

LABOR ACTION

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A Paper in the Interests of Labor

FIVE CENTS

Real Estate Lobby Presses Congress to Lift Rent Ceilings

December 20—The pressure of the real estate lobby in Washington, D. C., in behalf of its demand for an ending of rent ceilings increased in intensity during the week. Its agents were scurrying to and from offices of key Congressmen glad-handing them with piles of literature in behalf of the "poor landlord."

A reporter of the New York Post, James Wechsler, wrote on December 19:

"As Herbert U. Nelson, chief lobbyist for the National Assn. of Real Estate Boards, issued a new public demand for destruction of rent ceilings, behind-the-scenes moves to force an immediate Administration surrender on rents were reported increasingly intense and unrelenting...."

"Nelson and other real estate lobbyists, it was reported, are now staging daily pilgrimages to strategic Administration offices, clamoring more loudly than ever for a quick answer to the landlords' pending petition for scrapping of present ceilings."

At the same time, plans of the Republican majority in Congress on the rent problem were announced. Rep. Jesse Wolcott (R., Mich.), slated to become chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee in the new GOP Congress, disclosed that he is working out a formula to permit landlords to add increased costs to their rentals.

ADDING COSTS

Wolcott's plan would be simply to write into the rent control law an amendment permitting landlords to add such increased costs as maintenance costs—wages, costs of paint, repairs and taxes—on to their ceilings. He also would provide for "wide latitude" in the administration of the law to take care of hardship cases.

In analyzing Wolcott's "subtle" plan, two things are clear:

1) Talk about the need to increase rents because of increased costs is simply nonsense. The OPA report entitled "Rental Housing Operations Under Rent Control in 26 Cities"

reported in detail in the last two issues of LABOR ACTION—but conspicuously ignored by the capitalist press—shows that the landlords have made profits of an unprecedented amount during the past few years. The report shows that the income of landlords of large apartment houses increased 25 per cent since 1939 and the income of landlords owning small apartment houses (those with less than five tenants) increased 43 per cent since 1939.

Landlords have notoriously refrained from giving their tenants necessary repairs. The usual percentage of losses expected by landlords from unrented apartments has not been operative during the past few years. As a result, the proposal of the Republican Party leader to increase rents in accordance with the increase in costs is misleading; what should really be taken into account is the percentage of landlords' profits.

POOR LANDLORDS

2) As for the "hardship" cases, that's a joke. By "hardship" cases, the Republican leader does not mean those tenants who are paying outrageous rents, often above OPA levels; or those who are without housing at all. By "hardship" cases, he means the landlords.

Now of course there has been universal weeping among those residents of the country whose hearts go out with pity for the underprivileged and poor, and as everyone knows the landlords are certainly in that category. In some communities tenants are said to be organizing theater benefits to make sure their landlords have enough to eat on Christmas!

We have been warning each week for the past few weeks that the rent ceilings are in danger. It would be tragic if the people of the country were misled by the apparent lull on the rent front into believing that no increases are in prospect. That would be just the intention of the Administration in Washington preparing to knuckle under to the pressure of the landlords, as well as of the Republican majority in Congress. We must remain on guard to smash any attempts to raise the rent ceilings!

Turn in 175,000 Petitions In Michigan FEPC Drive

DETROIT—With the filing of petitions bearing the signatures of 160,000 voters in Wayne County, the first phase of the campaign for a Michigan Fair Employment Practices Law came to an end. In the state as a whole, 175,000 signatures were obtained by unions and civic groups.

The successful conclusion of the petition drive means that the State Legislature is legally compelled, under the terms of the State Constitution, to consider the proposed FEPC law. If the legislature defeats the bill or amends it, then the entire proposition must be submitted to the voters themselves in a referendum.

The State Attorney General, who wants to extricate the legislators from the embarrassing need of putting themselves on record, has already found some legal technicality for invalidating the petitions. He has declared that the petitions are "illegal." The exact grounds for this decision are not yet reported but New York readers of LABOR ACTION who have become accustomed to the gyrations of the legal whirligigs on their local election boards know what to expect. But no fancy legerdemain can whisk away the fact that 175,000 peoples have clearly expressed themselves for an FEPC law.

The whole Michigan labor movement was actively involved in the campaign. Local unions set up spe-

cial committees to put over the drive and the success of the campaign as a whole is to be attributed to the work of the CIO.

The Workers Party, Detroit branch, gave full support to the campaign. It organized two mobilizations in the downtown area of the city for the collection of signatures; it held public meetings on the issues; it distributed a special statement to its supporters and sympathizers in behalf of the drive; and its members played an active role in their local unions. Ben Hall, Detroit organizer of the party, was one of the members of the delegation which submitted the petitions to the County Clerk. The delegation included: Barney Hopkins, State CIO; W. G. Grant, Local 600; Pat Quinn, Wayne County Council; Rev. Hill, NAACP.

The 175,000 petitions were submitted as follows: Outside of Wayne County, 25,000; community groups of all kinds, 22,000; Wayne County Council, CIO, 60,000; FEPC Committee 58,000; State CIO, 8,000; Workers Party, 1,000.

The next stage of the campaign will focus around a campaign to fight the ruling of the Attorney General and to force the State Legislature to take affirmative action. The Workers Party, Detroit branch, will call upon the Michigan labor movement to organize a mass demonstration in Lansing at the sessions of the legislature.

FIRM WAGE-PRICE STRATEGY CAN BEAT BOSS OFFENSIVE!

IF SENATOR BILBO GOES — Does the Bilbo System Remain?

By IRVING HOWE

The subject for today is Bilbo—Theodore G. Bilbo, United States Senator from the state of Mississippi. Admittedly a most unpleasant subject, but still one it would be well for us to think about.

You have of course read about the current hearings, held first in Mississippi and then in Washington, D. C. We shall not here pile up all the evidence of his role as agent for war contractors, his nepotism, his personal profiteering.

That Bilbo received \$26,200 from F. T. Newton of the Newton-Glenn Construction Co. in return for helping it get war contracts;

That Bilbo received \$5,000, a Cadillac automobile and a specially-constructed artificial lake from Mike T. Morrissey, another war contractor;

That Bilbo received house furniture, handsome gifts for the Juniper Grove Baptist church whose finances he alone controlled, and occasional checks ranging into four figures from various manufacturers and constructors whom he had helped dip into the war profit pork barrel;

And that Bilbo took \$1500 from a dope addict, John A. Carr, for a narcotic permit which didn't cost him a red cent.

All this and more we are ready cheerfully to acknowledge. Knowing Bilbo for what he is, we are quite ready to believe almost anything about him.

WHAT SYSTEM DOES BILBO REPRESENT?

Bilbo is admittedly involved in shady practices. It is possible, though not at all certain, that he may even be removed by the Senate, and in that way the Democratic Party may be spared a particularly embarrassing spokesman. But here we must ask the central question:

If Bilbo goes, Does Bilboism Remain?

For let us remember that what is most reprehensible about Bilbo is not merely his personal shadiness; not merely his incredible ignorance; not merely his sewer-minded vulgarity; in a word, not merely his personal characteristics. They are disgusting enough, of course, but there is something even more important.

Bilbo represents a pattern of society and a way of life: Bilbo is the Southern anti-Negro and anti-labor politician in his ripest and vilest form. Bilbo is the system of discrimination brought to its filthiest fulfillment. Bilbo is the system of lynching and race hatred and poll taxes and cheap labor and poor schooling and union-busting and Ku Klux Klanism brought to its most revolting, pus-like, vermin-



infested, dung-heaped but still classical conclusion.

If you want to see what happens to a society which is filled with hatred for and fear of a people whose skins are another color; if you want to see what happens to a society which makes of such people victims of terror, constant butts of humiliation, and exploitation, cheated cheap labor on whose sweat and misery there is constructed the edifice of wealth, superstitution and power—

Then look at Bilbo. He is American capitalism in its most revolting self-portrait; he is the realization in practice of those beautiful phrases: liberty and justice for all; this nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal; land of the free and home of the brave.

And so we ask again: If Bilbo goes, does Bilboism remain?

Will not the whole structure of cheap labor, of Negro discrimination, poll taxes, terror, segregation, inured and irrational hatreds and fears continue? Will not the entire pattern remain even if Bilbo is ousted?

Of course, we favor driving Bilbo from public life. But the

way in which the Senate Investigating Committee is approaching the matter is a fraud. They are for his hide on the pretext of his personal cheating. But suppose Bilbo were an honest man, would that make Bilboism any the less hateful?

WE are out to smash Bilboism as a system, as the pattern of capitalism in the South where it is crudest and in the North where it is just as persistent even if more subtle.

But the Senate Committee, while it may discredit Bilbo the individual, dares not attack Bilboism the system. For then it would have to indict the whole southern delegation, the bulwark of the Democratic Party. It would have to indict

Barkley of Kentucky, the Senate Democratic leader;

Ellender of Louisiana, just as much an advocate of Jim Crow;

Pepper of Florida, so-called liberal and darling of the Stalinists, but still a defender of Jim Crow;

In fact every one of the Southern spokesmen.

So let us remember: if Bilbo goes, pleasant as that will be, it does not put an end to Bilboism. And so long as Bilboism contin-

ues, our struggle is not yet at an end.

CAPITALIST PARTIES BUTRESS JIM CROW

Now one word about the Northern Democratic leaders.

Some of them, who call themselves liberals, have expressed their disgust at Bilbo. Very well. Yet they remain in the same party with him; they attend the same party caucuses that he does; they meet with him and his ilk to nominate Presidential candidates. The Northern capitalist politicians, whatever their personal inclinations and liberal pretensions, are intimately tied up with the Southern Jim Crow machine. The whole structure of American capitalist economy and political life buttresses Jim Crow; and the two major parties, Democratic and Republican alike, are two of its most powerful pillars.

This, then, is what we think you should remember about Bilbo. Take a good look at this specimen of American statesmanship, this contemporary spokesman for what was once Thomas Jefferson's party. Examine this befouled and debauched version of the Southern gentleman.

And then remember: Not only Bilbo is the enemy; Bilboism itself must be wiped off the earth.

So long as one man suffers indignity or humiliation because his skin is dark or his nose is crooked or he prays or refuses to pray in a way distasteful to some one else;

So long as cheap labor and open shop towns and job discrimination remain;

So long as the poll tax and the grandfather clause and "white primary" continue;

So long as there remains the hooded nightshirt, the swinging rope, the charred body, the inflamed mob

THEN BILBOISM HAS NOT YET BEEN WIPED OUT!

This is the enemy. We socialists say Bilbo is the most terrible representative of a system itself rotten and decayed. Let us summon our hatred of injustice and let us burn this filth of Bilboism off the skin of the land.

And then let us use the plenty and riches of this land to build a new society of peace and equality, of plenty for all, of the brotherhood of all men, where the children of tomorrow will play in the streets and the fields unaware of the deforming hatreds that now poison our lives.

DECEMBER 23—While various labor leaders are reported to be exploring the possibility of securing wage increases without resorting to strike action, capital and labor are heading toward a crucial test of strength, involving labor's entire position as well as the specific issue of wages and prices.

A powerful group in the National Association of Manufacturers, representing important interests in auto and steel, has launched an all-sided campaign to weaken three important legislative victories won by labor after decades of struggle: the Norris-La Guardia Act, 1932, which outlawed injunctions; the Wagner Act, 1935, which established labor's right to organize and bargain collectively; the Wage and Hour Law, 1938, which limited the basic work week to 40 hours, with time and a half for overtime.

These are the people who are getting acres of newspaper space with their argument that unions constitute a monopoly (see editorial, page 3), that high profits are essential to the American way of life (they are to the employers' way of life); that prices cannot be held in line if labor receives increases to overcome the wage-cutting effects of rising prices.

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, and one of the above group, yesterday opened an offensive against the expected demands of the electrical workers union by demanding a one-year "moratorium" on wage increases, and threatening that industry would hike prices still higher if labor succeeded in winning its demands.

Mr. Wilson, whose company reached a distinctive level of strike-breaking in last year's strike actions with murderous assaults on pickets in Philadelphia and elsewhere, and who is one of the highly publicized spokesmen and theorists of industry, refused to discuss in his press interview GE profits for the year 1946. Shedding bucketsful of hypocritical tears for the American consumer because of the price increase, Wilson warned that wage increases would be passed on to the consumer in the proportion of 3/4 per cent for every one per cent wage increase. (For every one cent increase to a few thousand workers, GE will raise prices 3/4 of a cent on its millions of products. That is capitalist logic.)

It was simultaneously disclosed that American business extracted \$10 from the consumer for every \$1.00 wage increase won by workers, according to a previously unreported CIO document made public by the Federated Press. "On the basis of man-hours worked in August, this would increase the annual wage bill by \$1.7 billion," said the report.

For the same period, wholesale prices of manufactured goods rose

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1946 — Survey of the Old Year Poses Labor's Tasks — 1947

By J. R. JOHNSON

The year 1946 is drawing to a close. It is a year in which there has never been so much employment in the United States. Some 60 million people have had what the capitalist press, for reasons of its own, likes to call "gainful" employment. Production, if not as high as during the later war years, has nevertheless soared beyond all bounds conceived of before the war.

During the year there has been no drought, earthquake, or tidal wave to wreck the constructions and plans by which men build civilization.

Except for the special barbarism of the South, the processes of democracy under capitalism have pursued their customary course. Parties have campaigned, people have listened and voted, legislatures and councils have assembled in true democratic fashion. No unions have been destroyed. If one union, the United Mine Workers, saw itself in danger of being anni-

hilated financially, this attack was carried out by the government, headed personally by the President, and everything done was within the framework of capitalist law.

A broad the United States is powerful as no other country has ever been in the whole history of mankind. All countries, ALL, tremble before the economic power and military might of the U. S. displayed in the last war. Alone it holds the secret of the atomic bomb. The countries of the world, in every continent, either seek desperately to share in this economic and political power, or mobilize all their forces and allies in frantic attempts to ward off, to lessen, to undermine this colossal potential enemy.

Such is the reality of 1946. Surely this is the dream of capitalistic, of imperialistic ambition come true.

And yet, never, never, has the capitalist system been in such dire peril at home and abroad. The working class and the great masses of the

people have demonstrated a bitterness, a resentment against their conditions of labor and of life which have repeatedly threatened the whole economy with paralysis. Leaders of rival labor organizations have been driven to closer unity than at any time during the past thirty years, forced to unite in a common defense against the threat to labor's most elementary rights and liberties.

The capitalist class has found it necessary to mobilize itself in defense of its system, its profits and its privileges in a manner that shows it feels itself and all it stands for to be in serious danger. Class struggle and all its attendant antagonisms have raged with unabated ferocity through every month of 1946, and as the new year faces us there is no peace nor hint of peace.

A broad the picture is the same. Capitalism has not known such imperialist antagonism as now exists between the U. S. and Stalinist Russia. Britain is torn between need for

U. S. economic and military might, hatred of U. S. domination and fear of being sucked down by a crisis-ridden U. S. economy.

In Central Europe, where millions can exist only by means of doles from U. S. production, hatred for the arrogance, the incompetence and the black market thievery of the occupying forces grows apace. In India, in the Middle East, in the Far East, in Latin America, vast millions are learning to distinguish between the democratic pretensions and the actual close alliance with fascist and reactionary cliques which characterize American policy in their countries.

This is the picture. Let him deny who can. Victory and sixty million jobs have only added sixty million torments, frustrations, enmities and defeats to the lives of the American people.

The capitalistic system under which we live is washed up. It can function only by antagonisms and maladjustments, suffering, lies, pretenses, re-

pressions, hypocrisies, which show that its vital organs and mechanisms are in irreparable decay.

Democracy, "our free institutions," have been the greatest pride of capitalism and above all of U. S. capitalism. Yet 1946 has seen democracy failing at every turn. Government of the people, by the people, for the people has been flouted at every critical stage of the life of the nation.

In the face of food shortages and rising prices, the people clamored for price control. If it had been possible to take a Gallup poll of the nation, it is safe to say that over 80 per cent of the population would have been overwhelmingly in favor of such control. Yet between them, Congress, the elected "representatives" of the people, and the President, directly elected by the people, broke the system of price control, such as it was, and frustrated the wishes of the people.

This was one of the great battles

of the year and in it was exemplified the insoluble contradiction, the living fraud of capitalist democracy. For so long as the ownership, the control, the monopoly of the means of production are retained by a few there follows automatically the impotence of the votes of the many.

Capitalist parliamentarism cannot counteract this stranglehold by the monopolists upon the vital life-source of the nation. The workers and the great masses of the people wanted price control. The meat interests and their capitalist allies simply starved out the people—refused to let them have any meat and related products until they had attained their end—the abolition of price control.

Once more capitalist democracy was exposed for what it was, the tool of capitalist interests. It was not long before a more brutal example of its true character was held up before the people. The meat interests had meanly, secretly and conspiratorially agreed with one another and Con-

gress to starve the people into submission. But when the United Mine Workers openly before the nation demanded higher wages, then the same government which had been so helpless in face of the capitalist starvation of the people, suddenly recovered all its vigor.

Those capitalists who starved the nation had won their demands. The workers who demanded higher wages and better conditions for the most essential, the most difficult and most dangerous work in the country were met with all the judicial and propagandistic power at the disposal of the capitalist state and the capitalist class. When the capitalists withdrew their meat, complete capitulation by the state! When the miners withdrew their labor, complete mobilization by the state.

