians in choosing a chief for AEC. We get a

good picture of those whom the working people unfortunately still vote into office to represent "their interests."

ECONOMIC INTERESTS

When President Truman announced his choice of Lilienthal, head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, for top post on the Atomic Energy Commission, there was almost universal approval in the capitalist press of all shades of political opinion. Then Senator McKellar of Tennessee, a Democrat from Mr. Truman's own party, began gunning for Lilienthal to prevent his approval by Congress. What is biting Senator McKellar, old-fashioned politician, is that Mr. Lilienthal curbed the Senator's pork-barrel designs on TVA. McKellar is the type of "intelligent" politician who sees "red" in anyone who opposes his ideas or interests. So he must, forsooth, prove that Lilienthal is a communist and will, as head of AEC, do no less than surrender the secret of the atom bomb to Stalin. Consuming days of the Senate committee's time and producing in evidence letters that their alleged senders deny sending as well as similar spurious material, the gentleman from Tennessee accused Lilienthal of nursing a communist fifth column in the TVA.

One must conclude from McKellar's tirades that President Truman, who named Lilienthal; Secretary of War Patterson, who heartily approved him before the Senate committee; and the other top-shelf men in the government who support Lilienthal, are conspiring—quite openly, to be sure—to sell out to Stalin, through Lilienthal.

While McKellar was making a fool of himself, the Republicans were biding their time and making plans of their own. Under the leadership of Senators Bridges of New Hamp-

shire and Wherry of Nebraska, the attack against the former head of TVA took on more force and more realistic tactics. Seeing how ludicrous was McKellar's charge of communist beliefs and connections, the Republican opposition played up Lilienthal's record as a New Dealer and as "a menace to private enterprise."

Remembering that they got a "mandate from the people" to "restore private enterprise and take government out of business," the Republicans are harping on Lilienthal's record as a staunch supporter of government projects such as TVA.

Two sets of economic interests are behind the political fight against Lilienthal. There are those who see atomic energy as inevitable for industrial use, want to get their hands on it, and don't want their knuckles rapped by Lilienthal, who is a pretty strict teacher. It is claimed that another group, power magnates, present suppliers of gas, electricity and coal, are not anxious for the industrial development of atomic power

POST-PRANDIAL PIZZA PRANCE

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MARCH 1, 8:30 P. M. at 114 W. 14th Street

FEAST AND SONG FEST Given by: Day Branch of the Workers Party

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to compete with their own products. They don't want Lilienthal because, believing as he does in abundant and cheap power, he will, as head of AEC, encourage wide use of atomic power in production.

There is still another group of opponents to Lilienthal—the opponents on general principle. Though they see eye to eye with the New York Times that "the work of the Atomic Energy Commission is also to be a government monopoly, and a very tight one," these die-hards would still rather not have men in high offices who believe in TVAs. They want solid supporters of private enterprise.

PRESS TAKES SIDES

The hearings before the Senate committee continue. The committee is being pressured by telegrams and letters, one such missive coming from the president of the Timken Roller Bearing Company of Canton, Ohio, who sees Lilienthal in a decidedly red light. Senator Taft, leader of the Republican Policy Committee, is reported to be opposed to Lilienthal though not openly. How the influential Vandenberg stands is not yet known. It is thought that he could swing the votes for Lilienthal if he so chooses. Secretary of State Marshall may issue a public statement supporting the former TVA head, which would, of course, carry great weight.

The press has not remained unmoved by the political fireworks. The Daily Mirror, tabloid of cheap, reactionary propaganda, editorially proclaimed that whether or not Lilienthal is a communist, there is enough "to justify lack of confidence." George E. Sokolsky, equally reactionary, but writing in the more "intellectual" New York Sun, goes further and pins the "Marxian dialectic" on

Lilienthal, explaining that "Republicans and many Democrats feel that in a pinch, Lilienthal will not be found on the right side."

The so-called liberal press has been almost pathetic in its inadequacy. PM has, of course, come out with its usual "don't hurt Russia's feelings" line. The New York Post, always leaning heavily on the "good" capitalist politicians and exaggerating their importance, declaims: "A defeat for Lilienthal would be a step toward the defeat of the policy of American cooperation in establishing security against atomic energy"—as if there can be any security as long as imperialist powers rule us. Jonathan Stout, writing in the social-democratic New Leader, solemnly poses the question "whether liberals should go to the defense of Lilienthal or let him fend for himself"—poor Lilienthal with such no-accounts as Truman and Patterson fending for him.

Considering that what is at stake is the very survival of peoples, including ourselves, the interplay of petty interests is revolting. To turn atomic power from a threat to human existence to a boon for mankind, we must have workers' control of everything relating to the production of atomic power—under a workers' government with a complete domestic program for nationalization of all industry under workers' control, and with a foreign policy of solidarity of the people of the world to end all imperialist rule and all wars.

Because the interests of the masses can be served only by such radical measures, the workers really stand on the sidelines watching the political capers around Mr. Lilienthal. It would be well if they, the workers, were thinking: "A plague on both your houses. It is high time to declare our political independence and form a class party of our own."

WILL CONGRESS SMASH THE UNIONS?

ALBERT GATES Labor Action Editorial Board

SUNDAY, MARCH 2, 3:00 P. M. ROOSEVELT HOTEL

SEATTLE, WASH. Admission 50c