

**Work for a Workers World;  
Join the Workers Party!**

# LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 24, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## SWP Minority Members Join Workers Party

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The members of the Minority Group of the Socialist Workers Party, after several years of bitter struggle inside their party, have finally decided to resign from the SWP and to join the Workers Party. Their decision coincides with that of other members of the SWP, notably in Buffalo and New York City, who were not affiliated with the Minority Group, but who also decided to join the WP.

The recent meeting of the National Committee of the Workers Party unanimously decided to extend the warmest welcome to these militants and to admit them to our party ranks with full rights. This decision was endorsed by all the delegates who attended the national Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party which has just concluded its sessions.

These new members of our party, who include many old comrades in the work of reconstructing the revolutionary socialist movement, constitute the second substantial group of the SWP members who have resigned from that organization to join us. The first was the one led by Albert Goldman, who initiated the move for unification of the two parties more than two years ago. When the first attempt to achieve unity was effectively scotched by the SWP leadership, the comrades of the Goldman group decided, in 1946, to join the Workers Party. Most of those who have just joined our party are comrades who remained in the SWP after 1946 in a last ditch fight for unity and for a change in the political line and the regime in their party. The conclusions they finally arrived at about this fight are set forth clearly enough in their Statement which is printed in this issue of LABOR ACTION. (See page 4.)

### RECORD ON UNITY

The event has its significance. Among other things, it puts a period to the second unsuccessful attempt to win the support of the SWP for unification with the Workers Party into a single revolutionary organization. This was clearly understood and recorded not only by the comrades of the former SWP Minority, but also by the recent meetings of the National Committee and the Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party.

Early this year, the SWP leadership, under pressure but without any conviction, signed a joint statement with our party in favor of unity of the two groups, to be preceded and prepared by a period of active cooperation in all possible fields. In the following months, the SWP leadership made it amply plain that the joint statement was not to be taken seriously. It began by preparing its membership not for a workable unity with the Workers Party but for an increasing hostility toward our party, based upon a mixture of ludicrous and venomous falsifications of our position. It ended by seizing upon the flimsiest of pretexts for suspending all relations with our party.

While pretending that the provisions of the joint statement for unity were still in effect, it helped engineer the withdrawal from our party of the Johnson faction, a group of radical phrasemongering mystics who now enjoy a tenuous existence inside the SWP by outshouting every-

body in protestations of loyalty to the leadership, which they plan to overturn by whispering up a group behind locked doors and drawn shades, which is about the only place where an SWP member can now draw a free breath.

To make their real position clear enough for even a dunce to grasp, the SWP leaders, Cannon and Stein, declared in published speeches, far more important than any "official" statement of their party, that cooperation with the Workers Party was possible only where the latter accepted the policies and discipline of the SWP and that unity with the Workers Party was possible only when the latter agreed to capitulate to the SWP. This offer, which has the one merit of being explicit, was appreciated by us at its right value and was therefore declined, without thanks. Our party has neither the need, desire or intention to capitulate to anybody, let alone a bureaucratized sect which piles one political bankruptcy upon another.

Unity with such an organization could have been fruitful only on one condition: that it abandon its bureaucratic conception and permit a free, democratic existence for all minority groupings. On such a condition, our party felt that a real advance would be made for the revolutionary movement. Such a unity we would welcome enthusiastically. For on such a condition we would not have the slightest reason to fear the very early results of a fair confrontation, inside the united party, of the Cannonite position and our position on disputed questions. An equally clear knowledge of what the results would be is undoubtedly the prime reason why the SWP leadership not only sabotaged the unity to death but has constantly sought to prevent its members from coming into personal contact with our own. Bureaucrats are people without real confidence in the justifiability of their own political course who are rightly afraid of an opposition that has real confidence in its own political course.

### DISASTROUS POLICY

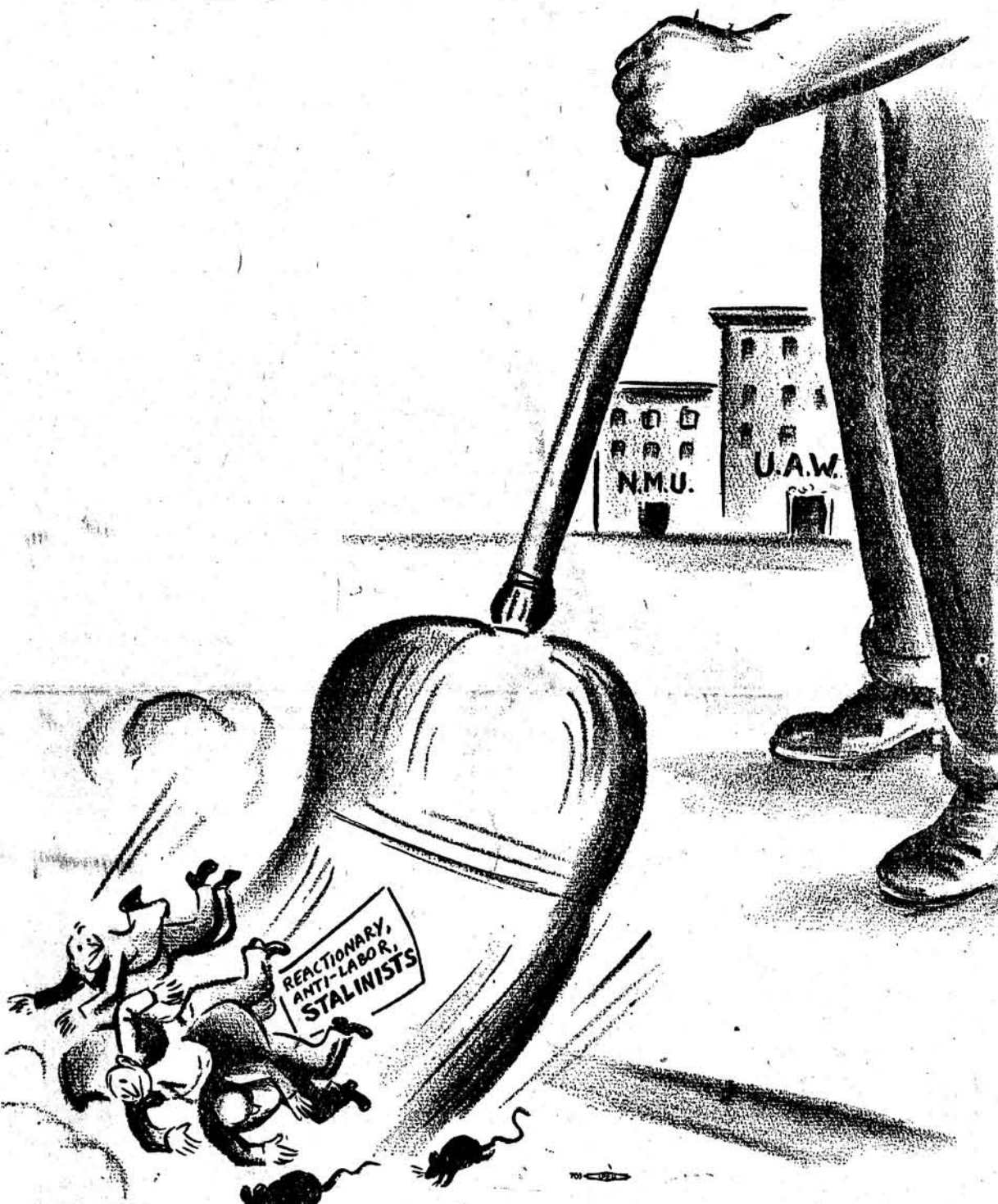
The union of the SWP Minority with the Workers Party has another significance. As its Statement shows, it is as aware as we have been for a long time of the profound need for a re-arming of the revolutionary socialist movement, not only in this country but in the whole Fourth Internationalist movement. What has to be decided for the movement which is really engaged in the fight to replace capitalism by socialism—and that movement is genuinely socialist—is nothing less than the question of whether we shall be the left wing of Stalinism or the left wing and eventually the socialist leadership of the working class and of all the little people. Like ourselves, the Minority rejected the conception which now dominates the SWP and the Fourth International in general. At bottom, this is the reason why our party and the Minority drew closer together, to the point of fusion. Here, too, our genuine political solidarity is in gratifying contrast to the shabby diplomatic maneuvering between the Johnsonites and Cannonites, who have in common what sectarianism and opportunism have in common.

The Cannonites, still engaged in the

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# PRICE CURBS—YES! WAGE FREEZE—NO!

## Sweeping 'Em Out of the Leadership!



By EMANUEL GARRETT

On Monday, November 17, President Truman opened the special session of the Eightieth Congress with a message calling for limited domestic controls to halt inflation and buttress the Marshall Plan. Specifically, Truman asked Congress for authority to effect a ten-point program embracing, in its three key aspects, price control and consumer rationing of a sort, and a wage freeze.