It is this, the capitalist character of all the institutions of production and of government which have racked the country during the past year. This

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Militant Wage-Price Policy - -

(Continued from page 1) 22 per cent. On the basis of production in August, 1946, this price rise would increase manufactured goods by at least \$18 billion. Thus, for every dollar increase paid out in wages, manufacturers received \$10.60 more through higher prices.

hoods for a conference to discuss unity in action to defend labor's position against the attacks of the employers and the government. • The big CIO unions, auto, electrical and steel, having completed joint sessions in Pittsburgh, opened preliminary skirmishing on the wage issue. Only the UAW has set a figure, 23.5 cents per hour, but the electrical workers are expected to set a specific figure at their meetings next week. The steel workers have given no indication of a figure, though they stand on the general CIO position as announced by President Murray

Newark AVC Hears Socialist View on World War Threat

By JACK WEBB

NEWARK—U. S. foreign policy was discussed at the monthly educational form of Newark AVC Chapter No. 1, Monday evening, Dec. 16.

Three points of view were presented and developed in the discussion and questioning by the members attending. Seymour Fascher presented the Wallace appeasement policy toward Stalinist Russia, nearly a word for word recapitulation of a Wallace speech in which he was primarily concerned with what the average Russian's reaction would be to a "hard" or Byrnes foreign policy, that is, a "tough" attitude toward Russia.

The question here raised was answered implicitly in the next speaker's delivery. Saul Mendelson spoke from an internationalist socialist point of view and contended that the working people of the world cannot look to a Byrnes, a Wallace or a Stalin for the freedom they desire. Mendelson explained the imperialist nature of the United States as well as the imperialist nature of Russia and the economic-political drives that force them into the arena of military action. Using Manchuria as an example the speaker showed that foreign policy is a logical continuation of internal or domestic policy.

Joseph Bruder presented what was more an anti-Wallace position than a pro-Byrnes one, the position he was to defend. Bruder was excessively sensitive to Stalinist party members' infiltration into unions, in this and other countries. Bruder felt that a great deal had been accomplished in the last days of the UNO and Foreign Ministers deliberations. While, in general, defending U. S. right to expansion and lauding the exemplary treatment afforded the Philippines by General MacArthur and the U. S., he nevertheless confirmed most major points Mendelson made.

NO MATTER HOW YOU SLICE STAKHANOVISM...

With increased mechanization and division of labor projected under the new Ukrainian five-year plan, it appears difficult, reports the press, for Stalinist planners to provide individual bonuses. Instead they are emphasizing collective bonuses. In Don Basin mines every underground miner receives a daily bread ration of one kilo (2.2 pounds) and a pre-work shift meal containing 100 grams of fat. If his shift reaches the "plan" he receives an extra allowance of 200 grams of bread (about one-half pound).

joint strategy, of the union rank and file. At the moment, the strategy to be pursued, the line to be taken, is entirely in the hands of the union leaderships. It is not enough. The ranks have to be alerted so that they can intervene in forging common labor action and in setting the tone of negotiations and the extent of demands.

A Union Militant Talks It Over:

Let's Wise UP and Form A Party of and for Labor

By BILL CARNEY

PHILADELPHIA—When the CIO first inaugurated their plans for political action to protect the gains of the organized workers, we rank and file members of the CIO were filled with the hope that at last labor was coming to the realization that no economic gains could be insured until labor had gained control of the administrative, legislative and judicial functions of the government.

We were alarmed, of course, when we found that instead of PAC being used to further the interests of the workers, it was simply to be used as an appendage to the Democratic Party. However, being members of the CIO and accustomed to a more democratic method of doing business than that which prevailed in the old hide-bound AFL, we were confident that the national leadership would consult with and be guided by the wishes of the CIO rank and file who, we felt sure, would never permit their organization to be used just to insure the re-election of a bunch of political tricksters masquerading as friends of labor.

How wrong we were! The rank and file were soon disillusioned. When we demanded independent political action we were told the time was not ripe yet. Or, again and again we were called visionaries and betrayers of the labor movement.

LOOK AT RESULTS It was pointed out to us that our great friends of labor, such as FDR, Senators Ball, Wagner and Guffey, and even Congressmen Mike Bradley and Sheridan of Philadelphia deserved our gratitude and support.

And when we countered with the record of such staunch democrats (passengers on the same political vehicle which carried these great friends of labor) as Bilbo, Rankin and Smith of Virginia, our leadership and their Stalinist stooges accused us of being disrupters.

Remember back in '44 when the demand from the rank and file from all over the country was growing for an independent labor party, our national leadership with the help of Stalinists shunted aside our demands with the same old cry: "The time is not ripe... sabotage... wild eyed visionaries."

And look at the result. By Philip Murray's own statement, the 1944 Congress was the most reactionary one we ever suffered under. And the new leader, whose succession to the presidency was made possible through the blundering political strategy of Murray and Hillman, the greatest strike-breaker who ever sat in the White House, Harry S. Truman.

Ah, yes, there were several things the rank and file were permitted to do. We were permitted to contribute to the campaign fund and we were permitted to ring door bells to get out the vote. But as for the rank and file having a voice in the policy or program or the selection of candidates by PAC, well, that just wasn't being done, you know.

In 1946 the rank and file revolted, no more contributions, no more door bell pulling. Did the national leadership wake up? No. What have they done to determine the cause of this revolt? Have they gone to the rank and file for an explanation? No. Have they reviewed their past actions to seek the cause of this debacle? Not by a jug full.

At the last CIO national convention they reaffirmed their intention of keeping PAC together. But not as an independent political entity—no, only as an instrument to elect friends of labor to office. A third party, perhaps, whose candidates would be such bankrupt, discredited friends of labor as Henry Wallace or Harold Ickes, or maybe some liberal Republican, ha, ha, like Stassen.

Such a third party as envisioned by the Stalinists in the CIO, would have as its sole aim to assist one imperialist power (and I mean Russia) impose its will upon the American workers and the world.

TOWARD REAL POLITICAL ACTION

Has the idea ever penetrated the heads of our national leadership that perhaps the reason the PAC was a failure is because the American worker is smart enough to see that there is no difference between the programs of either of the two capitalist parties, and that neither party is designed or even inclined to better the condition of the worker?

The Boss's Dictionary

Leisure-Class



TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

Much as I dislike intruding on the reader's happiness during this joyous Christmas season, I feel I must burden you with a tale that will tear your bleeding heart right out of your breast. It will make "tears as large as grapefruit course down your cheeks," as Comrade Shachtman would say.

The story has to do with the sorry plight of "Mr. X," and is based on "the first of several interviews about the personal budgetary problems of families in all income classes." It appeared in the December 18 Wall Street Journal. If you can read it without audible means escaping from your grief-compressed lips, you are a case-hardened scoundrel. Here we go, for the story of how "Mr. X barely manages to make ends meet on \$45,000 a year."

Mr. X, it is related, "derives about half his income from his salary as president and general manager of a West Coast firm employing over 250 men. The remainder comes from income on his investments. A man in his mid-forties, progressive and a hard worker (see bit about his club-life below), he typifies thousands of other corporation executives over the land."

Mr. X lives with his wife and three young children "in a 14-room house on one acre of ground in an upper-class San Francisco suburb." From this description, you can immediately see that he is ill-housed. Frank Lloyd Wright, the great architect, has recommended that each family have at least one acre for each member thereof.

Mr. X, it appears, receives for household allowances the piddling sum of \$1,250 monthly. "Before the war," Mr. X recalls nostalgically, "it ran to about \$700 a month." Mr. X has the devil's own time getting the housework done. To help her she has a cook, a governess, a second maid and a gardener, whose wages come to \$460 a month. "Before the war we paid \$75 a month for a cook," says Mr. X. "Now it's \$150. We paid \$90 a month for a nurse then; now it's \$160. Second maid and gardener each draw \$75 a month."

But that isn't all. "You've got to remember we have to feed these people three times a day," continues Mr. X. "With food prices where they are that comes to a tidy sum each month." Mr. X's sums are always tidy.

So the cost of keeping Mr. X's home in running condition adds up to \$15,000 a year. He pays, he says, \$20,000 a year in taxes, leaving only \$10,000 to go on.

Mr. X, being R-I-C-H, is naturally burdened with club dues. He belongs to five clubs, three in the city "because of his business connections, and two country clubs." Dues amount to \$1,300. In addition he has to figure on \$160 a month for the four months in mid-year when family social life revolves in a degree around one of the two country clubs. His "golfing club" costs him another \$60 a month, mostly for caddy fees which have jumped from \$1.50 to \$3 for 18 holes.

When Mr. X takes his family on a month's vacation each summer, that costs \$1,500, "even though Mr. X is a family man and doesn't indulge excessively in Lake Tahoe's expensive social life."

These social and entertainment expenses cost Mr. X around \$4,000 a year. It leaves him with \$6,000, of which \$4,000 goes to pay premiums on \$100,000 of life insurance. "That \$4,000 for insurance is all my savings now, if you want to call it that," he says bitterly. All right, let us call it that, and get on with the sordid story.

To make ends meet as prices climb, "Mr. X is applying a business axiom to his living standards: 'The only way to meet these costs is retrenchment,' he says."

"A lot of dining-out has gone by the board," he relates. "I just won't go to these restaurants and pay those awful prices. On Thursday night out, the family eats at home."

"I buy my suits four or five at a time." He's dpe

for some suits now, at \$200 per, but is going to put it off. He's only got one car in the garage, a lousy Cadillac, and finds he can get along all right, "for the present at least." When he takes those business trips to the east several times a year, at company expense, he no longer takes his wife along because "you know how it is when the women are let loose in those eastern cities."

Mr. X is "filled with astonishment and wonder" at the free spenders he sees tossing dough around. "Sometimes I wonder if all those people you see throwing their money away are dodging taxes or what," he muses. Mr. X, of course, does not dodge taxes. He pays them. It says so, RIGHT IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. He is strictly a square, from Delaware, with sharp corners.

Up to now, this story has been gloomy, macabre, almost like something from Dostoyevsky. But it has the old twist to it, after all, the Hollywood ending. By dint of saving here and there, Mr. X still lives within his income. He says he intends to continue cutting down expenses rather than biting into savings. "I've never operated that way and I don't intend to start now," he said grimly.

One of the first places Mr. X is going to start cutting is in the wages he pays employes and servants, presumably. Our hero feels pretty strongly about "the labor problem."

"In spite of higher costs," he says, "the workingman has made a net gain in real income because of pay raises. But I don't think an executive on a salary has any way of offsetting increased costs. The executive suffered a net loss in real income." Here, take my handkerchief.

ECONOMIC NOTES

The Reynolds Tobacco Co. will have a 1946 income in excess of \$27 million, compared with \$19.2 million in 1945. Those extra pennies you pay for a pack of Camels today mount up, you see... The Justice Department, which during the election year of 1940 instituted an anti-trust suit against the American Petroleum Institute and the oil trust, has now quietly dropped the suit, "without divulging the division's reasons for recommending dismissal."... The U. S. Maritime Commission has been accused, by the House Merchant Marine Committee, of paying 2.5 million to the California Shipbuilding Corporation to take a free gift of \$39 million worth of shipyard facilities and materials off its hands. ... Steel prices have jumped sharply recently. Whereas the OPA ceiling was \$19.25 a ton for No. 1 heavy melting, quotations now range from \$30 a ton upward....

Standard Oil of New Jersey and its fellow member of the trust, Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., are going to add approximately \$13.4 million to their joint oil investment in Iraq. The two companies own 23 1/2 per cent of Iraq Petroleum Co., part of the world oil cartel. This latter company has concessions which now "include almost the whole of Iraq, as well as certain areas in Syria, Palestine, the Sheikdom of Qatar and the Trucial Coast on the Persian Gulf. They cover some 370,000 square miles...."

Net income of Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Co. for the first nine months was \$3,432,221, about triple the earnings in 1945.... In the middle of 1946, a government tabulation showed that 27 per cent of the auto industry's working force was comprised of ex-service men and women, compared with the all-U. S. manufacturing industry average of 18 per cent.... The buyer of a \$1,500 automobile in 1946 paid an average of \$133.74 in special taxes in the purchase and first-year operation of the car.... Boris Shishkin, economist for the AFL, believes that the most dependable index pointing to an early recession is to be found in the expenditure for dental work. When such expenditures expand, the indication is that good times are ahead. When these expenditures contract, as they now are doing, he says, we are in for a recession.

Survey of Old Year Poses Our Tasks - -

(Continued from page 1)

is the root of the evil. During the four years from 1941 to 1944, despite the fact that nearly 13 million of the youngest and most physically fit and best educated were withdrawn from labor, production in the United States reached astonishing heights. The government fed, clothed, housed, drilled, educated, transported these millions to various ends of the earth. At the same time it could give a pittance to their dependents. It built ships, it built planes and tanks and guns lavishly. It produced food for the U. S., food for Britain, food for Russia, munitions for the U. S., munitions for Britain, munitions for Russia.

But in 1946 the war was over. The same people, the same nation, wanted housing. This same government, which could perform so much in 1940-44, suddenly has become impotent. It can do nothing. It could take two billion dollars during the war, find labor, build whole towns, produce an atomic bomb. It could build supply lines running from the heart of the United States to the center of Asia, the heart of Africa, to Iceland, to Italy, to anywhere!

But houses? It cannot. It doesn't know what to do. And a housing shortage of unprecedented scope has poisoned home life in the United States during the very year 1946 when possibilities of building existed such as have never existed before.

Under capitalism and its democracy, it is what capital wants that wins, not what the people want. Look back again at 1946. The people wanted a great housing program. What have they got? The people want rent control. Of every 100 people, Democratic or Republican, 99 want rent control. Yet 1946, gloomy as it has been, has its last days clouded still more by the fact that unless a herculean effort is made by the public, their rents are going to be raised. Vote Democrat, vote Republican—the result is the same.

WAVE OF BRUTALITY

Thus 1946, the year after the great war for democracy, has seen a wave of brutality against Negroes such as has not been seen in this country for

20 years. A crop of lynchings all over the country, particularly the South, shocked the nation. Tens of millions, white and black, both North and South, felt that such a lynching as that of the two Negro couples in Georgia, threatened something vital to the existence and the reputation of the U. S. as a civilized country.

The federal government, Congress, the judiciary, all of them suddenly realized their impotence. They could do nothing. They had tracked down German spies and celebrated it in films. OSS had carried on sabotage and espionage in all quarters of the globe; in a few weeks the government would build up a legal case against John L. Lewis which would threaten the union he leads with financial extinction. Truman was ready to use Army, Navy and Air Force against the railway men. He used the whole judicial system against the UMW. But against the lynchers, the capitalist state suddenly goes bankrupt in every nerve and limb. He is a blind tool and slave of capitalism who cannot see that the state is the tool and slave of the economic powers.

POWER OF WORKERS

Yet if 1946 has shown us the pretenses and the realities of capitalist democracy as never before, by the same token the year shows us the growing recognition of the need for united resistance among the organized workers. There lies the only power strong enough to challenge, to engage and to conquer capital.

For organized labor the year has been a testing-ground, and organized labor has struggled and suffered and learned. The UAW strike, the steel strike, the splendid series of maritime strikes, the strike of the railwaymen, in all these heroic efforts labor repeatedly showed its determination not to be deflected from its objectives by the government.

But as the prices rose and turned the wage gains to ashes, there slowly grew in the working class a sober realization that such strikes did not bring the desired results. The attempt of the government to smash the UMW was a rallying signal to all la-

bor. From one end of the country to the other could be heard the recognition by labor that the threat to Lewis was a threat to the whole labor movement. It culminated in the letter of Murray to the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods calling for united action.

In Detroit, the storm center of capital-labor relations in the crisis-ridden U. S., AFL and CIO prepared for a 24-hour general strike to demonstrate labor solidarity with the UMW and defiance of the government.

As the year ends, the UAW, the Steel Workers and the United Electrical Workers are planning a joint strategy which they and the whole country know will set the pattern for the wage negotiations and inevitable struggles which will begin in 1947.

WHAT WILL 1947 BRING?

Who seeks some order, some pattern, some line of thought by which to orient his thinking and his actions had better learn to read the lessons of 1946. Magnificent productive power on the one hand and an almost malicious incapacity to satisfy the needs of the people on the other. A type of democracy which produces a government able to perform miracles for the capitalists, but which is powerless to implement the clearly expressed wishes of the people, a government which springs into life and energy only when it is necessary to intimidate and beat down the labor movement.

And where lies salvation? Not in the sky. But there under our eyes the force which will replace capitalism (or otherwise we perish), there under our eyes, the labor movement has fought the capitalist class and its capitalist government unceasingly through the year. That struggle continues. That is already the keynote of 1947.

What will 1947 bring? No one can tell. But this much is certain. The capitalist government, capitalist democracy, cannot change its spots. It is as it is and does as it does because

it must. It represents capitalist interests against the great body of the nation.

It is the type of government that must be changed. We want a government of the workers, based upon the economic power of the working class, their ownership and control of the means of production, of the resources of the nation. How could such a government, a people's government in the most genuine sense of that term, how could it deny, flout and cheat the wishes of the people.

As we look into the darkening gloom of 1947 we can see a way out if we can only grasp the true pattern of 1946—increasing decay and barbarism of capitalist civilization, increasing solidarity of labor against this unbearable chaos and tyranny.

MUST SEE TASK

But to struggle successfully labor must see its task clearly. That task can be summed up in a sentence. It is to replace the capitalist government with a workers' government.

Unity of labor, organize the unorganized, especially organize the South, defense of the living standards of the lower middle classes; joint labor-front committees; defense of the democratic rights and liberties of all racial minorities; withdrawal of all American troops from abroad, all American aid to workers and farmers' political and industrial organizations abroad; these and a dozen other slogans, programs, aims, aspirations, hopes, form the content of the struggles of American labor in this year which faces us and for years to come.

