

Work for a Workers World
By Joining Workers Party

LABOR ACTION

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A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

To Halt Congress Anti-Labor Drive, We Propose:

MARCH ON WASHINGTON!

Telephone Workers Fight AT&T Monopoly's "Public Service" Strike-Breaking Attempt

By SUSAN GREEN

Labor will not be coerced or intimidated. That is what the telephone strike proclaims far and wide. And coercion and intimidation are exactly what industry and government are using on the worker.

This is how the anti-labor team seems to be operating: Congress holds over labor's head the threat of anti-strike and other anti-labor legislation. In the meantime, industry refuses to bargain collectively in good faith, in effect saying: "Go ahead and strike, and see what Congress will do to you on the statute books!"

SQUEEZE TACTIC

The capitalists and their political henchmen seek to paralyze the workers in this pincer-like maneuver on the psychological front. Here's some proof:

Drew Pearson, in the Washington Merry-Go-Round of April 3, reported that CIO President Murray held a secret strategy meeting of ten top leaders to assemble the data on the progress of new contract negotiations in the steel, auto and electrical industries. The tidbit is that Murray was told by these leaders that all these industries "refuse to bargain collectively for new contracts; that they sit tight, defy unions to strike, warn Congress will crack down."

In the same vein, Joseph Beirne,

president of the National Federation of Telephone Workers, reveals the squeeze tactic of the telephone monopoly. In his radio speech before the strike started, Beirne accused the telephone system of refusing to engage in legitimate collective bargaining. He said: "Our unions have made proposals to arbitrate all the items in dispute. We believe that if any arbitration is to be used it should encompass all disputed items without any strings attached, or else we could have a repetition of our present crisis at some later date. Arbitration is not a substitute for collective bargaining. We prefer collective bargaining to arbitration. We have constantly requested that the companies negotiate. They have steadfastly refused."

There is a law on the statute books known as the Wagner Act, which makes collective bargaining compulsory. However, industry abolishes the Wagner Act by deed before Congress does so by law, and broadly hints to workers who want to come out from between the millstones of low wages and high prices: "We've got you both ways. We don't care what you do. If you don't strike, well, we're sitting pretty with our profits and you can whistle for higher wages. If you do strike, we're still sitting pretty because Congress is going to fix you."

But the telephone workers weren't scared. These so-called "backward" workers showed how labor should answer attempts at coercion and intimidation. Being public utility workers, they also refused to be browbeaten by the propaganda about "serving the public"—so that AT&T may pay the second largest dividends in the country. In spite of a background of company paternalism designed to make docile slaves of them, the telephone workers joined in militant union action challenging a great world monopoly and Congress, teaming up against them.

The pincer tactics of industry and government will not work. Labor will not accept the theory that life for workers consists in tightening their belts, notch after notch. The women on the picket lines conveyed this feeling by their stories to reporters.

A junior supervisor, working for five years, earning \$41 a week, just manages "not to cash in my bonds" after tax, hospitalization and other deductions make the weekly living wage only three-fourths of the wage on the books.

A telephone operator, mother of four children, has to board out her 12-year-old boy and still a \$32-a-week wage cannot provide for her other three children.

A woman whose husband was just discharged from the Army stated that her \$32 hardly was enough to buy medicine and doctor's care for her two oldest children who are asthmatic; and it takes \$4 a week to take care of the youngest child so that this mother can go to work. "There are lots of things a woman likes in the house, things to make it easier. And there are nice clothes. That is why I am on strike," declared this harrowed mother.

These women workers told why they would not be coerced or intimidated—not by the great monopoly that exploits them so roundly and not by the politicians in Congress who look after the interests of the AT&T.

CHALLENGE ANTI-LABOR LAW

Not only do the telephone workers defy the telephone system and Congress threatening to pass labor-crushing laws. The strikers have gone further. They have refused to recognize as binding the New Jersey law already on the books, by which the state government took over the struck telephone company to break the strike and compel arbitration. The union considers this law unconstitutional and fascist, which it is. The workers have continued their strike. The New Jersey union leaders have allowed themselves to be arrested to make a test of this law which takes away from utility workers the elementary right to strike. And now the whole labor movement of the state is demonstrating its solidarity with the telephone workers and giving financial support.

Thus one step in the right direction leads to others. Striking in defiance of the Congressional threat to pass new anti-strike laws, the telephone workers have had to contest an EXISTING anti-strike law—and thereby in advance contest hostile laws that may be passed by Congress. The tactic of the industry-government squeeze has been declared ineffectual by the telephone workers' action and by the solidarity aroused in the entire labor-movement.

The steel workers whose contract expires April 30 and with whom the steel companies refuse to bargain in good faith, may soon follow the example of the telephone workers. The

auto workers' union, upon whom the industry-government squeeze is being used, has given the Chrysler Corporation a thirty-day strike notice. The electrical workers and all workers between the millstones of static wages and high prices will be affected by the example set by the correct action and excellent strike of the telephone workers.

Labor will not be coerced or intimidated.

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The government at Washington, the political hatchet men of the capitalist ruling class, has arrayed itself concretely against labor in what is called a "union-control" bill. This bill has been prepared by the House Labor Committee. Another and similar bill is being prepared by the Senate Labor Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Taft. Against these proposals we propose a MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

These "union-control" bills are a part of the program of the government at Washington, in response to the demands of the National Association of Manufacturers, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the Iron and Steel Institute and all

the various organizations of the capitalist employers throughout the country.

These anti-labor bills, these bills to "curb labor," to make labor "responsible," to give "free speech" to the capitalist employers, are the obedient answer of the government at Washington to the commands of its actual masters: the gorged and bloated capitalist owners and bosses.

Should the working class and the trade unions submit without a struggle to the provisions of this employer-dictated legislation, we must also be prepared to submit to further attacks and a further violation of our democratic rights. What does this House bill say? The bill would eliminate the present National Labor Relations Board, and amend the Wagner Act. The act would set up a three-member board and the office of Administrator of the National Labor Relations Act. The bill prohibits closed shop contracts. The union shop may exist if the employer agrees. Should a union attempt to gain a closed shop agreement by striking, the strike would be enjoined through injunction proceedings.

LEGALIZING SCABS

Industry-wide bargaining is made illegal. This means that whereas the Iron and Steel Institute or the National Association of Manufacturers, may function on an industry-wide basis in collective bargaining, under the law labor would be forbidden to operate in the same manner. If Bethlehem Steel is approaching wage negotiations with its workers, it can reach industry-wide agreements through the Iron and Steel Institute and hold to such agreements in negotiations with its workers, but the steel workers, under this act, are forbidden to proceed in like manner.

The President is empowered to seek court injunctions in any strike in transportation, public utilities or communications if the public health, safety or interest is threatened. Mass picketing is prohibited. If workers insist on striking, they are to stay at home or go fishing. By the act they are not permitted to take any action

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Let the "Public Safety" Guardians Answer: How Many Miners Must Die?

Under the hypocritical pretext of guarding "public safety and health interests," various state governments, headed by New York and New Jersey, have enacted legislation blocking the rights of public utilities workers to strike.

But what concern is shown by the state governments, not to mention the federal government, when it comes to the "safety and health interests" of workers, the coal miners, for example? The hundreds of thousands of coal miners in this country are surely working for the benefit of the public.

The latest in the apparently never-ending series of mine disasters took place on April 10 in Exeter, Pa. It claimed nine dead, and eight seriously injured. The owner of the mine that exploded is the Pennsylvania Coal Company. Six inspections by the state mining department failed to disclose any dangerous conditions, but the last Federal Bureau of Mines inspection had indicated various safety violations.

A gas explosion caught the seventeen men who either died or were injured at the bottom of the mine, 420 feet underground. It was the second major disaster in the anthracite field this year; the first claimed fifteen dead. Hundreds of miners, if we include the Centralia victims, have already been destroyed this year in unsafe mines.

How many more will it be before the year 1947 is up? Will hundreds of other miners die? What do those politicians, so concerned about "public health and safety" intend to do?

Strikers in Madras Demand Release of Arrested Trotskyist

By V. KARALASINGHAM
Special to Labor Action

COLOMBO, CEYLON—While Bombay and Calcutta are in the throes of communal clashes, the class struggle in Madras reached a new dramatic height when over 100,000 workers downed tools in protest against the Congress government's arrest and detention of Comrade Antonipillai, Trotskyist president of the Madras Labor Union. Comrade Antonipillai, who is a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, is also a member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Panic-stricken by the magnificent unity of 14,000 Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mill workers who are on strike since March 11, and anxious to appease the European owners of the mills and to demonstrate to the imperialists the willingness of the Congress Party to defend imperialist interests, the Congress Ministry sought to break the strike by arresting the president of the union, Comrade Antonipillai. On March 28 Comrade Antonipillai was arrested because he had, in the words of the government communiqué, "fomented an illegal strike, challenged the authority of the government and offended against the law requiring the im-

mediate return to work of the strikers."

The Madras Minister, Congressman Ramasami Reddiar, followed this up with an appeal to the strikers to return to work. This was adding insult to injury. The infuriated strikers immediately set out to galvanize the other unions in the city to protest against the arrest of their strike leader. The Stalinists tried to sabotage this move by playing for time but were caught in the whirlwind of mass indignation. Unwillingly they were swept into this massive strike action.

Despite the frantic appeals of the Congress bosses, including the Prime Minister, who made a special appeal over the radio, well over 100,000 workers joined in the protest strike. The protest strike embraced the entire city transport services, trams, buses, trains, haulage workers in the harbor, tannery workers, municipal and shop employees, MSM Railway workshop workers (Comrade Tony is also president of this union) and engineering workers. Monday, March 31, the day of the general strike, was quite reminiscent of the August, 1942, days. Armed police every ten yards, Gurkha troops and motorcycles with machine guns, armed trolleys patrolling railway lines. This was the Congress answer to a protest of the masses!

The protest strike raised a hue and cry in the Congress press. The Conservative "Hindu" called for special legislation to legalize strikes of this nature. There was not a single bourgeois paper in Madras that did not denounce the strike. This howling found a feeble echo across the Palk Strait, in Ceylon, where the imperialist "Times of Ceylon" traced the source of all trouble in "the export of Ceylonese Bolsheviks to India!"

Despite the unmistakable mass protest of a one-day general strike, the Congress Ministry has so far not yet released Comrade Antonipillai. The strike of the textile workers still continues. The Madras Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress has notified the government that if Comrade Antonipillai is not released, steps would be taken to organize a general strike in the whole of the Madras Presidency. This will bring the government to its knees.

They Would Strangle Labor Unions

Terms of Anti-Labor Bills in Congress Threaten Every Right Won in Struggle by Labor

THE HOUSE BILL:

(1) The bill would, in effect, repeal the Wagner Act and the Norris-La Guardia Act, both of which contain legal guarantees of numerous union rights, including that of organizing and collective bargaining.

(2) It would permit government injunctions against any and all strikes declared by the government, to be against the "best public interest." What strike could not conceivably be fitted into this category, if the government so desired?

(3) It would allow private capitalists to use the injunction against strikes, to sue unions under terms of various anti-trust laws, and to institute suit for triple-damages.

(4) It would break up the closed

shop by forbidding it. The union shop would be limited to those shops where the boss himself wanted it!

(5) All industry-wide collective bargaining would be forbidden.

(6) A series of "unfair labor practices," each more petty than the other, is listed. In each instance of "violation" the company would be permitted to bring suit against the union accused.

(7) A halt to all mass picketing; restrictions on any picketing.

This is the heart of the bill. The Republicans refer to the bill as "a bill of rights for both American workmen and their employers!"

So much for the House Bill. What of the Senate Labor Bill, supposedly more moderate? What would that mean to labor?

THE SENATE BILL:

(1) Sharp restrictions on industry-wide collective bargaining, including the right of a craft union to refuse to participate with other unions in such bargaining.

(2) Jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts are considered "unfair labor practices," rather than "unlawful acts" as in the House Bill. The effect is the same since the union can be prosecuted in either case.

(3) The National Labor Relations Board shall have the right to ask for injunctions in cases where it decides that labor is acting "unfairly."

The Senate Bill has not yet passed the Committee stage and is therefore far from being in final form. Its general intent is clearly the same as the House Omnibus Labor Bill.

Stalin's GPU Kidnaps Austrian Revolutionist

World Working Class Opinion Must Be Mobilized to Save Karl Fischer and other Anti-Stalinists from Being Murdered

In a recent issue of LABOR ACTION we published an announcement concerning the mysterious disappearance of Karl Fischer, a young Austrian revolutionary socialist with a splendid record of anti-Nazi, working class activities and years of imprisonment in the Buchenwald concentration camp. Preliminary details of the case unmistakably pointed to the murderous hand of the Russian GPU.

LABOR ACTION has now received detailed confirmation of this preliminary charge. Karl Fischer, 29-year-old Austrian revolutionist and sympathizer of the Trotskyist movement, has unquestionably been spirited away by the Stalinist assassins and their agents in Austria. We are publishing below the all-too-revealing details that confirm this.

Once more the world's greatest machine for organized murder of its political opponents has laid its hands upon another victim. Without immediate action on the part of socialists and liberals everywhere, the fate of Karl Fischer—if it is not already too late to save him—is a foregone conclusion. He will be spirited away to Russia and there destroyed in some dark GPU dungeon.

The facts of the Fischer case must be made known immediately. This is why we are publishing all the details known to us. As the letter from our informant reveals, the lives of other Austrian anti-Stalinists, regardless of their specific political affiliations, are likewise endangered. The GPU tolerates no form or variety of opposition. The weak and ineffectual Austrian government, split up into airtight zones, cannot be relied upon to protect anti-Stalinist revolutionists. Only the light of full publicity and the mobilization of working class feeling against the GPU machine and its criminal agents can do this job.

Munich, Germany
April 2, 1947

Dear J:

I returned here the day before yesterday from Austria, with terrible news. Atrocities are beginning. During the past few months, thirty people—socialists and Christians—have disappeared without a trace. All these affairs have one common denominator—the people who have vanished somewhere east of the Danube were known for their anti-Stalinist opinions and activities. The NKVD appears to want to make a clean sweep before the possible withdrawal of the Russian troops. One of those who has disappeared is a comrade. I do not know exactly to what tendency he belonged, but it doesn't matter. I am sending you a resume of the facts and a short biography, which I received from his mother.

Karl Fischer was born on September 23, 1918, in Vienna. He attended public and high school, and in 1933 entered a wholesale metal company as an apprentice. He was a member of the Socialist Workers Youth, and later adhered to a communist opposition group. He was arrested on November 6, 1936, and was sentenced to five years at hard labor on August 13, 1937, for committing high treason. In the last days of the Schuschnigg regime, he was freed in the general amnesty. In 1938, after Hitler's coming to power, he went through Switzerland into France. There he continued his activities for his organization and was arrested by the Vichy government in September, 1943. He spent the period until August, 1944, in a police prison in Paris and was then brought by the Gestapo to Buchenwald, where he was liberated by the American troops at the end of the war.

Already in Buchenwald, Fischer had political differences with the Communists who were imprisoned there. At the time of the liberation, they refused to take him with them to Vienna in one of the transports they had organized. They finally did take him, upon the intervention of Benedikt Kautsky. On the journey, Kautsky advised Fischer not to travel all the way to Vienna, but to get off at Linz, since the Communists in the transport regarded him as their enemy. Fischer consequently got off at Linz, found a job there with the French Liaison Officer and also accidentally met his mother, Maria Fischer. His mother had been sentenced in 1943 to five years imprisonment by the Berlin Police Court for high treason, for she too had worked for the organization to which Fischer belonged. After her liberation from the women's prison

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The Auto Workers And Henry Ford

In response to a request from us, we received the following from one of our Detroit correspondents:

You asked for a rounded-out story on Henry Ford. Perhaps the whole point about Ford and the auto workers can be made in relating this incident that happened last week.

Chrysler Corporation proposed to a shop committee that the plants shut down for one hour to commemorate Ford's death. The shop committee replied they would be glad to call a one-hour shut-down to commemorate the Centralia mine disaster victims. That closed that subject.

Auto Worker, Detroit.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Why the Phone Workers Are Striking

NEWARK—The country is amazed by the militancy of these thousands of young women walking the picket lines. To millions of people throughout the nation, the telephone operator has been known only by a soft, pleasant voice asking "number please." Today that voice, no longer soft, is hurling "Scab! Strike-breaker!" at company stooges who attempt to enter the various plants.

To understand this, it is necessary to know something of the life of these workers and of Telephone Company policy, notably its paternalism. At the expense of the larger section of operators, various strata of supervisors and plant managers were set up. With that, the company has developed a group of proteges, people who receive extra benefits both in money and conditions of work. One of the doing away with the name of "supervisor" for those workers whose job it is to assist and relieve a section of operators under their care. Instead the union wants them to be called, "service-assistants." It is interesting to note that the demand for this change comes from the operator as well as the supervisor. (The three women union leaders arrested by the authorities rose from the ranks to become supervisors and have been militantly defying the recently enacted anti-strike law.)

WORK UNDER STRAIN

For years the operators had to suffer the "dress-up," which means that periodically the foreman over the line would order the girls to face the board, not talk to the workers on either side, and concentrate only on the "switch board." The girls spend the bulk of the day seated in their one section of the line. After a few hours of this, the effect is one of being cramped. To break the day of its fatigue, the girls have been allowed two ten minute breaks. However, this has proved insufficient, and the girls at times have resorted to "run-outs" or breaks of a few minutes in the rest rooms.

According to the pickets whom this reporter interviewed, the girls have never abused this practice of "run-outs." However, the company in attempting to discipline the oper-

WDL Refutes Dewey Memorandum On Anti-Strike Law

NEW YORK CITY (WDL) — The memorandum issued by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York in signing the bill barring strikes by public employees "revives the stereotyped government-is-holy argument which is the time-honored technique used to maintain depressed standards for government workers."

So stated Rev. Donald Harrington, national chairman of the Workers Defense League, in a letter stating that the League will challenge the law's constitutionality and work for its repeal. Refuting Governor Dewey's arguments point by point the letter says:

"You say: A public employee has as his employer all the people. The people cannot tolerate an attack upon themselves. ACTUALLY, the public employee has as his employer not an abstraction called the people but the head of the specific department for which he works.

"You say: The public employee has no employer who may profit from depressed conditions of employment. ACTUALLY, a city or state administration and its departments profit financially from depressed conditions of employment. Every administration tries to cut budgets, every politically ambitious department head tries to cut his expenses. This usually entails layoffs or wage cuts without regard for the public good or the welfare of the individual employee.

"You say: that public employees have sufficient right of protest without the right to strike. ACTUALLY, the very incident which prompted you to revive the dormant Condon-Wadlin bill disproves this. The admittedly underpaid Buffalo teachers had exhausted all other means of petition and protest. They were forced to exert their right to strike or submit to substandard conditions.