The Truman message raises a number of important questions, notably the objective of U. S. imperialist policy in Europe and the specter of economic collapse, following unbridled inflation. The first of these, LABOR ACTION has already discussed at

## 5 CIO Sea Unions Meet To Map Fight

By N. GADEN

NEW YORK—Five CIO unions representing longshoremen, shipbuilders, radio operators, marine cooks and the National Maritime Union are meeting in New York this week to discuss the government offensive against labor and the rising cost of living. They are primarily concerned with drawing up plans for the defense of the union hiring hall since the Taft-Hartley law threatens the existence of this most cherished possession of maritime labor.

The seagoing unions among the five voted unanimously to seek a 25 per cent wage increase at their December 15 wage review session with the shipowners. And since the contracts of all the unions involved expire June 15, they voted to strike, if necessary, to protect and maintain the hiring hall.

The conference, called by the NMU, invited all maritime unions to attend so that maritime labor could present a solid front against the shipowner-government onslaught. The AFL unions "filed the invitation in the wastebasket," as did the independent Marine Firemen.

In a short front page article in the Seafarers Log, November 14, organ of the AFL Seafarers International Union, the rejection is described. The invitation is dubbed a "phony Com-

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some length and will continue to discuss. The second, evidence that even in the highest governmental and business circles there is the realization that capitalism cannot stave off economic catastrophe short of war, we leave for another occasion—except to quote Truman briefly: "Even those who are well off are asking, 'How long can it last? When is the break coming?'"

We want here to get to the heart of Truman's message, to the proposals which several weeks earlier he had called "police state" measures. Truman asked for authority:

- "To extend and strengthen rent control (which expires February 29)."
- "To authorize consumer rationing on products in short supply which basically affect the cost of living."
- "To authorize price ceilings on products in short supply, which basically affect the cost of living or industrial production, and to authorize such wage ceilings as are necessary to maintain the price ceilings."

There it is, SOME of it looks good, and is even backed by strong argument. The cost of living, he said, is rising "at the rate of 16 per cent per year." . . . "The housewife who goes to buy food today must spend \$10 to buy what \$7.00 bought a year and a half ago." (Which would mean just about the time he killed meat controls before the November, 1946, elections.) . . . "Wage earners this year are finding that bigger pay checks buy less than smaller pay checks bought last year."

True, very true. And it does indeed look good for no less a person than the President to say all this. It is meant to look good, for whatever else the message is intended to accomplish, one purpose it is definitely meant to serve: namely, as campaign material in the coming presidential elections.

But the whole thing is shot through with typical Trumanesque vagueness (he calls it "prudence") and is climaxed by a jester of menacing proportions. We won't carp. If Truman says he wants price controls and rationing we will assume for the moment that he has more than Marshall Plan needs and second-term aspirations in mind. However, we note right off that nowhere does he propose roll-backs or any kind of sensible machinery. Nor does he propose immediate or general action.

Thus, in asking for authority "to ration basic living cost items on a highly selective basis," he declared that he wanted it only "as a preparedness measure" if it proves nec-

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## Auto Union Convention Results Hold Importance for All Labor

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Two thousand delegates to the eleventh convention of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, delivered a decisive organizational defeat to the Stalinist-Addes-Thomas-Leonard faction. We might add that this defeat of the Stalinist-Addes group was also a crushing blow to the Socialist Workers Party, which had thrown all of its weight and activity into support of the Addes-Stalinist faction and program.

We do not mean that Reuther's victory was exclusively an organizational victory. In referring to it as an organizational victory, we do so to emphasize that the defeat of the Stalinist-Addes-Thomas-Leonard forces in the convention should not be considered as a final victory for Reuther or as an adequate measure of the programmatic needs of the UAW or of the labor movement.

This point is made clear by the fact that the only significant and really important resolution to reach the floor of the convention was that dealing with the Taft-Hartley Act and the signing of the "Communist Party" affidavits. Two resolutions on wages, by the two factions, did not come before the convention. There were rumors about resolutions dealing with independent political action, but they were not in evidence, nor did any discussion on political action take place in the convention.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that because there was no resolution on political action, and no discussion around this decisive question, that the defeat of the Stalinist-Addes faction was not of the greatest political significance. To say, as does

the Socialist Workers Party in The Militant for November 17, that "Red-Baiters Sweep UAW Convention" is to attempt to obscure completely the real menace of Stalinism in the UAW and in the U.S. labor movement, as well as to distort the genuine motives of the overwhelming majority of the worker delegates to the convention. Not only this, but to say that the determination of the delegates to defeat the Stalinist-Addes faction was mere red-baiting, is also to say that all the experience of workers with the Stalinists has had no effect on their outlook, and that labor has learned nothing about Stalinism and Stalinist union wrecking. This is

particularly true of the UAW. To make the contention that the actions of the Reuther delegates in rejecting the Stalinist-Addes leadership was red-baiting is to take the position that the UAW ranks learned nothing from their ordeal with the Stalinists during the war and after; that they learned nothing from the Stalinist support of the no-strike pledge, of the WLB, of incentive pay during the war; that they learned nothing from the attempt of the Stalinist-Addes-Thomas-Leonard faction to put over the UAW-FE merger, and through this merger scheme to secure mechanical control of the convention of the UAW.

Furthermore, to call the actions of these delegates "red-baiting" means to ask the UAW ranks to forget that Reuther first came into the presidency of the UAW on a program which the Workers Party gave the name of "GM Program." The ranks rallied to THIS Reuther program and voted against the Stalinist-Addes-Thomas group at the tenth convention because this group had no program at all. They had only a slogan: "Reuther is too ambitious."

The situation at the recently concluded eleventh convention was similar: the Stalinist-Addes faction pretended to have a program but it is

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## 40,000 Lodz Workers Stage Silent Protest Against Stalinist Regime

(Special to LABOR ACTION)

Lodz, the Polish Manchester, is the industrial capital of Poland, capital of the Polish proletariat, and at present Poland's largest city. During the first Russian Revolution of 1905-06, Lodz was the theater of the biggest strikes and struggles of the Polish workers against the Cossacks of the Czar. Here the Polish workers' movement, represented by Rosa Luxemburg's party, the SDKPL (Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania) and the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) fought the Czars Black Hundreds and Polish reaction. The textile factories sank into the profound silence of the general strike in protest against the Cossack massacres. The "fighting detachments" of the PPS punished the Czarist gen-

erals with their bombs and engaged entire battalions of police and flying squadrons of Cossacks in barricade battle.

In the period of the Independent Polish Republic, heroic Lodz was a fortress of socialism and democratic defense against Pilsudski's Bonapartist regime. In the periods of the worst reaction, the Lodz proletariat chose a PPS Socialist for mayor. The textile and metal workers, the transport and construction workers always had a proud and contemptuous answer for the reaction.

During the Polish-German war, one of the greatest battles of the Polish resistance against Nazism took place at the gates of Lodz. It was the only battle where the Nazis were repulsed. The invader punished Lodz by incorporating it

directly into the "Great German Reich" under the name of "Litzmannstadt." But the Lodz proletariat never despaired or ceased to struggle. The workers of Lodz have long experience and a historic consciousness: they struggled against the anti-Semites of the Polish right and the Colonels, against the Nazis and the SS. . . .

Now this proletariat is struggling against the GPU, against the "Bezpeka (Stalinist Security Police) and the Stalinist militias. A veritable paroxysm of silent strikes against the Stalinist regime shakes the heroic proletariat of Lodz. Why?

The Polish textile worker earns between 3,000 and 5,000 zlotys a month, that is the equivalent of 3 to 5 dollars a month. His basic wage has dis-

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## Let Us Secure These Rights...

By IRVING HOWE

No doubt, one of the most remarkable state papers ever issued in Washington is the recently-published report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights." Here is a report handed in by a group of "civic figures"—liberals and clergymen, headed by Charles E. Wilson, head of General Electric—which is offered to the country as a semi-official document. The President has not yet committed himself on it—politicians from Missouri will have a tough time swallowing some of its specific recommendations,—but has promised to study it carefully.

In any case, the report is a remarkable document. Well written, obviously the work of some politically sophisticated person, and carefully documented, the report is a detailed discussion of the failures of civil liberties in this country. It begins, of

course, from premises that socialists do not accept, that civil liberties are inherent in and inseparable from capitalism. But since these premises are ultimately of minor significance in the context of this report, we can note our disagreement and pass on to its specific points.

In great and amazingly frank detail, the report discusses the violation of the civil rights of minority groups. A large section is devoted to the Negroes: specific lynchings are cited; specific violations of rights are named; specific indignities suffered by Negroes are mentioned. It is doubtful if any Washington document has ever been so frank—especially about the disgraceful segregation practiced in Washington itself.

The mass violation of the civil liberties of the Japanese Americans on the West Coast during the war is also treated, though somewhat more gingerly.

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

In the Auto Workers Union Tradition . . .