But they will achieve their fullest fruition, awaken the greatest enthusiasm, call forth miracles of organization and sacrifice as yet unseen, only when labor has its own independent political party, its own independent aim, mortal struggle against the pretenses of capitalist democracy, and its own proud goal, a free socialist society.

REFRESHMENTS LIVE MUSIC ENTERTAINMENT Revolutionary New Years Eve Party DOWN WITH The Old Year! DROWN IT in Bubbles! UP THE REBELS! AT CARAVAN HALL, 110 East 59th St. NEW YEAR'S EVE, TUESDAY, December 31 9:30 P.M. to ... Advance tickets available at Workers Party City Center, 114 W. 14th St. Price in advance \$3.50 for a couple ADMISSION AT DOOR—\$2.00 PER PERSON Auspices: WORKERS PARTY, Local New York

An Editorial Statement: The UN Action on Spain

Following the vote of the United Nations Assembly recommending recalling ambassadors from Franco Spain, intrigue and counter-intrigue are pursuing each other at a rapid-fire rate in and around that unfortunate country.

British agents are working feverishly to present the people of Spain with an accomplished fact: an "interim government" of eminently respectable and more than a little discredited professional democrats to take over the country after the inevitable collapse of the Franco régime.

American agents are just as feverishly at work to guarantee a post-Franco government that will be based upon the Catholic hierarchy, purged of the more notorious bandits of the Fascist Falange and rechristened "Christian Democrats," but composed essentially of the same Vatican reaction that made Franco possible.

Their fever is induced by two considerations. The first is the fear of what the Spanish people will do, how far they will go, once the gag and manacles of fascism have been removed. Nothing gives the "democrats" of Downing Street and the State Department such cold nightmares as the prospect of a people acting freely and democratically to decide its own destiny. Before these "democrats" do anything decisive to force Franco out, they want to be as sure as they can possibly be that a ready-made state power will be on hand to make sure that the "mob" does not get out of hand and decide things for itself.

The second is the fear of Stalinist Russia and its agents. Their activities have been no less feverish. The Mediterranean is Britain's lifeline to her African and Asiatic slave-empires. British imperialism already has its hands full with the drive for power of its Russian imperialist rival at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Whoever controls Spain controls the western end of the Mediterranean. A Spain under the complete or even the partial control of the Communist Party—which is the fist the Kremlin uses to shift the masses who follow it across the diplomatic chess-board like pawns—would give Russia the edge in the western Mediterranean. This edge would be a permanent threat to sever the British imperial life-line.

REAL INTERESTS OF SPANISH MASSES

The real interests of the Spanish people and of European democracy and socialism will not be served by the machinations of the Anglo-American or Stalinist imperialists. The record of these gentlemen is so well known that to expect salvation from them is, at best, the crudest kind of self-deception.

During the martyred struggle of the Spanish people against Franco and the fascist cohorts sent from Rome and Berlin to help him, the imperialists of Washington, London and Paris thrust dagger after dagger into the backs of the Spanish people by their cynical policy of "non-intervention."

During the same struggle, the agents of the Kremlin autocracy organized a totalitarian terror machine to grind to bloody shreds every honest and courageous worker in the Loyalist camp itself. The record of the Russo-Spanish GPU during the Spanish Civil War is not one whit less revolting than the torments subsequently suffered under the Vatican-blessed régime of Franco.

It is not to Washington, London or Moscow that the Spanish people can look for freedom from the yoke of oppression. The imperialists seek only to replace one yoke with another. The destruction of Franco fascism and the struggle for genuine freedom can be achieved only by the organized efforts of the Spanish people itself. In this struggle they are sure, tomorrow as yesterday, to find the sympathy and active solidarity of the working people all over the world.

As for the imperialists and their "United Nations," they should get what they deserve—the suspicious and unrelenting hostility of all the people, the Spanish included.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM

The cynical hypocrisy of the United Nations is of course evident to the present rulers of Spain. It is no less evident to millions of others. For example, who helped Franco come to power if not the Anglo-French-American imperialists? Who helped keep him in power with financial and other economic assistance if not the same gang? In the light of these well-known facts, who will take seriously the present piety of these same imperialists toward Franco's horrors? Everyone knows, or ought to know, that the arbitrary intervention of the United Nations bosses into Spanish affairs is not based upon Franco's sympathy or support to Hitler during the war or to the fact that Franco's régime is totalitarian.

If that were really the basis of the intervention, who would sit in judgment against the rulers of France, England and America who helped Hitler arm for the war? Who would sit in judgment against Stalinist Russia, which gave a thousand times more aid to Hitler during the war than Franco could ever hope to give? Who would sit in judgment against the same Stalinist Russia, which is far more totalitarian and infinitely more brutal in the suppression and oppression of its people than Franco could ever be? Or against Chiang Kai-shek's régime in China, which has the blood of literally hundreds of thousands of people on its hands, which runs the country with a supreme contempt for all democratic principles? Or against any one of a dozen or two others in the United Nations Assembly who voted so piously to intervene in the affairs of Spain?

The action of the assembly is doubly sinister in that it strengthens the ugly precedent for foreign imperialist intervention in the affairs of any small or weak country whose government, no matter what it is, stands in the way of this or that piratical power or combination of powers. On the lips of the United Nations chiefs, the watchword of the right of all peoples to self-determination is a grotesque and mealy-mouthed fraud. For the peoples of the world, the watchword has real and urgent meaning. Anyone who supports the insidious intervention into Spain of the united imperialists is helping to trample democracy under foot and, willy-nilly, to do the dirty work of one or another group of imperialists.

Which is why we say we are against the intervention in Spain of the united imperialists and their motley assortment of "liberal" and "democratic" parrots: The Spanish workers and peasants will crush the serpent of fascism without the filthy hands of imperialism around their throats.

The Capitalist Theorists And the Issue of Wages

By DAVID COOLIDGE

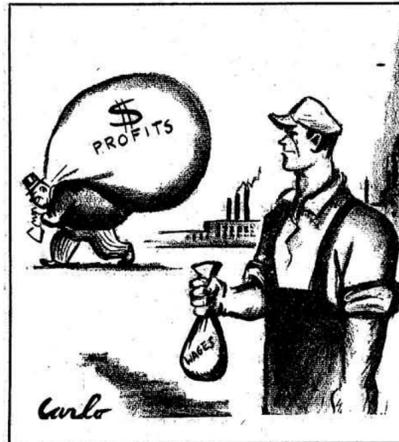
THE persistent demand of labor for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living resulted in a barrage of columns of analysis and counter-demands from the capitalist press and the big associations of employers. One such reply appeared in the financial pages of the New York Times under the signature of Edward H. Collins, financial editor. Collins' piece is entitled: "On the Debasement of Economic Theory." Collins begins with the observation that "The drive of the Congress of Industrial Organizations for a new round of wage increases is an interesting, if depressing, reminder of the fact that, with the possible exception of government spending, more sins have probably been committed in recent years in the name of 'purchasing power' than in that of any other single economic doctrine."

There are many people who will disagree with Mr. Collins in naming the specific economic doctrine which has been used more in recent years for the commission of economic, political and social sins. For instance, there is the doctrine that capitalism is the best possible of all economic systems and must be perpetuated at all costs. Hitler tied his kite to this "economic doctrine" and, financed by big German industrialists, instituted fascism with its concentration camps and gas chambers. There is the "economic theory" or "law" of supply and demand which in some way was the theoretical basis for the demand to eliminate price controls. The "law" is working very well for its proponents with butter at 98 cents the pound. We are reminded, however, that this particular "economic doctrine" did not hold up so well in the period between 1929 and the beginning of the last world war, despite the fact that capitalist economists did yeoman service in its behalf.

We could mention many other "economic doctrines" which did not have their source in the ranks of labor unions or the working class, in whose names many sins have been committed. We could mention "inflation" and "deflation," "gold standard," "bimetallism" and a host of others which have kept the "experts" committing all manner of sins even against each other.

WHO WILL BENEFIT

Mr. Collins, however, is not concerned with these mediums for the commission of sin. He wants "an expansion of the purchasing power of the people..." but he doesn't believe that the way to get it is the method used by the unions. They want an increase in wages. Collins agrees with Dr. Harold Moulton, president of the Brookings Institute, that the way to expand purchasing power is to reduce prices without a reduction in wages. The road to a rising standard of living is the expansion of the purchasing power of the people. This doctrine has been the very foundation of the success of American mass production methods under private capitalism.



The bosses are out to resist labor's demands by every means at their disposal—huge anti-strike funds, multi-million-dollar publicity campaigns, etc. Not the least of these are the pretentious economic analyses produced by the theoreticians who dangle on the profiteer's strings. It is important that labor know what these arguments are, and how to explode them.

If you reduce prices without reducing wages the whole population benefits according to Moulton and Collins. But, if "wage rates are increased, the immediate benefits are confined to the particular group of workers involved..." This is certainly a curious "economic doctrine" and if true, the consequences of its application would be somewhat appalling. That is to say: if 900,000 steelworkers get an increase in wages nobody will benefit except steelworkers immediately. I suppose the catch is in the word "immediate." The assumption must be that these steelworkers carry their pay around in their pockets for months and months with a feeling of smug satisfaction that they are men of means. Yet every worker knows that he cannot hold onto his wages, but must spend it immediately on the necessities of life.

If prices are reduced and the line is held on wages, "this not only adds to the purchasing power of the labor group, but it increases the real income of the non-wage urban population... the benefits are distributed throughout the entire economic system..." To approach the question in any other way, according to the financial expert of the "Times," is to perpetrate a "vulgarization of the purchasing power doctrine." Not only is it vulgar to approach the question of purchasing power through demands for wage increases, but such an approach is also "oversimplified" and a "caricature." This is very interesting. We have noted for some time that capitalist employers, their lawyers, accountants and supporters always object to workers making demands which are simple and direct. History shows, however, that wages do not keep pace with profits and high prices. Competition and stuffed warehouses and inventories, lack of buyers reduce prices—not stationary wages. If wage increases are not

won, labor will only suffer more. Big business does not want workers to come into wage negotiations with only one set of books. Labor should emulate its betters: have at least three sets of books; for example, one set for the employees, one for the government and one for the stockholders. To do otherwise is "oversimplification" and a "vulgarization."

THE UAW DEMANDS

Mr. Collins is particularly perturbed about the wage demands of the United Automobile Workers. These demands "show how opportunistic labor leaders can turn such an economic legend to their advantage." (The "legend" is the claim that wage increases somehow benefit those who get the increase.) "...to the extent that profits resulting from increased productivity were distributed, it was preferable that it be done through reduction in prices." So said Dr. Moulton. Mr. Collins is very careful about his grammar and syntax here. The situation is conditional and a suitable syntax is required. Since there is no distribution of profits resulting from increased productivity, it is necessary to be very careful in the wording of one's propaganda.

Collins has made the astounding discovery that "here, in the UAW, we see a union which within a few months of receiving a wage rise of 16 per cent is returning with fresh demands for another 30 per cent." If you give them an inch they will take an ell! What the "opportunistic labor leaders" ought to do is consult Dr. Moulton. He will explain to them how to get General Motors not to reduce wages while they bring down the price of their cars a few hundred dollars. Needless to say, Collins has nothing to say about the fact that the UAW is asking for another wage rise because he and Dr. Moulton have been unsuccessful in their "heroic" efforts to get the food processors, the packers, the clothing manufacturers and the landlords to use the "profits of increased productivity" for reducing prices.

The Workers Party regrets that it must inform Dr. Moulton and Mr. Collins that we cannot accept, not their debasement of "economic theory," but their economic theory itself. We know a better economic theory. In the first place the Workers Party subscribes to the theory that, twist as they may, the capitalist class, its economists, lawyers and financial experts, cannot brew any potion or devise any scheme which will cure the ills of capitalism. No matter how much they may engender this rotting system with phrases about "purchasing power" through the reduction of prices, this social order will continue to rot and decay. The evidence can be found even in the article of Collins and the position of Dr. Moulton. They talk about reducing prices and never mention the fact that today prices are fixed, not by some really mythical economic doctrine of supply and demand, but by the big monopolists in the interest of monopoly capitalism. But Collins and Moulton never mention the word "monopoly." Nor do they mention the fact that monopoly capitalism prefers to export the "surplus" rather than to sell at home at reduced prices.

FOR WORKERS POWER

What worker would object to a reduction in the price of butter, meat or clothing? Who ever heard of labor demanding higher and higher wages as prices dropped lower and lower? Furthermore, where is it recorded that the capitalist employers and their press are fighting for lower prices? Simply lower prices, not to mention lower prices without a reduction in pay.

Our objection to the present demands of labor is that its demands are modest, not broad and inclusive enough. They only demand more wages as a rule. The working class does not see that to confine our demands within the framework of old-fashioned trade unionism is not enough. What would Dr. Moulton, Mr. Collins and the rest of them say to the demand that the workers take over production, manage it and determine their own wages? What would the capitalist economic experts say to the proposal made by the Workers Party that industry be nationalized and that such nationalized industry be under the control of the workers? Only then would Dr. Moulton see his program, lower prices with no reduction in wages, put into operation. There would be abundant "purchasing power," high productivity and continuous mass production. Mass production, not for amassing huge inventories but for supplying the needs of the people.

What would Dr. Moulton and the other capitalist economists say if the working class should take a notion to have its own independent labor party, its own government, army, courts, as well as its own laws determining the level of wages and prices. Dr. Moulton and his kind would probably call this "the debasement of economic theory."

How Labor Action Reported the Struggles of Workers in 1946

By ARTHUR STEIN

The year 1946 was marked by some of the most intense strike struggles in the history of American labor. Miners, steel workers, railroad workers, meat packers—men in virtually all the major industries of the country—were involved in strikes and work-stoppage demonstrations. And, for the first time in the history of the country, great numbers of workers were striking on issues that were not confined merely to increases in wages; the General Motors strike demonstrated a new maturity on the part of labor by demanding proposed wage increases without an increase in prices, and by advancing the unprecedented demand for the opening of the company's books to representatives of the workers.

Thus, as reflected in the columns of LABOR ACTION, the labor news of 1946 centered mainly around wages, prices and rents.

When the year began, the GM strike was still in progress. LABOR ACTION was in the forefront among those who enthusiastically supported the demands advanced by the strikers. And when the workers in other mass industries also became engaged in struggles for higher wages, LABOR ACTION proposed that these struggles be unified through a co-ordinating committee of all the unions involved. "Labor needs a general staff," we said.

But the paper was never concerned exclusively with news and discussion of trade union topics. In January we demanded a speed-up of demobilization, and in our issue of February 18 we featured a special dispatch from Moscow to the effect that Stalin was the winner in the "democratic" Russian elections.

SOME HIGH POINTS

In February, too, we carried an article exposing the strike-breaking role of the Stalinist leaders of the UE-CIO in settling their dispute with the General Motors Corporation behind the back of the UAW. In March we featured articles concerning the UAW convention, calling upon delegates to take the lead in the formation of an independent Labor Party. The first part of April saw a preview of the eight-page edition of the paper, in which we reported the victory of the GM program at the UAW convention, manifested by the election of Reuther as president of the union. Max Shachtman, then the national secretary of the Workers Party, contributed a review of the first six

years of the party to this issue, analyzing the party's political growth and struggles.

In April, the paper carried a report of a letter sent to the American Veterans Committee by the Workers Party, approving of the actions that organization had taken in behalf of housing for veterans, and suggesting the broadening of this struggle to include all national veterans' organizations, labor unions and political parties.

The issue of April 22 welcomed the first group of comrades from the Socialist Workers Party minority group into the Workers Party. The last issue of that month was a special eight-page May Day number, which contained a manifesto by the Workers Party, May Day greetings from comrades and friends all over the country, and special articles concerning the international struggle for socialism.

In May, we were able to announce a new regular feature for our paper, which has since become very popular with our readers: "Boss's Dictionary," cartoon serial by Carlo. At the end of that month, strikes of miners and railroad workers highlighted the news, and on May 27 we carried the banner headline, "Nationalize Mines, Rails Under Workers' Control." Following Truman's success in breaking the railroad strike, our headline read "For a Government of Labor, Not of Strikebreakers." In the June 10 issue, we welcomed another group of comrades from the SWP minority who joined the Workers Party, and on the 17th of June we were able to report a record-breaking vote of 45,000 for our PCI comrades in France. The beginning of July, with the expiration of the old OPA, the national crisis over prices reached severe proportions. Our paper, in addition to condemning the inaction of Congress on this matter, called for "price control committees in each industry, which will function as part of the unions and will be on the lookout in their own industry to keep prices down!"

CHAMPIONING LABOR

Later in July, the paper carried the announcement of the Congressional candidacies of Max Shachtman and E. R. McKinney in New York. In our issue of July 15, we carried an exclusive exposé of the duplicity of Stalinism in the new wave of anti-Semitism in Europe and the Near East. On August 5, the first regular eight-page edition appeared, which featured an article by E. R. McKin-

ney on the Georgia lynchings: "Break the Lynch System" read our main headline. On August 12, we started two series of articles, one on the question of unity between the two American Trotskyist organizations by Albert Goldman, the other on the CIO and AFL organizing drive in the South, by E. R. McKinney.