"You say that a strike against government is 'anarchy.' ACTUALLY, such a statement can only be described as hysterical. Was the Buffalo teachers' strike anarchy? Were the many strikes of public employees throughout the country anarchy? No, they were orderly strikes carried on just like strikes against any private employer.

"You say that a strike of public employees can endanger the whole of society and give as an example: 'A strike of sanitation workers could almost overnight produce an epidemic threatening the lives of other millions of people.' ACTUALLY, there have been perhaps more strikes of sanitation workers than of any other category of public employees in the U. S. and never have they resulted in the dire epidemic that you picture."

ators, tried to prevent this practice. It appears that the company was unable to prevent it and as the striker interviewed stated: "They might try to stop one of us, but if we all went at once they would have trouble on their hands." Another reason for the break being needed is the strain which comes from the continually buzzing and lighted switchboard and constant "yak, yak, yak" of the board.

The fear of unemployment is forever hovering over these workers. Every worker in the industry is aware of the fact that the company is engaging in an intensive experiment with an invention called the "Dial-robot" which will displace thousands of workers. Combined with this is the inadequacy of present-day wage standards. The union is demanding a twelve dollar overall increase per week. The sky-rocketing of prices has made an impossible situation for most of these workers.

Another unusual aspect of the strike is that the high paid workers

UNIONISTS SPONSOR FEPC BENEFIT DANCE IN N. Y.

Ten AFL and CIO unionists are among sponsors of an FEPC benefit dance Friday evening, May 9, at the Golden Gate Ballroom, New York City. They include Ivan Lorand, Textile Workers Union, CIO; Maida Springer, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; A. Edward Walters, American Federation of Musicians; and Samuel Colton, Jewish Labor Committee.

The dance is being given by the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC, whose co-chairman is A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL.

Music will be by Erskine Hawkins. There will be a drawing for door prizes, with the first prize a mink coat. Tickets at \$1.00 each may be obtained at the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 217 West 125th Street; March-on-Washington Bookstore, 2084 Seventh Avenue; and the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC, 33 West 60th Street (phone: Circle 5-5080).

The Golden Gate, biggest ballroom in New York, is located at Lenox Avenue and 142nd Street.

are in full solidarity with the low paid workers and are walking the lines with the latter.

During the past year, the company carried extensive adds in the local papers describing the wonderful job opportunities awaiting those who wanted to become telephone workers. Those men and women interviewed by the company were carefully screened before hiring to see that they would not make trouble for the company. However, as fast as the hiring was done, the bulk of the new help immediately joined the union. According to some of the pickets, those who are today scabbing will be completely isolated when the strike is over.

POLITICAL LESSON

Prior to the election for Governor of New Jersey, an intense political battle was carried on between the now Governor Driscoll and Attorney General Van Riper. The latter was accused of blackmarket activities, as having had a hand in a bank failure and generally of engaging in shady manipulations. He was indicted and brought before some state bodies for investigation. The enmity between the two was so great, supposedly, that Governor Driscoll stated that in any event he would by-pass Van Riper and appoint his own counsel. Not by accident did he appoint Russell E. Watson, a director of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. The union exposed this and showed that he was acting in a "dual role" in the strike, both directed against the telephone workers. On the one hand he is a director, and on the other, as counsel to the governor, he has been active in conferences on implementing the

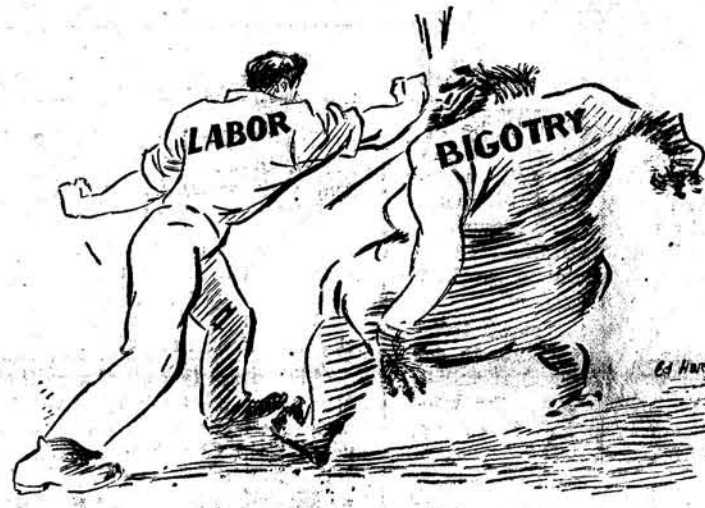
new state anti-strike law and is reported to have had a hand in drawing up the bill.

The climax has come during the strike where Governor Driscoll has called on Van Riper and his men to break the strike. Bitter enemies of yesterday are today allies in an attempt to crush the working class. This is one of the bitterest political lessons that the telephone workers are learning. Republicans or Democrats, they are fundamentally the same. Their interests are the interests of big money and industry. At times they fight among themselves for power, but when it comes down to the concrete task of fighting the working class, they are united.

At stake is the fundamental right of workers to use the strike as a means of struggling for a better life. The courts, the police, the radio, and the press, all under the control of big business are systematically used against working men and women.

The local press has carried some vicious anti-strike editorials. At the same time any unfavorable publicity which can be illustrated in photos is printed. One unsuspecting young operator was tricked into posing for such a picture. The ranks are aware of what has been taking place and angrily denounce the activities of the press.

On strike are the Traffic Telephone workers, telephone accounting workers, Western Electric Employees Association, the Association of Communication Equipment Workers, American Union of Telephone Workers, and the Bell Laboratories Equipment Workers.



We Propose A Mass Labor Demonstration in Washington - -

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which would deter the company from running thousands of scabs into the struck plant. There is nothing in the act making it unlawful for the company to hire scabs. The act merely recognizes the right of the worker to refrain from working if this is his desire. Mass picketing comes under the head of "unlawful concerted activities." If a mass picket line is put out, a "secondary boycott" is invoked or a "sympathetic strike" is engaged in, the employer may sue the union, the union loses its Wagner Act rights for a year and may be prosecuted under the anti-trust laws.

Unions will be required to file a statement annually with the Department of Labor, reporting their financial transactions. It would be unlawful for unions (and corporations) to make political contributions in any election involving a federal office. This means of course that no union could, under this bill, make financial contributions to a labor party which was running candidates for any federal office. Capitalist millionaires may continue to make huge contributions to the Republican and Democratic Parties, but the organizations of labor may not contribute to labor's own political organizations.

Company unions are permitted if they are not "company dominated." Unions may expel a member for membership in or promoting the Communist Party. There is a section on "union democracy" which makes it unlawful not to have a secret ballot on dues, assessments or policy questions. (How would this have worked in the case of the wartime no-strike pledge?) Unions may not fine or discipline members who criticize the organization or its officers. A member may be expelled for disclosing confidential union information and for scandalous conduct tending to bring the labor organization into disrepute.

STOP AND THINK!

These are the really important sections of this bill. The bill is designed to bring the organized labor movement completely under the control of the government. Under this bill the unions will no longer be unions but something approaching the Labor Front of Hitler and the Stalinist bureaucratized GPU labor front of the Russian factories. The unions would be completely stifled, degraded and regimented. They

would come under the full control of three bureaucrats in Washington, a labor front administrator, the President and Congress—all doing the will and the bidding of the capitalist employers.

No sphere of union activity and working class activity is left uncovered by this bill. No worker should be influenced to any degree in favor of this bill; not even by that most hypocritical section entitled "union democracy." Instead of being favorably influenced by this section, this is the very part which should make every worker stop and think. What worker will believe that the capitalist employers and their political deputies in the government at Washington have any genuine interest in internal union democracy? Nobody in the government made any proposal during the war, for instance, that all matters of union policy should be submitted to "secret ballot" of the membership. They well knew that if such a ballot had been taken, the rank and file of the unions would have voted in many instances against the no-strike pledge which the leadership had given in a most undemocratic manner.

Furthermore, who are these people who talk about "union democracy"? They are the henchmen of the capitalist ruling class: capitalism's political committee of management. That is what this government at Washington is. This should be clear now to the most backward worker. We have it right out of their own mouths in this "union control" bill. They are for union democracy only when they believe that workers are too backward and ignorant to know where their interests lie. They are for "union democracy" only so long as they believe that the unions will vote the capitalist way.

CAPITALIST BANDITRY

This capitalist ruling class is a brazen group of exploiters. They had their way during the war and made billions in profits and distributed billions in dividends and interest to themselves. After the world had been saved from Hitler and for democracy they made more billions in profits and interest. In order that these profits and dividends might not be lowered they demanded the scuttling of the OPA and got it from their willing and obedient government at Washington. Twenty-nine hundred corporations with 1946 profits of six billion dollars demanded

protection from their government.

The meat packers increased wages by a very modest amount but sent wholesale prices up 90 per cent. Armour's profit increase in 1946 over 1945 was over 200 per cent. All the meat industry needed in price increase to repay it for the wage increase was less than 2 per cent, but they took 90 per cent. To pay for a wage increase which could have been covered by a 7 per cent increase in prices, the textile industry took 31 per cent. The big capitalist corporations first packed away billions in profits. Then they demanded price increases to pay for small wage increases, refusing to pay the higher wages out of profits.

Another interesting fact is the exposure of the contention of the big capitalists that they do not have a sufficient return on their investment. Well, the profits of the 2,900 corporations reported by the National City Bank of New York represented a 9 1/2 per cent return on their combined capital and surplus. In 1945 this return was about 8 per cent. U. S. Steel's return rose from 8 per cent in 1945 to 12 per cent in 1946.

The biggest jumps in profits, return on investment and price increases took place in the meat industry, the food industry, the textile industry and in steel. This means in the leading basic industries and in those industries which supply the masses of the people with the necessities of life.

The only reason that similar jumps have not taken place in rent is that the real estate brigands have not yet succeeded in getting the rent ceilings removed. This will come later. Every squealing group of capitalist exploiters will have its day at the trough.

What we have said above is not the whole story of the BIG GRAB. They got their billions in profits. They distributed millions in dividends and interest to themselves and their kind. They ran the prices up and put an iron ceiling on wages. And then, they started post-war production with 58,000,000 workers employed. They manufactured consumer goods, but they did not put these goods in the stores. The big capitalist manufacturers put the stuff the workers made into the warehouses and kept them there. Big and continuous production and big inventories. The warehouses are bursting with the goods which the people

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

BIG Business profits and high prices must be pretty outrageous indeed for chairman E. G. Nourse of the government's Council of Economic Advisers to announce publicly that industry can and must pay wage increases without raising prices. Indeed, the position of most concerns has led the council to the conclusion that there is room for both wage increases and price reductions, according to the New York Journal of Commerce. Which is precisely the view expressed by Robert Nathan whose private research agency produced a wage-price study for the CIO.

Nourse is reported to have told Truman that industry is not going to reduce prices voluntarily, a fact supported by independent surveys made by the Wall Street Journal and the Associated Press.

Chief concern of the White House is that labor will become so aroused at the present situation that a series of savage strikes will shortly ensue. So Truman is putting on a show about pressing business to turn prices downward.

Just how much worse off are we than on V-J Day? Back in January, 1945, take-home pay of industrial workers hit \$47.50, highest of the war period. Today, weekly earnings average just under \$47. But the cost of living, according to the Department of Labor, has soared over 20 per cent since the war's end. So despite all the efforts of labor to catch up with prices—the auto strike, the coal strike, the farm equipment strikes, the rail strike, and all the other strikes—we are 20 per cent worse off than we were 25 months ago.

Obviously, union leadership has not been aggressive and militant enough in defense of labor's position. And just as obviously, economic action alone has shown itself inadequate. Labor must enter the political arena with an independent party of its own. The Republican-Democrats are not interested in defending labor's position.

THE OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Though Truman, in his statements on U. S. intervention in Greece and Turkey, has not even mentioned the oil of the Middle East, it is perfectly obvious that a big factor impelling him to act is the desire to protect the investments of the U. S. oil trust in the Middle East. Here, briefly, is the history of the Middle Eastward oil fields.

Just 50 years ago, the German-controlled Baghdad Railway obtained from the Turkish government rights for a railroad from Anatolia to Baghdad. The Germans also attempted to acquire mineral rights in the region then known as Mesopotamia. Shortly before the First World War, Germany came close to her goal of controlling the Persian oil fields. She was negotiating with the British Anglo-Persian Oil Co. and the Royal Dutch-Shell group, and her insistence in forcing through an agreement was a prime factor in bringing on the First World War. At the outbreak of that war, Britain and Holland reneged in their agreement with Germany, and the interests of Germany's Deutsche Bank in Arabian oil was taken by the English. After the war, France managed to chisel from Britain the 25 per cent interest in Arabian oil once held by Germany.

About this time, Standard Oil muscled in and demanded "equality of commercial opportunity," with the support of Washington. Indeed, the U. S. Department of Commerce invited all interested American oil companies to meet in Washington, to discuss participation by U. S. companies in the development of Middle Eastern oil resources. In 1928 the U. S. companies finally obtained a 23.75 per cent, which subsequently was split equally between Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum Oil (formerly Standard Oil of New York). From 1934 to

1939 Standard Oil of New Jersey was receiving about 9,500 barrels a day from the Kirkuk field in Iraq.

With the declining importance of European oil countries, the oil in the Middle East has become more important to the U. S. oil trust, which recently announced plans to invest about \$250 millions in Middle East oil. It is this investment which the U. S. government is moving to protect.

NEW M-DAY PLANS

At a recent meeting in Chicago of the Navy Industrial Association, Rear Admiral C. E. Braine of the Navy outlined the developing plan for industrial mobilization in the next war. The Navy Industrial Association is composed of the 470 companies who got the gravy from the Navy in the last war.

Under the plan, industrial plants would be segregated into four classifications, depending upon the type of plant and the product manufactured. The ultimate plan of the Navy and Army, it was explained, is to obtain the total requirements of a particular product or type of equipment "in case of an emergency," and to allocate production to a particular plant. The plan is to have one branch of the service, either the Army or Navy, order all requirements for a particular product, for both.

ECONOMIC NOTES

American consumers must expect to pay over \$38 billion in taxes for the fiscal year of 1947, the Northwestern National Life Insurance Co. has reported. This amounts to 22 cents of every dollar in the weekly pay envelope. Of the total taxes, only \$21.5 billions will be paid directly, in personal income taxes and sales taxes. The remaining \$16.5 billions will be paid through indirect "sneak" taxes.

Consumers will contribute over three-quarters of the combined total of federal, state and local tax revenues, which will add up to \$48.5 billion, absorbing 28 per cent of total national income, the company stated. . . . Manufacturers of men's shirts have admitted to the New York Journal of Commerce that the bulk of the white and colored shirts now appearing on the counter at \$2.95 are comparable to those pre-war shirts selling for 79 cents and 89 cents. The shirts selling today for \$3.95 sold before the war at about \$1.75, the report said. Shirtmakers snicker at the quality of present-day shirts.

The Federal Trade Commission has informed Congress that 1,800 companies have been gobbled up by Big Business through merger or purchase since 1940. Eighteen of the nation's "very largest companies"—meaning those with assets above \$50 million—absorbed 242 smaller companies, for an average of 13 smaller companies each.

A sure sign that wages are today inadequate is the report of the U. S. Brewers Foundation, which admitted the other day that in February the nation's brewers sold only 85 barrels of beer for every 100 sold a year ago. One New York tavern operator told the Wall Street Journal that beer sales in the city were 30 per cent below a year ago. The manager of a big Cleveland tavern said that his March sales were 37 per cent below a year ago. Said he: "The reason is plain. It's the same thing that has cut liquor sales 40 per cent to 50 per cent. People just don't have the money to buy." In Detroit a spokesman for a tavern association comprising 500 taverns said that overall tavern business on beer, wines, and liquors was running 35-40 per cent below a year ago, and out in San Francisco tavernmen said sales have plummeted as much as 60 per cent from the 1946 level.

need. The big banks are bursting also. Everything is going up: profits, dividends and inventories. BUT NOT WAGES.

BOSSSES' GOVERNMENT

Why? We have been told for fifty years that production will raise the standard of living, that high production means lower prices and higher wages. The reason is simple. The big capitalist manufacturers have fasted blood. They produce and pack the goods away in their warehouses. They create an artificial shortage. And then they raise the prices again. Therefore the warehouses burst with goods the people need. The big banks are bursting too. The big capitalists are having their day. A tidal wave of profits, big inventories, glorious prices, billions on deposit, gigantic dividends and LOW WAGES.

It is after all this that the big capitalists go to THEIR GOVERNMENT AT WASHINGTON and say: "Protect Us from Labor." "Give Us Company Security." "Scrap the Wagner Act. Open the Union Books." "Free Speech for Employers." "Unions Are Combinations in Restraint of Trade." "Down with the Dictatorship of Labor Leaders." "Labor Wants a Finger in Our Pie." "What This Country Needs Is More Injunctions." "If Labor Wants More Wages, Let It Produce More."

They get away with it too. They are successful. They succeed because they have a government of their own. They have a President of their own and of their own choosing. They have their own courts to protect them and theirs. They send their people into the Cabinet, to Congress and to the White House. Later they take their people out of the government and bring them back to the corporation. They make better corporation executives after a season in Congress, on the bench or in the Cabinet. It is good for the health of a capitalist business enterprise which has officers who have served their country in the Treasury Department, the Justice Department, the White House or in Congress.

WHAT LABOR CAN DO

What is organized labor doing about all this? Specifically what are we doing about these anti-labor bills; these bills to wreck the unions and make the capitalist employers stronger even than they are today? We are not doing much. While profits and prices continue to rise and

wages remain low, we who are the majority in this country and in the world, only solace ourselves with the vain hope that the capitalist employers and their government at Washington will be fair and democratic. The trade union leadership is at the end of its rope. It doesn't know what to do. It doesn't even know enough to unite the labor movement: the AFL, CIO and the railway unions. It sees the capitalist class united, but it leaves the trade union movement and the working class divided. It sees the NAM, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and other employer organizations marching on Washington. But the labor leaders sit in their offices, write speeches and plead with the capitalist bosses and the capitalist government not to kill the goose which lays the golden egg.

We believe that organized labor can do something. The trade unions must do something. What can labor do? It seems to us that the first thing to do is simple: UNITE IMMEDIATELY FOR JOINT ACTION to defeat the anti-labor bills in the Senate and House of Representatives. What is so difficult about this? Why hasn't it been done? Is it because the workers are against such a step? This is nonsense. The labor movement is divided today because the leadership does not want a united labor movement! The ranks of labor would gladly unite because they really have felt the blow on their backs.

What kind of joint action could a united labor movement engage in? It could follow the capitalist bosses into Washington and demonstrate against the anti-labor bills. Labor can defeat these bills if the trade unions will unite and act.