A first batch of convention notes appeared in last week's LABOR ACTION, which got to Atlantic City in time for distribution to the delegates. We herewith present some more notes, prepared by Ken Hillier:

Many weeks ago in LABOR ACTION we cited as a reason for the complete Reuther victory the opposition of the ranks to the Stalinist methods of slander and character assassination against opponents. This plus their unsavory wartime record made it easy to expose them as servants of Russian foreign policy. The ranks at this convention gave the CP the worst defeat they have received in the trade union movement to date.

The rank and file gave the Reuther group an overwhelming vote of confidence. However, in the light of UAW tradition, this can best be explained by the reaction of several delegates from Pontiac Local 653 who said: "We gave Walter and Emil the leadership. We went right down the line. Now we want a program for the guys in the shop because if we don't get it, well, we'll be back next year."

The debate on salary raises for the officers produced the usual rough and tumble discussion. It was a healthy and typical UAW approach. The Reuther caucus had not discussed the question and left the matter entirely up to the delegates. The interesting point was that in the committee the Stalinists tried to get the president's wage raised to \$12,000 (a \$3,000 raise). The strategy obviously was to embarrass Reuther because they knew he would be re-elected. The minority rejected this for a \$1,000 proposal. The vote in favor of the raises for officers was very close. The ranks listened intently to the whole discussion. It passed only because the delegates wanted to show confidence in the officers that they had swept in.

The best material put out at the convention for a Labor Party was distributed by the Chevrolet Local 659 of Flint, Mich. A special edition of Searchlight was devoted to this subject and their pamphlet, "Build a Labor Party," was distributed in huge quantities. Unfortunately, this distribution took place on Friday, when

the tables were overloaded with all types of printed matter. Copies of "Build a Labor Party" can be obtained by writing to Chevrolet Local 659, 1208 Glenwood Avenue, Flint 3, Mich. The president of this local was elected regional director, replacing Addes' man, Jack Holt.

One of the most heartening aspects of the convention was the complete absence of War, Navy or State Department brass hats, or any "friends of labor"-like Senator Wayne Morse. The one point that will be corrected at the next convention, I am told, is that there will be no more leadership displays. The pictures of Murray, Addes, Reuther, Thomas and Leonard did not sit well with the delegates. In place of this will be displays of children and the men in the shops.

For the first time, the majority of Negro delegates at this convention were in the Reuther caucus. Shelton Tappes of Ford Local 600 has at each convention organized a caucus of Negroes to fight for a Negro officer-at-large. This has been the Stalinist device to attract Negroes to the Addes group. Tappes ran for vice-president and drew 500 votes. The Reuther group was represented by Willoughby Abner on the Resolutions Committee. Abner's speech on the Taft-Hartley affidavit - signing requirements made him the hero of the caucus. A Negro officer was, for the first time, elected at the convention, King Peterson of Ford Local 425 in Buffalo. He was the Committee to Support the Reuther Program candidate for the two-year trustee post.

Roll call election of officers is a laborious affair. Two and a half days were taken up on elections. Something will have to be done about this, so that time is left to debate and take positions on the various questions.

Convention efficiency is worth noting. Printed copies of the verbatim minutes are given to all delegates a day after the session. There is a humorous reportorial incident in the third day's minutes. The demonstration for Walter Reuther's nomination is recorded as lasting several minutes (page 17), for George F. Addes many minutes (page 21), and for Emil Mazey some minutes (page 22). I guess the New Yorker magazine would publish that under a title, "Impartial

Transcription." All the demonstrations were in the traditional politician manner, large and noisy and lasting from 17 to 21 minutes. As a matter of fact, the Mazey demonstration was the loudest because the rank and file had been provoked by Addes' demonstration.

Val Reuther, real old-time trade unionist in the Eugene V. Debs school, lashed out against discrimination and in favor of the industrial form of organization. Industrial unionism was

an idea back in the days when he was active in the union movement. After his speech a delegate from Atlanta moved to give Val Reuther a lifetime membership.

LABOR ACTION received a good response from the delegates. It was the only weekly paper that hit the convention twice. Its comments evoked much discussion. The New International article on the UAW had a good sale, and many subs for LABOR ACTION were sold.

Comments on Nature of Addes Bloc as Shown At Convention

By WALTER JASON

What was the character of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard-Stalinist caucus at the UAW convention? Did it display the features which we repeatedly explained and outlined in our articles in LABOR ACTION?

For us, this anti-Reuther caucus had only one program, anti-Reutherism, insofar as its organization basis was concerned, its political basis was the Stalinist line. Its strength was a combination of the bureaucratic machinery built up by George Addes, through his patronage powers as secretary treasurer, with the smaller bases of R. J. Thomas and Dick Leonard and the Stalinist caucus in the UAW.

Socialist Workers Party spokesmen, however, denied this analysis. They said repeatedly that the decisive basis of the anti-Reuther bloc was the UAW militants, who were anti-Reuther.

Here, however, is a significant analysis by George Morris, Daily Worker expert, printed in the November 16 issue.

"The base of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard caucus has been melting away for some time. Its leaders failed to heed the last warning 18 months ago when Reuther slipped into the presidency by default of his opponents. Far from taking measures to revitalize their group by renewing the progressive foundation upon which it was founded, they allowed unprincipledness, patronage politics and even red-baiting in some places, to eat the very guts out of it." Not a bad description of a cesspool, even if it comes from one of the creators of the cesspool, a Stalinist.

Is it any wonder that the auto workers, dealing with this group for the past ten years, decided once and for all to boot them out of office, and give the Reuther tendency control of the union?

Mr. Morris forgot to add one little item in describing the red-baiters in the anti-Reuther caucus. He forgot to add that he contributed his share to red-baiting, in the genuine sense, in the UAW.

For proof, just look at the Daily Worker of November 13. Morris had an article on Emil Mazey, new secretary-treasurer of the UAW. This article "exposes" Mazey's political record, his membership in the Proletarian Party of ten years ago, his affiliation with the Socialist Party, his struggle against the no-strike pledge, his role in the Manila GI demonstrations against the demobilization slowdown. And Morris concludes by stating that reactionaries will have a hard time explaining how Mazey's victory is a victory for "Americanism" in the UAW. Morris, in a word, attacks Mazey as a "dangerous radical," and if anyone missed the point, the last sentence of the piece on Mazey was calculated to re-emphasize it.

Is it without significance that when Mazey was elected, some Stalinists in the visitors' section sneered, "Trotskyite," at mention of his name. The main attack by the Stalinists on Mazey was that he was too militant. At a press conference on Friday, November 14, the capitalist reporters took up the hints of the Stalinists

and queried Walter Reuther about his "socialist" views. He declared he was not a Republican, Democrat, Socialist or anything. Just an independent. He said the same went for Dick Gosser and Jack Livingston, the vice-presidents. As for Mazey, he spoke for himself and made no bones about his political views.

Suppose a Reutherite had printed and distributed a detailed "expose" of the political record of one of the anti-Reuther people. Wouldn't the Stalinists, and their allies in that bloc, scream red-baiter at the top of their lungs? Of course!

A FEW QUESTIONS

The whole trouble with the Addes-Stalinist bloc is that they completely underestimate the intelligence, knowledge and experience of the UAW ranks. They are not dealing with a bunch of sheep who swallow anything that comes along.

Most pathetic on this score is, of course, R. J. Thomas. He really thought that he could evade the question of his whole record for the past 18 months by mouthing a few militant phrases, given him by his latest set of advisers. It was a case of too little, too late.

The anti-Reuther caucus fell apart under the blows given it by the ranks of the UAW in the past period, culminating at the convention. In many respects, the convention just ratified the decision of the rank and file. Again, we are still waiting for one in the anti-Reuther bloc to explain the significance of the FE merger fight, and why this question did not come up at the convention. (Reference here is to the Addes plan to merge the Farm Implement Workers Union with the UAW. The plan was full of tricks and dangerous loopholes. LABOR ACTION exposed it thoroughly at the time.—Ed.)

While we are asking questions, we might ask another. What happened to that gutter sheet, FDR? Why wasn't it passed out at the convention? Are its editors trying to drop this "hot potato"?

DUCK LABOR PARTY

Now, a few words on the political line of the anti-Reuther bloc. How interesting that the chairman of the Resolutions Committee, chosen by this bloc, was none other than Leo Fenster, of Cleveland, who helped author the "speed-up" frame-up charge on Reuther and whose politics are known to all. Fenster, incidentally, was chosen after Addes' first choice, a Stalinist from Detroit, was defeated in the election for convention delegate.

As for the burning question of political action, here is what the Michigan Herald, a Stalinist publication, has to say: "They (Trotskyites) are pushing for a narrow Labor Party, instead of a third, people's party uniting labor and its allies. They will receive no open support from Reuther, because he backs the Truman administration. Nor from Addes-Thomas-Leonard, because they support CIO political action policy."