In the last part of August, with the British terror against the Jewish resistance movement in Palestine reaching a height, LABOR ACTION reacted with the slogan, "Drive Out the British Assassins." In September, we carried the resolution drawn up by the WP city organization in New York which hit the British imperialist interference in Palestine, and

(Continued on page 5)

First-Hand, Exclusive Reports to Labor Action:

Hunger Spreads in Germany and France

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Dec. 8—Eighty-five Germans died from starvation, said Mr. Hynd, British occupation head, to the House of Commons on Dec. 4 in his report for October. November was far worse:

Wholesale and retail trade are at a "standstill," and factories hitherto carrying on production "face an imminent stoppage," since their raw materials stocks are nearly gone, reported The Economist, Nov. 30. As a result, there is "universal malnutrition in the towns, and a growing fear that the winter cannot pass without further dislocation, bread riots, disorders and possibly bloodshed."

W. C. Doherty, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and head of the AFL's delegation visiting Germany, declared in Berlin on Dec. 5 that in the Ruhr most of the workers were suffering from malnutrition and the miners could hardly work.

"There have been two hour strikes in factories as protests against food shortage," said the Manchester Guardian on Dec. 2.

There have been resolutions at trade union meetings condemning British policy—or the lack of it.

Coal trains reach their destinations half empty. Theft is caused by empty fire grates at home and bitter cold. British troops were called out to disperse 500 people who at-

tacked a coal train near Dortmund on Dec. 2; they arrested 25 people.

REASONS FOR DISCONTENT

These economic reasons for discontent were presented in an official U. S. Army study:

Clothing shortages cause "increased petty crime and highway robberies in which victims are disrobed and their clothes stolen."

"The lower classes of industrial workers are exhausting their reserve funds, resulting in resentment against those who still have bank accounts and can still deal on the black market to ease discomfort." One official said, "American authorities are criticized because many of the people still with funds made their money during the Nazi régime. Continued U. S. Army harboring of and association with Nazis has aroused open criticism."

Housing has aroused "resentment... against the American authorities" principally for "requisitioning property for U. S. dependents." In Hamburg where two mass protests against such requisitioning and dispossession of workers' families had burst forth, the British were forced to announce publicly that no further housing requisitions would be made.

With Bavaria 25 per cent short of absolute minimum bread needs, dozens of American Military Government officials forecast a "rough winter" for the Germans. Major General

Ernest N. Harmon, chief of the U. S. Army Constabulary Police force, said: "It may be tough and there may be minor incidents, but we see nothing organized in the mind." Tough man Harmon has previously declared his Constabulary troops can smash any resistance.

But no sooner had Harmon seen nothing, then "more outspoken" leaflets than were previously distributed, called on German workers to resist and sabotage the occupation forces. British and U. S. officers say the leaflets appear to be "Communist inspired." Open demands for withdrawal of the four occupation armies were voiced by workers who attribute their starvation and the favoring of Nazis to the occupying powers.

Wide resentment has arisen in the British zone at the announcement that while German workers are 300 per cent more crowded than in 1939, and in the midst of a severe shortage of timber for fuel and housing, timber is being cut and loaded for Britain: "Germany is one of our main sources of supply of timber for housing," said The Times Weekly Edition, Dec. 4.

The latest rumor in Dusseldorf is that "the German population is to be reduced to the nutrition standard of a concentration camp until April 1948." No better description of Big Four policing of German workers is yet available than their creation of a super-concentration camp for the

very first victims of Nazism, the German workers, while Nazis continue in the best jobs and have most of the available money, with Allied approval.

Despite official Allied banning of press attacks on the Allies, even the pro-U. S. Britain Christian Democrat leader in Western zones, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, said that in permitting the starvation in the Ruhr valley to continue, the Allies are committing "a crime against humanity." This phrase has been repeated in the press in headlines and editorials, and on the streets to Allied troops and officials.

Visitors recently returned from Germany to this city declare that the economic situation is desperate. There is little organization because of the Allied prohibition of anti-occupation formations. But there is a rising hatred for the well-fed, swagging Allies.

Special to Labor Action

PARIS—A "well paid" postal employee receiving 15,000 francs a month has total expenses of 22,682 francs for himself, wife and three children, a survey of average budgets revealed on December 1.

Marcel V., 50 years old, a postal employee in the Paris central post office in the Rue du Louvre, living in a working class neighborhood on the Rue Oberkampf, was chosen as the average employee.

His wife stays at home. His 14-year-old daughter receives 2,000 francs a month as an apprentice. A 10-year-old boy and a small baby complete the family of five.

Total receipts of the family are 17,000 francs a month.

Total expenses for the month are:

POSTAL WORKER'S BUDGET	
Food	14,344
Rent, taxes	716
Gas, electricity, heat	552
Clothes, transportation, utensils, etc.	6,570
Medical, pharmaceutical	500
Total expenses	22,682
Total receipts	17,000

Deficit 5,682
How is it possible to live with this heavy deficit?

Mother does the laundry. She cuts everybody's hair, including that of Marcel V.

There is no pork or other meat, except some sausage, and the once-a-month purchase of some horse meat. No motion pictures.

To make up the deficit of 5,682 francs the family sells the tobacco rations of mother and father on the black market. Ration tickets for meat and fats which they have no money to buy are sold to the highest bidder.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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International Socialist Notes

We print below excerpts and notes culled from Vérité, the organ of the PCI, French section of the Fourth International. They reflect the recent growth of the PCI, as well as its struggle against Stalinist attack. The excerpts:

The Stalinists are beginning to find their campaign of slander against the Trotskyists expensive. Recently Gerard Bloch, Trotskyist leader in the Puy-de-Dôme Department of France, was awarded 25,000 francs in a slander suit against the local Stalinist paper, which was forced to print the court decision. Now suits have been filed in Nantes, where the Stalinist deputy attacked us as collaborators financed by the trusts, and at Lille. As the Lille comrades remarked, we're not financed by the trusts, but if this keeps up, we'll be pretty much financed by the Communist Party.

The liveliest, and at times most hilarious election campaign took place in the Puy-de-Dôme. Here are a few incidents that transpired there:

At one meeting, Comrade Bloch pointed out that the Stalinists had attacked Messali Hadj, the leader of the party of the Algerian people, as

a Hitlerite agent, but now, seven months later, were singing his praises. At this point the local Stalinist leader arose in the hall and shouted, "There are two Messalis, this is a different one, that's all!"

This stupidity was followed at another meeting by something much more vicious. At the town of Montferrand, after Bloch's speech, the local Stalinist functionary stated on the floor, "Yes, I am proud of being a Catholic, while you, you are only a Jew."

At another town in the area, Chapdes-Beaufort, the Trotskyists sponsored a meeting, for which the local supporters of the MRP turned out en masse. After hissing the speaker, Comrade Norval, they finally threw him out, crying, "Down with the revolutionists, long live the MRP." The same evening Norval went to the MRP rally whose audience was composed almost exclusively of Stalinists. The chairman was not very happy about the state of affairs. Norval took the floor and spoke for two hours, explaining the Trotskyist program. He was applauded so vigorously that the MRP chairman left the hall. Vérité was distributed, and a Stalinist summed

up the evening by remarking: "These Trotskyists, all the same, they're tough."

A meeting at La Combelle: "Hello, the mayor of La Combelle? This is the PCI, we want a hall for our election rally."

"Hmm, yes—the PCI—well, will you have solid people with you? Because things will be plenty hot."

That's encouraging. Comrade Bloch feels himself already in the ambulance. From the start of the meeting a young Stalinist miner stations himself at the door to prevent Stalinist Party members from participating. But Comrade Bloch makes his speech. And the young miner gets interested. Is he going to let himself be convinced by the pillagers of the Citroen plant? (This refers to a fable the Stalinists are spreading that Trotskyists looted this factory.) It appears so, for he takes a subscription to Vérité, and even decides to visit us at Clermon-Ferrand (the department capital). At the end he speaks to Bloch and swears that he knew us previously only through the circulars of the Communist Party. That explains many things.

STARVATION: THE GERMANS SPEAK: "WHY WE ARE HUNGRY"

The following letter, addressed by the FREIBURGER NOTHILFE (a relief organization in Freiburg, Germany) to the head of the French military government of occupation was published in the American NEUE VOLKSZEITUNG, December 7, 1946, from which we reprint the extracts given below.—EDITOR.

"Open letter to His Excellency, General Koenig, Chief of Military Government at Baden-Baden:

"Subject: Why Are We Hungry? "With reference to the poster that is now decorating all street corners, 'Why Are We Hungry,' we would like to inform His Excellency, General Koenig, of the true cause of the hunger of the Freiburg population.

"At this moment, the distribution of food to the average consumer over 10 years of age is the following:

Table comparing food rations in the American zone of Baden Province (for 4 weeks) and the French zone of Baden Province (for a month). Items include bread, fat, meat, cheese, sugar, milk, potatoes, eggs, powdered eggs, vegetables, onions, ersatz coffee, and cigarettes.

The above amounts to a daily ration of 1130 calories. The above amounts to a daily ration of 420 calories.

Free vegetables bought on the free market 1 pound, 3 oz. of fresh fish. All confiscated by the Military Government. Those trainloads destined for the French zone roll directly on to France!

40 cigarettes for men 20 cigarettes for women 1 piece of soap. Special Distributions: 2 pounds of fresh fish 6 oz. of powdered milk 1.6 oz. of chocolate for children.

"Double rations are received by all employers and workers for the Food Administration, likewise all servants working for the French.

"Quadruple rations are received by all French civilian personnel who also receive special monthly distributions of 3.3 pounds of butter, 8.8 pounds of meat, additional cigarettes, chocolate, sugar, sweets, fresh vegetables and fruits.

"That's why the German population of Freiburg goes hungry. "That's why nobody has the strength and desire to work.

"That's why Mr. Dietz, Food Director, has submitted his resignation, before the Freiburg hunger march begins!

"That's why Mr. Hoffman, Mayor of the city of Freiburg, has refused any responsibility in connection with food, so as not to be responsible for the consequence of the food policy. "That is the truth! That's why we are hungry! Die Freiburger Nothilfe."

Editorials

Big Business Speaks on Labor

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of General Motors, gave the line to the labor haters of the country last week. In a statement that achieved nation-wide prominence—and rightly so, for Sloan is one of the major spokesmen for U. S. capitalism—he outlined his program to smash the trade union movement of this country. We wish here to give it editorial analysis for we are certain that it will become one of the major weapons in the hands of the anti-labor forces of the nation; and every worker should know just what his enemies stand for.

Sloan, first of all, states that the unions are becoming so powerful as to constitute a monopoly in the country's economic life. This is the funniest thing since Bilbo said he was a "poor but honest man." Imagine if you will the gall of a man who heads one of the greatest corporations in the country, part of the du Pont industrial-economic dynasty, which is one of the most powerful and dominant forces in the country—imagine this man calling the unions a monopoly!

Of course, it isn't the "monopoly" angle that worries Sloan; he doesn't give a hoot about that one way or the other; what really worries Sloan is the tremendous power of the unions, especially their potential power, which he, unlike certain dimmer trade union leaders, does not fail to see.

Accordingly, Sloan puts forward his proposals. He demands that Congress "limit, by law, the jurisdiction of any one union." This, he declares, "can be accomplished in either of two ways: by (a) dissolving existing unions into parts so no one part has the economic power to substantially affect the public interest or (b) by limiting the power of any one union as now constituted to strike."

Concretely, Sloan proposes that "collective bargaining on an industry basis should be prohibited as a monopolistic practice." The cat's out now. This propo-

sal means that a corporation like General Motors, with scores of plants, would be able to make separate agreements in each of them; in those plants where the union is weak, inferior agreements might be concluded, which in turn would weaken the position of the workers of a given industry as a whole. The right to negotiate contracts on an industry-wide or corporation-wide basis is one of first importance for the labor movement. It means to grab hold of an industry as a whole, with the strongest spearhead of the union movement leading the fight in that given industry. Sloan's plan would cripple unions.

Sloan further proposes that "the closed shop should be outlawed." This is another favorite of the union-busters; it means to deprive the great mass of the workers of their right to negotiate contracts with their bosses which will protect their union privileges; it means to put the vast masses of workers in a shop at the mercy of a tiny handful of scissorbills who are unaware of the interests and needs of the workers as a group.

Sloan further proposes that the "unlimited right to petition for bargaining elections should be granted to employers." This proposal would give the employers the possibility to conduct a constant guerrilla war against the unions, to constitute "sweetheart" agreements with company unions on a rush-order basis.

And finally Sloan proposes that labor unions be subject to court damage suits and penalties, which would mean leaving the unions open to financial destruction by the anti-union courts; that "unions should be prohibited from making contributions, as such, supporting political activities" which would mean depriving labor of its right to utilize its political power.

These, then, are the proposals of one of America's leading industrialists. They constitute the basis on which coming anti-labor campaigns will be conducted. Let all workers and unions take heed!

The United Nations and Jim Crow

In a burst of synthetic good cheer and official optimism, the United Nations Assembly ended its sessions. Elsewhere in this issue there appears a detailed analysis of its activities; here we wish to confine ourselves only to one aspect of its work.

At one point in the proceedings, a resolution was introduced by the delegation from Egypt which read:

"The General Assembly of the United Nations declares that it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial persecutions and discriminations, and calls upon the governments and responsible authorities to conform both to the letter and to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, and to take the most prompt and energetic steps to that end."

Very worthy sentiments, no? Nothing in there with which any decent human being can disagree, right?

And yet what will you say when we tell you that this resolution was passed unanimously by the United Nations Assembly, that it was endorsed in pious speeches by all the major powers with the minor ones chiming in too?

The resolution was voted for by the United States, whose delegation included the august but frequently drowsy Senator from Texas, Connally, in whose state Jim Crow and racial discrimination are enforced by the Democratic Party, to which he belongs.

The resolution was voted for by Sir Andrew Cadogan of the Great Britain which has oppressed the Indian masses for centuries, which is the originator of the "white-man superiority" theory in relation to the peoples of Africa, which is the epitome of imperialist practice in rela-

tion to the colored peoples of the entire world.

The resolution was voted for by Gromyko, the delegate from Stalinist Russia, where national minorities, such as the Ukrainians, are cruelly oppressed.

The resolution was voted for by South Africa, the country whose exploitation and oppression of Negro and Indian people are unsurpassed in the entire world.

The resolution was supported by the Dutch, traditional oppressors of the East Indies, and by the French, likewise traditional oppressors of Indo-China.

This sort of resolution, which the United Nations and its predecessor, the League of Nations, has become so expert at passing, is the rankest sort of hypocrisy. For everyone knows that none of the nations which voted for the resolution will lift a finger to make a reality out of it.

Will the U. S. cease its Jim Crow policy? Will Britain give up its African holdings and will it permit immigration of homeless European Jews to Palestine? Will France get out of Indo-China voluntarily?

Will the moon break out into a Viennese waltz?

Well, when any of the above things happen, the moon will start waltzing in three-quarter time. And there's about as much chance of one happening as the other. For the fact is that such UN resolutions are merely eyewash; pious phrase whose only objective purpose can be to deflect attention from the not so pretty reality. Not until the masses of oppressed peoples themselves move into concerted action against evils mentioned in the UN resolution, will they be abolished; and not one moment sooner.

Books You Should Know

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE, by Karl Marx. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 75c.

Reviewed by ABE VICTOR

In the middle of the nineteenth century occurred one of those strange historical developments in which a man of limited vision and capability obtained dictatorial powers in France, the seedbed of revolutionary ideas and traditions. The unique quality of this event inspired several leading writers to describe and analyze the incidents which led Louis Bonaparte to a coup d'état which was a grotesque version of the earlier event led by another Bonaparte.

Victor Hugo and Proudhon, both applied their pens to an analysis of this event; the works of both authors on this subject became famous and the two writers were richly rewarded. But like some overrated popular novels, these two books have vanished into obscurity.

Marx himself described the difference between the other works and his own in the following words:

"Victor Hugo's Napoleon le Petit confines itself to bitter and brilliant invective against the responsible author of the coup d'état. The coup itself appears to him to have come like a bolt from the blue and to be nothing but the result of the violence of an individual, but he fails to observe that thereby he makes this individual great instead of small by crediting him with a personal power of initiative which would be unexampled in

world history. On the other hand, Proudhon's Coup d'Etat attempts to show the coup as the result of a train of previous historical development, but in his hands the historical construction of the coup develops into a historical apologia for the hero of the coup. Thus he falls into the error of the so-called objective historians. In my treatment of the subject, however, I show how the class struggle in France created conditions and circumstances which made it possible for a mediocre and grotesque individual to play the role of a hero."

It is more than ninety years since the three books appeared on the European scene; nowhere, today, do either of the other two books stir a leaf on the tree of society. The Eighteenth Brumaire, however, has taught several generations something about the role of the individual in history.

The Eighteenth Brumaire teaches a number of vital lessons in politics. Its description of liberalism is positively annihilating; its evaluation of the worth of a democratic constitution in a period of social instability is classic. Its ironic descriptions of French militarism are among the best sections in the book.

LITERARY ARTISTRY

But leaving aside every worthwhile lesson which the book teaches, The Eighteenth Brumaire is an example for the ages in historical writing. Not every historian began his career by writing poetry as Marx did. Not all historians had the feel

for good literature which Marx had. But every historian would do well to learn something about style from Marx. Much of his prose has a kind of rhythm and sweep, a kind of wit and imagery which is characteristic of good narrative poetry. The number of instances are many. But one has only to glance through the opening paragraphs of The Eighteenth Brumaire to see what is meant.

Hegel says somewhere that all great historic facts and personages recur twice. He has forgotten to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce....

"Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of whole cloth, he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of past generations weighs like an Alp upon the brain of the living."

And so, as John Milton would set the entire mood of a narrative by the opening lines, or Shakespeare by a stanza, or Shaw by a preface, Marx introduces his profound explanation of the coming to power of Louis Bonaparte with a few paragraphs. The tone is immediately set. The idea of the narrative is implied with clever artistry in the turn of a phrase. Already one's imagination conjures up Louis, the caricature of Napoleon, and the stage is prepared for that play of circumstances upon personality which led to the events of the 1850's in France.