A MASS DEMONSTRATION OF LABOR in Washington would defeat these bills. Every local in the country, from the AFL, CIO, the Brotherhoods and the independent unions, could elect delegates, thousands of them, to go to Washington and DEMONSTRATE AT THE CAPITOL. If the capitalist bosses can MARCH ON WASHINGTON, so can labor.

A MINIMUM PROPOSAL

A united labor movement could urge a JOINT SESSION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE to hear the proposals of organized labor on the "union-control" bills. What's wrong with this? Wasn't this Congress sent to Washington by the votes of the working people? Since the working

people sent these men and women to Congress, why can't these working people go to Washington and tell Congress what they want done and what they don't want done? Is it only the capitalist manufacturers and bankers who can tell Congress what to do?

Certainly we can ask for a JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS on these "union-control" bills, on these bills to "curb labor." The unions of the united labor movement can elect representatives to appear before this JOINT SESSION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE and argue labor's case. While the elected representatives of labor are addressing the Congress, the thousands of unionists can stand outside the Capitol in solid array waiting for the return of their representatives to report what the "representatives of the people" had to say. Who could possibly raise any objection to such a genuinely democratic procedure?

The representatives of labor appearing before such a joint session of Congress could tell the lawmakers that labor demands the retention of the Wagner Act and without the amendments proposed. KEEP THE NLRA. NO INJUNCTIONS against labor or the trade unions. AMEND THE NORRIS-LA GUARDIA ACT TO INCLUDE THE GOVERNMENT. NO ANTI-CLOSED SHOP LEGISLATION. INDUSTRY-WIDE BARGAINING. NO EMPLOYER OR GOVERNMENT SUITS AGAINST UNIONS. No Legislation Barring Members of Political Parties from Union Membership.

What is proposed here, if carried out, would be only a small step for labor in the direction of protecting the interests of the working people of this country. But such a MASS DEMONSTRATION OF LABOR AT WASHINGTON by a united labor movement would produce beneficial results for all of labor in the U. S.

What is proposed here is only a small gesture which labor can make. It is not enough. We have made it clear that this is not our government. No demonstration or series of demonstrations at Washington alone will make it our government. Such a demonstration, however, will tell the capitalist class and its political hirelings that we mean business. We may be on the defensive, but at least we can take time out to think things over, get a new program and decide what to do next.

Which Side Should Militant Workers Support?

The Struggle in the Auto Union

By **BEN HALL**

HAVING been toppled out of the president's chair by Walter P. Reuther, the defeated R. J. Thomas, surrounded by his closest allies in the United Automobile Workers Union, clambered up on a chair in his convention hotel room last year and barked out his plans of vengeance. First and chief plank in his platform: we're going to shove that president's gavel out of the hands of the Redhead. Only he put it far less delicately.



WALTER REUTHER
Fighting Stalinist Bloc

The plight of this ousted official was neither unusual nor unexpected. After all, he had been president of the UAW whose ranks had gained maturity and self-confidence while perfecting the art of the sit-in strike. After defeating the billion dollar automobile monopolists, they could never learn to be shy about deposing their own leaders. The UAW official who cannot keep pace with the demands of his irrepensible membership, finds life unpleasant and unpredictable.

At the moment when Reuther was inducted into the presidency, the fires of factionalism, which had been banked during the war years, burst into angry flame. For a long while two groups had been maneuvering and counter-maneuvering for control of the union but neither had been successful. R. J. Thomas, whose chief assets are a booming voice and an ability to prove that he is misquoted, was lifted into the presidency only because his talents had him ideally fitted to fill the required role of buffer between the two evenly balanced factions: the faction headed

by Reuther and the Stalinist-supported faction headed by George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the union. Upon his defeat, however, Thomas swung over to the anti-Reuther camp taking along with him whatever independent following he could muster. The Thomas-Addes-CP bloc retained control over the International Executive Board. A violent conflict began between the president and the board.

THE INTERNAL CONFLICT DOMINATES UAW LIFE

The internal life of the union is now dominated by this conflict. Increasingly the whole active layer of the union's membership is being drawn in. Who triumphs in local union elections; who goes to educational conferences, veterans' conferences, conventions is decided less and less as a popularity contest among the candidates and more and more as a contest between the respective factions.

It would indeed be strange if this conflict, which has aroused almost the entire thinking membership of the union to take sides, and to take sides with passion and enthusiasm, found the socialist elements in the union lukewarmly neutral or coldly indifferent to the outcome. We socialists believe, and we try to convince others, that the efforts and struggles of the working class must be directed toward the establishment of a working class government which will completely destroy the power of the capitalist class of bankers and monopolists; by taking industry out of their hands; and we maintain that these industries must be organized and run not for the profits or privileges of any tiny exploiting class but for the needs of the people. But we do not stand on the sidelines shaking a finger at our fellow union members until this happy eventuality comes to pass. We are part and parcel of the living, breathing, fighting labor movement and we support, defend, and further every movement or tendency which strengthens the forces of the working class. Such a tendency, despite its errors of omission and commission, is the Reuther faction in the UAW.

What are the main aims and chief distinguishing characteristics of the opposing factions? If we classified all the arguments and tied them together into consistent patterns we would find that they can be broken down into two major analyses.

THE TWO BASIC POINTS OF VIEW

1) One analysis would run somewhat as follows: The Reuther caucus represents a reactionary, "red-baiting," "right-wing" group which, by demagoguery, has succeeded in duping a few progressive workers. Its attack on the anti-Reutherites is primarily a reflection of the anti-

"Soviet," anti-"red" campaign of United States imperialism. The Addes-Thomas-CP bloc on the contrary represents a grouping which fights for a more militant "left-wing" policy and resists the reactionary program of Reuther. This group contains conservatives; it vacillates and compromises; but because it is by and large progressive, we must support it; we must help to weaken the influence of the conservatives within it so that it may be enabled the better to defeat the Reuther tendency.

Such an analysis, we reject completely.

2) The second analysis, which we put forward, is as follows: The most militant radical elements in the UAW are seeking a new social program for the struggle against the capitalist class and at the same time increasingly understand the reactionary nature of Stalinism. They do not understand the problem completely and therefore they allow themselves to be provoked into errors by the CP. But it is on the basis of genuinely progressive and radical aims that they rally around the Reuther banner.

The Addes-Thomas-CP bloc represents a reactionary coalition of the most conservative sections of the labor leadership with Stalinism. We conclude that all class conscious workers should support the Reuther tendency. They will find some conservatives or reactionaries within it and they must fight against such influences the better to defeat the reactionary Addes-Thomas-CP bloc.

PUBLIC PLATFORMS AND FANCY SPEECHES

What facts justify our conclusions? Merely to quote from the "platforms" of either group, assuming that such hard and fast documents existed, would not be convincing. Nor would a repetition of the banquet speeches of the leaders be any more satisfying. Platforms are too frequently formulated to catch votes and not to outline real intentions. Candidates for office make many promises and voters are wary of the election promise or the fine speech.

However, although platforms and speeches can seldom be taken at face value, they have some significance. He who declares himself against the no-strike pledge obviously appeals to a certain tendency among unionists; he depends upon an entirely different group of workers. That either or both candidates may be calculatingly ambitious or insincere does not alter these facts.

Taking all these aspects into consideration, the true character of the two contending camps can be best clarified by examining their course of action over a whole period of years and by determining their stands on a series of important questions.

ON MANY POINTS BOTH GROUPS AGREE

On many important questions all the top leaders of the UAW in both factions and most, but not all, of their followers have been in agreement. They surrendered premium pay for week-end work in the name of a farcical "Equality of Sacrifice" program; they stubbornly supported Roosevelt; they endorsed the no-strike pledge; opposed the formation of a Labor Party; accepted the

freezing; kowtowed to the War Labor Board.

Many articles in LABOR ACTION were devoted to proving how in all these instances both groups acted against the interests of the workers. On many important questions, even today, if the two groups do not see eye to eye, they face in the same direction. But while they are united by these points of agreement, they are separated by many antagonisms. We do not dwell on these similarities here but simply indicate that they exist because our aim is to make clear the difference between them... differences which are of great importance.

INCENTIVE PAY A KEY DIFFERENCE

When the Addes group proposed an "incentive pay" plan one of the first faction fights of the war period was precipitated. "Incentive pay" was simply a fancy name for the old piece-work system so hated by the UAW ranks. Reuther was the chief of the forces that fought against the Addes proposal.



GEORGE ADDES
In Stalinist Bloc

The line-up in this fight was clear. The most seasoned unionists had always fought the piece-work system as a form of intensified exploitation which pitted worker against worker, as a means of cutting wages in the guise of raising them. Flag-waving and patriotic phrases did not alter their opinions. They supported Reuther.

The more backward workers, however, who had the least experience in the union movement, tended to favor the institution of incentive pay as a quick and easy means of raising their take-home pay in a period when wages were frozen.

His opponents kept asking Reuther: "If you are against this scheme, how do you propose to get a wage increase?" And he could not reply, because his support of Roosevelt and the war, his acceptance of the no-strike pledge, and his acceptance of the wage freeze precluded any real struggle.

But this could not shake the opinions of piece-work. They were far sighted enough despite Reuther's weaknesses to refuse to saddle themselves with this new burden. They were willing to face a short term loss for a long term gain. The line of division on this question is be-

tween the more advanced, more far sighted on the one hand and the more backward, more short-sighted on the other.

The proponents of incentive pay, the Stalinists who greeted the scheme as a means of squeezing out greater production for Russia; and their non-Stalinist allies, the labor officials who sought to appease the demands for higher wages by pandering to the lowest instincts of the backward elements—these are the elements who compose the anti-Reuther camp today.

A RANK AND FILE CAUCUS GAINS MUCH SUPPORT

The strength of the union movement was undermined by the wartime no-strike pledge. If continued over a long period of time, this policy necessarily would have sapped the vitality of the labor movement that it would have been subject to disastrous defeat. The WORKERS PARTY and LABOR ACTION condemned this policy and denounced all those labor leaders, including Reuther, who defended it.

As the destructive effect of the pledge made itself plainly evident dissatisfaction mounted in the UAW. This discontent crystallized in the formation of the Rank and File Caucus, a third group independent of the Reuther and the Addes factions, both of which supported the pledge. At the 1945 convention the Rank and File Caucus was supported by more than one-third of the delegates. Because this movement obviously represented a growing radical, militant tendency, it is especially instructive to witness its effect on the Addes and on the Reuther factions.

The Addes-Thomas-CP bloc came into open and head on collision with the rank and file movement. The CP supplied ideological guidance for a campaign of denunciation and slander which borrowed all the epithets in the Stalinist vocabulary. The anti-Reutherites insisted upon the unconditional retention of the no-strike pledge. The Reuther faction, however, tried vainly to reach a compromise with the Rank and File Group. Reuther himself proposed a middle of the road policy: retain the pledge

in war industries; abandon it in non-war industries. But the Rank and File caucus would not accept such a compromise. It continued the fight and after the convention for an unqualified revocation of the pledge.

REUTHERITE MILITANTS AIDED RANK AND FILE

As the convention proceeded to vote on the pledge, the Reuther forces were all but wiped out. The Addes camp held on to its votes. The Rank and File mustered a tremendous vote. Reuther was left with a small balance of power group. The lessons of this fight were clear:

The Addes-Thomas-CP bloc, based as it was upon the least radical and the most chauvinist elements was able to remain comparatively immune to the effects of the radical anti-pledge agitation. The Reuther faction, however, based as it was upon the more militant elements was left hanging in mid-air when its base moved sharply to the left under the impetus of the campaign against the pledge. The elements composing the Reuther tendency were ready to go farther to the left than their leader Reuther was able or willing to go.

The rank and file movement as an independent grouping has by now disappeared. The reason is simple: it has been reabsorbed into the Reuther faction. As a labor leader who believes in the maintenance of the capitalist system of society, Reuther was greatly limited by the restrictions which his support of the capitalist war imposed. When the war came to an end, he was able to allow himself more elbow room. He has been able to "catch up with" his rank and file which had moved ahead of him in wartime. The elements that spearheaded the fight against the pledge in 1944 and 1945 are today in the Reuther camp, noteworthy among them the leaders of the progressive group in Briggs Local 212.

SPLIT IN WAYNE COUNTY CIO COUNCIL ON STRIKE

During the war, a split occurred in the Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council (CIO). This split was the direct result of a

difference in policy resulting from the Montgomery-Ward strike. The company had "defied" the War Labor Board by refusing to accept its decisions and sought to smash the Department Store Union (CIO). To defend its very existence, the union was compelled to strike despite the fact that it too had taken the pledge.

The strike received the active and enthusiastic support of the entire labor movement of the Detroit area, with the exception of the Wayne



R. J. THOMAS
Wants Presidency Again

County Council which was controlled by the Addes-CP bloc. The latter demanded abandonment of the strike in accordance with its defense of an "unconditional" no-strike pledge even though such a policy meant the speedy extinction of the clerks union. But the opposing group, led by the pro-Reuther forces, drew back from such a suicidal policy and set up its own coordinating committee outside of the Council to aid the strike. The split dates from this illuminating episode.

Those who contend that the Reuther tendency represents a "yield-

(Continued on page 6)

Why Stalinists Won In the Ford Local Fight

By **DON SHANNON**

DETROIT, April 7—The month-long elections of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, have been concluded with an overwhelming victory of Thomas Thompson, Stalinist-supported incumbent president. Out of approximately 32,000 ballots cast in the election, Thompson received 20,075 votes to the 6,916 votes of his nearest opponent, Michael Magee, a plant committeeman supported by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

Robert Lieberman, former Stalinist editor of the local union paper, who also ran against Thompson, polled a paltry 1,303 votes. All members of the Thompson slate were re-elected to office except the candidate for financial secretary, who will be in a run-off election with his closest opponent.

The re-election of Thompson, who supports the Addes-Thomas-Leonard bloc, seriously imperils the re-election of Walter P. Reuther to the presidency of the UAW at the forthcoming national convention. Reuther's victories in a series of smaller locals will be offset if the Addes group can succeed in carrying their present sweep into the next convention voting.

group as "Communists," the Magee slate merely succeeded in identifying itself in the minds of the Ford workers as a part of the Ford Motor Company's long-time effort to smash the union. Remembering the organizational period of Local 600, when company agents attempted to crush the union by smearing all unionists as "reds," the Ford workers awarded Thompson an overwhelming vote of confidence.

The reactionary ACTU group in Local 600 by their vicious tactics succeeded only in driving the best elements among the Ford workers into the Stalinist camp and heavily strengthened the conservative Addes-Thomas-Leonard clique on the International Executive Board.

The results of the Local 600 election should serve as a serious warning to all militant unionists in the UAW. If the Addes-Thomas-Leonard group, behind which stand the Stalinists, is to be defeated, that necessary task cannot be performed by the kind of tactics used by the ACTU group in Local 600. Only by boldly presenting a militant, progressive program will the combination of conservative union bureaucrats and reactionary Stalinists be defeated.

The results in Local 600 underline this fact: if the progressives—that is, the militants grouped around the Reuther caucus—are to win out, they must bear this essential lesson in mind. The Stalinists can be defeated, not by "pure and simple" red-baiting, but by exposing them as enemies of the labor movement who work as agents of a dictatorial state and by counterposing to them a militant, fighting program.

Results of ACTU Policy in Ford Local:

Contrasts Ford and Chrysler Local Elections

DETROIT—Let the militants in the Reuther caucus study the results of the recent UAW elections. Most illuminating is the contrast between Chrysler Local 7, R. J. Thomas' own local, where the previous administration, which backed the Addes-Thomas-Stalinist bloc, was wiped out in a smashing 2-to-1 victory for the pro-Reuther forces; and Ford Rouge Local 600, which witnessed a total fiasco for the so-called right wing and a landslide 3-to-1 victory for the anti-Reuther bloc. Why this sharp difference? To understand what otherwise might be a puzzling situation, one need only consult the reports of our correspondents, Walter Jason and Don Shannon, in the March 17 issue of LABOR ACTION.

In Local 7, the victorious group headed by Joe Hattley, its candidate for president, campaigned for a positive, advanced, progressive program. On the basis of this program, Jason points out, it won over many former Thomas supporters and independents, including a substantial majority of

the shop committee and chief stewards. The Thomas-Stalinist administration bloc distinguished itself by a reactionary appeal against "outside elements" and a red-baiting slander campaign against "socialists and Trotskyists."

In Local 600, the Thompson-Stalinist administration ticket had no program whatsoever. It had accomplished nothing in its term of office. It had to overcome a "tradition" against the re-election of the old administration. Nevertheless, this Thompson, anti-Reuther group was able to overwhelm its opponents and secure an unquestioned victory on the first ballot. How did this happen?

HAD NO PROGRAM

Our reporter Shannon writes: "Early last week, the ACTU-controlled slate headed by Michael Magee entered the fray with the most vicious red-baiting campaign witnessed in any local union election to date... Unable to attack Thompson on other issues, for there are none, inasmuch as the programs of both

groups are similar, the ACTU has made the red scare the issue of the campaign."

To this we must add: the former leader of the anti-Stalinist forces in Local 600, Joe McCusker, during his administration as president of the local, was noted only for his superzeal in defending the rotten Ford company-security contract.

In both Local 600 and Local 7 the workers repudiated those who campaigned on the basis of a pure and simple red-baiting platform. The Governor of Michigan, Kim Sigler, is raising a big hullabaloo against "reds" in the unions. He wants to stick his fingers into the unions in order to pull out the "Communists." But the workers don't want any capitalist politicians to interfere in their organizations, knowing full well that such intervention would endanger every aggressive union fighter. They are therefore quite wary of "red-baiting."

In Packard Local 190, for example, it is said that the company mailed

ly wage increase," which GM proposed to the union negotiating committee that began its negotiations last Thursday.

Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, denounced the company offer as inadequate and stated it was obviously a feeler advanced for bargaining purposes.

CHRYSLER PROPOSES WAGE CUT

In contrast to the GM offer, the Chrysler Corporation proposed to reclassify thousands of workers, cutting their wages from five to twenty cents an hour!

Chrysler also proposed to strengthen the company-security provisions, giving them a bigger hold over the stewards, and had the effrontery to propose that the union pay the stewards, instead of grievances being handled on company time!

The Chrysler union department,

headed by Norman Mathews, had no recourse after such an arrogant attitude on the part of the company than to call for a strike vote.

In view of the failure of the union leadership to obtain an agreement on retroactive pay from the termination of the last contract, January 26, the company has been saving millions of dollars in wages simply by stalling negotiations!

Another disturbing feature of the Chrysler situation is the apparent agreement between the company and the union to keep the "differences out of the public press," which means that the union is gagged from presenting its case to the people.

At Chrysler Local 7, a motion was passed by the membership urging the International Executive Board meeting in New York City this week to plan a nation-wide walkout of the auto workers.