Unfortunately, the Labor Party resolution, along with many other vital ones, never reached the floor between the terribly lengthy roll calls and the desire of ALL the top leaders, with little exception, to avoid the question.

Will Alcatraz Try It Next?

By GEORGE LEE GORDON

The other day, just before General Motors' MJC (My Job Contest) concluded, I was approached for the last time by "Clockface" Clarence, my foreman.

"This is your last chance to win a Cadillac convertible complete with a Saginaw re-circulating ball bumper jack, plus thousands of other prizes offered by this generous corporation, amounting to a total of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, Bub."

He had made the rounds so many times for MJC, he was beginning to talk like a Fuller Brush man trying to keep one foot in the door in a tough neighborhood.

THEY OUGHT TO WIN

I managed to give him the usual brush-off and he went on down the line rattling off his sales talk like a dictaphone play-back. Well, that was that—the last chance ended, and I got to thinking.

The guys who had entered the contest in my department had either been unable to say "No" fast enough, or they had written

a double meaning that said "I'll like my job long enough to see if I can win a Cadillac, but MJC is still BULLSHEET."

I got to thinking of all the suggestion that had been talked over in the beer joints, the lunch rooms and around town wherever General Motors workers met.

"I like my job because GM gives me a good rooking eight hours a day, and there's nothing I like better than a good rooking eight hours a day." (Only they didn't say rooking.)

"I like my job because GM spent \$840,000 on tear gas, spies, brass knuckles and gangsters between 1934 and 1936 trying to keep out unionism. And they lost."

"I like my job because Vice-President Harry Coen is running this jerky MJC and Coen used to head the tear gas department. Now I can laugh at Coen."

Well, there were a lot of other off-the-record suggestions. Most of them said that the good features of the jobs—like the wage raises, the paid vacations and seniority—all came because the

UAW-CIO fought its way into GM to stay in 1937, while the bad features—the speed-up, the fear of insecurity, the lay-offs—came from the Company, and would only be eliminated when the union swung into united action to eliminate these company features.

IDEA FOR ALCATRAZ

None of the real MJC reasons would find their way into GM testimonial files, however, and none of the real ones would be splashed into newsprint when the contest prizes were distributed. The public would be presented with the spectacle of bought and paid for witnesses.

Just as Al Capone could use the connections and fortunes of his business to appear before the public as a great citizen, so GM was out to use MJC whitewash to cover its real record and the deadly reality inside its plants.

It is rumored that if the MJC idea has any value, Alcatraz is going to try it. "MAC: My Alcatraz Contest. My Cell and Why I Like It."

UAW Convention Results - -

(Continued from page 1)

to the credit of the UAW membership that it was not taken in by this pretended change in line by the Addes faction. The campaign of filth and frame-up conducted by the Stalinist-Addes-Socialist Workers Party forces before the convention would have driven the ranks away from this faction even if the program which Reuther had put forward had not been superior to that of the Addes group.

There are red-baiters, real red-baiters, in the Reuther group, in the Reuther caucus. They are known. They will continue their red-baiting. But to say that these people determine the complexion, the program and the activity of the group is mere nonsense and the most inept factionalism. The Socialist Workers Party makes the remarkable discovery that the Stalinists are of no consequence and have no influence at the top in the Addes-Thomas-Leonard caucus, and that the Stalinists are fading out in the UAW. And at the same time it discovers that ACTU is the dominant influence in the Reuther caucus.

It is true that the Stalinists are now less of a threat in the UAW. But they were removed as a threat only at the eleventh convention by action of the delegates, who had become aware of their evil influence and who had discovered that they were there at the top and the bottom. It is only nonsense and a last factional gasp to pose the ACTU as a greater threat to the UAW than the Stalinists.

We say that the defeat of the Stalinists was a political victory. It was a triumph over Stalinist totalitarianism. In this one way, the majority of the Reuther delegates were expressing the conviction that they want the opportunity to develop their union to deal, first of all, with the problems with which labor is confronted right here in the U.S. They don't want that struggle deflected by the needs and necessities of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and New York. They have learned at least this much about the Stalinists and Stalinism.

This is what progressive Reutherite militants mean by "no outside interference" in the affairs of the UAW. What Reuther himself means by "no outside interference" is another matter. We do not agree with Reuther. We said so in our article of greeting to the last convention of the UAW. But we support completely the stand of the UAW militants against the Stalinists as outsiders and interferers in the affairs of the union.

The Workers Party has expressed again and again its attitude on this question of the Stalinists versus the trade union bureaucracy. It is the position of the Workers Party that where such a struggle takes place we support and prefer the victory of the native trade union bureaucracy. While we give no political support to this class-collaborationist bureaucracy, we prefer the victory, in the union, of this bureaucracy to the victory of totalitarian-GPU Stalinism. That is, we prefer the bourgeois-democratic trade union leadership to a Stalinist totalitarian leadership. It is important to emphasize that, in their own vague manner, it was just this important political concept that the majority of the delegates were supporting at the convention when they rejected the bid of the Stalinist-Addes faction for leadership of the UAW.

PROGRAM SLIGHTED

We have said that the progressive militants in the Reuther caucus are only vaguely aware of what they were doing and of its importance. Here Reuther is at fault and can properly be criticized adversely. There were important and indicated questions to come before the convention which the delegates did not call for and which Reuther did not make any effort to get into the convention. There was the urgent resolution on wages which was in the hands of the delegates, and the resolutions on po-

litical action and foreign policy. Despite the fact that the thoroughly democratic roll call procedure of the UAW consumed an inordinate amount of time, it was the business of Reuther and his co-leaders to bend every effort to get these resolutions before the convention for discussion and adoption. They did not do this. It must be added that neither did the Addes faction. Both groups were satisfied to concentrate all of their attention on the elections.

Had the progressive militants in the Reuther caucus understood adequately, they would have known that organizational defeat of the Stalinists, important as this was, should not be the whole end of the convention. To clear the decks of the Stalinist menace, if properly understood, could only be the prelude to getting a correct program adopted for the union. To do this should be the function of the convention and not of the incoming IEB. There is a connection between defeating the Stalinists and adopting a correct and militant program for the union.

The militant progressives did not understand this. As soon as the off-

icers were elected they should have demanded immediate consideration of the resolutions on wages and political action. The delegates wasted all Thursday evening in what they called a "victory party." Here were five or six hours which could have been devoted to the wages and political action resolutions. A great deal of time was consumed in discussing increases in officers' salaries. It did not occur to any delegate, after the officers' salaries were raised, to demand immediate consideration of the wages resolution. This, despite the fact that during this discussion many delegates spoke on remembering "the men back in the shops."

The convention referred the important resolutions to the new IEB. This does not, however, relieve the membership and the locals of the UAW of responsibility. It does not relieve the progressive militants of responsibility. We will deal further with this question in LABOR ACTION next week. We will also deal with the position taken by the convention on the "Communist Party" affidavits, the role of Reuther and the role of the ACTU in the UAW.

Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 7.—Judge Elmer Robinson, supposed representative of the "wide-open" interests, was elected mayor of San Francisco over New Deal Congressman Frank Havenner and respectable real estate man Chester McPhee in this year's municipal election. Robinson's total vote of almost 120,000 was a fairly close margin over Havenner, but almost doubled the vote of McPhee, who had the support of incumbent Roger Lapham and the "downtown" business interests. Frank Barbaria, the candidate run by the Socialist Workers Party, received well over 1,000 votes.

The comparatively small vote for McPhee was understandable, despite his frantic support by the Scripps-Howard News and the influential San Francisco Chronicle. He was identified with business administration, economy and everything alien to the average voter. To make his lack of support more certain, his opposition uncovered and widely spread a story of his building a country home in the midst of material shortages. While he was on apparently valid legal grounds in the construction, too many home-hungry people were resentful. Another "good government" candidate ("good for the wealthy") went down to a resounding defeat.

HAVENNER'S VOTE

Robinson was the favorite of the Hearst Examiner and Call-Bulletin and had the open and vigorous help of liquor interests, the racetrack crowd, and many of the stalwarts of the former Rossi administration as well as the rumored less-public support of many an underworld representative. He combined in his campaign a series of red-baiting attacks against Havenner and a grandiose collection of promises for municipal improvement, especially for a much needed change in the transportation system. He had, by far, the best entrenched and organized machine, from top to bottom. Nearly every owner of a bar vigorously pushed his candidacy, and racketeer officials handed out his handbills in conjunction with droves of free passes to their tracks.

Havenner was the candidate of the CIO, most of the AFL, the Stalinists, the New Deal crowd and that part of the Democratic machine that did not go with Robinson. Naturally, he did not conduct himself as an all-out

labor candidate. He was out to please everybody and was very ambiguous in his program. Along these lines he was easily outdone by Robinson. Not enough of the labor movement felt his campaign to be important and, as a result, the Robinson cohorts were far more vigorous in their electioneering in the lower ranks. The lack of vigor in the Havenner camp not only resulted in the loss of much lower middle class support, but in his running behind in some solidly working class districts. He answered his rivals' red-baiting with apologies, not with an aggressive program.