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Can the Intellectuals Escape Politics?

January 12 8:30 P. M.

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From Address

The Political Situation in a Russian Puppet State

Stalinist Terror Dominates Elections in Poland

By A. RUDZIENSKI

THE coalition in the name of "national unity" imposed on Poland at Yalta has suffered a complete rout. The Mikolajczyk Populists (PSL—Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe) refused categorically to participate in the united electoral bloc. The Stalinists answered first with the Bonapartist plebiscite and later with the approval of the new electoral law. Whereas the Communists recognized the democratic constitution of 1921 in order to remove the legal bases of the London government, they did not recognize the democratic electoral law which was based on the direct, secret suffrage of all the population over twenty-one years of age. Under this electoral law the Stalinists ran the risk of being defeated by the Populists, who are supported not only by the peasants, but by the middle class, the ex-bourgeoisie and wide strata of workers who are disillusioned with the economic situation and the servile policy of the Stalinists toward Russia.

The new electoral law is a mockery of political democracy and of the rights of the working class masses. The government has absolute control of the elections. It can exclude inconvenient electors en masse on the pretext of their having collaborated economically and politically with the Nazis or being in contact with the "fascist underground." Similarly, it can exclude candidates on the same pretext. In the electoral commissions the Stalinist puppets have an absolute majority with the delegates of four government parties, all Stalinists under different names: PPR (official Stalinists, Polska Partia Robotnicza—Polish Workers Party); PPS (Polish Socialist Party), diluted and compromising; SD, the democratic party of Rzymowski; and SL, the Stalinist diversion in the countryside. But this is not enough.

TOTALITARIAN TERROR

Poland has today 23 million inhabitants instead of the 34 million of 1939. The country supports a burden of several armies and militias: the Russian army, half a million soldiers; the Polish puppet army, 300,000; the security police (bezpieka), 200,000; and clouds of bureaucratic locusts which ruin a country exhausted by war and devastation. These figures are enough to demonstrate the reactionary, parasitic and imperialist character of the Russian occupation in Poland.

The people defend themselves with arms. It is estimated that there are

still around 100,000 guerrillas, among whom the strongest organization is the WIN (Liberty and Independence), led by the ex-Pilsudskists, the NSZ (nationalist armed forces), whose right-wing and anti-Semitic character is of minor importance. There is also the resistance of the AK (home army), the remains of the famous Polish underground army which was annihilated in the Warsaw insurrection. There are detachments without leadership, which sometimes degenerate into banditry. It frequently happens in Poland that the underground detachments succeed in controlling entire districts of the country, as occurred in the districts of Bielsk, Radom, Sanok and Bialystok. In Cracow a short time ago, the "Men of the Forest" (guerrillas) opened the jail of St. Michael in broad daylight and freed all the political prisoners, who were transported openly in army trucks throughout the city.

The peasants aid the underground in order to defend themselves against the punitive expeditions of the Russians. In exchange, the Russians engage in reprisals worthy of Hitler. In the village of Wawolnica in the department of Lublin, all the inhabitants were assassinated and the village was leveled to the ground. Wawolnica is a "Lidice" of Poland and there are dozens of these "Lidices." Oppositions of lesser rank are lost like pebbles in a lake. They disappear. The Vice-Minister of Bezpieka, Wachnowicz, denounced the government assassins and was forced to resign. We know only of the arrests of the very well known Populists, those who cannot "disappear." Augustynski, editor of Mikolajczyk's organ, was arrested on the charge of "espionage in behalf of a foreign power." The editors Buczek and Mierzwa were accused of contact with the underground. The old leader of the Populist left wing, Casimir Bakinski, former member of the government of national resistance, formerly accused in Moscow, is a prisoner accused of having printed "the underground fascist organ." They mean the internal bulletins of the PSL.

In Bytom and other places in the carboniferous valley of Dombrowa, the security police began a human round-up, and hundreds of qualified workers, young women and technicians were rounded up and deported to Russia. In Riga the deportees tried to escape and brought on machine-gun fire by the GPU. Dozens of bodies lay on the ground. Short trials condemned to death dozens of those rounded up and hundreds of oppositionists and members of the armed underground. The demonstration trials were effected against the activists and entire organizations of the PSL (Mikolajczyk's Populist

Party) to "prove" collaboration between the PSL and the "fascist opposition." The reprisals also fall on the workers. In Gdansk (Danzig) the workers' strike was machine-gunned. In Lodz, the Polish Manchester, the worker, Borowiec, was sentenced to ten years for "strike agitation." Strikes are, of course, severely forbidden in the "democratic Poland" which made a "democratic revolution."

The prominent member of the PPS, Puzak, former president of CK, former member of the resistance government in 1944, formerly accused in Moscow, is again a prisoner. The old union leader, Zulawski, had to resign his seat in the Cracow Rada—the puppet national council—passing to legal opposition. Drobner, ex-member of the Lublin committee, is also exiled in Cracow. Zarembo, of the "PPS left wing," fled abroad and published in the Portuguese press a series of articles: "The Truth About the Warsaw Insurrection."

Of course, there is no Trotskyist opposition. Everyone suspected of Trotskyism was assassinated in Russia, the last in 1944, when the Russian army "liberated" Poland. The members of the Bund, the reformist left wing Jewish party, were rounded up and persecuted. There also exists the compromising puppet-Bund, which assists Stalinism: Such then is the tragic situation of the Polish people and the Polish proletariat, threatened with biological extermination if they oppose Russian policy. The city of Cracow, where a majority voted "No" in the plebiscite, is threatened with mass deportations. Deportations of the "suspect" have already begun. On May 3, anniversary of the great constitution of 1791, the "workers" government mobilized all its police forces, armed with tanks and machine guns against the hungry and exhausted students of Cracow.

OPPOSITION TO STALINISTS

The Stalinist government suffers reverses and defeats in Poland, just as the government of Hitler suffered them. The opposition of the PSL, in spite of all the imprisonments and terror, in spite of the dissolution of organizations in whole districts of the country, has been a defeat of Stalinist totalitarianism, the first defeat of Trotskyism and right-wing opposition in Russia. Its historic and political importance is enormous and cannot be appreciated at the present time. We know well that the latter will not influence the elections, which will be "won" by the government, but the mere fact of the existence of so strong a legal opposition bridges Stalinism and forces it to maneuver and delay. An enormous importance at-

taches to the Catholic opposition, under the patronage of Cardinal Hlond, which, nevertheless, does not actively combat the government.

The valiant opposition of the PSL presses on the government bloc, causing divisions and disagreements between the PPR and the PPS (capitulating reformists). The Stalinists of the PPR, led by Gomulka, are discontented with the directive of the PPS, headed by "Premier" Osobka, St. Szwalbe, Curankiewicz and Rusinek. Of course, these men are creatures of Stalin and did not play any role in the pre-war PPS. Nevertheless, they do not satisfy "Comrade" Henrykowski, the most cynical and impudent Stalinist, and "Comrade" Gomulka, who consider them an impediment to the success of "Bolshevik monolithism." At the command of the Stalinist politburo, the latter formed an "opposition," headed by Ministers Matuszewski and Swiatkowski, which tried to demolish Osobka's group. Osobka and Szwalbe went to Moscow and succeeded, it would appear, in convincing Stalin that they are loyal to Russia and that it is desirable to Russia that they be maintained in power. As a consequence, the too-loyal "fifth-columnists," Matuszewski and Swiatkowski, were destroyed when the former returned from Moscow.

Of course, the differences between the PPR and the PPS do not have a revolutionary character, nor even an anti-Stalinist one. They are concerned with bureaucratic conflicts, with the fight for posts, power and favors from the Muscovite "patron." Nevertheless, they reflect the social conflicts and the crisis of the government apparatus, which is incapable of subduing the opposition and the open discontent of the "bases" of the PPS. The opposition of the PSL has its serious consequences. If the reformist Stalinists agree with the PPR, which will "allow" the populists only 12 per cent of the deputies, the bureaucrats of the PPS, in order to reaffirm their posts and positions in the apparatus, are concerned that the organization of Mikolajczyk continue legal as a counterpoise and safeguard against their "colleagues" of the PPR.

The Osobka group [of the PPS—Ed.] which still enjoys favors from the Kremlin, is pressured not only by the PPR, but by the bases of its support and by the left-wing Cracow opposition, headed by Zulawski and Drobner, who are exiled from active politics and unburdened of bureaucratic posts. In the underground there is the PPS of Arciszewski, a resistance group WRN (Liberty, Equality, Independence). We have no knowledge of the existence of any organized Trotskyist groups. The divisions and conflicts

between the Stalinists of Zezpieka (security police) and the reformist-Stalinists will not reach the stage of a rupture of the government bloc, nor prejudice the electoral bloc. They are only trying to find a solution to the electoral problem. The PPR proposes 25 per cent of the seats for each one of the two workers' parties, reserving 40 per cent for the SL (peasants—a Stalinist creation) in order thus to assure itself absolute control in the future Sejm (Diet). The PPS fears the "security" comrades and asks 40 per cent of the seats for its candidates. In spite of these "divergences," we are of the opinion that the "united workers' front" in defense of the imperialist occupation of Poland and the Stalinist counter-revolution will stand.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The political conclusions of this tragic situation are the following:

(A) The elections will change nothing in Poland. Aside from the right-wing nationalist, illegal opposition, there exists the powerful peasant

opposition. The spontaneous working class opposition of the left, led for the moment by the centrists and reformists of Zulawski and Drobner, is in the process of formation.

(B) The existence of this strong opposition succeeded, for the first time in history, in making Stalin recognize it and deal with the leading group of the PPS, which is opposed to the "security policy" and the march of unbridled totalitarianism.

(C) In spite of the pro-Russian loyalty of Mikolajczyk and of the PPS, Stalin cannot yield the government to them because a Poland situated in the doorway of the Stalinist empire is a "sine qua non" of the existence of the bureaucratic régime. Stalin cannot admit a petty bourgeoisie, peasant Poland of Mikolajczyk, because he needs a Poland submissive to the economic and political monopoly of the Kremlin. A Poland of Mikolajczyk would be transformed into a "time bomb."

(D) The western imperialists try to take advantage of the illegal op-

position of Mikolajczyk in their maneuvers against Moscow. In a situation favorable to them, they would perhaps again decide to let Polish blood be shed against Stalin and, to cause the "time bomb" to explode.

The Polish people have no interest in bleeding for the "democracies." Naturally, they should take advantage of the differences among the Big Three to utilize the occasion for an anti-Stalinist opposition, even a revolutionary opposition. But to fall into the trap of the security police, who desire to provoke a popular uprising, would be an adventure and even a crime.

The Polish working class, the poor and rebellious peasantry, await solidarity and assistance from the international proletariat. The Polish proletariat is in a certain sense a spear-head of the international proletariat in its struggle against the Stalinist reaction. To sharpen this spear-head, to strengthen it with a powerful revolutionary doctrine, is our task. (Translated by Mary Bell.)

Bilbo Tells Senate Committee: "I Thought It a Good Thing to Do"

By CHRIS WARREN

The Senate War Investigating Committee continued its probe of the activities of Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi this week to determine if the Senator is "worthy" of a seat in Congress.

The committee has already unearthed enough evidence to prove beyond any doubt that Bilbo is guilty of "statements in open and willful violation of the Constitution." For instance: Fewer than 3,000 of Mississippi's 1,000,000 Negroes voted in the last elections. Two hundred Negroes came to Washington last week to testify before the committee how they had been threatened, beaten and jailed when they attempted to go to the polls.

Bilbo's campaign for re-election was a prime example of a bigot's appeal to the race prejudice and hatred that poisons the South. White people were exhorted to "visit the n—rs the night before election." Speeches whose main aim was to incite the white population against the Negroes and the unions were delivered incessantly by Bilbo.

If it so desired, the Senate could unseat Bilbo on the basis of the foregoing alone. However, proof of violating the Constitution means very little. Bilbo's fellow Senators fear to establish a precedent of this kind. Too many of Bilbo's brothers in the Senate share his views although not all equal him in the ignorant and vicious method of presenting them.

For the record, the Investigating Committee is trying to establish that Bilbo took advantage of his position as Senator to make himself a few

extra pennies during the war. They are having an amazingly easy time of it. A Mississippi contractor, Mike Morrissey, appeared before the committee last week and gave his opinions of Bilbo's religious activities. The contributions to the church contain the names of some of the best contractors in Mississippi. As one witness testified: "I thought it was a good thing to do."

NO WORRIES FOR BILBO

The bill for this was first added on to the cost of Keesler Field at Biloxi, Miss., and then later put on Senator Bilbo's bill. The money was never collected. At the present time Bilbo owes Morrissey \$9,728.00. But Bilbo doesn't have to worry; Morrissey won't press for payment this year. He says Bilbo has had a lot of medical expenses.

The Mississippi contractors were mighty generous to their representative. Bilbo got his house painted, a swimming pool constructed and it didn't cost him a thing. "We elect poor people in Mississippi," he said.

Bilbo collected \$18,000 for a parsonage house on his farm after he sent out letters to numerous "friends" explaining the project. A worthy

deed, no doubt; only the Rev. D. Wade Smith, pastor of the church, never got to live in it. The reverend gentleman appeared before the committee last week and gave his opinions of Bilbo's religious activities. The contributions to the church contain the names of some of the best contractors in Mississippi. As one witness testified: "I thought it was a good thing to do."

The committee announced that there would be no further hearings on Bilbo's primary campaign and they are expected to issue a report within the next two weeks.

There is some possibility that Bilbo will be sent back to his farm. As was said above, there is no doubt of his guilt on all points. But will the Senate remove him for his race prejudice? Will the Senate remove him for making campaign speeches asking the whites to intimidate Negro voters?

That we doubt, for many Senators share his race-hating views; many Senators are merely milder versions of himself. Even if Bilbo is removed, however, Bilboism—the system of race discrimination—will continue until its social roots are pulled out.

The Last in Series on Dissension in U. S. Stalinism

Why McKenney-Minton Quit CP

By CARL DAVIS

We have dealt with the several viewpoints of the groups of people expelled from the CP. Whatever differences they may have with each other, they agree on the need for revising the whole course of the communist movement in this country. But what they understand by a revolutionary socialist position is diluted with Stalinism. They are really radical third-period Stalinists without the tradition of the Leninist party and international. Their initial error follows from the belief that the American Communist Party pursues a policy independent of the Kremlin and which is in opposition to the policies pursued by other communist parties.

In criticizing Browder for the formal "liquidation" of the party, they forgot entirely that the proposal did not in fact originate with Browder but with Stalin, and followed the "liquidation" of the Comintern. Yet they never stop to ask themselves: if it was wrong to "liquidate" the party in the U. S., was it correct to "liquidate" the international body of Stalinism? And if they answer that the latter was necessitated by national Russian interests, they will be supplying the answer to why Browder at the same time carried out his policy. It was not necessary for Browder to receive direct instructions from the Kremlin; the signal was given to him by the action on the Comintern. And, since the comintern was "liquidated" without consultation with all the parties included, without a congress, or the official action of a delegated authority, what was wrong with Browder's action? The ex-CPers have not really begun to think about their problems or their political course.

STALINIST SOLAR SYSTEM

But more important than this: Do McKenney and Minton really believe that the CP in the United States operates independently from Moscow? If they do, they are more naive than we suspected. How, then, do they explain the role of Gerhardt Eisler, the GPU agent, better known to readers of the Daily Worker as Hans Berger? Any member of the CP above the level of a rank and file, anyone who has had a measure of leadership on a state or national plane, knows that policies of the Communist parties are laid down, not in the national committees of these organizations, but in the Kremlin—that is why there is a deadly uniformity of Stalinist policy in all countries irrespective of the different conditions obtaining. Thus, the "third-period" policy of a "struggle for the streets" was adopted by all parties in all countries notwithstanding the different national conditions which prevailed. That is why the policy of collective security initiated in the Kremlin determined the policy of all parties on the question of war and peace. In the same way, the Hitler-Stalin pact resulted in an overnight change in attitude toward Germany

in the war which the parties adopted by a signal from the Kremlin.

To bring the matter closer to home, let us examine the above quote from the McKenney-Minton statement on the Duclos intervention. Anyone with an ounce of political savvy understands that Duclos did not make his public attack on Browder on his own initiative; it was a premeditated attack which originated in Moscow. The basis of the attack was not that Browder had been following a policy which was in conflict with Russian aims and that of other parties, but that he had gone too far. The French Communist Party under Duclos carried out the same kind of patriotic policy. But it carried out the policy differently and more cleverly than Browder because its roots in the French working class was stronger. In the case of Browder, he had become so fully identified with the opportunist anti-socialist line of Stalinism, that the party could not turn to a pseudo-militant policy in the labor movement and in political affairs under his compromised leadership. Stalin needed a strongly organized, well-knit and disciplined party to carry out his new foreign policy. That is why the change in emphasis in the party line was followed by Browder's removal.

The present CP policies are based on *ifs* and threats to the American ruling class. But these threats, in turn, are not based on independent revolutionary socialist policy, but solely on the needs of the Russian foreign office.

UNIFORMITY OR WORLD STALINISM

Do the ex-CPers actually believe that the present policies of the CP are conceived of and put into operation independent of the needs, interests, and direction of the Russians?

Do the ex-CPers actually believe that the policies of the European parties are fundamentally different from the policies of the American?