DANGER IN LOCAL 7

In Local 600, however, the "brilliant" campaign of the anti-Stalinists was brain-trusted, as we have seen, by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) and that organization deserves full "credit" for the Addes-Thompson-Stalinist victory. In the UAW today, the militants are becoming more and more aware of the need for a new progressive, social program for the labor movement.

That is why Reuther, who raised radical slogans during the GM strike, was elected to the presidency instead of Thomas. The ACTU, on the other hand, warns over a stale rehash of the cold stew dished out by the Addes-Thomas-CP bloc spiced only by the pepper of "anti-communism." But for such a program we don't need the caucus now assembled around Walter Reuther. The Addes-Thomas group is good enough for that.

Rumor has it that in Local 7 the supporters of ACTU are trying to play the same tune as they played in Local 600. With this difference, their "red-baiting" campaign in Local 7 is directed not against the CP but against the very militants within the Reuther caucus who assured the defeat of the Addes-Thomas-CP bloc.

If the ACTU had its way, Local 7 would be converted into another Local 600. For the perfect formula for a total fiasco, consult the ACTU. What is most ironic is this: the ACTUers have been building themselves a reputation of being "shrewd,

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International Socialist Notes

COLONIAL REVOLT IN MADAGASCAR

The French Empire has been struck by another revolt, this time on the part of the oppressed natives of Madagascar, huge island off the southeast coast of Africa. With the exception of the eastern lowlands of the island, inhabited by tribes of African stock, the bulk of the island is populated by peoples of more or less Malay stock, called Malagasies. There have been many revolts of these people against French rule, which has brought them only ruthless exploitation; but none have been as widespread as this one. During the first two days the French were driven out of most of their outposts and were forced to call reinforcements from the island of Reunion to save themselves. Even so, they have not been strong enough to wipe out the revolting natives, and have found it necessary to withdraw all Europeans from outlying areas.

All three elected representatives of the native population of Madagascar in the French Council of the Republic are members of the Malagasy Autonomist Party, which favors au-

tonomy "within the French Union." This group demonstrated its timid character when its representatives in Paris disowned the revolt. In general the political consciousness of the Malagasy people is much less developed than that of the Viet Name, for example, but it is for that reason all the more significant that such a widespread revolt could break out. Already the troops of the French colonialists are spread very thin. Will French North Africa be next?

CONFERENCE OF BRITISH STALINISTS

A few weeks ago the conference of the British Communist Party took place. For the first time, open opposition was expressed. Letters denouncing the line of the party as anti-Leninist because of its failure to take up the struggle against the pro-capitalist policies of the Labor Party government were printed in the Daily Worker. Two branches actually elected delegates who introduced opposition amendments to the main political resolution before the convention.

The democratic honeymoon didn't

last very long, however, as J. R. Campbell, one of the leading British Stalinists, castigated the rebels for having had the temerity to vote against Harry Pollitt and R. Palme Dutt, the leaders of the party, for election to the central committee. At the end of the Congress, Pollitt himself announced that one of the first tasks of the incoming National Committee would be to reorganize these branches. We hope that meanwhile other forces will reorganize these comrades into the revolutionary movement.

Our British Trotskyist group, the Revolutionary Communist Party, sent a couple of comrades out to sell the Socialist Appeal outside the CP confab. These comrades were assaulted by the Stalinists, and their papers destroyed. The next day 33 comrades turned out to do the distributing, and were successful in fighting off the "stewards" sent out to drive them away. Inside the hall, the same J. R. Campbell upbraided the rank and file delegates for accepting papers from the Trotskyists, instead of helping the stewards "do their duty."

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

The College Veteran

When the war ended and veterans began to flood the colleges there was considerable speculation in capitalist as well as radical circles as to the effect of the war experience upon the political temper of the student-veteran. Over a year has passed since the major influx began; it is now possible to approximate the state of mind of the college veteran.

The demobilized soldier has always been a menace to the status quo. A model example of that was the revolutionary activity of the German veteran in the stormy days at the end of World War I. Paralleling this, of course, was the counter-revolutionary struggle of private troops organized in the Freicorps, who fought in Poland and later formed a base for the Hitler movement.

The American capitalist class in its empirical fashion recognized the dangers inherent in millions of economically footloose veterans. The GI Bill of Rights, in addition to its function of making the imperialist war more "meaningful," was designed to serve as a form of preventive fire insurance amid the social conflagrations whose possible occurrence could not be excluded from an assessment of the post-war period by the capitalist political leaders.

ALL QUIET ON THE EDUCATIONAL FRONT

Anyone viewing the university scene throughout the country, where in virtually all cases veterans comprise the overwhelming majority of the student body, is forced to conclude that despite the intensive and extensive character of the war from all points of view, the class-consciousness of the veteran has not been enhanced in any significant fashion.

There is none of the self-pity, the disillusion, and the cynicism of the Lost Generation which came out of World War I. There is none of the class-consciousness, the anti-militarism, and the combativity of the Locked-out Generation of the Thirties. There are no organizations comparable to the Stalinist (but then militant) National Student League or the Young People's Socialist League. There is at best the AVC. The hollow rhetoric of a Boite hardly hides a rather poverty-stricken program. The AVC looks good only because of the absence from the field of any reasonably socialist organization.

The seriousness of intention of the student veteran, which has often been remarked upon, is not basically a critical approach to existing political institutions. It represents, rather, a "purposeful driving"—a desire for better grades, a willingness to assume heavier academic loads, a desire to recoup lost time and get launched on a career.

There is no anti-war sentiment such as produced the Oxford Pledge movement and the anti-war demonstration of the Thirties. There is none of the naive revolt of the World War I veterans when they discovered that war was slaughter and that its ideals were lies. The veterans went into this war not as crusaders but as men with few illusions. They did the job and got out as soon as they could. Imperceptibly they are coming to accept the concept more familiar to Europe than the United States—war in permanence.

WHY THIS APATHY?

Why this relative apathy? The cushioning role of subsistence pay, which permits persons to go to school who otherwise might not have been able to, is obvious. Employment is at record levels and permits the expectation of careers following graduation. Given a general high level of intelligence and education, exceptionally large numbers of college students never passed through or even came near the inferno of modern war. They comprised the military petty-bourgeoisie. Many spent pleasant months in V-12 and ASTP programs. Many were meteorologists, radar operators, cryptographers, or air corps personnel. Casualties in general, and among college students in particular, were very light; the number who died in World War II were fewer than in the American Civil War.

College professors, eeky little roosters strutting among their brood, pitifully confused, pitifully ignorant, pitifully prejudiced, and pitifully vassalized, cannot lead themselves anywhere, let alone lead others. Upon all of these reasons for the apathy of the veterans must be superimposed the degeneration of Stalinism. Once able to set fire to the minds of the most idealistic youth, it now repels them by its debasement of a heroic ideal.

When will the political awakening of the student veteran come? It will come when the present boom, over which the capitalist economists are already becoming nervous, collapses and the irrationality of U. S. capitalism is once more dramatically revealed. It will come when the inevitability of World War III, which many veterans, having served in one war, do not believe can involve them, once more puts them in uniform.

That there are students now in college who, having passed through the test by fire and water, are prepared to draw the boldest conclusions from an analysis of the present chaos, is incontestable also. Many of them are from workers' families, who in other times would have been unable to go to school. With proper intervention on our part they will form the vanguard of the new generation of young intellectuals who will bring their idealism, drive, courage and knowledge to the struggle for socialism.

It Looks As If There Must Be Another Purge On!

"Siberian game, mostly blackcock and capercaillie, is invading the Swedish forests in great masses. . . Ornithologists are trying to find an explanation of this mysterious exodus of Russian game."

New York Times, February 15, 1947.

Editorials

Politician of the Half-Truth

Henry A. Wallace is abroad in Europe and a lot of important American politicians are stirred up into a rage over it. Wallace, who likes to talk and exercises this liking at every possible opportunity, is currently denounced as a "traitor," "conspirator abroad to weaken the hand of his government," etc. Various Senators of both political parties in Congress and others have tried to outdo one another in attacking Wallace.

For his part, Wallace hasn't spared his verbal attacks upon the Truman administration, with its "Truman Doctrine." He has accused Truman of "ruthless imperialism," of seeking to stretch an American empire from one end of the world to another, of preparing actively for war against Russia and has even suggested that the world might be better off if Great Britain, and not America, could provide international leadership! Clearly, there is a rather basic political cleavage in the ranks of the disintegrating Democratic Party. The most violent defenders of Truman against the attacks of Wallace, his fellow party members, have been the various spokesmen for Republican Party foreign policy like Senator Vandenberg. The Wallace junket to Europe has stirred up a real hornets' nest! The controversy is bound to increase, as Wallace continues his tour elsewhere.

Why this storm of bitterness over Wallace? Evidently many of his remarks and jibes at Truman and his policy hit home. They have the effect of throwing so many monkey wrenches into the imperialistic conspiracies and plots being cooked up by Truman, in conjunction with reactionary Republicans. They are embarrassing truths—accusations of imperialism, bad faith, war preparations, efforts to establish world domination, illicit trading of food and credits for foreign support, etc. Wallace, former Vice-President and an old hand in this game, knows what is going on.

Then, despite his pro-Stalinist leanings—now more marked than ever before—it must be recognized that Wallace does express the universal war fears and peace hopes of great masses of people, particularly small middle-class people, "the little people," of this country and England. Without clearly understanding the meaning of his pro-Russian sentiments, these people feel that Wallace sounds the warning that each of them would cry out, if he were articulate, against those, like Truman, Marshall, et al., who are heading us straight for a new world war. It is this genuine anti-war sentiment, widespread and deeply-felt, that Wallace plays up to and that the Washington Administration fears.

All the more incumbent then is it to grasp the fact that the voice of Wallace is that of a false leader and lying prophet. While every word of his, spoken in denunciation of the Truman Doctrine, may be true, every word that he utters telling us what to do is false. Boiled down to its essence, Wallace proposes that, since American and Russian imperialism can live side by side, according to him, the world be divided between them. He proposes that, at the present stage, American imperialism yield to Russian desires (so-called appeasement policy) and turn part of Europe over to Stalin. This is why Wallace is the current hero of Stalinism.

Wallace differs with Truman over the techniques of imperialism; not its principles. He wishes to come to terms, for the moment, with the great rival whom Truman is preparing to destroy eventually. He plays upon the hope of people, and plays with them, eyes firmly set on the approaching 1948 presidential campaign. Wallace is a man of enormous ambition. The degree of success with which this ambition is fulfilled only marks the degree to which he succeeds in misleading and deceiving people. Wallace is a politician of the half-truth.

Why We Need Our Own Party

The labor movement would make a grave mistake if it underestimated in any way the seriousness of the anti-labor legislation that is being worked out by a big business Congress in Washington. But it would make an equally grave mistake if it continued to overlook, or considered unimportant, the anti-labor measures already passed in several states. Taking advantage of labor's concentrated attention on the Washington scene, the lobbies of big business proceeded to initiate and pass legislation in the states identical and similar to that now before Congress. A few examples will suffice to paint a clear picture of what has happened in recent months.

Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee and North and South Dakota have already passed anti-closed shop laws. Similar drastic bills are before the legislatures of Missouri, Oregon, Wisconsin, Delaware and Maryland. They follow a like pattern: outlaw the closed shop, bar mass picketing and sitdown strikes, forbid strikes in public utility industries, etc. In Oregon, for example, two constitutional amendments have been proposed, one outlawing the closed shop, the other requiring unions to incorporate, file financial statements and register union leaders. In addition, the legislators have a bill before them which would repeal the existing state anti-injunction law.

Sixteen other state legislatures are considering a variety of anti-labor bills, all designed to destroy the effectiveness of the labor movement.

The fight against this anti-labor legislation must be placed high on the agenda of the current tasks of the labor movement. It cannot and must not be con-

sidered on Washington alone, but has to be made a nation-wide struggle against the actions of the state legislatures which seek to accomplish for big business on a state basis what may be unrealized fully in Congress on account of various political factors.

Such a struggle, however, cannot be limited to economic action. Certainly the most ineffective fight that labor can make is to concentrate its own lobby against that of big business. The lesson of these past months points the way for labor. It must organize a twofold fight against the big business anti-labor program: a struggle for an improvement of the economic conditions of the workers; and a political struggle in defense of labor's rights. The latter cannot, must not, be entrusted, as in the past, to the professional politicians of the two bosses' parties, the Republicans and the Democrats. It can only be done by the effective political organization of labor with a party of its own—an independent labor party. The time for the organization of such a party, with its own candidates and a fighting labor program, is long overdue.

NEXT WEEK:

MANY SPECIAL FEATURES, ARTICLES AND GREETINGS

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Books You Should Know...

A WORLD I NEVER MADE, by James T. Farrell, The World Publishing Co.; \$1.49; 508 pages.

"I a stranger and afraid, In a world I never made."

With the reissue of this book in a cheap and handy edition, the first of the four novels that make up the Danny O'Neill series of James T. Farrell (the others are No Star Is Lost, Father and Son and My Days of Anger) is now available to the general reading public. The tetralogy, as is known, deals with the emergence of young Danny O'Neill and his awakening to the problems and realities of life. The form of this series, as Farrell explains in a new and interesting introduction, differs considerably from that of the Studs Lonigan Trilogy in that it does not center upon one individual as the

"main focus of attention," but rather shows the development of several major protagonists. The style and technique, however, are in the method associated with Farrell.

"Before a world can be changed, it is necessary to know what the nature of experience is like in that world," says Farrell in his introductory note. "This novel is one of the efforts I have made to go as deeply as possible into the nature of experience during the period of my own lifetime." The series of experiences shown to us, set in the naturalistically-described background of pre-World War I America, are expressed in terms of "a complicated series of contrasts" between the two branches of the O'Flaherty's.

One branch is working class, the other is the lowest of the petty bourgeois ranks; both are Irish to the

bone. Various generations of the family appear. Old grandmother O'Flaherty, a mixture of humor, wisdom and spry viciousness; Lizz, her slovenly, hysterically religious daughter and the mother of Danny; Danny O'Neill, a somewhat too "goody-goody" sort of boy, confused and fearful in this world he never made; and many other members of this conflicting, hostile yet somehow bound-together family growing up in growing up America.

While this novel does not have the merit of the Studs Lonigan series, it should be read by those interested in getting an insight into Farrell's naturalistic method and evaluating it. Perhaps its curious suggestivity and the implications that lead to understanding of the characters, their world and their problems, are more important than the writing itself.

H. J.

On the Anniversary of the Mexican Hearing:

Trotsky's Summation Speech

By J. R. JOHNSON

On April 17, 1937, Professor John Dewey and the commission which investigated Stalin's charges against Trotsky held its last session in Mexico City. The session consisted for the most part of a closing speech in which Trotsky summed up the case for his defense. Ten years almost to a day have now elapsed. We shall gain much if we re-examine for a brief moment what took place on that April afternoon. The last words of Trotsky's speech are worth preserving.

"Esteemed Commission! The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper. This faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial town of Nikolaiev—this faith I have preserved fully and completely. It has become more mature, but not less ardent. In the very fact of your commission's formation—in the fact that, at its head, is a man of unshakable moral authority, a man who by virtue of his age should have the right to remain outside of the skirmishes in the political arena—in this fact I see a new and truly magnificent reinforcement of the revolutionary optimism which constitutes the fundamental element of my life."

The revolutionary optimism of Trotsky was based upon his conviction that the "truth will out," particularly truth in which millions of men all over the world are interested. What has happened during the past ten years to justify this?

THE CHARGE OF SABOTAGE

First of all, charges of sabotage, of stealing, of robbing the people, etc., in one form or another, still continue to distinguish the Stalinist régime in Russia. They fill the press and they excite interest (and very often derision) in all parts of the world. People are so familiar with them by now that most political minded persons read such material that comes out carefully in order to be able to judge what is the new policy that the Russian rulers are trying to carry through. Tomorrow there may be violent charges of conspiracy with foreigners in order to

destroy "the building of socialism in the USSR." It is possible that the name of Trotsky will be associated with this kind of police politics. It is possible, but not likely. Some other scapegoat, some other of Stalin's enemies, will have to fill the role that Trotsky filled in the years around 1937. A few short years have exposed to the depths the fact that the Moscow Trials and the anti-Trotskyist campaigns of Stalinism were neither more nor less than the totalitarian and murderous politics needed for justifying their régime.

In his speech Trotsky called sabotage "the political basis of the accusation." Sabotage, he explained, was the totalitarian method of excusing itself for the failures and breakdowns of its bureaucratic régime. Let us remember this for the future. In the Stalinist reconversion period immediately after the war the old cry of sabotage was raised. As the inevitable economic crisis begins to rock the régime in the coming period, we shall once more hear the same cry and the same charges against whomever Stalin considers to be the particular enemy of the moment. We shall know how to distinguish true from false in that régime, ridden from top to bottom with lies and liars.

But it is not only in regard to Russia itself that the truth has been made plain. Over vast areas of Western Europe the Red Army and the bureaucracy have established their domination. And straightway the political lies, the fantastic charges, the arrests, the assassinations, the judicial murders have become the daily routine in these countries.

Fascism at any rate did not deceive the working masses in the countries which it invaded. It could enchain and enslave and perhaps demoralize them. But the systematic corruption of the working class movement is the special task of Stalinism. Millions who might have been doubtful before are now living through an experience which helps to make them accurate and acute judges of the charges by which the Stalinist régime attempts to defend itself for its incompetence and its crimes.

Of the charges which Trotsky re-peated that April afternoon, none was so fantastic as the one that he had conspired with the rulers of Germany and Japan to destroy the Russian state. We have lived to see the

Stalinist régime declare that its pact with Hitler was "sealed in blood." Today we know that Hitler attacked Stalin in 1941 because the terms that Stalin demanded for a continuance of the alliance were, at that moment at least, too high for Hitler to pay. Many of the areas which Stalin dominates or threatens today were part of the price that he demanded for the continuance of the pact "sealed in blood."

TRUTH WILL OUT

As the quarrel between Russia and Anglo-American imperialism grows sharper, we can be certain that the documentary proofs of all this which are now in the possession of the British and Americans will be published. The truth will out. It is a warning to those who allow themselves, if even for a moment, to be caught by the monstrous and crude concoctions which were paraded before the world as evidence against the forty years of revolutionary activity by Trotsky and the principles of the organization which he headed.

Finally, we in the United States have had an exceptional opportunity by which to test the validity of the accusations against which Trotsky defended himself in 1937. We have seen the American Stalinist, Earl Browder, carry out a policy during the war which sought to tie the American working class to the wheel of the American war machine. The Stalinists excelled all other sections of the population in the lies, the violence and the corruption by which they tried to stifle the anti-war feelings of the masses and to subject them to the "anti-fascist" lying promises and coercion of American imperialism.