The large vote for Havenner is, still, of great significance. His only daily newspaper support came from the Stalinist People's World. The wealth of one of the richest metropolises in the world was against him fairly solidly. The way was open for a victorious campaign by labor in this solidly organized town with its militant traditions. The labor leadership chose their typical path of supporting "friends." That they did as well as the results show attests to the readiness of San Francisco workers to act politically along class lines.

SUPERVISORS BOARD

In the election for Board of Supervisors, the city legislative body, the six victorious candidates were supported by almost all of the interests, and several of them by a good section of the labor movement. Only one candidate came close to victory in opposition—International Association of Machinists official John Byrnes, who also strove to appear very respectable. With four holdovers from the previous board, it is not very likely that San Francisco will immediately become the expected wide-open town.

But there is no doubt that Robinson's backers will soon demand their reward. Rumors of shakeups among appointed city officials are already widespread. The local counterparts of Boss Tweed, Ed Kelly and the Philadelphia dynasty may soon be completely in the saddle. They will not be easily unseated by the likes of business reformer McPhee and milk and water Havenner. Nor will there be much to gain if the tavern keepers lost their slight dominance to the shipowner-banking crowd that completely runs the Lapham regime. Labor can kick both parasitic groups out if it acts completely and entirely as labor, with no strings attached, on the political field.

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# Mikolajczyk's Flight Bares Weakness of Stalinist Rule

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The leader of the peasant opposition in Poland, ex-chief of Poland's government-in-exile once again finds himself on foreign soil, this time a political exile not from the Hitlerite but the Stalinist regime.

By abandoning Poland, Mikolajczyk first of all admitted that his policy of conciliation toward Stalinism, or as they call it in Poland, "collaboration with the enemy," was a resounding error which led to political defeat. Under Anglo-American pressure, Mikolajczyk tried to create a bridge in Poland between Russia and Anglo-American capitalism. The architect of this bridge was to be the Mikolajczyk government and the peasant movement; a democratic, petty-bourgeois government, autonomous, but friendly toward Russia, though more inclined toward Anglo-American capitalism.

But Stalin would not allow such a government, independent up to a certain point, even though it was friendly to the Kremlin. What Stalin needed in Poland was a government of his agents, a government of the GPU, camouflaged with "democratic," "popular" and even "national" plumage. Mikolajczyk's defeat constitutes the greatest proof that a "democratic" revolution never took place in Poland, that it did not even occur "sui generis," that is, in bureaucratic form, but was simply the Stalinist counter-revolution, totalitarian and imperialistic in character. There was no honeymoon of any kind between the peasants and Stalinists, only a short period of truce between Anglo-Saxon and Stalinist imperialism, the period of Yalta and Potsdam.

## POLITICAL ROLE UNDERGOES CHANGE

Mikolajczyk's flight demonstrates that no matter how strong and large a peasant movement may be, it is incapable either of sustaining an independent political struggle or of playing an independent historic role. Fleeing to exile, Mikolajczyk will have to submit peremptorily to the American and English baton in order to declare open war against Stalinism. If it continues to exist, his party inside Poland will become an army for the Anglo-Saxon gang against Russia.

According to newspaper reports, Mikolajczyk fled with the aid of the English and American intelligence services, and is considering becoming the head of the agrarian movement of Eastern Europe, a pro-capitalist peasant international. Anglo-American imperialism is showing a great deal of skill in repulsing Stalin's blows, and seeks a social base for its struggle in Eastern Europe. As these countries are by and large agrarian, this political strategy reveals political astuteness, counter-posing the peasant masses to the proletarian masses, considered the social base of Stalinism. If, as it is anticipated, Mikolajczyk adopts this position, his political role will undergo a fundamental change. The petty-bourgeois democrat, opposed to Stalinism, will have been transformed into the open agent of Anglo-Saxon imperialism in Poland; from a persecuted victim of the Stalinist terror into an exponent of capitalist policies in Poland.

For these fundamental reasons, revolutionary Marxism in Poland will change its political attitude toward Mikolajczyk and withdraw the critical support it gave him, continuing, however, to give critical support to the poor peasantry who combat the Stalinist dictatorship in Poland side by side with the workers. Mikolajczyk, persecuted and threatened by the GPU in Poland, and Mikolajczyk, agent of American imperialism, powerful president of the Peasant International, are two different political personalities. As Mickiewicz, the Polish poet says, "obit Gustavus natus est Canrodus" (Gustavus is dead, Conradus is born). The new Mikolajczyk ceases to be the companion in arms of the Polish revolutionary proletariat.

## BARES WEAKNESS OF REGIME

With Mikolajczyk's flight, the weakness of the Stalinist regime in Poland is laid bare. Given the support of the powerful army of occupation and the GPU, the Stalinist Quislings do not suffer from a weakness of police power, but from political weakness and the absence of a wide social base. The Stalinists hesitated when it came to arresting and putting Mikolajczyk on trial. Such an action would not have been very popular and might have led to a profound and dangerous crisis for the regime. The United Press even conjectures that there was some sort of compromise between the Stalinist government and Mikolajczyk; a compromise paid for by the surrender of the Peasant party to the regime.

Hardly had Mikolajczyk left Poland than a new, pro-Stalinist leadership took possession of the party. The price of this compromise will be paid for by the workers and peasants. A division is bound to take place in the peasant movement, the organized majority submitting to the regime, one minority maintaining its loyalty to Mikolajczyk, and another minority, the proletarianized peasantry attaching itself to the anti-Stalinist workers' movement. Only this latter group can count on the support of revolutionary Marxism.

Mikolajczyk's flight will have its repercussions in the camp of the Polish opposition, in the Underground as well as among the millions of Poles abroad. As we have already written, the Polish emigration and resistance are divided into two groups: the London government, directed by the rightist National Democrats and the remnants of the "Sanacja" (former followers of Pilsudski); and the "Democratic Concentration," led by the PPS. That wing of Mikolajczyk's party, led by Kuncewicz, which is irreconcilable toward Stalin, belongs to the Democratic Concentration. The monopolistic position of the Right now becomes insupportable since the Anglo-Americans will prefer to support the peasant leader, Mikolajczyk, who has what the National Democrats lack, a social base. Mikolajczyk's alliance with one or the other sector of Polish political opinion in exile will

decide the battle between the bourgeois Right and the reformist and petty bourgeois Left.

## CLARIFIES SITUATION IN POLAND

With the Stalinist government inheriting the Peasant Party and the pulverization of the peasant movement, the independent workers' movement led by the Independent Socialists moves to the head of the political struggle of the oppressed masses against Stalinism. To a degree this clarifies the political situation in Poland: important sectors of the Polish bourgeoisie (National Democrats, Pilsudskists and Piasecki's fascists) are supporting the regime. The pro-Stalinist wing of Mikolajczyk's party also supports the regime. Without a powerful peasant opposition, the Stalinist dictatorship will reveal the obviously "monolithic" features of a one-party regime. On the field of political battle, there remains but one principal force, the independent workers' movement.

This clarifies the outlines and perspectives of our policy of the Socialist Third Front. Having defeated Mikolajczyk's party, the Stalinist regime in Poland will now concentrate its energies on the workers' movement, which in elemental form has declared war with a wave of strikes that have no precedent in Stalinist history.

Politically the attacks of the GPU will be directed in the first instance against the Socialist oppositionists, the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) irreconcilables. At the present time, the Stalinists are engaged in attacking the "domesticated" PPS in order to incorporate it into the only workers' party, the (Stalinist) PPR, Polish Workers Party. The trial of the arrested Socialist leaders will have the character and importance of a great political battle. The life or death of those under arrest and the victory or defeat of the independent workers' movement now depend on the resistance of the Polish working class and the solidarity of the international proletariat.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

Although the Socialist oppositionists belong in the main to the old PPS, dividing into those who supported the reformist Right or the centrist Left, although they are not our comrades with regard either to doctrine or party, revolutionary Marxism in Poland and throughout the world must give wholehearted support and solidarity to them in their struggle to the death against Stalinism, since they are our comrades in this struggle. The elemental struggle of the Polish proletariat against Stalinism, its social and national resistance, is the first-line trench of the revolutionary Socialist Third Front. We must take our place at the left of this movement and strive to give it complete consistency and theoretical and revolutionary clarity. The Polish proletariat surely does not struggle for the sake of capitalist restoration or Mikolajczyk's petty bourgeois democracy, knowing that the only possible democracy will be socialist and working class in kind.