In our first article we cited the monotonous similarity of the policies of all parties: alliances with reactionaries and fascists; support of Badoglio in Italy, de Gaulle in France, King Michael in Rumania, Roosevelt in the U. S., and so on; opposition to factory committees, strikes, workers' control of industry and production, and workers' power; opposition to the propaganda, agitation and struggle for socialism. Every word of criticism which all the opponents of present CP policy and leadership make, can be made with equal force against every CP and more particularly against the Russian leadership.

The basic, fundamental error of these ex-CPers flows from their attitude toward Russia which they continue to regard as a workers' state, as the fortress of world socialism. But if they were to examine and relate Stalin's Russia with the Russian revolution, if they were to analyze Russia objectively, from the point of view of the needs and interests of the workers of the world, the meaning of socialist policy, the theory and

practice of Leninism, they could draw no other conclusion but that the Stalinist state is the anti-thesis of Lenin's Russia, that it has nothing in common with the workers' revolution of November 1917, and with revolutionary thought and practice, with socialism.

Under Stalin, Russia became a new exploitive state. It imprisoned the Russian working class; it created a new category of slave laborers numbering in the millions. It replaced the international socialist policy of the early days of the revolution with a counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist policy. It subordinated the interests of the working class of the world, the struggle for world socialism, to the national interests of the new class power in Russia. And this it did by destroying the Bolshevik Party, the trade unions, the soviets, the cooperatives, the Communist International, and the outstanding revolutionary leaders.

Every party in the International which succumbed to Stalin's leadership degenerated into anti-working class, anti-socialist organizations. It is true that they use socialist phrases and play on the traditions of the early Communist International. But in practice they have rooted out every healthy manifestations of revolutionary, socialist internationalism.

BREAK WITH TOTALITARIANISM

When the ex-CPers begin to understand this, they will find that the cause for this degeneration lies in the new class power of the Russian bureaucracy and the general secretary of the so-called Russian Bolshevik Party, Joseph Stalin. Browder was not responsible for this degeneration. He merely adapted himself to it and became a victim of a Stalinist political zig-zag as did so many others before him. If these people will seek for what is wrong with the CP in this country, they will search forever and never find it. And if they hope to reconstruct a revolutionary socialist party in the USA as a genuine "Stalinist Party," they will continue to betray the interests of the working class.

The reconstruction of a genuine revolutionary socialist party requires a new beginning on the basis of a return to Marxist-Leninist principles and a rejection of Stalinism. It requires an endless struggle against the corroding influence of Stalinism. The best interests of Stalinism in this country are represented by the cynical Foster, by his agent Dennis, and not by NCP, or McKenney and Minton.

The first time they really stepped out of line, they found themselves expelled from the party. Their strange views, despite repeated announcements of allegiance to Stalinism, are incompatible with membership in a totalitarian party. If these people want to make any political progress, if they want to devote themselves to an honest and sincere struggle for socialism, they will have to come to the Trotskyist movement, the only genuine, revolutionary socialist current in the world today.

LABOR ACTION IN THE PAST YEAR--

(Continued from page 3)

which was presented by a committee of Workers Party members who picked the British consulate.

In October, we carried a full coverage of the meat crisis. To break the hold of the meat trust, we called for the formation of popular price control committees to insure fair prices and demanded the nationalization of the meat industry under workers' control. In our first issue in November, we reported the formation of a housewives' price committee in Seattle. Later that month, a debate between Lison Oak, the editor of the New Leader, and Max Shachtman, the national chairman of the Workers Party, was held in New York City on the issue "Does Stalinism Flow from Bolshevism?" with Shachtman defending Bolshevism. A full report of this debate was carried in our November 18 issue.

On the 25th of November, we featured the news of the all-time high in votes cast for the Trotskyists in France: 60,000 workers there voted for the PCI. In December, we carried news about the latest struggle of the mine union, which we wholeheartedly supported. Also in December, we featured an analysis of the November Republican election victory and a WP National Committee statement on the current "Anti-Red" drive in the unions.

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Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

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

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

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!

GROWTH OF FORCED LABOR IN EUROPE

By ARTHUR STEIN

The problem of forced labor, first introduced into the modern world by Stalin in the early thirties even before Hitler, contains implications which serve as significant commentaries on our present period of social decay. For if we define progress as an improvement in the position of man in his struggle to obtain greater riches, comfort, and freedom from the forces of nature; then the system of forced labor, involving the greatest possible degradation of the worker in our industrial economy, is the worst indictment of this society.

Forced labor has been used extensively by the Hitler régime in Germany, by bureaucratic collectivist Russia, and most recently by the Allies in their utilization of German prisoner labor.

What is the extent of this forced labor? Exact figures, of course, are not available. However, there are various indications from which a reliable picture may be formed.

In Nazi Germany, as now in Russia, a type of forced labor became part of the legality of the state. By a decree issued on June 22, 1938, every German citizen was obligated to work at a fixed place. This supplemented the already existing practice of labor battalions, into which, though they were formally voluntary, young German citizens had for many years been coerced. Russia has a similar legal setup, which provides for universal compulsory training and work from early youth until death.

THE METHODS OF SLAVE LABOR

But more appalling even than these types of regimentation are the forms of forced labor which neither government has openly acknowledged. We refer to the millions of foreign workers impressed into industrial slavery in Germany during the war, as well as the many more millions of political and war prisoners in Russia.

The Germans used the most barbaric methods for obtaining these slaves. The elite troops of the Nazi organization would surround whole city blocks in the low countries and in France, and ship to factories in Germany all those who could as much as walk. It is known, also, that entire villages in the Ukraine were cleared out in the course of an afternoon, and that all the inhabitants were sent to German mills.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, it is estimated that in September 1943 there were between 24 and 30 million foreign labor slaves in the service of the Nazi state. If you add to this number all those German citizens who found themselves drafted into industrial service, as well as those who slaved in

the many concentration-work camps, you may get some idea of the importance of forced labor in the German war economy.

In Russia, the picture looks just as bad. As a matter of fact, it is really worse, since we now have to change the tense from the past to the present.

Russia has become "the country of the single opinion" by the use of the most monstrous terror against all those who differed from the Great Marshal. Traditionally, the place for the millions of dissidents, if they managed to escape execution, has been the forced labor camps. It is estimated that about 20 million people are doing forced labor in Russia today, this number not including those workers who are involved in the legal labor draft, and who live at home. When all the Germans who have recently been kidnapped are added, this figure might well be considerably higher.

THE MAGNITUDE OF STALIN'S CRIMES

Some idea of the magnitude of Stalin's crimes may be gained from estimates of Polish authorities that fully 10 per cent of the population of eastern Poland was deported to Russia during Stalin's occupation of Poland during the Hitler-Stalin pact days. The methods of abduction were, on the whole, identical with those used by the Germans.

A New York bulletin "Russian Affairs" has collected reports from a number of British and American correspondents (most of whom, by the way, are highly sympathetic to the Kremlin dictatorship), which throw quite a bit of light on the extent of the utilization of forced labor in Russia.

Quentin Reynolds, for instance, in his "Only the Stars are Neutral" (Random House, 1942) writes as follows:

"A few miles outside of Kulybyshev we passed one of the big concentration camps reserved for political prisoners. Beyond that we saw a long line of them working on a new road. There were about 800 of them. . . . On their faces there was no sign of hope. A few soldiers with rifles guarded them carefully, for there was no place for them to run. Steele and I looked at each other and winced. . . . We winced, I think, because these 800 prisoners were women."

Walter Graebner, in "Round Trip to Russia" (Lippincott, 1943), reported:

"On the way we passed hundreds of barracks inhabited by labor battalions and political prisoners. It is impossible to get any accurate reports as to the number of prisoners, why they were arrested, etc. In many places I notice high roofed plat-

forms, on which rifle-bearing guards stood to see that no one escaped." (p. 56)

In "Blind Date With Mars" (Doubleday, Doran, 1943), Alice Leonie Moats tells of a conversation on this subject with a Soviet citizen:

"Do you realize," he said to her, "that as a result of the great purge, there is not one person in this country who has not either been locked up himself or has had some member of his family in a concentration camp? Right now there are some fifteen million people in work-camps and prisons!"

"Later on," adds Miss Moats, "a person in a position to obtain accurate figures set the number at twenty millions." (p. 199)

And Wendell Willkie, well-known, as he was, for his friendship toward the Stalinist régime, unwittingly made what probably amounts to the most damaging report in this connection:

"We drove into Yatski in a heavy black Soviet limousine. Between the airfield and the town we looked for the usual concentration camp we have seen in some other cities—half barbed wire fences, with sentry boxes at the corners. But there was none, or at least we never came across it." (Readers Digest, March, 1943)

WAR PRISONERS AS FORCED LABOR

This article would not be complete without a mention of the use of German prisoners of war as forced labor by the Americans and the British. Sixteen months after the end of the war, great numbers of these unfortunate men are still far away from home, without any prospect of ever being liberated from their slave status. In Britain the possibility of holding these prisoners for indefinite periods is freely talked about. And here in the United States, little mention is made of the continued existence of involuntary servitude under the direction of the United States Army.

On September 30, 1946, the 24,000 German prisoners under the jurisdiction of the United States Army Peninsula Base Section in southern Italy, staged a strike for repatriation. They had posted signs along the highways with such legends as "We want to go home," "Our wives and children are starving," "Who is feeding our families?" and "We are not slave labor." As far as can be learned, these men are still away from their homes.

Thus today, forced labor is no longer confined to the Kremlin-ruled Asiatic provinces, as it was some fifteen years ago. It is now an economic factor of increasing importance in widely separated parts of the world, and, for that reason, it illustrates a downward curve of human development. Nothing less than the revolutionary reawakening of the international working class will be able to check the direction of this curve.

Bolte Book Shows Weakness Of AVC Leadership's Policies

By ROGER OTT

The book* written by the chairman of the American Veterans Committee takes on a special importance these days in view of the present internal struggle between liberals and Stalinists inside that organization. In addition, it has an interest of its own as a typical expression of the "Young Liberal" approach to the veterans question.

Bolte cites his own wartime background and experiences as the basis for his subsequent political judgments. This is the key to his shortcomings. A Dartmouth College liberal, Bolte became convinced that the capitalist appeasement of Hitler was rotten, was leading the world to ruin. He saw Hitler triumphing and the capitalist powers of the West impotent. He felt that American armed force was essential to a victorious struggle against Hitler. So ignoring the fact that the Western capitalist powers were themselves responsible for the rise of Hitler and were not really concerned with abolishing fascism—Bolte joined a Royal Canadian Division and went with it to the combat zones of Europe. There he lost a leg in battle.

Here, then, is a young liberal with integrity and courage. All he lacks is basic knowledge of how to fight for the noble ideals he professes.

One of the worthy features of Bolte's book is its vivid presentation of the disgust the soldier feels toward the commercial prostitution of the soldier by wartime advertising; to the false sentimentality displayed toward him in the movies, newspapers and books.

ON DANGEROUS GROUNDS

But from this valid perception Bolte moves to dangerous grounds. He seems to view society from the point of view of an imaginary separated veteran group divorced from the usual class pressures and needs. For him, after he has shown the soldier to be merely a civilian in uniform, the soldier remains an abstraction after his return to civilian life. Bolte is unable to break down this abstract category of soldier into component civilian classes. Instead he sees the veteran as an abstracted, super-class individual subject to manipulation by the giant opposing forces of Capital and Labor. His concept of the veteran is similar to the concept often foisted on American readers by the capitalist class—that of some vague public above the battle between capital and labor.

This is the foundation for his slogan adopted by the AVC: "citizens first and veterans second." Having created the untenable abstraction of a veteran separated from the major opposing and conflicting classes in society, Bolte then constructs a similar abstraction called "citizen"—that is, one who functions in behalf of some not at all clearly defined general social interest.

However, Bolte, like all other liberals, is forced, like it or not, to live in a world of merciless class forces. He cannot overlook them. He is therefore forced in his concrete analysis of the American Legion, for instance, to detail with excellent keenness the class basis and orientation of that organization. So while he ad-

*The New Veteran, by Charles Bolte. Penguin Books.

heres to his invalid conception of a veteran abstracted from the social forces of society, in practice he is forced to acknowledge the capitalist class connections of the American Legion when he attempts to analyze it.

Intimately connected with this difficulty or unwillingness of Bolte to see the mass of veterans as closely connected with the working class is the present difficulty of the AVC leadership in combatting the growing Stalinist influence in its ranks. To the demagogic Stalinist "radicalism"—spurred at the moment by the needs of Stalinist Russia—Bolte's leadership has nothing but vague talk about "citizenship" to counterpose. If the Bolte leadership recognized the need for an integral tie with the labor movement, for a clear and unambiguous orientation toward the working masses of the country, then it could cut the ground right out from under the Stalinist demagoguery.

AN ENCOURAGING TENDENCY

Yet, despite its present internal difficulties, the AVC represents a highly important and encouraging sign on the American veterans front. One cannot merely dismiss the AVC because its program is inadequate or its leadership temporizing. The AVC represents the most advanced sections of the veterans of the Second World War. These veterans are not

primarily interested in a beer and skittles club; or in flag-waving hysteria; or merely in financial raids on the Treasury. They are alert and serious; eager to grapple with problems; and hence a significant and encouraging portent.

There are great possibilities in this organization. If the AVC were to ally itself consciously and proudly with the labor movement, if it were to orient to building branches in the trade unions as a major field of interest, the AVC would have great possibilities before it. As against the Stalinist attempt to rule or ruin, and the liberal leadership's attempt to maintain the AVC "above classes," such a policy could make of the AVC a powerful organization in this country as the force which will weld the veterans and labor together.

The liberal leadership at present at the head of the AVC is preferable of course to the Stalinists, if only because it allows internal democratic discussion, while the Stalinists would sooner or later, if they controlled the organization, institute their typical bureaucratic and totalitarian régime. But to repel the current Stalinist offensive intended to capture or smash the AVC it is necessary to find a solid political basis: a decisive orientation toward the labor movement and the end of the untenable myth about "veterans above classes."

Unrest in France; Labor Suffers Economic Pinch

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Nov. 29—Several thousand workers in the Le Mans branch of the nationalized Renault auto works, in a dispute over the vicious attitude of an Administrative Engineer, unanimously decided to take over direction of the plant from the Council of Administration yesterday.

Since November 26 the workers have halted production, demanding that the offending boss be removed. When no change occurred they ousted the Directors and the Council Administration and set up the Factory Committee as head of the plant. Mass actions are rising all over France as prices continue to mount to 900 per cent higher than 1938.

"Squatters" are in motion again at Nice on the French Riviera. The squatters' leaders who represent almost 2,000 families without shelter have been given the addresses of empty apartments. Squatters' leaders have proposed seizure and occupation of several large hotels turned into apartment houses for the tourist trade on the Riviera "paradise" of France.

PROTEST BLACK MARKETING

The Federation of Paris Area Trade Unions issued an appeal early this week to the Paris workers to participate in a monster demonstration at the central meat market—La Villette—to protest the meat shortage and the high cost of living. It demanded that black market butchers "should be prevented from exercising their guilty activity and

have their property confiscated." Leading butchers have been arrested for black marketing. Thousands of workers joined the demonstration on November 25 before the near-empty meat market.

So large was the throng that they took almost a half hour to pass the stockyards. Shouting slogans—"DEATH TO THE STARVERS OF THE PEOPLE" and "WE WANT MEAT AT THE OFFICIAL PRICE"—the workers carried tiny scaffolds on which they hanged in effigy meat commission agents.

Today 5 cows, 2 bulls, 11 calves and some sheep and hogs arrived for all Paris. Farmers' deliveries for the previous week for the entire Paris population included 13 oxen, 8 cows, 1 bull, 21 calves and about 350 sheep and 1,000 hogs. Last month when wholesale meat prices were lifted momentarily, weekly deliveries were more than 13,000 head of cattle.

A strike at Clermont-Ferrand of several thousand workers, employees and technicians of the chemical industries lasted for several hours this week. Delegations from the unions protested to the Prefecture against rising prices and lack of food.

When the state ordered the blackout of electricity several days a week, M. Georges Delmarre, secretary of the French TUC, in the name of the union members, declared: "It would be better to reduce the lighting of shops and cafes and close down nightclubs." At the same time French workers heard the news that electricity controls would continue for four more years.

Even the National Library workers have decided to shut down all state libraries in a wage dispute. A school housing shortages has produced the unusual spectacle of the faculty members of the University of Paris competing with the students for the few rooms available near the university.

VOICE OF THE RIGHT

Le Figaro, the prominent right-wing paper, recently summed up the attitude of the French capitalists: "It is clear, indeed, that a financial and money crisis pushed to their extreme consequences constitute one of the most powerful levers there are for revolutionary action. Not only does inflation create discontent, and there is no revolution without discontent. But also, aside from its moral effects, inflation has a direct and immediate material effect which is the ruin or proletarianization of the whole middle class. And it is known that the existence of a numerous and powerful middle class in France, and in western countries, is the principal obstacle to a revolution of the proletarian type."

Next day the Bank of France announced another 5 billion francs had been printed within one week. An official report showed that though monetary circulation has risen 500 per cent above 1938, food prices have risen faster and higher to almost 900 per cent of pre-war.

New strikes are in the offing no matter what political party runs the French state. For no oppressed class in history—especially in French history—has ever accepted slow starvation without a bitter, mass struggle in strikes, protests, demonstrations and factory and house seizures.

U. S. STILL DOMINATES THE PHILIPPINES

By CHARLES STEWART

The blunt truth is that Philippine independence was not an idea proposed and fought for on the high moral plan of liberty and freedom for oppressed colonial peoples. Behind the scenes, divergent interests between groups of American capitalists on the one hand, and the naval and military needs on the other, played the decisive roles.