Trotsky's speech, which can be found in The Case of Leon Trotsky, should be read and reread by those who wish to understand the barrage of lies and deceptions which constituted the Moscow Trials and still constitute the political method of the police state. In it are expressed, above all, his conviction that the enemies of socialism will be overthrown whatever the power they may appear to wield at a particular time. To philistines and cowards, the defense carried on ten years ago against the mighty power of the Stalinist bureaucracy might have seemed hopeless. Today, Trotsky is vindicated not only in books but in the lives and experience of scores of millions of workers.

Reviewing James Burnham's Latest Book

A New Theoretician for American Imperialism

By IRVING HOWE

JAMES BURNHAM writes as though he were—if not God—at least one of His major prophets. The contents of his latest book* is so shabby and pedestrian that, were it not for his highly skilled stylistic devices, it would be ignored rather than puffed into a sensation. It is his skill as a journalist—not merely his talent for constructing sentences so smooth that they lull the reader into ignoring the bumpy roads of thought along which they move, but also his ability to manipulate material—which is the key to understanding his prominence as a political writer. I therefore propose to begin this review, perhaps somewhat unconventionally, by discussing his style.

The strategy of a writer like Burnham is to assault his reader, to testify, bewilder, amaze, overawe. It is a strategy similar in its result, although not in method, to that of another skilled but irresponsible journalist, Arthur Koestler. Where Koestler utilizes devices commonly associated with the literary essay or the novel—the brilliant epigram, the startling metaphor—with which to smuggle his feeble ideas into the reader's consciousness, Burnham scorns impressionism. He reveals in his pseudo-scientific approach—what might be called his *scientism*. He is hard; he is tough; he never succumbs to sentiment or class allegiance or class illusions; he sweeps through history like a bolt out of hell**; he is the James M. Cain of politics.

With such a pose Burnham is able to destroy the critical faculties of his reader. A terrifying recital of atomic potentialities in that dead-pan "underwriting" which is the contemporary mode of exaggeration; erudition utilized to quell rather than stir thoughts; megalomaniacal juggling of states and super-states; gleeful scorn of "sentimentality" in politics which so impresses the sentimental reader; an eruditely evocative reference to the mysterious decline of Minoan civilization couched in the so impressively scientific jargon of the English historian, Toynbee—these are the mechanisms of intellectual intimidation which Burnham utilizes. It is a classical example of the bastardization of the terms and concepts of modern thought in order, not to enlighten or even propagandize, but simply to bludgeon.

For what? Burnham's political proposals are simple to the point of being threadbare. They are neither more nor less than the concept of "collective security" first concocted by the very Stalinists whom he now abominates and seized upon by the very liberal journals at whom he now sneers. This concept, proposed by the Stalinists as a means of defeating Hitlerism and now refurbished by Burnham as a means of defeating Stalinism, may be reduced to a simple proposition: the Western democratic capitalist powers must band together, their proletariats and socialist movements must abandon op-

*The Struggle for the World by James Burnham. John Day. 248 pp. \$3.

**On pp 14-15 he discusses the "notion of world unity"—from Alexander the Great to Wendell Willkie.

position to these powers, in order to defeat "the aggressor." Version one: the Daily Worker, Max Lerner's limp prose; version two: the New Leader, James Burnham's lean prose.

A "REALIST" CALLS FOR WORLD EMPIRE

Ostentatiously chortling his "realism"—which is rapidly supplanting patriotism as the first refuge of scoundrels—Burnham bluntly calls for the creation of a World Empire dominated by the United States. This World Empire is to include all the non-communist states—Burnham isn't a fussy sort: Franco is eligible also—and is to have as its purpose the destruction of "communism." Russia. A policy of get-tough should be buttressed by an international political strategy ruthlessly suppressing all agencies of "communism." Russia and the "international communist movement." Aggressive political warfare is necessary, not merely tough gestures. Above all, "we" (exactly who is included in that "we" Burnham, thorough scientist that he is, does not tell us) must maintain the atomic bomb monopoly. While "we" maintain it, "we" must prepare for war with Russia. Perhaps Russia will retreat; if not, there will be war.

That is Burnham's thesis. All the rest, including the country-store philosophizing about the cycles of civilization and the Toynbeeian tags, is window-dressing to pull in customers. One question arises immediately: If Burnham's premises are accepted, why not declare—or better yet, launch—a war immediately? If there is no choice but to support the U. S. against Russia and if war is as likely as Burnham suggests, why not strike now while "we" have the atomic bomb? Is that not the obvious conclusion of political logic and simple humanity? Why wait until "they" have the bomb?

Burnham does not go that far, though he offers no reason for his failure to do so. Nor can he, for such a conclusion must be drawn if we accept his reasoning.

But it is a false and flimsy reasoning. Overawed as he has been by the facade of modern state power (see his first two books for the early stages of his awe) his method of analysis is to slice through a cross-section of history and base his conclusions on a glance at the results, without regard for the background of his material or the implications of his views.

True enough that at the moment there is a sharp conflict between the U. S. and Russia. But is it not the elementary function of the historian to attempt an analysis of exactly what is the nature of the society in which this conflict takes place, an analysis somewhat more illuminating than is provided by Burnham's use of the Toynbeeian tag, "A Time of Trouble." What are the social roots and components of these conflicting societies? What is their relationship to the past and their prospect for the future?

THE NATURE OF U. S. SOCIETY

Burnham urges a U. S.-dominated World Empire, but never tells us what the nature of U. S. society is. From his book one could never discover that the U. S. is a capitalist country, the major imperialist power of the world and that it is in any case proceeding, willy-nilly, to build a world empire. Nor does Burnham

attempt an evaluation of this society, its relationship to social classes, its historical prospects, its reasons for coming into conflict with Russia.

Burnham confines his "analysis" to Cassandraish complaints about the vacillations of U. S. policy, its temporizing and compromises with Russia. It is here that he exposes his basic irresponsibility. Though some of the "inconsistencies" in U. S. foreign policy which he mournfully charts may be attributed to politicians shortsighted even from the point of view of American imperialism, most of them are simply inevitable and unavoidable fluctuations in which an imperialist power must engage. Burnham may proceed along the one-way track of his simplistic logic to a point ticklishly short of war, but those entrusted with the political fortunes of U. S. imperialism must take into account a great many complexities.

One simple but quite decisive example: Burnham's policy obviously means a greatly sharpened international crisis. But the President and Secretary of State, as responsible capitalist politicians, must ask themselves if they are in a position to risk war, if the masses could be propelled into another and more terrible world war. These questions Burnham never even poses because, for all his pretension to intellectual rigor, he is merely a dilettante playing with firecrackers.

(Much the same issue arose with regards to the "appeasement" policy of the western capitalist powers during the Munich period. Some people could not possibly understand that these powers had no alternative but "appeasement" under the given circumstances. The much-maligned Chamberlain was feverishly building up an air force while "appeasing" Hitler; he was a responsible capitalist politician.)

Burnham's complaints about U. S. vacillation are therefore absurd. The "Truman Doctrine" embodies many of his ideas; and now his proposal that the Communist Party be outlawed is receiving at least an airing. All in due time; have faith in your masters!

THE CONSEQUENCES OF ATOMIC WARFARE

If Burnham is appallingly superficial in his analysis, he is completely irresponsible in his proposals. U. S. imperialism trundles along to war because it has no alternative, its very existence dictates that course; unimpeded, it will, together with Stalinist Russia, drag humanity to destruction. But Burnham would give sanction to this course in the name of democracy. He must therefore consider: what will be the likely configuration of a world dominated by a U. S. imperialism victorious in a Third World War? What will be the consequence of atomic warfare? What is the likelihood of an upsurge of a native neo-fascist movement in America in such a period? Are there not already indications of the blows which the labor and radical movements can expect in such a situation?

Burnham has made his choice. Seeing the world in the process of destruction, he has chosen to give his support to one of the two major forces which, together and indissolubly, are leading to that destruction. I say together and indissolubly because decadent capitalism and totalitarian Stalinism are closely related phenomena; neither can be destroyed by the support of the other; the support

of one must lead to the sustenance of the other. As these two societies proceed along their decline, they move closer to each other in political and social characteristics; to perpetuate the seed-bed of either is to prepare the growth of the other.

Burnham has chosen. Let those who have hesitated begin along his path take notice. This out-and-out warmongering, this reckless call for atomic monopoly and use by U. S. imperialism; this readiness to accept even Franco as a partner in another war to make the world safe for democracy; this feebly qualified indifference to civil liberties at home—are the unavoidable consequence of that position.

I have dealt in some detail with Burnham's attitude toward the U. S. We need not linger so long over his analysis of Stalinist Russia, which he describes without qualification as "communist." The Stalinist movement becomes in his book the "communist" movement and quotations from both Lenin and Stalin are mingled without the slightest suggestion that there might be some difference between them. Now everyone has the right to change his mind and if Burnham wants to support U. S. imperialism, well . . .

But for a man like Burnham, who was once in the revolutionary movement and did—and still must—know the difference between Stalinism and communism, between Stalin and Lenin, to equate them so blandly is simply fakery. This sort of amalgam which one may expect from a Hearst reporter is inexcusable in a man of political sophistication and knowledge. Burnham has the right to denounce Leninism, but to write as if its equation with Stalinism were

taken for granted is, in his case, outright charlatanism.

CONSISTENCY DOES NOT BOTHER BURNHAM

In his first book, *The Managerial Revolution*, Burnham foretold the inevitable collectivization and likely totalitarianization of the world; in his second book, *The Machiavellians*, he attempted to formulate general laws about human nature and society which accepted the invariable existence of class societies and power cliques. In this third book, he proposes a grandiose plan for world domination by one of the very powers presumably characterized by the categories of his first two books. But then do not these very categories invalidate from the start the conclusions of this latest book? Or are we to assume such a degree of intellectual fickleness that the author of three books written in some seven years does not assume responsibility for the first two?

For all his pseudo-realism, his toughness, his would-be scientific detachment, Burnham is obsessed with one central factor of modern society: power. First he was entranced by Hitlerism; result, *The Managerial Revolution*. Now he is entranced by Stalinism; result, his article on Stalin in *Partisan Review* and this current book. The intervening Machiavellians and the present borrowings from Toynbee's verbal trinkets are the attempts to give general sanction to this concern with and fascination for power. Before power, Burnham gazes like a child and then like a somewhat sophisticated child he hides his awe with a smirk of detachment.

Where is Burnham going? He is no longer a socialist. He is con-

ART AND COMMERCE IN HOLLYWOOD

Universal-International is conducting an experiment in salvaging a \$1,600,000 motion picture which went wrong. Photographed in Technicolor, the film was originally called "The Flame of Tripoli," but is now labeled "Slave Girl." It went before the cameras last year at Universal, prior to the company's merger with International. George Brent and Yvonne De Carlo headed the cast.

According to William Dozier, U-I production executive who had inherited "Slave Girl," its producers discovered sometime during filming that they had a very ponderous melodrama on their hands. Apparently, he says, they attempted an eleventh-hour injection of comedy relief. But, the result was so incongruous that the audience at a sneak preview was merely puzzled, not amused.

Dozier, therefore, tried a desperate measure. At one point in the film a foolish-looking camel did draw a snicker from the audience. The day after the preview Dozier had a title card drawn up with a picture of the camel and a balloon which read: "Look, folks, this is a comedy. You're supposed to laugh at it." He inserted the card at a point early in the picture where the melodrama was good and heavy and tried another preview. This time the audience, reassured by the camel, laughed with encouraging frequency.

As a result Dozier and his colleagues are now writing a running commentary for the camel to deliver during the picture, with his actual appearance on the screen as a climax. "Slave Girl," Dozier admits, may never be as funny as "The Road to Morocco," but he thinks that if his camel reminds people to laugh often enough, U-I may salvage the \$1,600,000 and even show a little profit.

From *The New York Times*, April 13, 1947.

temptuous of bourgeois society and bourgeois liberals. He lacks that equalitarian impulse which occasionally redeems some of those who have abandoned Marxism for other disciplines or indiscretions. What remains?

A few days ago I discussed this matter with some friends and in order to test their reactions threw out the idea that Burnham, as a man with political talent and a line which makes him valuable to at least a section of American capitalism, might be touted for the role of in-

tellectual spokesman of the most aggressive, reactionary elements of American capitalism which under certain circumstances could become part of a crypto-fascist movement. One of those present protested by saying that Burnham was too cultured a man to become part of or be near to a fascist movement. I think that Burnham's culture is an impediment to his assuming the role in American life for which his book is a first step.

But how much of an impediment is that?

How Wall Street Rules the Coal Mines

By JOHN DILLON

(Concluded from last week)

The public utilities of the nation are users of a large amount of coal and in many cases have "captive mines" to provide a guaranteed source of fuel. For example, the Alabama Power Company, a subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern, engages in coal mining at Gorgas, Alabama. In 1945 production was 274,592 tons, in 1944 381,846 tons, in 1943 255,946 tons. In 1939 the company paid \$2.70 a ton from outside sources. Central Illinois Light Company, another subsidiary of giant Commonwealth and Southern, paid \$1.94 a ton in 1939. Consumers Power Company, another Commonwealth and Southern outfit, used 616,361 tons of coal in 1939. Thus, it is easy to see that the giant utility companies have a considerable voice in coal policies.

The use of natural gas has cut down the use of coal in making manufactured gas. This has resulted in the loss of revenue to railroads and loss of sales to operators. It has caused the railroads and coal operators to take measures ranging from legal to extreme use of "influence" and "pressure." The city of Omaha, Nebraska, was isolated from natural gas even though it was on the edge of the natural gas fields. The people were showered with anti-natural gas propaganda and developed ideas that were very much at variance with facts. When one realizes that the money received by railroads for hauling of coal runs into hundreds of millions of dollars, the reason for the intensity of their reaction to natural gas which does not move by rail but by cheaper pipeline is apparent. But corporations controlling pipelines are fully as powerful politically and economically, as the railroads: one being the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

Control of this vast industry is in the hands of a few individuals. Biggest operator in the industry, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company, is under control of the Mellon family through T. M. Mellon and Company. This holding company is one of the largest in the U. S. in assets controlled. These total between three and four billion. George W. Wyckoff (heir to a steel fortune), Arthur B. Van Buskirk, and Alan M. Scaife (of a wealthy Pittsburgh steel family and also brother-in-law of Richard K. Mellon) are all vice-presidents of T. M. Mellon and Co. in addition to being directors of Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co. William P. Witherow, a director of Pittsburgh Consolidation, is president and director of Blaw-Knox and is a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

William W. Inglis of Scranton, Pa., is president of Glen Alden Coal Co. and also a director. In 1916 he managed coal properties of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad and on formation of Glen Alden from the railroad coal properties in 1921 he was appointed president. Richard F. Grant of Cleveland, Ohio, was former legal counsel to the M. A. Hanna Co. and later vice-president of the company. He was in charge of the anthracite properties of the company. In 1924, he was also in charge of the Republican National Convention in Cleveland. In 1924-25, he was president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. In 1925, he served as president of Susequehanna Collieries Company and in 1930 became president of Lehigh Valley Coal Company.

THE MONOPOLISTS

George H. Humphrey of Cleveland, Ohio, is a director of Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Company and president of M. A. Hanna Company, an iron ore producer.

Farther down the social scale, but big fishes in their own smaller brooks, are the individuals who live in the coal mining counties and dominate with a more open use of power, legal or otherwise. In most cases, the "legal" and the "otherwise" cannot be differentiated. Harlan County, Ky., achieved world renown in that respect. In 1932, *Fortune* magazine wrote, "The local government is mostly on the side of the operators. For the political conflict in Harlan County is not Republican or Democrat so much as it is miners versus operators, and the operators have won most of the elections. To date, twelve miners and four deputy sheriffs have been killed. No deputy sheriffs have been brought to trial as yet, but some forty miners are now awaiting trial on murder charges."

Individuals prominent in Harlan County at the time and probably still strong were Dr. Joseph Nolan, head of the Harlan County American Legion and a wealthy, anti-labor politician; sheriff John Henry Blair, whose deputies were the strong-arm squads of the operators and who was a close friend of Circuit Judge D. C. Jones whose wife was a coal operator and who presided at indictment of 60 miners for criminal syndicalism and 47 for murder; George S. Ward, who was acting secretary of the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association and directed the fight against the miners; and Marion Allen, one of the deputies of Sheriff Blair, bodyguard of Judge Jones, accused of shooting Boris Israel, a labor newspaperman. Harlan County is still in the memory of the American labor movement, and bitter memories do not die.

A few pertinent conclusions may be drawn from the facts presented in this series. First: as to corporations. There is no extremely large individual corporation dominating the coal industry as U. S. Steel or General Motors dominate their respective industries. Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co. is the largest in the U. S. and the world, yet 1945 production of the company was only 26 million tons of bituminous coal out of a total for the industry of 574 million tons. Second: control. The Mellon interests are most important. Robert Young's Allegheny Corporation is active. Railroads are involved through necessity and as beneficiaries through carrying of coal. Third: who received the coal dollar? With so many operators splitting the gross sales receipts of the industry very few have fabulous incomes, though they profit neatly on the toil of the coal diggers. Railroads profit mightily. Chesapeake and Ohio ranks first, 600 million in coal revenue in the last six years. Fourth:

banks. As necessary to the coal industry as any other.

Big monopoly controls the coal industry more thoroughly than the above paragraph might indicate, however. Although coal has been treated herein as a separate industry for the purposes of this article, in real life it is inextricably interwoven with the economy as a whole. One of the reasons that there are no really huge coal corporations is that the industry is split up and owned by corporate giants in other fields—the railroads, the public utilities, the

steel barons, the rubber industry, and so on. These more apparent monopolies are in turn the captive creatures of Wall Street. Also, although many of the smaller mines are independently owned, in practice the small operators follow the lead of the big ones in negotiations with labor, the government, or the consuming public. At any rate, it is apparent that the black wealth beneath the soil of the United States goes neither to the citizens at large of the nation nor to the men who dig it out.

Governor Dewey Pulls Fast One On the Veterans Bonus Issue

By I. BLAKE

Governor Dewey has signed a bill authorizing a bonus for New York veterans to be paid by raising the tax on cigarettes one cent and the state income tax twenty per cent. This bill will become law if approved by the voters at election time.

Under such legislation, it would almost cost the veterans more to get a bonus than to do without it.

In a memorandum attached to the bill, Dewey wrote: "I have repeatedly pointed out that I had complete confidence that the people would approve the bonus proposal. I was likewise confident that the people and the veterans, who with their families constitute a majority of the people, would desire to know that the bonus will be paid as promptly as possible, how its cost will be borne and that it would not remain as a burden upon their children or their grandchildren."

"We owe a real debt of gratitude to our veterans. It is a debt which must be discharged with complete honesty. It would not be honest to delay by inaction the prompt payment of the bonus."