The workers' movement represents first of all the class struggle, the struggle for socialism; but it also represents the national resistance which is part of this struggle since the economic exploitation of the Polish proletariat, its social oppression, is due to the national oppression of Poland by the Russian-Stalinist regime and the imperialist exploitation of Poland by Russian Stalinism. Our socialist policy toward national resistance does not change. We give support to the national resistance not only of the working class but to that of the democratic petty bourgeoisie as well. We continue to give critical support to the peasant masses who struggle side by side with the workers against Stalinism.

And if Mikolajczyk has departed from the scene, so much the better for us. As the peasant says, "When the woman gets off the wagon, the horses pull better." We, therefore, will all the more rapidly pull the wagon of the Socialist Third Front in Poland toward the road of the socialist world revolution.

# Lodz Protest - -

(Continued from page 1)

appeared. For this reason he must work overtime and outstrip "Stakhanovist records" to save his family from hunger. The Lodz weaver works with Russian cotton in order that his product may go once again to Russia. Meanwhile his children, his wife and he, himself, lack clothing. His "ration coupons" have been exchanged for "cash." The whip of the Stalinist factory director drives him to work day and night. His unions have been "expropriated" by the GPU. His factory councils, a traditional institution of defense against capitalism since 1905, have been abolished and transformed into organs of the enemy state. Never in his history has the Lodz worker suffered so much misery, exploitation and hunger.

Despair and hunger compel the workers to declare strikes which shake this heroic proletarian city daily. The old traditions are not asleep. A tremendous silent demonstration against "Stakhanovist" methods of exploitation took place toward the end of September, 1947. The Stalinist militia attacked the workers. But the textile workers resisted the Stalinist militia as they had resisted the Cossacks of the Czar, Pilsudski's police and Hitler's SS troops. There were casualties of dead and wounded. Oh Lodz, Oh city red and heroic even to thy pavements. Could thy stones talk, their speech would be of blood.

"In the dark mists the proletariat of Lodz is awakened..." as the poet says. Having defeated the present movement, the Stalinist regime is turning to deal directly with the proletariat. We, the Polish workers and Marxists take legitimate pride in the fact that history has conceded us the honor of fighting in the first ranks against the Stalinist reaction. When Lodz really awakes there will be no salvation for the Stalinist hangmen. When Lodz speaks up and fights the Stalinist dictatorship will know the meaning of thunder and lightning.

"Speak, speak, hungry, bloody, heroic Lodz with the thunder and lightning of the proletarian third front."

A. R.

# WORLD POLITICS

## THE STRUGGLE OVER KASHMIR

The division of the Indian continent into the rival Dominions of India and Pakistan took place under extremely unfavorable conditions imposed upon the population by the retiring British imperialists and equally reactionary Hindu and Moslem ruling forces. The consequences of this division without popular consent or participation are well known now. Among other tragic results has been the uprooting and exchange of no less than 7,000,000 people, on both sides.

In the struggle over the famous mountainous and resort area known as the princely state of Kashmir, we see an intensification of India's misfortune. Kashmir constitutes the second large princely state in the country, with about 25,000,000 inhabitants, and is of great strategic importance since it touches upon both Pakistan and India as well as bordering upon Russia, China and Afghanistan.

Kashmir for long and tortured years has been ruled by a notorious family of degenerate and criminal scoundrels, the latest in line being the Maharajah Singh. He and his ruling clique are Hindus, although 75 per cent of the people are Moslems. Taking advantage of this fact, the head of Pakistan—M. A. Jinnah—has undoubtedly encouraged and supported the present invasion of Kashmir by wild Moslem tribal elements. By this aggressive action Jinnah probably hoped to absorb Kashmir into his own Pakistan territory. To this action, the so-called "socialist" and popular favorite of American liberals—Pandit Nehru—responded by an invasion of his own, under the pretext of protecting Kashmir! Thus we see the liberal Nehru backing up the detested regime of the Maharajah Hari Singh (the same gentleman who recently threw Nehru out of the country!) with force and violence. Where do the people of Kashmir picture in this struggle? Instead of having the opportunity to express freely their will to join either Pakistan or India—or to form a free, independent state of their own—they are victimized by the bandit forces of Jinnah and the alleged protectors offered them by Nehru.

(Comrade Judd prepared for this issue a long column analyzing the situation in France. We were unable to get it set in time for this issue. It will appear next week.—Ed.)

A leading spokesman for the India Socialist Party now visiting in America has defended, in private conversation with the writer, the action of Nehru instead

of understanding that the only possible socialist position is to demand the withdrawal of armed forces by both sides, with the right given and exercised by the Kashmiri people to overthrow their hated regime (instead of having it bolstered up by Nehru!) and decide what they then shall do.

## UAW REPORTER IN GERMANY

My attention has been called to an article appearing in the November 1 issue of the Chicago Star by one Bob Travis, on the subject of Germany. Bob Travis, it seems, is a leading Stalinist in the UAW who is now legislative director of the Illinois State CIO and is at present traveling as a reporter-at-large for the ALN service in Europe. This is the same Stalinist Travis well known in Flint and Chicago.

Whoever is footing the bill to send Travis throughout Europe is wasting good money that will be used for more valuable purposes. The articles, opinions and prejudices could be copied out of the American Daily Worker, and at much less expense, too. There is no one so blind as those who do not wish to see, goes the old saying. But Travis' warped Stalinist brain has distorted his vision to such an extent as to defeat his own purposes.

Writing on Germany, he announces that the German people "are about the best dressed and healthiest looking in Europe." The Germans are carefully avoiding work and are likewise "the best fed people in all Europe." The tone of the article continues in the same style.

Confronted with such brazen ignorance and outright lying, it is difficult to know just how to reply. Shall the numerous reports and statistics on the semi-starvation of the German people—now "enjoying" the lowest European caloric rate diet of about 1500 per day—be cited? Shall this writer, who spent considerable time in Germany recently, cite names, dates and facts indicating the malicious slanders and lies involved? The very exaggerations of the article disprove Travis' points and indicate he has an axe—the Stalinist axe—to grind.

Not only is Travis grinding the Stalinist axe, but he is rendering a disservice to his own union. The German working class, ignored by this man, but suffering as no other working class in the world today is suffering, would like to know and feel that its problems are understood and sympathized in by its American brothers. Travis wishes to split it further apart than it is at present. He and his type should be spit upon and driven out of labor's ranks. Let the money wasted on his jaunt through hungry Europe be used to send food packages to some of those hungry working class families he sneers at.

Henry JUDD.

# But No Kind of Pay Freeze - -

(Continued from page 1)

essay. It takes time, you see, to fix a rationing and control system and the only "prudent course" is to provide for the authority now. But why should it take time—that is, any excessive, unstated amount of time?

Altogether, his proposals recall the zombie OPA. Moreover, his references to fixing ceilings at the very least bore the implication that the ceilings, should he exercise the authority asked for, would be current inflated prices.

Hence, we note first that while the labor movement must aggressively champion price controls, as the CIO has already done, something more than the vague authority Truman asks for is required. Congress must be pressured to enact price control legislation and we must see to it that effective machinery is established to regulate that control—specifically, union and consumer price control committees.

Should Congress vote Truman the authority he wants—it seems most unlikely that the Republican Congress will do so (and Truman knows it)—it will be up to the labor movement to surround him with so much organized demand as will place control in the hands of the people, where it properly belongs, and not alone in his inept hands.

## DON'T BE FOOLED!

We come, however, to the matter of wage freezing. On the surface, it might appear as though wage and price controls properly belong in the same bracket. Nothing, nothing at all, could be more deceptive.

First, wages are not at all the cause of high prices, as the proposal would seem to indicate. Wage increases have been puny, as Truman himself admits in the sentence quoted above, in comparison with price increases.

Far more to the point is a report printed this week in the National City Bank's monthly business letter. (Make a note of the source: National City

Bank!) This bankers' report shows that 375 leading corporations increased their rate of profit, during the last nine months, by 62 per cent and that they earned an average of 16.2 per cent on their net. Food manufacturers averaged 19.3 per cent on their net worth; automobile companies, 20 per cent; paper concerns, 24.16 per cent; textiles and clothing, 25.5 per cent. No matter how you look at it, that ain't hay. (For comparison: insurance companies and other investment institutions, which, when last we heard, were not hitting the headlines, average 3 per cent or less on net.) Profits, not wages, need controlling!

Second, we have the experience of the last seven years to go on. We have seen how price controls operate, how they are violated at every turn. Wages are by and large set by contract. When they are frozen, they are FROZEN, and it takes bitter struggle against employer and government to force a break.

Third, as Truman admitted, wages have been severely cut by prices. We must remember, too, that labor's picket line gains were stolen in Washington through the connivance of Truman and the labor leadership, while OPA was still in effect.

Hence, labor must by no means permit any kind of wage freezing! On the contrary, this is the very time to apply for and fight for wage increases to offset rising costs. As against Truman's proposals, it is time we put forward demands for a guaranteed annual wage, for escalator clauses and for WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES.