Those groups who were originally in favor of outright independence with no free trade for the islands were the Cuban and domestic beet sugar interests, the large cattlemen and meat-packers who resented the competition of coconut oils, and those "labor" statesmen who were for extending the oriental exclusion to the Filipinos as soon as the islands were independent. There was a large group in the Navy and War Departments who felt that the Philippines were too far from the effective orbit of American "defense" and that to maintain the islands would be to invite invasion.

Arrayed against this group were the Spreckels and Fleishacker sugar and hemp interests, Hausermann mining interests, investors in the ore deposits, banks, insurance companies, the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines and that group of Compradores who were so dependent on the lucrative export trade. The "world-minded" group in the Army and Navy who realized the potential of airpower and new weapons wanted to be sure that some military and naval base would be maintained there.

PLAYING WITH INDEPENDENCE

The Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act of 1934 created the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands with an assembly and a senate, but in that interim period until "complete" independence was to be granted, the U. S. would have control over defense and foreign affairs and the President of the U. S. would have the right to veto anything that was passed by the Philippine legislature.

Before the war, America tied the Philippine Islands closer to it by embargoes and strategic threats. This was part of American imperialist pressure on Japan. After Pearl Harbor, the islands were quickly conquered by the Japanese quickly lowering the standing of the great "protector" of the Filipinos—the U. S. The only defect of the U. S. military was that the war came too soon. In July, 1941, General MacArthur stated on the occasion of the establishment of the Philippine command, "The action of the American government in establishing this new command can only mean that it intends to maintain at any cost its full rights in the Far East."

McNutt further stated that the Philippines with their large civilian labor supply and hinterland provided a good base for operations in Asia. Under the original independence act only minor naval bases were permitted and no stationing of troops. Today there is established a major battle fleet base and a great number of American army troops.

The period of Japanese occupation, found the old export trade temporarily cut off. Japan which had been getting sugar from Formosa was more interested in mineral ores. The Compradores then quite easily transferred their allegiance and became Japanese puppets—including the present President Manuel Roxas, who held a ministerial post under the puppet régime of José Laurel.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

With the war over, the end of Japanese ties, and the wholesale destruction of Philippine cities caused a tremendous worsening of the conditions of the Filipino people. An UNRRA report on agricultural and food prospects indicates that:

The rice crop is 42 per cent short with only a 7 months' supply on hand. The production of corn was 40 per cent below the pre-war level. The flocks and herds of cattle were reduced by 60 to

70 per cent. There were 25 to 30 per cent fewer implements than in 1941. Processing and transportation were extremely difficult because of wartime destruction. The devastation of large cities like Manila made the problem of food and health loom larger than the revival of economic life.

The native compradores faced with imminent independence and the sudden end of the advantages of free trade for Philippine exports, pushed for some economic guarantees to insure their continued prosperity. In this demand they were aided by those U. S. interests in the Philippines who had originally opposed independence. However, those competitive interests that wanted the restriction of favors toward Philippine exports also had their say. The result of all this bickering was the amending of the original Tydings-McDuffie Act by the Tydings-Bell Philippine Trade Act passed by Congress early in 1946 and signed by President Truman.

The bait held out for the approval of this trade act was the appropriation of \$620 million for "rehabilitation." Four hundred million dollars of this sum went to property owners, public services and property got \$120 million; and surplus war materials valued at \$100 million was to be used for public utilities and buildings. Needless to say, the Roxas régime lost no time in pushing this act through the Philippine parliament.

The Philippine Trade Act provides that for eight years beyond independence absolute free trade would exist between the islands and the U. S. without any tariff restrictions whatever. After this eight-year period there would be a gradual imposition of tariffs for the following 20 years.

Section 321 of the act forbids the Philippines to charge any import tariffs lower than American tariffs for the same products. Duty free quotas were established on coconut oil, copra, sugar, and hemp but no reciprocal quotas on American exports to the Philippines. This provision, being included at a time when the U. S. is bellowing against the imperial preference trade arrangements that exist between Britain and her Dominions and colonies, has caused some resentment in British quarters.

CONFLICT WITH BRITAIN

The influential "Economist" of London dated July 6, 1946, states: "This is something very similar to 'Empire Preference' and it is no surprising that some critics in this country have regarded it as somewhat inconsistent with American pressure for the abolition of such preference within the British Commonwealth."

The London Daily Express has stated on the same question: "When America on the one hand grants preference to a people who have been under her tutelage and on the other hand, demands that the benefits of preference should be eliminated among British peoples, the negotiations become farcical."

Another provision of this act chains the Philippine Peso to the American dollar until 1974 in the ratio of 2 pesos to the dollar. As even the report of the U. S. Tariff Commission states, this "would deny the Philippines the same measure of control over its currency as it would enjoy under the Bretton Woods Agreement (which created the International Monetary Fund—C. S.) under which it is free to alter the value of its currency by as much as 10 per cent without prior consultation with any other country."

Section 341 of the bill stated that Americans would have equal rights to develop natural resources until 1974 on a par with Filipinos. This provision was even counter to the Philippine constitution which stated that at least 60 per cent of an enterprise had to be Philippine. The servile Roxas régime had the constitution amended to permit such a provision.

Under another section "any agency or instru-

mentality of the U. S. government" can retain title to any Philippine property which it has held or might acquire.

There is no need to prove further that the "independence" granted the Philippine Islands guarantees the continued economic and military domination of the islands by the U. S. The action of the Roxas régime in endorsing this Trade Act has indicated to the U. S. that the government there is "stable." The renewal of free trade, even temporarily, has served to revive in a small measure economic life and avert for the time being, an explosion on the part of economic life. This might be the military-strategic "angle" of the independence farce.

FOR REAL INDEPENDENCE

This trade act called forth widespread opposition among the people of the Philippines. Four thousand University of the Philippines students passed a resolution likening it to the Japanese Co-Prosperity scheme. In parliament, 7 opposition delegates, from the Central Luzon region where the militant peasant Hukbahaalape operate, were disfranchised by a simple majority instead of the two-third required under the constitution. The trade act was pushed through.

Is it any wonder that on April Fool's Day of 1946 the newspaper "Philippine Press" wrote:

"On July 4, 1946, the U. S. A. will play on us a huge joke. On that day of days, to the accompaniment of martial music, parades, and speeches, generous, big-hearted Uncle Sam will, with a perfectly straight face, declare this country 'free and independent'. . . . but in years to come we will not be able to call our home, our own. We will discover to our cost that the friend who entered our house has appropriated the entire building and we should be duly grateful if he graciously permits us to occupy the attic."

The Filipino people will only achieve true independence, freedom, and material happiness in the struggle against U. S. imperialism and its servants, the Roxas, the Osmeñas and the rest of the compradore bourgeoisie. The struggle for freedom is inseparable from the fight for the expropriation of the large sugar and coconut plantations—in a word inseparable from the struggle for socialism. This campaign for socialism can only be part of the struggle for a Far Eastern Federation of Socialist Republics.

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CLEVELAND
The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. in Carnegie Hall, 1220 Huron Road.
The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tuesday—definite headquarters not yet established.
Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.
For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Sta. B, Cleveland, Ohio.

DETROIT
The building which housed the headquarters of the Detroit branch has been sold. The Workers Party and Labor Action local offices have been moved to the following address: Labor Action Hall, Rialto Theater Bldg., Rooms 9 and 10, 6351 Gratiot, Detroit 7, Mich.
Our office hours and our new telephone number will be listed soon in this column.

LOS ANGELES
Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-3230.
Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily, except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday and Friday.

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

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

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

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

For further information concerning the WORKERS PARTY, the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE and LABOR ACTION SCHOOL in New York City please write or visit the Workers Party City Center at 114 West 14th St., third floor, or phone CHelsea 2-9681.

READING
For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1671.
Regular class on the "Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism" every Monday evening at 8:30.

PHILADELPHIA
HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Girard Avenue (3rd floor).
WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m.
Coming events at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Avenue:
Sunday, January 5, 8:00 p.m.—Forum, "What is Behind the UNO?"
Speaker, Alex Craig.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
San Francisco Bay Area Branch headquarters at 466 Tenth St. (corner Tenth and Broadway), Room 206, Oakland. Forums on current problems every other Sunday at 8:15 p.m. The next will be December 1.

SEATTLE
For information write to P. O. Box 143, University Post Office, Seattle, Wash.
For information of Workers Party addresses and activities in cities not listed above, write to Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Honor the Memory of a Fallen Revolutionist Commemorate Tresca Murder

NEW YORK CITY—Commemoration of the murder of Carlo Tresca, editor of the anti-totalitarian journal *Il Martello* (The Hammer), will take place on Saturday, January 11, fourth anniversary of that tragedy, at the scene of the crime, northwest corner of 15th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Two meetings there are planned by the Tresca Memorial Committee. One, with brief speeches, will be held at 1:00 p.m., when workers are coming from their jobs. And at 9:40 that night, exact minute of the slaying in the 1943 dimout, close friends of Tresca will honor his memory by dropping red carnations at the spot where he was shot down. If there should be snow, rain or bitter cold, the day meeting will be moved to nearby Rand School Auditorium.

Three anti-fascists who were false-

ly accused of murder and who were saved from the electric chair largely through Tresca's efforts will attend. They are Athos Terzani, Calogero Greco and Clemente Lista, exonerated respectively of homicides in Astoria, the Bronx and Staten Island.

"This time," Norman Thomas, chairman of the memorial committee, said today, "we decided to meet at the crime scene because we felt it necessary to bring home sharply to the public—especially the public—and to the responsible authorities—the deplorable fact that this four-year-

old murder remains unpunished." Mr. Thomas added that he had not yet had a reply to a letter sent to District Attorney Hogan a month ago asking whether his office was still working on the Tresca case, or if it had "relegated it to the long list of unsolved murders in New York County."

Recent word from Sulmona, the mountain town in Italy where Tresca was born, says that the public square there, which formerly bore the name of a king, Victor Emmanuel II, has been officially renamed Piazzale Carlo Tresca.

Youth Corner... NEW THREAT OF CONSCRIPTION

By JULIUS FALK
National Secretary, SYL

President Truman has fired the initial volley in a new drive for universal military conscription. Last Thursday, the President appointed a nine-man committee, dubbed it the Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training, with the responsibility of "studying the basic needs as well as various plans for universal military training in relation to over-all planning for the national security."

More than half of the commission is composed of capitalist politicians, advisors and an industrialist. The rest of the committee consists of an editor and three educators, including the notoriously reactionary Rev. Edmund A. Walsh from Georgetown University and Dr. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who played a key role in the recent atom bomb tests at Bikini Atoll. Men like Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric who represents Big Business and whose company plied slugged dozens of veterans in the recent GE strike in Philadelphia are "studying the basic needs" and "various plans" for American youth!

physical makeup (!) and what it means to take care of this temple which God gave us." As if this isn't enough, early in his speech Truman injected the following:

"I have been interested in the physical development and the mental and moral development of young people ever since I was graduated from high school. I have been somewhat of a student of history, and I have discovered that great republics of the past always passed out when their peoples became prosperous and fat and lazy and were not willing to assume their responsibilities."

Who can doubt the President's talents as a historian or his good intentions to keep us from becoming "prosperous, fat and lazy"? However, there doesn't seem to be much danger of 60 million American workers and their families becoming "fat or lazy" and certainly not "prosperous." As a matter of fact, if the proposed plan were enacted against those sections of the population which actually fitted the description, no socialist could strongly oppose it. For who but men like the Charles E. Wilson Family would be affected by it?

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ITALIAN LIRA AT ALL-TIME LOW

Special to Labor Action

PARIS—With production cut to 50 per cent by government decree in the heavy coal shortage, the Italian lire reached its new all-time low of 676-680 to the American dollar, more than 200 per cent higher than the official rate of 225. The Swiss franc, worth 200 lire at the time of Mussolini's fall on July 23, 1943, and 89 lire six months ago, today is worth 203-210 lire. Experts on Italian economy declare this is the evidence that after all the measures of the Allied Commission and UNRRA, and private foreign capitalist investment, Italian economy is worse off than in its catastrophic condition when Mussolini fell. By the time the new state billion dollar loan is floated its value will have shrunk considerably below a billion. For without coal imports all industry will come to a stop by the end of the year, declared Premier de Gasperi.

Despite a crackdown by U. S. Army investigators, the million dollar scrip-money order racket continues. Though Army agents stopped many military personnel of various ranks, escorted them back into the American Railway Express office in Rome's Piazza di Spagna and ensured that they returned their newly-purchased dollars and received back their money orders, this does not stop direct trade in dollars, and secret buying into Italian industries.

SUGAR-COATED DRAFT

As socialists we are against union leaders participating in plans to conscript youth in a capitalist army. Nevertheless it is significant that Truman hasn't seen fit to name one representative of America's sixteen million organized workers to a commission studying the conscription plan "in relation to over-all planning to national security"—perhaps because many unions have come out in opposition to military conscription.

The tentative plan for universal military training is in a sense a retreat for the American capitalist class. It is a watered down and sugar-coated version of the suspended draft laws. Opposition to the draft among the people is so strong that the capitalist politicians as a matter of expediency suspended the draft laws before election time. They decided a volunteer army was after all the best thing. But American youth didn't flock to the recruiting stations as expected. The bunk about "education in the army" and the flag-waving campaign to suck in volunteers failed.

Now, however, that the votes have been collected and the next election is still two years off, and the volunteer method is obviously inadequate, the capitalist politicians have assumed the offensive again. They know that the suspended draft laws will be a bit too much to push down the people's throats, so their offensive is limited. Instead of an 18-month draft, the tentative army proposal being studied by the commission is for a minimum of six months training.

An attempt to make conscription even more palatable motivated the president's informal talk Friday to his advisory commission. With a liberal dosing of hypocrisy, he emphasized all the moral "needs" for conscription. The plan, we are told, is to teach young people how "to get along with one another, informing them of their

WAR DEPARTMENT ELATED

Then to make conscription really savory, the President noted with his usual graceful style, "I want that word military left out" as "incidental to what I have in mind." As the saying goes, Mr. Truman, we come from Missouri. The military aspects of the training program are so "incidental" that the War Department is reported as elated with the plan, and will probably drop its plea to continue the draft.

At the end of the speech, Truman lets the cat out of the bag when he tells us what "we" want in this world. "We do want an interchange of ideas and of merchandise and of everything of that sort." At last we find something in the speech with which we can agree. It is not clear to us where the "ideas" come in, but it is easy enough to see how and why men like Truman and Wilson are interested in universal military training as it relates to an "interchange of merchandise and of everything of that sort."

The new program will, and can only be, old garbage in new pails.

DISTRIBUTE LEAFLET AT AYD RALLY

Despite rain and snow, about fifteen members of the New York SYL distributed leaflets at a city-wide inter-racial rally of American Youth for Democracy. The leaflet took the AYD to task for its avowed support of the "Roosevelt policy" pointing out that Roosevelt never disassociated himself from his Jim Crow party brethren. The leaflet also indicated that it was necessary for unions and progressive organizations to organize independently of either capitalist party to conduct an effective struggle against Jim Crow.

A number of very excellent contacts were made. We wish to inform those AYDers who were so greatly agitated by our leaflet, that they will see us again.

Organize Miners' Branch of WP In West Virginia

The National Office of the Workers Party announced last week the formation of a new branch of the party in West Virginia, a branch composed largely of coal miners. A letter sent from the party's headquarters to the new branch declared that "The National Committee of the Workers Party in behalf of our entire organization extends its warmest greetings and congratulations in welcoming you into our ranks... we can boast now of our first branch among coal miners..."

Important and great struggles are ahead for the working class of the United States. The boss class, in a permanent conspiracy with its government to crush organized labor and to reduce the working class to serfdom, is now engaged in a new offensive against labor. The bosses and their government have recently elected to concentrate their attack upon the powerful organization of the mine workers. This offensive of the greedy bosses has been and will continue to be resisted by organized labor. The economic struggle of the working class against the boss class must be heightened. But we know that economic weapons are not enough. These must be joined with the political struggle against the whole capitalist system, which can give only starvation, insecurity and war to its populations. Between the bosses and the working class there is no common ground, there is no peace, there is no compromise. There is only the relentless struggle for the abolition of the economic system of profits, insecurity and war by the social order of world socialism. This is the political task of the working class. It is to this task that the Workers Party is dedicated. The Workers Party stands and fights for a socialist world—a world of peace and security and plenty for all.

A group of friends of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party has been regularly sending in subscriptions to the paper. As a result of this work, a branch of the party was recently formed in West Virginia.

The text of the letter sent to the West Virginia branch follows:

December 16, 1946
To the West Virginia Branch of The Workers Party:

Dear Comrades:

Upon receipt of nine applications for membership in the Workers Party, the National Committee has activated the West Virginia comrades as a regular branch of the Workers Party of the United States. For the present, the branch shall be known as the "West Virginia Branch of the Workers Party."

The National Committee of the Workers Party in behalf of our entire organization extends its warmest greetings and congratulations in welcoming you into our ranks. Although our relatively young party has branches and members among steel, automobile, lumber, railroad, electrical, maritime, longshore, needle trades, ship, sharecropper and other workers and industries, we can boast now of our first branch among coal miners. We regard this as a significant advance—as a milestone in our fight for a socialist world.

Through our work and struggle, through education, the working masses will awaken, will meet the boss ruling class and will free themselves of capitalist enslavement.

In activating our West Virginia branch, we welcome you as comrades in arms in the unrelenting struggle for the liberation of the workers of the world from capitalist oppression.

Greetings,
NATHAN GOULD,
Dir. of Organization.