In other words, His Honor the Governor is concerned about two things: our "debt of gratitude to our veterans" and the welfare of future generations. The best way to handle both problems, says the Governor, is to have those most concerned with getting the bonus, pay it. Take from your left-hand pocket and put it into your right-hand pocket. It's a good way to keep money in the family, but it's not a veterans' bonus.

We agree that veterans should receive a bonus; that's why we oppose Dewey's give-and-take proposal.

ARGUMENTS ON BONUS

There are some well-meaning citizens who oppose not only Dewey's bonus but all bonuses in general. They say: "The veterans don't really need it now. It's only a little hand-out and most of the veterans are working." Haven't they heard of the insecurity which is moving in on us with layoffs and the exhaustion of 52-20 benefits?

They also say: "Rather than pay a bonus, it would be better to use the money for emergency housing and to benefit disabled veterans." We agree there should be an adequate housing program and adequate aid to disabled veterans. LABOR ACTION consistently champions these things. But what has one to do with

the other? Who doesn't know that the housing crisis is growing worse in spite of the fact that New York has a surplus in the treasury and that no bonus has yet been paid.

To clinch their argument, they say: "A bonus is a grab by the vets, a 'gimme' which benefits one group of citizens at the expense of another group." That all depends on who pays the bonus. If it's to be done Dewey's way (and we're against that), it would mean, according to these good folk, that one group of citizens—the veterans—would benefit at the expense of another group—the veterans and their families. This doesn't make very good sense.

The only way it makes sense is if the bonus is financed by a tax on the huge profits which were made during the war and which continue to be made as a result of the war. Such a bonus could be said to benefit one group of citizens—the veterans and their families—at the expense of another group—the capitalists.

Who opposes that except the capitalists and their aides?

Who are the bulk of the veterans and their families if not of the working class?

LABOR ACTION has always maintained that the working class must intervene to reorganize society in its own interests against the interests of the capitalists. We have always said that only the victorious working class can solve the problems of society.

We do not say that a veterans' bonus—even if financed by a 100 per cent tax on profits—is the way to socialism. But we do say: Put the bonus question in its proper light and Dewey's proposals are seen clearly for the double-dealing trickery they are.

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

A Discussion Article on an Important Subject

Poland, "Country on Wheels," Faces New Border Revisions

By A. RUDZIENSKI
Special to Labor Action

The principal problem before the Moscow Conference of the Big Four is the German question, and with it the question of the German-Polish frontier, or to put it more accurately, the boundary line between the two imperialist blocs, the famous Oder-Neisse line. The Potsdam conference approved Russia's annexation of half of Poland's territory, more than 190,000 square kilometers, granting as "compensation" to Poland, the ex-German territories of upper and lower Silesia, Eastern Prussia, Danzig and Western Pomerania, all of which covered about 100,000 square kilometers.

Poland, the country on wheels, was pushed toward the West, losing after this imposed "compensation," about 100,000 sq. kilometers of territory. Poland lost about 13 million inhabitants in the eastern parts of the country, to receive land occupied by nine million Germans in the western territories. In accordance with the Pan-Slavic and nationalist policies of Stalin, the Russians ordered the evacuation of all the Poles from their annexed native soil, which came to about six million between the Curzon line and the Polish-Soviet frontier of 1939, and more than seven million in all the territories annexed by Russia.

On the other hand, all Germans had to abandon Pomerania, Prussia, upper and lower Silesia, all of which had been conceded to Poland. This enormous transfer of peoples, the greatest since the times of the Goths, is the most compelling testimony of the Stalinist counter-revolution in Europe. The Polish population composed of the industrial proletariat, intellectuals and the peasantry was replaced by the backward Ukrainian, White Russian and Asiatic peasants brought from Soviet Asia. The German proletariat of Silesia had to give way to the Poles brought from behind the Curzon line. This is the Stalinist "democratic revolution," admired so much by Comrade Frank, the theoretician of the "Fourth International" magazine. This transfer of peoples was carried out with the same barbarous and cruel methods used in the collectivizations of the Ukraine and the purges throughout Russia.

Today only a million skilled German workers remain in the former German territories, and only a few Poles are behind the Curzon line. The overwhelmingly Polish cities of Lvov and Vilna have been virtually transferred to Berslau, Danzig and Stettin. The Russians were compelled to act quickly in order to consolidate their positions on the Oder-

Editorial Note—We are publishing the article below on the problem of Poland and its frontiers, now a live question since raised by Marshall at the Moscow Conference, as submitted to us by Comrade A. Rudzienski, with the intention and hope that it will stimulate additional discussion articles and material on this complex problem. The general decline of European capitalism, together with the uprooting and shifting of entire populations by various dictatorial regimes during the war and its aftermath, has revived the "national question" in its most acute forms—boundaries, national survival, disputed territories, etc. Whole peoples, by the tens of millions (White Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Letts, Estonians, etc.) have been forcibly removed from one territory (their homelands) and cast adrift in foreign lands, at the imperial whims of dictators.

In this sense, Rudzienski's discussion article states new and extremely difficult problems that revolutionists

Neisse line. The crime of Potsdam has been consummated.

The administration of occupied Germany is a perpetual headache to the United States which is faced with the problem of feeding the Germans after losing the rich agricultural territories of Pomerania, Brandenburg and Eastern Prussia. For these reasons, Marshall travelled to Moscow with the firm intention of demanding the "return to Germany" of the major portions of the territories occupied by Russia's satellite, Poland, with the eventual "compensation" for Poland of her old territories occupied by Russia.

This signifies not only setting "the country on wheels" once more in motion, but also immense suffering for millions of Germans and Poles who would have to be shifted once again to new territories. Around 3 million Poles have settled in Pomerania, Eastern Prussia, and lower Silesia.

What should the position of the international proletariat be when confronted by this problem? If it accepts without reservations this revision, it will be supporting Yankee imperialism. If it opposes the revision proposed by the U. S., should it support Stalinist imperialism? To find the answer to this question, we must examine briefly the historical and political aspects of the problem.

The Ribbentrop-Molotov pact which unleashed the war against Poland, and the partitioning of the country, was the principal source of damage. The Curzon line, the present "Russian-Polish frontier" is nothing but the Ribbentrop-Molotov

line modified somewhat in favor of Poland.

HISTORY AND ROOTS OF POLISH PARTITION

It is necessary to remember that Poland possessed more than 800,000 square kilometers before the first partitioning of its territories. The Curzon line of today is nothing but the boundary line of the third and last partitioning of Poland in 1795

between the Russian and German occupation of that period. When Napoleon defeated Prussia, he formed the Duchy of Warsaw in 1809 from the territory seized from Prussia, making sure the frontiers did not extend beyond the line of the third division of Poland, so as not to provoke Czar Alexander, who held more than half of Polish territory.

In 1815, the Congress of Vienna created the satellite state of the Kingdom of Poland, united to Russia and under the sceptre of the Russian Czar as the Polish King. Since Russia almost completely dominated this Congress, the line of the third division of Poland was once again proclaimed the theoretical frontier of the Polish Kingdom. Czar Alexander promised to incorporate in the kingdom the historic territories of Poland snatched away in the three partitionings of the country; but he never fulfilled his promise.

When a new, independent Poland arose, the problem of the Russian-Polish frontier became a reality once more. From the archives of history, the English imperialists took the old boundary line of the third partitioning of Poland, and rebaptized it as the Curzon line. It was then a line of compromise between Russian and English imperialism, at the expense of the new Poland. British imperialism tried to capture at all costs the government of Lvov, as well as the Kerensky regime, and even the Bolsheviks, for its own imperialist aims.

In January, 1919, the Soviet government proposed as the Polish boundary line, the line that ran from

fifty to a hundred kilometers east of the Russian-Polish frontier later agreed upon at Riga. The declaration was signed by Lenin, Trotsky and Chicherin. When the Polish-Soviet war broke out, Lloyd George once more proposed the Curzon line as the provisional frontier during a Polish-Russian truce.

The Soviet government declared this proposal harmful to Poland, proposing once again the Dvynsa, Polotsk, Bar line, which included such important Polish centers as Minsk and Polesia. The Riga boundary was drawn west of the line proposed by Lenin and Trotsky, because Roman Dmowski, leader of the reactionary Polish Right wanted no more than 30 per cent of national minorities, in obedience to his doctrine of creating a uni-national Polish state. Stalin revised the policy of the Russian Revolution, returning to the policy of the Czars with respect to Poland.

The boundary line of the third division of 1795 was rebaptized as the Ribbentrop-Molotov line, and later given the name of the British Lord Curzon. Under the pretext of "compensating" Poland, the Oder-Neisse line was established as the western frontier of Stalin's Russian empire in the West.

REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT FRONTIERS

The Oder-Neisse line is, in the first place, a frontier between two imperialist blocs, and, in the second place, the line of demarcation between puppet Poland and subjugat-

ed Germany. This line is the expression of the relationship of forces between the Anglo-Saxon bloc and Stalin's empire. To the degree that it changes it will express the change in the relationship of forces between these two blocs. Because they are conquered and occupied countries, neither Germany nor Poland possess frontiers. The Oder-Neisse is in reality not a boundary between Germany and Poland, it is the Anglo-American Russian frontier.

For this reason, neither the Polish nor the international proletariat can take its place on either side, but must pursue the interests of the proletarian third front, which is opposed to both imperialisms. American imperialism supports the program of revising the Oder line, Russian imperialism supports the negative proposition. We are in principle opposed to all occupations, all annexations, and all imperialist revisions, favoring the free settlement of frontiers between free peoples, between the German and Polish republics, within the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe. But, if under the pressure of American imperialism, Russia is obliged to yield and admit the revision of the Oder line, we cannot except a unilateral revision, but must demand the restitution of the Polish territories in the East. The Oder-Neisse line is the Siamese twin of the Curzon line, condemned to a fatal symbiosis with it. The revision of the Oder-Neisse line will bring with it, as an inevitable consequence, the re-

vision of the Curzon line and the shifting of all the frontiers in all of Central-Eastern Europe. Once again the problem of the re-settlement and the re-emigration of millions upon millions of Poles and Germans will arise. For all these reasons, the international and Polish proletariat must oppose a unilateral revision, and must demand a general revision of the imperialist agreements at Potsdam, and an end to the occupation of Europe by the imperialist armies. The correct readjustment of national frontiers, and the abolition of annexations, occupations, and all the rest of the paraphernalia of imperialism can only be realized by a Socialist United States of Europe.

However, within this same imperialist structure, the international proletariat is interested in liberating the German and Polish proletariat and people, as well as the other peoples, from the clutches of the barbarous Stalinist totalitarianism, because this would signify the resurgence of the revolutionary working class movement in this part of Europe. From this point of view, the revolutionary proletariat can support the general readjustment of the frontiers in Central-Eastern Europe. In such a case, should the revision of the Oder-Neisse line take place, the international proletariat and revolutionary socialist party ought to demand the total restitution of Poland's territory as of 1939, and the abolition of the hateful imperialist Curzon line, the line of the Czars, of British imperialism, Hitler and Stalin.

A Review of the Crisis in the Auto Union - -

(Continued from page 3)

ing" to the pressure of pro-imperialist, chauvinist "red"-baiting must explain how it comes about that those militants who best resisted chauvinism and best fought the class struggle when it was most difficult—in wartime—make a flip-flop and capitulate to this same demagoguery when it has a less enticing ring in time of peace.

Throughout the war, the labor movement continued to support the so-called friends of labor in the capitalist parties. The Reuther supporters bowed just about as deeply at the throne of King Franklin as did their opponents. The socialist forces in the union movement appealed unsuccessfully for the formation of a political party of the working class, an Independent Labor Party. Although no such party was formed, small currents in that direction drew along many progressive workers who sought a more radical and independent political path. One such current was the Michigan Commonwealth Federation formed in 1944 with its main strength in Detroit. LABOR ACTION criticized the vacillations and inconsistencies of the MCF but at the same time recognized that it expressed a genuine desire for a more advanced program by those workers whom it attracted.

Two of the leaders of the MCF movement, Matthew Hammond and Emil Mazy together with their followers, are part of the Reuther faction today and in fact outstanding leaders of it. The MCF, it is true, has never attracted substantial mass support but what following it does have in the UAW is drawn chiefly from among the elements that support Reuther.

THE GM STRIKE AS TURNING POINT

When World War II ended, millions of workers in every basic industry engaged in strikes. Unlike the "unauthorized," "wild-cat" strikes of the war years, which were conducted against the official leadership of the unions and sapped its influence and control over the ranks, these mass strikes were led by the very officials who were thus permitted to mend their tattered reputations and regain their influence. But in the UAW the post-war strike wave swamped former president Thomas and lifted Reuther into his place.

This upset occurred because Thomas and his followers were unable to keep pace with the radical, leftward sentiments of growing sections of the union who were turning away from the old paths and looking in new directions. These militants turned to Reuther for leadership, to Reuther who had emerged as the director of the GM strike which eclipsed all the others with its most advanced social program.

The slogans of the GM strike: "Open the Books" and "Wage Increases out of Profits Without Price Increases" linked up the strike movement not simply with the wage question in the narrow sense but with a broad conception of a role for labor in society as a challenger of the monopolists and a champion of all the underprivileged.

The strike was long and exhausting for the workers. The GM program was not defended consistently and determinedly enough. The company was able finally to get an increase in the price of its cars. But the corporation wanted not only an increase in prices; it also aimed to shift the blame for this increase onto the labor movement and toward that end sought the public approval

or silent consent of the union for the rise. It failed in this. Had the UAW, however, been ready to withdraw its agitation against an increase in auto prices, the strike could very likely have been settled as readily as the steel strike led by Murray. Reuther's opponents harped on this point.

ADDES-THOMAS GROUP TRIES TWO STRATEGIES

The anti-Reuther forces experimented with right wing and left wing arguments against him until they finally settled upon an attack from the right. The left experiment consisted in a criticism of the "one at a time" strategy and implied that the strike was not led militantly and uncompromisingly enough. This attack initiated by the CP never aroused any enthusiasm in the Addes-Thomas-CP bloc. The record of the bloc was too clear: the strikes led by the CP itself in this period displayed no startling militancy. The Stalinist controlled United Electrical Workers Union settled with GM while the UAW fought continued; it was denounced by auto workers for signing a "scab" agreement. The allies of the CP in the UAW were themselves for a more conservative, not a more radical policy. The leftist attack was forgotten.

The real line of the anti-Reuther bloc became a conservative, attack from the right: The strike was called too soon when the company was too strong. Reuther's "screwball schemes" and "fancy economics" is dragging out the strike. He doesn't care if the workers have to go cold and hungry because of his pet theories. Why does the union have to stick its nose in where it doesn't belong?

These arguments were shaped to appeal to workers with a narrow vision. They banked upon fatigue and discouragement and depended upon a desire to return to work at all costs. But they failed because more and more workers were receptive to "fancy economics," that is, to a new social program.

It is meaningless in this connection to argue that Reuther may not have been "sincere," that he may have adopted this program for his own opportunist reasons, that he does not or will not carry out his program consistently. Such questions are of great importance for an estimate of the role of Walter Reuther the individual. But we are considering here the question of the role of the Reuther tendency or caucus in relation to the opposing faction. We are considering the relative progressiveness of the Reuther camp; relative, that is, to the Addes-Thomas-CP bloc.

If Reuther for opportunist reasons appeals to and mobilizes radical workers on the basis of radical policies, then for similar opportunist reasons his opponents appeal to more conservative elements on the basis of a more conservative policy. When we weigh the two factions against one another, the "opportunism," the "insincerity," etc., etc., cancel out and we are left with the differences between the groups. (Unless one were to adopt the utterly absurd belief that all the connivers and careerists are in one camp and all the honest idealists in the other. This would still not explain why the "careerists" make a radical appeal and the honest citizens a conservative appeal.)

The issue in the UAW is increasingly posed as follows: for Reuther, or against him. Personalizing the conflict in this way dramatizes it as a fight between individuals but obscures its real content. Of course

different individuals do oppose one another for election, for control of the union. Those who are dismayed by such "power" politics within the labor movement can seek vainly for some substitute means of deciding between conflicting programs and policies other than through the conflict between individuals and groups which represent these programs and policies.

The contestants, in what often appears as merely a conflict of personalities, appeal to and mobilize different strata or tendencies that already exist within the labor movement. Or, in a somewhat different way, different tendencies or strata force to the fore as their leaders, those individuals who will thereafter represent these tendencies. The prominence of well known individuals usually serves to blur over what is really going on. The rank and file seeking a short-cut in the pursuit of its aims usually expresses itself through the already prominent leaders. By a strange refraction, it seems as though these leaders themselves create the movements among the ranks. In the UAW a radical tendency or movement impels Reuther to the forefront.

THE BASIC DIVISION BETWEEN THE TWO CAMPS

This or that individual in either of the two groups can be singled out as a man who shifted to the opposite side on some question or other. But these isolated or accidental cases of crossing the line does not erase the line itself. In both camps, we can find conservatives, "red-baiters," Jim-Crow elements. (The CP itself, for example, is the outstanding red-baiting group in the labor movement. It most violently lashes out against the truly socialist and revolution-

ary section of the labor movement.)

The Reuther tendency does not consist exclusively of militants and progressives any more than the anti-Reuther group consists exclusively of hard-bitten conservatives and incurable Stalinists. The facts of UAW life over the past years nonetheless prove that the Reuther tendency by and large is based upon and receives its stamp from the forward moving radical and progressive elements while the anti-Reuther bloc is based upon and appeals to the conservatives and the reactionary Stalinist elements.

The two tendencies in the UAW are usually referred to as the "left-wing" and the "right-wing"; the Reuther faction is called the "right" and the anti-Reuther bloc, the "left." But this careless terminology is based upon a misconception. The term "left wing" signifies a policy of more militant, more radical struggle on behalf of the working class. "Right-wing" signifies a policy of compromise or sacrifice of the interests of the working class. Judged by these standards, the Addes-Thomas-CP bloc is typically a right-wing and the Reutherites are to its left. The fact that the Stalinists sacrifice the interests of the workers to the interests of the Kremlin does not change this fact. It only emphasizes it.

The genuine left wing of the labor movement is composed of the adherents of revolutionary socialism, or Trotskyism, and their followers. This group, although tiny today, will gain supporters precisely from

among those who are now attracted by the Reutherite policies. Compared to the real left, Reuther occupies a position in the middle, a "centrist" position. On virtually all the vital questions facing the labor movement, questions of national and international import, Reuther and the group he represents take a position which to say the very least is... inadequate. Reuther himself is a defender of the "free enterprise" system, that is, of capitalism.

It is Reuther's basic shortcoming that he rises on the shoulders of radical workers and at the same time clings to the capitalist system. While he "represents" the progressives, while he ably articulates their desires, he remains fundamentally the outward expression of the already existing level of consciousness of the militant wing of the UAW. He does not raise that level of consciousness and understanding any more than a thermometer raises the temperature.