As matters stand now, Truman has made his proposals to Congress. Taft, speaking for the Republican majority and bearing down heavily on Tru-

man's earlier "police state" remarks, has denounced the message and indicated that Congress, while it will approve the recommendations under the Marshall Plan in one way or another, will vote down the ten-point domestic program. The whole thing is shaping up as a campaign issue.



Congress is in session. Labor must address its OWN message to that Congress. Congress is hostile to us. It serves our class enemies. We must therefore mass our strength if we are to force Congress to do our bidding. Therefore, in putting forward our own program, we must implement it with an aggressive campaign of activity for price control and wage increases, and synchronize our local demands nationally through joint union effort.

# CIO Sea Unions - -

(Continued from page 1)

mie tactic. It is unfortunate that the SIU officialdom take the stand they do on this confab. Certainly they know that the call for a "unity" conference came out of the last convention of the NMU which delivered murderous blows to the CP gang. It is precisely the Stalinists in maritime who fear real "unity" conferences. If this conference were taking place with all unions represented, the CP line and proposals could never carry since the majority of the unions invited are opposed to CP policy.

The article says further: "There can be no working unity with a union in which one faction represents the Communist Party; another represents the U. S. Lines and other companies, and nobody represents the membership." Since there are only two groups in the NMU, the Communist Party faction and the anti-CP faction, led by Curran, the above statement in the Log can mean only that the Log wants to help the Stalinists spread their vicious lies about opponents of the CP in the labor movement. Pick up any copy of the Daily Worker and

you will find the same accusation against Curran. When in the next paragraph they go on to say that they "did not reject the basic idea of labor unity on labor issues" one is forced to ask: WHAT LABOR ISSUES ARE YOU WAITING FOR?

There is no issue more important, more burning than the Taft Act! In no American labor union are the ranks more desirous and conscious of the need for planned joint action now. Come next June 15, if the shipowners are able to smash the various CIO hiring halls, they will have knocked the pins from under all seamen. This business of being for labor unity in action in theory and always finding excuses for stymying it, will never pay off for the seafaring man. It will only help to return the crimps and the sink halls to the waterfront.

Because of this, the conference now taking place in New York is necessarily limited. The tactics and strategy it adopts will most certainly follow the line of the Stalinists since a majority of the unions which DID accept the NMU invitation are CP dominated.



By JACK RANGER

## HOW THE WORKER IS ROBBED

Until Marx expounded his theory of surplus value, no economist was able satisfactorily to explain whence came the employer's profit, and how was the worker robbed at the point of production. Marx laboriously delved into the process, and came up with the answer: The worker does not receive the full value of what he produces, but only a part of that value. The rest is retained by the employer in the form of surplus value, to become the employer's profit.

Marx's sturdy theory has been attacked by a horde of professors, including even some excellent Marxist critics, but to my mind it still stands up. In years of research into this problem, I have noted that the accountants have always been very careful in drawing up statements for publication, to conceal the fact of surplus value.

However, at last I believe I have struck upon some figures concerning current operations in American industry that reveal the true measure of surplus value. I refer to an analysis of wage-income relationship which has just been completed by the National Industrial Conference Board, purporting to show, not surplus value, but the fact that the net income originated by an industry and its annual salary-wage bill have moved in close correspondence.

In 1929, the analysis points out, each of four industries—printing and publishing, petroleum and coal, machinery (except electrical), and automobiles—in which the annual earnings per employe working full time were in excess of \$1,800—had a net income per employe valued at \$2,500 and more.

The same general relationship persisted in 1939, according to the analysis. In that year, for instance, the worker in the petroleum and coal industry received an average annual wage of \$1,852, and yet the net value per employe to the employer was \$3,892. Subtracting \$1,852 from \$3,892, we obtain a figure of \$1,540. This, I believe, may correctly be judged the surplus value which the worker in these two industries donated to his boss for the year 1939. Or to put it another way, this is the amount which the employer stole from the worker that year.

Let's see how it worked out in a few other industries in 1939.

In that year the average annual wage of automobile workers was \$1,762, and the net income per employe to the automobile factory owner was \$2,544. Each auto worker that year thus donated \$782 to his boss for the privilege of working under capitalism.

Other industries in which the same general relationship existed in 1939 were machinery, transportation equipment, and chemicals.

By 1944 the rate of surplus value had risen commensurately. In that year employes working full time in nine industries received more than \$2,517 each, and each worker produced a "greater-than-average annual income," according to the survey.

I do not have this full report before me, but only an abstract of it. I should be grateful to any informed reader who knows of any other source material indicating the rate of surplus value currently being taken from the workers.

## AFRICA ANOTHER INDIA?

The drive of the British bourgeoisie to develop a new industrial base in their colonial possessions in Africa is extremely interesting, and merits close study of the international working class movement. On November 6, it was reported in the press, the British colonial office asked parliament "to move into Africa on a scale not matched since the days of the East India company, opening to English capital the middle of the great dark continent."

It appears that the British bankers and industrialists are embarked on a bold plan to recoup their loss of India by directing capital investments to Africa on a grandiose scale. No sooner are they toppled off the backs of the Indians than they prepare to jump on the backs of the Africans.

Many rumors and authenticated stories of the wholesale invasion of British Africa by British capital have come to light in recent months. For instance, the Wall Street Journal has reported that plans are in the fire for a \$92 million steel center in Rhodesia in southern Africa. The governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia are each expected to kick in \$36 million, and Thomas Firth and John Brown, Ltd., one of Britain's biggest steel-makers, has put up \$20 million. The scheme calls for construction of a hydroelectric system on the Zambesi River to generate 750,000 kilowatts of electricity. It would permit processing local supplies of iron ore to a semi-finished stage.

## POWER OF UNITED AFRICA COMPANY

But to return to the bill before parliament. The colonial office is proposing the creation of two government corporations, empowered to borrow from the government or private sources up to 165 million pounds—or \$660,000,000. With this sum the corporations can re-lend money to private enterprise to "develop" Africa or can do the job themselves.

For months, according to a report in the Chicago Tribune (which, by the way, because of its anti-British bias can be expected to keep a close watch on these developments), colonial office employes have been studying African projects. Several commissions, boards and committees have traveled to Africa. Already, \$100,000,000 has been earmarked to develop a great African peanut crop, and tractors are now ripping through the bush country of Uganda.

According to the above paper, Lever Brothers, the powerful British company which deals in soap, margarine and fats, has formed a subsidiary, United Africa Co., which has quietly acquired the "rights" handed out by monarchs generations ago. "In some parts of middle Africa people can do business only with the permission of United Africa."

I believe it would be an error to attribute this sweep of British capital to Africa to the fear of the British Labor Party government by British capitalists. I think these profiteers know that they have nothing to fear from Attlee & Co., and that they are thinking way beyond that—to the coming war, and, beyond that, to a vast gamble that by moving in on the African natives, they can organize a new imperialist center from which to renew their duel with rival imperialists, including first of all the American capitalists.

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I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member.

Name.....  
Address.....

# Yes, Let Us Act to Secure These Rights...

(Continued from page 1)  
gerly. The report takes up the more subtle forms of discrimination suffered by Jews: quota systems in colleges, segregation in resorts, etc. It also warns against "hysteria" in eliminating "Communists" from federal employment.

### REMARKABLE DOCUMENT DESPITE OMISSIONS

As far as description goes, one can find only two weaknesses in the report, but these are major. First, the report does not say anything about the long record of violation of LABOR'S rights, right up to and including the Taft-Hartley bill. This is no small matter and apparently one that Mr. Wilson, as a leading capitalist, found somewhat embarrassing. Secondly, it says nothing about the violation of the civil rights of minority radical groups such as the wartime Minneapolis trial of Trotskyist and trade union leaders. This, too, is a serious matter. For civil liberties are always truly tested by how they apply to the most dissident, unpopular groups.

Yet, despite these serious and revealing omissions, the report is a remarkable document. It tells the truth about the violations of civil liberties and it makes a large number of specific recommendations—a federal anti-lynching bill, abolition of the poll tax, etc., etc.—which socialists certainly favor; which, in fact, we have been fighting to obtain for a good many years. What then has happened here? Is the leopard changing its spots? Is Jim Crow going to be ended? Are civil liberties going to be increased to such a remarkable degree?

Well, for one thing, there's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip. The report's recommendations are certainly praiseworthy, for the most part; but that doesn't yet mean they will be carried out. Not by a long shot. All of the tremendous impediments to Negro equality, for example, still remain in Washington and in all the state and local governments. The entire social system which breeds and encourages Jim Crow and anti-Semitism is still with us. At the moment all the report represents is a very skillful piece of propaganda which is, come to think of it, rather useful around election time. A capitalist party candidate can always promise to put the report's recommendations into effect AFTER election time—as so many have promised before.