But these considerations in no way alter our differing estimates of the two main tendencies in the UAW. We support the Reuther tendency as against the Addes-Thomas-Stalinist bloc and work for its victory in the union. This does not at all mean to have confidence in Walter Reuther, the individual. It means to have confidence in the future evolution of that strata of militant workers in the union which is at this time grouped around him. It is this type of militant which will be the basis for the development of a workers party.

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 \$5,000 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 tax on all 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!

Aid European Hungry Workers

Will you undertake to help us send food and clothing regularly to a European working class family?

Will you support the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF in its campaign to bring help in the form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-Nazi and labor fighters?

If you can give us this support, please send all contributions (in the form of food, clothing and money donations) to us at the address given below. We will take care of seeing to it that these contributions of yours reach those who need them most of all.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF
197 Second Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Remember! \$10 will enable us to send a 21-pound CARE Food Package to a European Working Class Family.

ACEWR
197 Second Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months. I am sending the following contribution: \$.....

_____ food packages _____ clothing packages

Name.....

Address.....

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

A Letter from a European Comrade

Dear Friends (In English):

With much pleasure we have received your amiable parcel. Many, many thanks for it. I do not think that I need tell you how splendidly we can use all these fine things. But because you send us such parcels you have given the proof that you know what hard times we must undergo in Germany in the moment. These times are very difficult, mental as well as material.

It would be too long to write to you all these things now, but it is now so that we non-Fascists and former political prisoners must bear the huge suffering of the German people.

I myself had to leave Germany in 1933 and lived as a political emigrant in Copenhagen. After the occupation of Denmark by the German troops I lived there illegally and had a leading part in the resistance of the Danish workmen and socialists against the occupation troops. At this work I was imprisoned by the Gestapo and brought to Germany to be sentenced to death. I was dragged through different prisons and freed here in Beyrouth by the Americans.

I would be very glad to get a letter from you, for we in Germany have a great thirst to hear what happens in the world—especially we who have not forgotten our international attitude in spite of Hitler and who have remained to be what we were. Once more it would be very fine if a letter would follow your parcel and many thanks for your solidarity.

With my best greetings, I am,

Yours truly,
G. J.

Feb. 15, 1947, Germany.

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—CHesapeake 5798
Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLEVELAND
The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m.
The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8:00 p.m.
A class in basic Marxism meets every Monday at 8:00 p.m.
Definite headquarters are not yet established for these meetings.

DETROIT
Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 5 and 10. Telephone: Plaza 5555.
Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

LOS ANGELES
New headquarters address: LABOR ACTION, 8314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7.
Tel.: PRospect 6032. (If no answer, phone AX 2-9067.)
Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday.

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

NEWARK
HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St.
OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m.
Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

NEW YORK CITY
CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m., except Saturday until 6 p.m.
Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.
You are welcome to attend all open Branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.
BRONX BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.

PHILADELPHIA
HEADQUARTERS: 1133 West Girard Avenue (3rd floor).
Workers Party Branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Coming events at Labor Action Hall, 1133 West Girard Avenue:
Sunday, April 20, 8:15 p.m.—Fourth lecture in Social Forces in the U.S.—Industrialism Triumphant.
Sunday, April 27, 5:00 p.m.—Dinner sponsored by American Committee for European Workers' Relief.
Sunday, April 27, 8:15 p.m.—Fifth lecture in Social Forces in the U.S.—New Deal and Permanent Social Crisis.
Friday, May 2, 8:15 p.m.—May Day Rally. Speeches; songs, greetings, movies, etc.
Sunday, May 4, 8:15 p.m.—Sixth and final lecture in Social Forces in the U.S.—American Finance: Capitalist Imperialism Versus Socialist Bureaucratic Collectivist Imperialism.
Saturday, May 17, 8:30 p.m.—Lecture on History of Jazz, Concert and Dance.

ST. LOUIS
Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbett 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, 468 Tenth St., Room 208, Oakland 7, Calif.

SEATTLE
Write to P. O. Box 29, 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.

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

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

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

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

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

BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE EAST NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 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.

READING
For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1471.

PHILADELPHIA
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New Facts Prove Stalinists Kidnapped Karl Fischer --

(Continued from page 1)

In Klein-Meudorf, near Leipzig, she had intended to go to Vienna. When, on her way there, she met her son in Linz, both stayed there. Fischer worked for the Upper-Austria Workers Chamber since June 1, 1946.

Fischer, while in Linz, stayed in contact with his former Communist fellow-prisoners and helped them to keep contact among themselves. They were aware of his political

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102 Washington Street.

opinions, and he talked with them about this fairly often. He made friends with a young Communist girl and attempted to convince her of the correctness of his political views.

Around the beginning of 1947 he was invited to a meeting of Communist functionaries—the names of which are unknown as yet—and was requested to cease his relations with that girl. Despite the fact that this warning was made in a friendly tone, Fischer felt it as a threat. As his mother learned only very recently, he had told a relatively strange person as early as 1946 that the GPU was interested in him. The young Communist girl referred to above, Vera Kerschbaumer, had once told Fischer that she was asked by the leader of the Communist Party for northern Austria, Franz Heider, whether she was in love with Fischer. When she answered the question in the negative, Heider had told her, "That is too bad. You could have gotten a lot of information from him."

Vera Kerschbaumer works for the book store of the Communist Party. On January 22, 1947, Fischer called her there by telephone in order to make a date for that night. Since he could not reach her there, he asked another employee of the book store where he could meet Vera. He was told that Vera would call for him at his office.

LOST WITHOUT TRACE
Vera lives in Urfahr, a Russian occupied section of Linz. Fischer [that night] brought her to her apartment on the Poestlingberg. There they met and tried to avoid Vera's step-father, a Communist Party functionary, who was hostile to her relations with Fischer. Despite the fact that the step-father, Engineer Heil, was obviously on his way home, he arrived there, as Vera later reported, a whole hour after she did.

Fischer said good-bye to Vera on the Poestlingberg, which is approximately 45 minutes from his own apartment, and made a date for the next day. He never returned home, and since then has been lost without a trace. When Fischer had already left the Workers Chamber offices on January 22, a phone call was made there from a man who spoke with a foreign accent. The next morning, the Workers Chamber was again called and was asked for the home address of Fischer. When the clerk asked who was calling, the answer was "Police Headquarters Linz." This, to the clerk, seemed thoroughly ridiculous. He hung up without saying anything further. No further phone calls were made.

When Fischer failed to come home, his mother applied on January 23 to the Workers' Chamber for information. Through the help of the Cham-

ber secretary, Richard Strasser, she got in touch with the Socialist Dr. Blum, who occupies a leading post in the administration of the Russian-occupied section of Austria. Dr. Blum referred the investigation to the Chief of Police of Urfahr, Sgt. Sever. The investigation remained futile. Only on January 27 Richard Strasser, together with Mrs. Fischer, made a "missing persons" report to the Linz police headquarters. The radio and the press carried the report simultaneously around the beginning of February. Only the Communist "New Times" printed the report a few days later than the other papers.

SPREAD SUICIDE FALSEHOOD

Richard Strasser, who had spent the period of 1934-5 in Russia and had then lived in England until the end of the war, is a functionary of the "Society of the Friends of the Soviet Union." It is probable that he has fairly close connections with the Communist Party. Shortly after Fischer vanished, he made it understood that Fischer's end came through suicide. He told this even to Fischer's mother. In the Workers Chamber he spread the idea that Fischer in the period immediately preceding his disappearance, had acted in a very peculiar manner.

This was denied by all those who had had anything to do with Fischer at the time. On the contrary, Fischer had been a very quiet and thoughtful person. In the days before his disappearance, he had heard that an old friend and comrade of his, N. N., had come to Tirof from France, where he wanted to meet Fischer. He had looked forward to this very much. From all his remarks in the days before his disappearance, it is clear that he was full of plans for the future. His mother, with whom he lived in perfect harmony and who enjoyed his complete confidence, thinks that the explanation of suicide is absurd.

Mrs. Fischer, through former fellow prisoners of her son, has informed the Minister of the Interior, Helmer, of this occurrence. As far as she knows, no steps were taken by the minister in this connection.

Since Mrs. Fischer has connected the Communist Party with the disappearance of her son in numerous conversations, Franz Heider was asked about the matter by former colleagues of Fischer. His answer was that he knew about the rumors and that if they were not stopped he "would know how to deal with them." He further said that it was an open secret that Fischer had been in contact with the French Intelligence apparatus. That, too, is emphatically denied by Mrs. Fischer. In view of the political orientation of her son she feels, such an implication is slanderous.

Youth Corner...

FOUNDING CONVENTION OF SLID

The recent founding convention of the Student League for Industrial Democracy indicates that for the first time in many years a militantly left-wing, anti-Stalinist student organization is appearing on the campus. Indications of this are to be seen in the trend of the convention discussion, in its resolution on Truman's proposals and in the attitude of the delegates on the questions of colonial independence, conscription and labor legislation.

The organization's purpose is declared to be the crystallization of student interest in all forms of democracy; at the same time it does not adhere to any comprehensive theoretical approach to these problems. Therefore it provides a common meeting ground for leftward moving students.

By its characterization of Stalinism as the agent of a totalitarian foreign power, the SLID has the beginnings of a correct approach to the protection of the civil liberties of Stalinists (AYD on the campus), but it will not admit them to membership. On both of these issues the SLID is right, but unfortunately its attitude toward cooperation with them on specific issues is one on which it may well break its neck. The decision not to cooperate with the Stalinists on any issues whatsoever, adopted at the convention, can lead in those instances where AYD is a powerful force to isolation on such concrete issues as the fight against Jim Crow, struggles for academic freedom. This stems in part from a failure to understand that while Stalinism is a totalitarian force, it must assume pseudo-progressive forms, which attract many radicals on the campus.

RESOLUTION ON WAR

The clearest indication of the progressive nature of the SLID is found in its resolution on the Truman Doctrine. This resolution called for the rejection of any attempt of either the United States or Russia to interfere in Greek political affairs since neither has a policy of genuine support of the democratic aspirations of the Greek people. Such interference, the resolution stated, would make those aspirations dependent upon power politics.

The resolution characterized both the American and Russian policies as imperialist, and pointed out that the main purpose of both was to jockey for position in preparation for another war. It concluded by pointing out that the peoples of the world must beware of permitting themselves to be pushed into a position where the only choice was one between two imperialist camps. The only solution is to reject such a choice and to create an alternative solution through the active participation of the masses in the present international situation.

This resolution, distinct from the general liberal attitude on the Truman Doctrine, rejects the whole basis of American policy by characterizing it as reactionary and imperialist.

The resolution characterizes Stalinism as imperialist. This dissociates SLID's opposition to the Truman policy from that of the Stalinists. Having rejected both American reaction and Stalinist totalitarianism it advocates the active participation of the masses in politics.

ONE MAJOR WEAKNESS

This is actually the crucial point in the resolution. Having recognized the imperialist nature of both parties to the Greek quarrel, the organization does not hope to solve the problem by admonitions, prayers and supplications to either side.

There is, however, an important contradiction in the SLID resolution. The resolution criticizes the administration for by-passing the UN. But the UN is composed of the same governments which the SLID resolution characterizes as imperialist. The function of the UN is to attempt to resolve the conflict of the contending powers with the strongest achieving its domination over the others. When one of the powers feels the necessity to by-pass the UN and plunge the world into war it will not hesitate to do so because the peace of the world is a relatively minor thing in relation to its imperialist needs.

To see any hope in an association of thieves after one has condemned all the thieves individually, is an obvious contradiction.

The passage of such a resolution, despite its inadequacies, clearly indicates a progressive trend in the organization which will, we hope, be extended by the adoption of a similar attitude by the incoming National Executive Committee.

By V. I. Lenin:

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

On the Situation in The Teachers Union

When Governor Dewey of New York State signed the bill on April 12, passed by the State Legislature, establishing higher salary schedules for teachers and other conditions pertaining to increments, promotions, etc., he issued a statement praising its provisions. Various features of the legislation had been under intense fire by the teachers of the state as reported in earlier articles in LABOR ACTION. At several points in the fight they made against it strike action was threatened, but, except for the courageous strike of the Buffalo teachers, did not materialize.

The Legislature passed the bill about a month ago. For reasons which have not been made public, Dewey waited until April 12 to sign it. The teachers thus had some four weeks to continue their fight. But shortly after the bill was voted into law their fight subsided. No one has vouchsafed a public explanation.

This is not surprising on the part of leaders like Mrs. May Andres Healy, chairman of the Teachers' Salary Conference in New York City, a Tammany politician, and Lefkowitz, leading light of the Teachers Guild, AFL. Although they denounced the measure when it was introduced into the Legislature, and Lefkowitz even sounded the strike tocsin before he went up to Albany with other delegates in an effort to amend it, they quickly reversed themselves and discovered great merit in it.

The leaders of the Stalinist-influenced Teachers Union, CIO, on the other hand, were unsparing in their condemnation. But aside from an "emergency" mass meeting and one or two other gestures, they have likewise been conspicuous for their failure to make use of the period of grace Dewey allowed all concerned. If they have changed their minds about the evil consequences of the bill they predicted, they have not said so openly.

ple pressure for it, and with which Lefkowitz, on several occasions, alternately threatened to support the clamor for a strike poll made principally by the Teachers Union representatives in the Teachers' Salary Conference, and denounced it, is indicative of more than the confusion and vacillation which one expects from leaders of this stripe. It points a lesson in the responsibility of revolutionary workers and in the tactics of party building.

Why was Lefkowitz able to swing back and forth on his demagogic tripe? Why could Healy sit securely on the lid of a boiling pot? Where were the people who could have ripped the veils of illusion in which they dressed themselves and exposed their chicanery? Where were the people who could have compounded the necessity and constructive nature of a teachers' strike by New York's teachers?

There were the Stalinists. But they were walking softly as if on eggs. Besides, although they worked side by side with them in the schools, they were removed from the members of the organizations led by Healy and Linville by their separate organization in the Teachers Union. And, to be sure, nothing constructive can be expected from Stalinist criticism and opposition. It is invariably injurious to the interests of all concerned except their own nether world of intrigue and power.

There are Socialists in the Teachers Guild. There is reason to believe that at least a number of them do not see eye to eye with Lefkowitz policy. It should be recalled that a majority, an overwhelming majority, in fact, of the Delegate Assembly of the Guild voted several months ago in favor of eliminating the no-strike clause of the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, with which the Guild is affiliated. It is to be assumed that socialist votes were included in this majority. Yet if voices were raised in the Guild against Lefkowitz's policy, there is no indication that a serious fight was made against it.

Where were the teachers who in former years battled vigorously and well against the conservative and bureaucratic policies of Lefkowitz and Linville when they were the leader-

ship of the Teachers Union, before the Stalinists captured control of it, and Lefkowitz split away to form the Teachers Guild? Why did they play no role in the situation?

These questions have reference to the intense fight in the Teachers Union in the early thirties, when the membership was divided over policy to combat the wage cutting campaign of the La Guardia administration. The majority was for a vigorous fight, but the leadership, led by Lefkowitz and Linville, who has since died, were for a pusillanimous policy of ineffectual protest.

The largest opposition group, the Rank and File, was led by the Stalinists. A sizable group, the Progressives, was influenced by the Lovestonites. Socialist Party followers and members supported the Linville-Lefkowitz leadership. The Trotskyists entered the situation last of all and made considerable headway both on union and political grounds. A number of members of the union were recruited to the Trotskyist movement.

In the split the Stalinists remained in control of the union; the Socialists went into the Teachers Guild. The Lovestonite group dissolved in 1941. Its union people lost their political cohesion and drifted into other fields and occupations.

The Trotskyists dissolved their party, entered the Socialist Party, were expelled, and organized the Socialist Workers Party. Their union people were scattered; some entered industry; others were drafted; and so on.

Among the teachers who had supported the union policy of the Lovestonites and Trotskyists were devoted men and women, highly trained politically and organizationally, skilled in union procedure and fighting. They could have been of great value in the recent teachers' struggle. They could have been spokesmen and leaders.

They could have been of even greater value in persuading the teachers to adopt a strike policy. They could have been of inestimable value in exposing the cowardice and duplicity of the Tammany politician, May Andres Healy, chairman of the Teachers' Salary Conference, who tacked and veered and stalled on the

question of taking a strike poll, until the crisis abated and there was no longer any point in it. They could have been instrumental in exerting powerful pressure in the Teachers Guild against the vacillations and duplicity of Lefkowitz, who alternately threatened strike and spoke against it.

But they were not there. To the extent that they had left the teaching field on their own initiative in pursuit of personal ends, they placed personal ends above the need to trench themselves among teachers, to sit out the doldrums and be on hand to give support and leadership when the struggle got hot and teachers began to move as they never have before in the United States.

To the extent that they acted in conformity with party policies and decisions the responsibility, of course, does not rest on them, but on the party. The wisdom of removing them from the teaching field, whatever its motivation and result elsewhere, has entailed a lost opportunity.

Olive Karen.

The above was contributed as a discussion article. We are, however, printing it as a letter because we find it difficult to comment on the point made toward the end of our contributor's article. We are not sure that we understand it. There is no doubt that if there were a large group of Trotskyists among the teachers, they could be influential. As it happens, there is not. The Workers Party would gladly accept teachers into its ranks. However, it has deemed it necessary to concentrate its recruiting efforts among the industrial working class. This seems to us an eminently correct policy. If any teachers should join the Workers Party, we are sure that they would be asked to be active in the struggles of the teachers.—Editor.

Says Charlie Chaplin Disappoints Him

I am very disappointed in Charles Spencer Chaplin. The man is supposed to be a friend of the "work-

Record Profits "Worry" Business

"Corporations' profits climbed to an annual rate of \$15 billion in 1947's first quarter, the Commerce Department calculates. That's \$3 billion above 1946 profits. Field offices report businessmen are worried about public reaction to these profits and continued high prices."

Wall Street Journal

PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER, AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN RELIEF,

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MAY DAY ISSUE OF LABOR ACTION:

The next issue of LABOR ACTION will be the feature May Day issue. We are planning many interesting and varied features for this issue, centering around the approaching struggles of American Labor against the current governmental and capitalist offensive.

We would like our LABOR ACTION agents to go to work on two things for us:

- (1) Getting MAY DAY greetings for us, to be inserted in the paper next issue. Contact your friends, sympathizers and subscribers of LABOR ACTION, etc., at once. Copy for greetings must be in no later than Tuesday, April 22!
- (2) Placing special, extra orders of the MAY DAY issue (at the one cent rate) with us. This paper will be worth distributing and selling in various places. Send us your extra order at once.

The following subscriptions and renewals were received by LABOR ACTION during the past week:

NEW YORK CITY	16
San Francisco	10
Newark	7
Philadelphia	2
Boston	1
Detroit	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	38

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Elections in Japan Test Strength Of Opposing Classes and Parties

By JACK BRAD

In a series of elections this month the Japanese people will indicate anew the relative strength of the differing political parties and groupings and the development of conscious class relations. The elections have begun in the prefectures (equivalent to states), continue in the municipalities and culminate in a national election for the new Diet (Congress). This will be the first Diet under the new constitution which becomes effective on May 2. The inclusive scope of the elections will permit a detailed analysis of the current political situation.

The prefectural election results are being heralded as a rightward swing. This is oversimplification with a purpose. The prefectural vote is the least useful as a barometer of political sentiment because of the peculiar structure of these units and their unique history.

The prefectures remain to this day the stronghold of local political chieftains. These are not simply local bosses machines in the sense of American big city machines. They are, in most cases, lineal descendants of the former feudal lords of the district, heads of families that dominate the economic life of the region. The urban political power is the modern means of exerting and securing this dominance. Japanese local politics in the villages and small towns is especially dominated by the large landlords, the usurers and remnants of the aristocracy. These men have no political parties. They rule through their class position and the traditional obedience they exact for it. They rule through control of the omnipresent government structure accepting personal loyalty to the headman. And through their domination of economic life they exact a dependence which demands its expression in votes if necessary.

WHAT THE PROLETARIAT WANTS

The prefectural elections then are those least accessible to influence by the advance urban working class. The issues in the elections are less national than personal. It is not surprising, there-

fore, that the urban proletariat did not turn out in large numbers to vote. In Osaka, for example, 50 per cent of the electorate voted. In Tokyo only 61 per cent. In the last national election the national average was 72 per cent, with the big cities polling 80 to 90 per cent. It was in the countryside, where local pressures and traditional loyalties are heaviest that the vote was heavy. In spite of this three Socialist governors were elected for the first time in Japanese history.

Even the major capitalist parties failed to carry heavily. The Democratic Party (formerly Progressives and led by Baron Shide-Hara) elected four and the Liberals (present Premier Yoshida's party) elected two. The rest are so-called "independents," representing the most conservative and reactionary and feudalistic elements on a local plane.

An important factor in the elections has been MacArthur's reiterated statements of confidence in the existing regime. In the screening tests for former militarists these local political rulers were passed by MacArthur and thus indirectly ran with his blessing, even though many of them have been closely associated with the reaction.

The eyes of the working class are more closely concerned with problems of national scope not related to prefectural administration. These are the vital problems of food and rationing, production, inflation, housing, and peace and reparations.

The outstanding fact of Japanese national life is that after a year and a half of American occupation the country is close to economic collapse. The so-called "March crisis" was predicted in the press. Its impact has been devastating. The crisis consists of an exhaustion of accumulated stockpiles of scarce materials combined with no important industrial imports to replace them, thus in turn, hindering production and the vitally essential reconstruction. Secondly, it consists of an extensive collapse of the rationing structure. In Tokyo, for example, rice distribution is said to be eight days behind. In many cities it is said to be as much as two weeks behind. The working class is being enfeebled and exhausted by chronic un-

dernourishment. Inflation and black market thrives on this misery.

The Yoshida government, unpopular and feeble, finds itself increasingly incapable of grappling with the crises, while at the same time it organizes its energies for struggle with a fighting working class. It is forced to rely on MacArthur's bayonets and directives and prestige. However, MacArthur seeks to avoid such direct responsibility. He prefers indirect, puppet rule. Hence the current elections out of which MacArthur seeks to establish a more popular and widely based regime to carry through the American program.

However, this policy too is framed in a dilemma. The only popular party of importance is the Social Democratic party which has a strong left-wing, partially pro-Stalinist. The trade unions, four and a half million strong, are dominated by Social Democrats, Syndicalists and Stalinists, and in spite of predominantly conservative top leadership, engage in continual militant struggle. The trade unions have advanced programs for the solution of each of the great national problems, whereas the capitalist parties have been able to solve nothing except to ask MacArthur for more directives.

MacArthur's problem is to establish some popular base for his puppet regime and not give access to power to the actively militant working class. He seeks a conciliation between the Social Democratic right wing and the Liberal and Democratic party leaders. The pressure of the Social Democratic left-wing has blocked this until now.

The Social Democratic leaders do not desire a struggle against MacArthur, anymore than do the conservative and reactionary parties. Nor do the Stalinist seek a showdown. They too stand for modernization. Yet all these working class organizations are faced with the certainty that even the simplest national problem requires for the first step toward its solution a struggle against the occupation. The occupation lies across the nation as a barrier to any recovery. This first problem is the one none of these leaderships dare acknowledge.

Record of Consumer-Filching, Labor-Hating and Discrimination

AT&T -- World's Biggest Monopoly

By ARTHUR STEIN

The Bell Telephone System, controlled by the banking firm of J. P. Morgan, is easily the world's biggest monopoly. It has had a history of consistent disservice to its employees and to the public it pretends to serve:

Its history of labor relations is one of company unionism, of hypocritical paternalism, of a constantly harassing, humiliating discipline, of religious discrimination against Protestants and Jews, and of never-ending attempts at union-busting.

The cost of telephone service to consumers, determined, according to FCC regulations, by a rate base of operating expenses, is fraudulently kept at an exorbitant level by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, the holding company of the telephone trust.

Finally, AT&T's telephone trust has conspired to keep modern equipment from the consumer.

WHO CONTROLS?

AT&T's monopoly in the telephone industry has been made possible by the passage of the Graham-Willis Act of 1921, which Congress passed to exempt the company from prosecution proceedings under the Sherman anti-trust law.

Since then, the Bell System has bought out virtually all the independent telephone companies in the United States. Since Western Electric, an AT&T subsidiary, owns almost all the patents for telephone parts, competitors never had much of a chance against the Bell System.

The Morgan banking interests acquired the system in 1907. Since that time, the Bell System has adhered to a policy of faithfully serving the widespread financial interests of that firm. In December of 1916, AT&T lent \$20,000,000 to Great Britain, for which Morgan acted as purchasing agent in this country. This loan was made despite the fact that AT&T was so short of funds at the time that it had to issue bonds to cover the amount.

AT&T's advertising makes much of the fact that the corporation has 683,897 stockholders. The impression is created that the corporation is actually owned by people of smaller middle-class status. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. Not only is nearly one-half of AT&T stock owned by less than six per cent of its stockholders, but the actual control of the corporation

rests in only a fraction of this six per cent. The following quotation from a report in the newspaper PM puts the matter very neatly:

"AT&T management has been a self-perpetuating oligarchy ever since J. P. Morgan took it over in 1907. He put in as president Theodore N. Vail, who faithfully obeyed Morgan's orders. Vail chose his own successor, who was H. B. Thayer, and Thayer himself put the scheme down in black and white just before he retired in 1925:

"We have a very efficient organization with all the elements of self-continuation."

"Even before Vail retired, Clifford had been chosen as Thayer's successor."

Walter S. Clifford is the present head of AT&T.

One of the most insidious practices in which the company engages is its conspiracy to keep the cost of telephone service at totally unreasonable heights.

MONOPOLY AT WORK

Since the base rate, according to FCC regulations, is determined by operating expenses, and since practically all supplies of the Bell System are furnished by Western Electric, an AT&T subsidiary, the trust is able to set the cost of its equipment at any figure it wishes. Also, exorbitant salaries to executives are added to the base rate.

AT&T for many years refused to introduce the handset, since it had a big investment in older types of phones. Similarly with the dial phone, which was not used by the telephone trust until more than forty years had passed since its invention. When AT&T finally did allow its subsidiaries to use it, it did so only un-

der the threat of unionization, since the dial phone allowed it to fire all but a fraction of its operator force.

The unions which are now striking against the telephone trust originate almost all from former company-sponsored "employee representation plans." With this type of company unionism, the trust sought to prevent its workers from genuine collective bargaining. This policy backfired, however. The telephone workers' unions, though still hampered by narrow craft divisions, are today genuine, democratic organs of the workers, ready to resist the encroachments upon their living standard by the Morgan bankers. Many of the men the company had appointed as heads of its employee representation plans are today serving their fellow workers as union presidents.

When AT&T's president retires, for instance, he will be eligible for an \$87,656 yearly pension; Executive Vice-President Charles P. Cooper will receive \$38,953.08, and so on down the line of all the numerous vice-presidents.

WHY THE UNIONS STRUCK

The increasing recognition by the telephone workers that a strong union is needed has been brought about by the vicious anti-labor practices of the company itself.

One of the issues in the present strike, for instance, is a dispute over the company's pension plan. Under the plan now in operation, an employee may retire after 25 years of service if he is over 55 and less than

60, but only with the approval of the company. In no case is retirement to be regarded as a right; it is always a privilege, which the company may refuse or discontinue, at its discretion.

The present pension minimum for telephone workers is \$50 a month. From this totally inadequate figure the company deducts one-half of the government's social security benefits. Union demands in the present strike include a doubling of the minimum, from \$50 to \$100 a month.

In refusing this and other union demands, the company pleads poverty. A look at the pension payments to the executives of the company, however, tells quite a different story:

When AT&T's president retires, for instance, he will be eligible for an \$87,656 yearly pension; Executive Vice-President Charles P. Cooper will receive \$38,953.08, and so on down the line of all the numerous vice-presidents.

The present is the first national strike in the phone industry, directed at all the divisions of the AT&T trust. The wide support the strikers have received from all sections of the American labor movement is an encouraging sign of a growing determination to stop the flagrant abuses of the Morgan bankers.

Wanted! Marxist Literature In the German Language!

We have an urgent request from German socialists and workers for Marxist literature in the German language.

We are therefore appealing to any of our readers who may have any of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, etc.—be they books or pamphlets—to please contribute these works for a worthwhile purpose. Send them to

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4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

and we shall forward them to the proper hands.

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LABOR MUST FIGHT BACK

Speaker: NATHAN GOULD
Natl. Org. Director, WP

1501 W. MADISON

SUNDAY, MAY 4, 8:00 P. M.

Ausp. Chicago Br., Workers Party

The Need for a Labor Party Is Clearly Demonstrated

What is transpiring in Washington today demonstrates more than ever the futility of the course of labor in the United States. We are talking about the so-called "union control" bills which have been prepared in the House and Senate. These anti-labor bills come right after that great "socialistic" experiment, the Roosevelt "New Deal" and the second war of this generation to make the world safe for democracy. These bills follow the great crusade for the "Four Freedoms" and the ordeal of the "democracies" against fascism.

The workers of the United States supported the New Deal and they supported the war which climaxed the New Deal. Labor elected Roosevelt to office four times. In 1944 the CIO through the PAC, organized the campaign for the Democratic Party and carried that campaign through to victory. In the 1944 campaign labor in the CIO was so enamored of Roosevelt that they were ready to follow his lead wherever he took them. When their idol, Wallace, was double-crossed, in order to hold the Southern vote and the support of the Northern corrupt city machines, PAC swung in behind Truman, the substitute for Wallace.

Last November the Republican Party won the congressional elections. This most reactionary of capitalist parties was victorious because they secured the support of a lost middle class, urban and rural, and of thousands of workers. Many workers who would not support the Republican Party and who were beginning to lose faith in the Democratic Party, stayed away from the polls and did not vote. The PAC, which had done a magnificent organizing job in 1944 was all but bankrupt. The CIO had demonstrated that the workers were interested in political action and that labor could be mobilized for political action. But by 1946, Roosevelt, the idol of the labor leadership, was dead and Truman had demonstrated that he was merely a man from Missouri. The Democratic Party decided that although Roosevelt was dead, he should be kept alive for the elections. Truman would not do. The PAC was in a fog and did nothing. It gave no lead to labor and had no program. Thus labor floundered and the Republicans took over on Capitol Hill.

WHOM DID ROOSEVELT REPRESENT?

The tragedy today in the ranks of labor is the tendency to blame it all on the Republicans, or on Truman as an individual. "Truman is not carrying out Roosevelt's policies." "The Republicans are reactionary." Who knows what Roosevelt's policies would be if he were President today? The fact that Roosevelt was a "smarter" man than Truman and that he could "get along with labor" are facts which the working class needs to examine in order to understand what these facts really mean. Roosevelt was a capitalist President who always emphasized that his mission was to save capitalism. All the measures which he initiated under the name of "New Deal" were steps toward the rehabilitation of capitalism. Roosevelt came to save capitalism. This he affirmed over and over.

If this is true and it clearly is, what would Roosevelt or any other capitalist president be doing today? He would still be saving capitalism and taking those measures necessary to that end, no matter what and which. The fact that Roosevelt was more skillful, able, clever and competent than Truman, only means that he was a better and abler representative of the interests of the capitalist ruling class.

As for the Republicans, they of course are the crudest and the most ruthless representatives of the most reactionary section of the capitalist class. They represent the capitalist bosses whose motto is, "Let Them Eat Cake."

It would be a fatal mistake, however, for labor

to attempt to make a basic distinction between the Republican and Democratic parties. Or to make any fundamental distinction between "reactionaries" and "liberals" in either party. It is a mistake of a most grievous sort for labor to give support to "third party" propaganda; a party to be composed of "liberals" from the present Republican and Democratic parties.

CAPITALIST CLASS ACTS UNITEDLY

The capitalist class is a unit and functions unitedly in all matters which concern its own class interests. Both parties are capitalist parties and are supported indiscriminately by the capitalist bosses. In every election they give financial support to both parties.

The actions of the Republican Party in Congress today are the actions of the capitalist ruling class. The actions of Truman and the Democratic Party are the actions of the capitalist ruling class. Neither party will or can go against the wishes and commands of the class of which it is part and whose interests it does and must represent.

Workers should get into their heads that Roosevelt is dead. Taft and Truman are alive. The era of the New Deal has passed. Capitalism has no need for a New Deal today. They have billions in profits and are on the road to more billions. The only obstacle in their road, so they believe, is an organized, militant and demanding working class. Therefore they seek to stifle that working class. They will do this, if labor permits, with the Republican or the Democratic party. Or with both. They will have their "union-control" bills with a Republican Party government or a Democratic Party government.

WE MUST DO JOB OURSELVES

The working class should learn and learn quickly now, that a class, if it is to be protected, must do the job itself. The capitalist ruling class learned this as long ago as the eighteenth century. They had acquired economic power but the feudal class retained the political power. The feudal landlords had the state and the government, the rising capitalist class had the money and the business enterprises. But this new capitalist class recognized that it must have its own state and its own government. It waged revolutionary class war against the feudal class, overthrew this class and set up its own state and its own government. The capitalist class is very proud of the French Revolution and of the American Revolution of 1775.

The capitalist class now uses its power for its own protection and for "curbing labor." Labor can break the bonds of these curbs in only one way: with a government of its own, with its own workers state. For this labor must have a party with hundreds of thousands of members. Labor must have a program, a political program. Isn't this clear yet for every worker to see? Does labor have to be reduced to complete servility before it acts? Will we act now or repent our blindness in some concentration camp?

Labor can go to the leadership of this nation and stay there. Labor can reorganize this country. Labor can heal the wounds of the world and clean up the mess which capitalism has made. For this labor must be politically organized. Not under Wallace and Pepper. Not under the Roosevelts, the Trumans, the Deweyes, Bilbos and Tafts, but under labor's own banner and program and with labor's own party.

1948 is coming with its presidential and congressional elections. Independent political action of labor and a Labor Party by 1948 is the road away from all the machinations of the Republicans and Democrats, with their "union control" bills.

Reuther Hits at Red-Baiting

By GERRY McDERMOTT

CLEVELAND — Walter Reuther, speaking to members of his caucus in Cleveland on April 11, indicated the policy he will take toward the current red-baiting campaign in the labor movement.

Reuther criticized the role of the Stalinists in the labor movement, pointing out that their policies are dictated not by the needs of the workers, but by the dictates of Russian foreign policy.

At the same time, however, Reuther defended the right of members of the Communist Party in the union movement to hold their views and blasted Governor Sigler of Michigan and others who are trying to use red-baiting as a weapon against the union movement as a whole. An unfortunate note in the position was Reuther's use of the word "communist" and "communism" for Stalinist and Stalinism, but few prominent labor leaders make this important distinction.

Reuther's essentially correct position should prove a useful weapon to the Reuther forces in the Cleveland area, an area dominated by a strong Stalinist machine. The reactionary and totalitarian influence of the Stalinists must be fought, but at the same time, alert militants must resist the efforts of American capitalism to use red-baiting to disrupt, divide and crush the union movement.

In calling for solidarity in the UAW, Reuther hit at his unprincipled opposition. Solidarity must be based on the needs of the workers, he said, and not "based on the political concept of you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours, or on the guarantee of union jobs." This would seem to indicate that Reuther rejects any false "deal" for unity with the Thomas-Adde-Leonard conglomeration, who play ball with the Stalinists and each other in the interests of their respective careers.

The strategy aimed at Reuther, with an eye to the approaching convention, is increasingly being disclosed in this area. Regional Director

CIO OPERATORS VOTE ON BACKING TELEPHONE STRIKE

With the reversal in policy on the part of the local units of the American Communications Association, CIO, the telephone strike in the San Francisco Bay area has become almost complete. Until April 11, the CIO operators, involved in an NLRB election, refused to honor the telephone picket lines. However, a series of votes in practically every town and city in the vicinity found the CIO workers overwhelmingly in favor of demonstrating their solidarity with the striking members of the National Federation of Telephone Workers.

The CIO technicians, who service all the long distance lines on the West Coast, are currently being polled on the question of supporting the strike.

The dilemma of the high-salaried people who run the world's largest corporation in the face of militant action by their poorly-paid workers is dramatically revealed by the almost complete cessation of work at San Francisco's Chinatown exchange. The regular Chinese operators, who must know six dialects and the numbers of all subscribers by memory, are striking to a man. The "supervisory employees" who have taken over operation of long distance and "emergency" service, are utterly helpless to replace them.

Paul Miley, who is busy slandering Reuther, slyly suggests that the Reuther-Thomas fight is a question of "personalities" and that possibly an "impartial" man—Adde(?)—should lead the union instead.

At Fisher Body Local 45, the entrenched Stalinists have presented two ingenious proposals to end the factional dispute. They propose to outlaw all caucuses within the union until two days before the convention. This, of course, would prevent Reuther from taking his program to the union membership, while permitting the "behind-the-scenes" apparatus of the Stalinists to continue to function. The second proposal to "end" the feud is that no international officer be permitted to make a public statement unless it is approved by a two-man committee of the International Executive Board—one board member representing each caucus. This would give the Thomas group the right to veto Reuther and effectively gag him—and might also prevent Thomas from rushing into print with more of the wild statements that embarrass and damage his caucus as a whole.

In the background of all this the rank and file are closely watching the current wage negotiations with General Motors and Chrysler. The conduct of the leadership in this most important of struggles will probably decide the outcome of the coming convention.

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