Yet there is something else involved here—what is very likely part of a trend in American capitalist society. At a certain point Jim Crow in its most blatant form is no longer profitable for capitalist society. The report underlines this fact quite frankly: it declares outright Jim Crow to be economically unprofitable and wasteful for an increasingly industrialized South. Capitalism requires literate and skilled workers, and needs large consumer markets.

As the report declares: "Discrimination imposes a direct cost upon our economy through the wasteful duplication of many facilities and services." What the report is driving at is that Jim Crowism should be modified, that the South should abandon its outright and—from the point of view of industrial capitalism—irresponsible Jim Crow to replace it with the more subtle variety of Jim Crow that flourishes in the North.

The report offers still another revealing reason for urging the abolition of the more severe restriction on Negro rights. It specifically declares that "we cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics." It quotes from Dean Acheson, former Assistant Secretary of State, who declared that "the existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries." Put more concretely, this means that the writers of the report are aware that as U. S. capitalism prepares for a showdown struggle with Russia, it must take some sizable measures to gain the support of its Negro population. During the last war Negroes, for all their profound skepticism about American "democracy," could be persuaded with some degree of apparent plausibility, that they had to support America against Hitler, the greatest racist of them all. Now, however, the opponent is Stalinist Russia, which, while a totalitarian state, does not have a record of discrimination against Negroes (there are none in Russia!) and which will therefore try its hardest to use the justified resentments of the Negroes to win their support against the U. S. In blunt language, the report is telling American capitalism to throw a few crumbs to the Negro people if it doesn't want a terrific problem on its hands during the coming years of imperialist struggle. This is—again from the point of view of capitalism—simple foresight.

Now, however, once we have noted the report's serious shortcomings and have tried to analyze the reasons for its "liberalism," what attitude do we socialists take toward it? Do we just scorn its obvious motives and let it go at that?  
No, we don't. We say: WE WILL TAKE UP THEIR BLUFF. These people, for the reasons we have indicated, have been forced to make some blunt statements and some good proposals about the question of civil rights for Negroes. We propose more than words; we say that these specific proposals should be enacted immediately. And we say: watch the records of the two old capitalist parties and see what they do about it.

MAKING REALITY OUT OF WORDS  
On this point I should like to refer back to a letter that H. D. Coleman of St. Louis sent to LABOR ACTION a few weeks back (Nov. 10). Coleman objected to an editorial which had criticized the "Freedom Train" from a merely negative point of view—that is, had pointed out its shortcomings and evasions. He said in effect: why doesn't LABOR ACTION take up the claims of Freedom Train and insist they be realized in practice? Take them at their word and insist it be carried out. It's not enough to point out how they have failed to do so historically.

I think Coleman was right, and as the culprit responsible for the editorial to which he objected, I think he should be the approach of socialists on this matter.  
The President's committee makes some good suggestions. Then let's see them put into practice. Let's make a reality out of the word.

As socialists, we claim that civil rights for Negroes and other minority groups can be fully realized and insured only under a socialist society. But in the meantime let's fight together with everyone who wants to smash Jim Crow in the hope that their day-to-day struggle will convince them of the correctness of our claim.

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## "We Must Reconstruct an International Program of Action"

# Statement of SWP Minority on Joining WP

I. In 1943 the Minority began its struggle against the Socialist Workers Party leadership for a revision of the international perspective. Analyzing the course of the second imperialist world war, it stressed the importance of the following developments: mass struggles for national liberties; the growing danger of Stalinism for the development of the European revolution; sectarianism and ultra-leftism as a factor of sterility, passivity and disintegration in the ranks of the movement; finally, in the immediate post-war period, mass struggles for democratic and economic demands.

Internationally, it asked for a discussion of all past activity of the movement and for the convening of a democratic EPC which would proceed to the political rearming of the movement or, at least, would formulate its necessary conditions.

Finally, the Minority decided—as it expressed it formally at the 1946 Plenum of the SWP—to determine its future tactical orientation according to the international situation of the movement.

The Minority thinks that a modification of its tactical orientation is now required. Accordingly, it hereby informs the movement of the international and national reasons, the conditions and perspectives of this new orientation.

2. Nowhere has the movement been able to face efficiently the tasks imposed on it by the war and its aftermath. Everywhere—partial exceptions notwithstanding—the movement in general and particularly its de facto leadership have manifested their theoretical as well as practical incapacity. No militant can question this, if he has the historical task at heart and does not entertain illusions. No prestige policy, no pseudo-Marxist phrasemongering prevails against this fact.

On the morrow of the war, Stalinism had passed from isolation to the struggle for world domination on an international arena where the USA is the only power to be feared; whereas the movement had, as never before, been reduced to isolation, or rather, had condemned itself to isolation and cut itself off from the masses, and its leadership had even gone so far as to rationalize this setback by means of self-vindicating pseudo-analysis.

3. Historical experience shows us—and Trotsky incessantly stressed the importance of this teaching—that an organization unable to face its historically imposed tasks is destroyed in the process. It teaches us also, however, that the oppressed learn even from their defeats and

Therefore the task for the movement was to analyze the whys and the hows of the general set-back of the struggle of the masses during and as a consequence of the war—

cluding the Taft-Hartley bill. This is no small matter and apparently one that Mr. Wilson, as a leading capitalist, found somewhat embarrassing. Secondly, it says nothing about the violation of the civil rights of minority radical groups such as the wartime Minneapolis trial of Trotskyist and trade union leaders. This, too, is a serious matter. For civil liberties are always truly tested by how they apply to the most dissident, unpopular groups.

Yet, despite these serious and revealing omissions, the report is a remarkable document. It tells the truth about the violations of civil liberties and it makes a large number of specific recommendations—a federal anti-lynching bill, abolition of the poll tax, etc., etc.—which socialists certainly favor; which, in fact, we have been fighting to obtain for a good many years. What then has happened here? Is the leopard changing its spots? Is Jim Crow going to be ended? Are civil liberties going to be increased to such a remarkable degree?

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### DEFENSISM GENERATES CAPITULATION TO STALINISM

6. But what matters here is the political side of the crisis. Today the movement, insofar as its official cadres represent it, or insofar as it is incapable of reacting against them, is brought to a standstill without any possible way out.

If, two years after the end of the war and the unfolding of its consequences, it continues to affirm the progressive character of the USSR and the necessity of its defense, there is no other logical outcome than pure and simple capitulation to Stalinism. The defense of an isolated USSR by revolution before the war becomes, after the war, the defense of the expanding bureaucratic imperialism. Defensism has its constraining logic. If upheld, it will lead to capitulation.

### ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL CRISES

5. In its "Appeal to All the Sections of the Movement on Unity and the EPC," the Minority has given the factual and organizational reasons why it is impossible to have a positive solution for this protracted crisis, itself generated by a constant and general failure, and why it is illusory to keep hoping, as some do, that it can be reached.

To resume briefly, an organizational crisis is added to, or rather grafted on, the political crisis. Its virulence is caused by the physical or moral destruction of the old cadres of the movement, above all in Europe, who could and would have provided a political solution for the crisis and would have imposed it; and, on the other hand, by the existence of American cadres systematically bureaucratized, particularly since Trotsky's death, by the Cannon clique which has always had semi-Stalinist conceptions on organization and opportunist ones on trade unions (trade unionism).

On the rotting basis of a political crisis "ignored" and curbed by all possible means, this clique and its European acolytes did not consider any solution except in terms of their remaining at the head of the movement, and hid this, their central preoccupation, by the mechanical repetition of a degenerated phraseology void of any concrete political content.

As usual, the most negative aspect of this situation is, of course, the complete incapacity of the bureaucratic clique to find any real political way out. Such incapacity does not fully explain the organization crisis and the bureaucratic tumor of the movement—for there is an auton-

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tion. Because, internationally, all efforts to arrive at a positive solution within a single framework and on a democratic basis have been shattered by the bureaucratic conservatism and the determination to split off those elements who impose themselves on the movement as its leadership; because the movement was unable to impose on the Cannon clique a positive and democratic, that is to say, a lasting unity, the Minority has decided to ask the WP leadership for entry.

8. The Minority now draws, on the self into the theoretical and practical activity of the WP as a political tendency. In the course of a common discussion as wide as possible, it will continue to elaborate the points of the political platform on which it has already taken a position: the Russian question, the democratic and national question, the building of the socialist vanguard. It thinks that the analysis of the evolution and structure of contemporary international capitalism must be posed in the forefront of the discussion as the main basis for the elaboration of an international perspective. These points (not excluding others) constitute in our opinion the starting point for the rearming of the socialist vanguard and for a fruitful discussion within the WP and internationally.

The Minority thinks that the regular function of democratic centralism and the primacy which it accords to political discussion in the life of the party as a matter of fact, permit avoiding factional conflicts and their organizational and personal consequences in favor of a progressive discussion and cooperation in the building of the party. It is with this view in perspective that the Minority intends to enter the WP. Common experience will determine its realization in the party.

### III.