PRESS ACTION

In this issue, the last of the 1946 issues, the Press Manager and the Press Department of LABOR ACTION wish to extend their best wishes to all supporters, agents and assistants of the paper who have contributed so much toward making the eight-pager a success. The job of the eight-pager has indeed been a difficult one, and we include in this the work performed by the many agents and representatives of the paper. We expect to continue our hard work in 1947, and are sure that the results obtained—in increased sales and circulation—will more than make the efforts involved worthwhile. So, let's make 1947 a year for the stabilization and growth of America's finest labor paper.

1946 BOUND VOLUME OF LABOR ACTION:
We have already begun work preparing the 1946 bound volume of LABOR ACTION, the first bound volume to include the eight-page paper. This bound volume will be of particular interest for this reason, and we expect to have considerable demand for it. Now in preparation, the volume should be out by the end of January, 1947, and we will accept orders for it now (\$3.00), delivery to be made immediately upon receipt from the binder.

BILLS, BILLS AND BILLS:
This week, bills on LABOR ACTION will go into the mails (but you won't receive them before January 1), and all agents are urged to start off the New Year with a substantial payment to the paper. Write us if the bill received is not accurate, but don't let that delay you in making a payment. We need the money in 1947 as well as in 1946!

LABOR ACTION had a record week in subscriptions and renewals, above all, thanks to the fine work of those comrades who went down to southern Illinois and got subs from coal miners (see below). The San Francisco and Buffalo branches of the Workers Party also came through in fine shape this week, and here are the final results:

CHICAGO	21
San Francisco	15
New York City	10
Buffalo	9
Los Angeles	8
Oregon	4
Philadelphia	4
Reading	3
Detroit	2
Newark	1
Miscellaneous	5
TOTAL	82

And from Chicago's LABOR ACTION, Comrade Storm, we get the following information: "Several of us went down to southern Illinois last Sunday to sell subscriptions and get a story for LABOR ACTION. We sold 20 subscriptions..." The story these comrades got for the paper was published in last week's issue. This is the kind of initiative we like.

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Hearst Thugs Attack Chicago Students Profesting Paper's Slurs on Modern Art

By SHIRLEY WALLER

CHICAGO—A group of art students picketing the Hearst *Herald-American* in protest against its anti-modern art campaign, were pounced upon by hoodlums dressed like circulation drivers who beat up the students. The hoodlums grabbed one student by the arm and twisted it while another pummeled the defenseless boy's face and stomach. When this reporter rushed in to help the boy, another thug jumped me and threw me to the ground. A young girl was struck in the face and the art instructor who accompanied the students was badly smashed in the eyes.

The picketing was caused by a campaign which the *Herald-American* had been conducting against certain modern paintings which the State Department bought for exhibition abroad. The Hearst paper labelled these paintings as "Communist" and "bunk." Since these paintings were the work of serious modern artists, a group of fifteen art students from the Chicago Art Institute and the Institute of Design, together with Richard Bowman, their instructor, decided to picket the *Herald-American*.

They carried banners reading "Hearst press ridicules serious

American artists," and "Nervous hysteria is not art criticism," and "Against yellow press tactics."

When the picketing started, this reporter was selling LABOR ACTION on the same corner. Five cops who were present suddenly vanished—the reason for which became clear later. In a minute a cussing man rushed out of the Hearst building, bought a copy of LABOR ACTION and yelled "dirty Communist." A moment later the mob of hoodlums rushed out and attacked the art students.

One of the vanished cops suddenly appeared, but rather than protect the pickets, he helped the gang of Hearst hoodlums attack the art students. After administering a few punches of his own, the cop again disappeared.

Assembling afterwards at the Civic Medical Center for first-aid treatment, these bruised and battered youths with blackened eyes and cut lips agreed that it would be necessary to think through the social implications of this little incident—the relationship of the Hearst press to the conveniently disappearing cops; the reasons for Hearst's hatred of the art which they as students take so seriously.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Steel Local 1693 On the Mine Strike

Dear Editor:

The attached statement on the mine strike was adopted by Local 1693, USA-CIO at a regular meeting held December 10.

TEXT OF STATEMENT

The seventeen-day coal strike has ended in complete failure. The miners who fought their bosses, and the bosses' politicians as well, went back to work under the same conditions, and wages that forced them to strike.

The result might have been different, had not the major unions, even up to the last minutes, neglected to pledge full support to the miners in their fight.

This was an unfortunate state of affairs, for it was a recognized fact

that Wall Street would consider any wage increase won by the miners as an established pattern in computing the increases to be given the other unions which would be entering negotiations shortly. In other words, had the miners obtained even a 10 cent per hour increase, this would have been the minimum obtainable in auto, steel, etc., negotiations.

The sad fact is that no base raise was established. Therefore it will be the job of other unions to plow the ground that could have been broken by the miners if they had received ample support.

This local feels that some sort of support should have been given the miners by the entire labor movement. The support of a sympathy strike would have been ideal.

This local further sends its heartfelt fraternal greetings to those valiant militants, who are always in

the forefront in labor's perpetual battle with capital; the membership of the United Mine Workers of America.

Fraternally,
W. B. KALKHOF,
Rec. Secretary
Local 1693, USA-CIO

Fund Contributor Offers Suggestion

Editor:

Enclosed is \$1.00 to the Sustaining Fund for the month of December.

As a suggestion for a series in LABOR ACTION, why not an inventory of finance, industry, land-holdings, etc., to give a person a more intensive view of the expropriation of the workers' "heritage" by the powers that be. I know there are

many readers who do not have access to the large number of references required to produce such a series and also may not have the time. It would help bring Gustav Meyers' "History of the Great American Fortunes" and Lundberg's "America's Sixty Families" up to date.

T. J. M., Michigan

(An excellent idea, and we shall try to work on it.—Ed.)

Mash Note

Gentlemen:

Please do not send me LABOR ACTION any more. I don't read it, but throw it into the garbage can every time I receive it. If I wanted to be a Bolshevik, I would be a Stalinist—not a Trotskyist Bolshevik—

anti-Bolshevik. I have no respect for political lunatics like you people.

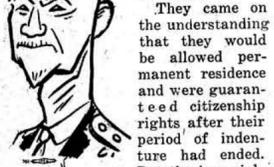
JAMES GARRISON
New York

You Can Subscribe To Labor Action For Six Months For 50 Cents! and to the New International For \$1.00!

An Exclusive Report to Labor Action from the Land of Smuts:

Indian Minority Rejects South African Ghetto

The Indian population of South Africa, now numbering some 250,000 people, came to this country in the 1860's as indentured laborers, to work on the sugar plantations of Natal.



They came on the understanding that they would be allowed permanent residence and were guaranteed citizenship rights after their period of indenture had ended. But the imperialist ruling class forgot this guarantee soon enough. In 1895 Indians were disfranchised by the Natal government: inter-provincial immigration was made illegal in 1913. Thus began the series of restrictions whereby the white ruling class intended to force the Indian population into the chains of segregation in which they have imprisoned the African and colored people.

The Indian population is not a homogeneous one, for although the bulk of its 195,000 people in Natal are plantation laborers, most of the 31,000 Indians in the Transvaal, and the 13,000 Indians in the Cape are small hawkers, small traders and merchants.

The Indian people still differ from the bulk of their non-European oppressed brothers by being allowed to own a land. Yet even this concession is infinitesimal; in Durban, for example, 1 acre of Indian population owns only 4 per cent of the land. But the following facts illustrate even more clearly the land-ownership by Indians. In 1940, the average property per head owned by Europeans was 447.19 square feet, and by Indians 43.41 square feet. Obviously enough, the menace of Indian penetration, conjured up by the ruling class to cloak their segregatory legislation for the Indian people, is a facade to cover their real aims, which are, in time, to deprive the Indian people of all rights whatever.

THE PEGGING ACT OF 1943

Until the new Indian Pegging Act of 1943 Indians were allowed to own and occupy property and land in Natal. In the Transvaal too, they were allowed to own land in areas exempted by parliament (naturally the "gold-proclaimed" areas in the Transvaal were prohibited to them). But the new act restricts them from

General Strike Hits Naples In Food Crisis

At the time this issue is going to press, a general strike has been reported in the city of Naples, Italy. All work in the city has stopped, with the sole exception of establishments engaged in the distribution of food. As far as we can make out from here, the main issues in the strike seem to be the woefully inadequate food supply to the city, and the failure of the government to provide appropriations for public works and for unemployment benefits.

A significant aspect of the strike is the establishment of special squads of strikers to keep order in the city. All newspapers, except those of the Communist (Stalinist) and Socialist parties, have been prevented from appearing by the workers' committees.

An indication of the country-wide character of the movement for more adequate food supplies are demonstrations of housewives in Rome against the high cost of living. Women in the poorer districts found themselves forced to appropriate food to themselves without recourse to the ordinary channels of capitalist economic life; not having money to pay the outrageous prices, they took the food without it.

The opinion that UNRRA is deliberately starving the Italian people is widely prevalent all over the country. "The UNRRA wheat will arrive," one paper said, "but only when the situation has become even graver, because it is thought that, if the wheat arrives then, it will help effectively to spread the idea that Italy cannot be saved except by the United States and Britain, even where her daily bread is concerned."

We are pleased to print below a contribution from one of our readers in South Africa. It presents in graphic vividness and detail the situation of the Indian minority in South Africa. Our readers may remember that this issue arose recently at the United Nations meetings, where the Indian delegation accused South Africa of practicing racial discrimination against its Indian minority. That self-righteous apostle of democratic phrases and imperialist behavior, Jan Smuts, defended South Africa.

This article is a thorough exposure of the system of racial discrimination which Smuts—often hailed by starchy-eyed liberals as a great democrat—defends. Together with another article which appeared three weeks back in LABOR ACTION detailing the conditions of the people in South Africa, we gain a vivid and damning portrait of what life means for those peoples under the rule of imperialist domination.—Editor.

owning land to a far greater degree than ever before. In the Orange Free State, Indians are allowed neither to enter the province nor to own land there. The ruling class hopes to imprison the Indian people in reserves and locations, as they have done to the African people.

There are, already, at least sixty-five different laws restricting the rights of Indians. These show conclusively the government policy of segregation and deprivation toward the Indian people. The Marketing and Land Occupation Act, 1937, for example, gives the government extraordinary powers to expropriate Indian-owned land in rural areas; the Housing Act, 1934, gives the power of expropriation; the Pegging Act, 1943, restricts their rights of purchase; the Natal Housing Board Ordinance, 1945, consummates the program for residential segregation in that province. Indians have never been allowed to enter municipal libraries, or European hotels or trains or cinemas. The sign "Europeans Only" excludes all Indians from participation in cultural life and from every profession except that of teaching. In all these spheres, segregation is complete.

The Indian merchant is feeling the blows of the predatory ruling class in its effort to exclude him from the sphere of business and land-ownership. The Indian worker has always been the exploited slave of the white ruling class. As the docile and cheap indentured immigrant from India, his slave labor on the sugar plantations of Natal built up the super-profits of the sugar industrialists.

SEVERITY OF PLANTATION LIFE

Although today less than 4 per cent of the Indian population is employed on the sugar estates, the bulk of workers now being made up of Africans, the 7,500 Indian laborers still on the sugar-plantations are a group as super-exploited and degraded as their African co-laborers. Plantation work in all its severity and harshness is part of their daily lives.

Conditions on the estates are not revealed, but may be gauged from the following facts: "... payment is arranged on the task system, which is widely adopted. Each task consists of 3,000 lbs. of cane, burned, cut, and loaded into trucks; thirty of these tasks constitute a month's work and earn on the average 2 pounds sterling. . . ." (Burrows: Indian Life and Labor in Natal.) Back-breaking labor and super-exploitation have built up the Natal sugar industry.

The average Indian worker in other employment earns the wretchedly low wage of \$6 per week, while rural workers in Natal (9 per cent of the total Indian population in the Union) earn \$12 per month.

The Indian workers are not allowed membership in European trade unions, except in a very few unions in Natal, such as the Natal Liquor and Catering Trade Employees Union, which consists of 2,115 Indians and only 392 Europeans. Apprenticeship is discouraged and Indian youths are not allowed to attend technical classes (available for Europeans only), and are thereby automatically excluded from acquiring skilled trades. Thus the white labor policy affects the Indian workers in the same way as it affects the other non-European groups.

Nor are the educational facilities for Indian children better than the facilities for the non-European children as a whole. Education for Indian children is neither compulsory nor free. Only 15.5 per cent of the children receive any education at all. The standard of literacy is extremely low.

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946

makes it impossible for Indians to live in any other than segregated areas, locations where housing and health needs are cynically ignored and neglected by the ruling class. Already the bulk of the Indian homes in Natal are merely shacks, with a family in each room, with terrible repercussions on sanitation, hygiene and health.

Poverty and degradation are the crushing stigmas of Indian life. "The total income of Indians in Natal is assessed at between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 pounds sterling or 1/10 1/2 a day per head. Although the percentage of income spent on food is high, malnutrition is rife and many do not receive a sufficient quantity of food. . . ." (Aiyar: "Conflict of Races in South Africa.")

The health of the Indian masses, especially in Natal, is poor. The death rate for 1941 was 13.11 per 1,000 in Natal alone. Chest diseases, particularly pneumonia and tuberculosis are the main causes of death, showing succinctly enough that poverty, lack of decent clothing and bad diet are the main causes.

The new act of 1945 (called the Ghetto Act by the Indian people), shows definitely the future of segregation and degradation that the ruling class and all white parties hold out for the Indian masses. All sections vie with each other to insert new segregatory laws against them in the Union's Constitution. Indians have been denied parliamentary provincial and municipal votes on the Common Roll in all but the Cape province, where they were allowed restricted franchise rights. But with the passing of the new Ghetto Act all hopes of Indians ever attaining the franchise were ground to dust.

Indians will be represented under the new act, like the African people, by two European Senators and three European M. P.'s and two members on the Natal provincial council. There will be a separate voters roll for them, based on educational and property qualifications higher than those demanded of any other group.

The ruling class has changed its tactics with regard to the Indian people. Formerly they covered their real aims with laudatory phrases. Now they come out for open oppression. They used to speak in the words of Senator Clarkson (Minister of the Interior): "... the Indians are national citizens of the Union and as such are deserving of all the rights enjoyed by the European population. . . ." (Address to Durban City Council.) But for the benefit of the wider European public they stated: "... the Indians have never yet been accepted as a permanent part of our population. . . . Ultimate repatriation has never yet been abandoned by the Union of South Africa which confined the Indians to Natal. . . ." (H. Abrahamson, Uni-

DISCUSS OAKLAND GEN. STRIKE LESSONS AT WP SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA FORUM

SAN FRANCISCO—Meeting at its Oakland headquarters, a few blocks from Kahn's Department Store, focal point of the recent general strike, the San Francisco Bay Area Branch of the Workers Party conducted, on Sunday, December 15, a well-attended forum on the lessons of that momentous labor struggle. Willie Gorman, a participant in the strike, indicated the importance of this action of the Oakland labor movement in connection with the nation-wide current labor upsurge, illustrated by the miners' walkout and the CIO wage drive.

Condemning the strike-breaking role of Teamster officials Dave Beck and Dan Tobin, and State Federation President Charles Real, as well as the do-nothing policy of the local CIO leadership, he pointed out that the workers of the city were actually in full control of the life of the community. The police were powerless and the newspapers were compelled to suspend for the first time in over fifty years. An emergency "Citizens Committee," composed entirely of

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ted Party M. P. Natal Witness: Aug. 24, 1943.)

Today, however, the inroads of the ruling class into the last remaining hopes of the Indian people are naked and ruthless. Their policy is clear—deprivation of all remaining privileges and thrusting the Indian masses into the merciless chains of the Color-Bar, segregation and servitude.

INDIAN PEOPLE RESIST NEW ACT

But the Indian people are resisting this new vicious attack. Even the conservative leadership of the South African Indian Congress has been forced to reject the new Ghetto Act in toto, and has refused to cooperate with the government in implementing it. The spirit of resistance permeates the Indian masses and is firing them to sacrifice themselves in the struggle against the act.

But the Indian leadership, consisting of "Stalinist-Gandhiists" and fellow-travelling merchants is draining the resistance energy of the masses. Instead of calling and working for a united front of all three oppressed non-European groups in the Union (African, Colored, Indian), and cementing them into a broad-sweeping unity movement for complete national liberation and full democratic rights for all, the Stalinist traitors deceive the Indian masses with the false Gandhiist slogans of passive resistance, with appeals to the robber United Nations, with looking to "Mother India," herself shackled by imperialism, for aid.

Over 1,400 Indian youths, students, women and workers have already courageously and willingly allowed themselves to be arrested and imprisoned for 1-3 months for trespassing on municipal land, where the passive resisters squat every evening. In the course of the struggle they have had to endure the most rigorous prison conditions and the brutality of the police, the naked hostility of the vast majority of the whites and the hooliganism of white hoodlums.

But this campaign is used by the leadership of the Natal Indian Congress and the Passive Resistance Councils of Natal and Transvaal to divert the furious spirit of resistance amongst the Indian masses. This spirit of resistance could be turned, by a really revolutionary leadership, into the channels of a real mass movement, drawing in all the non-European oppressed, but the Stalinist poisoned leadership has turned the energy of the Indian masses into an isolated struggle cursed with all the Gandhiist principles of "salvation through individual suffering."

WHOLE SETUP AT STAKE

But the struggle against the new assaults on the existence of the Indian people can and will only call into question the whole barbaric regime of color-bar despotism, of segregation, which Smuts and his government and opposition impose on the non-European masses. This is the regime that Smuts, the great world statesman who drafted the sugary preamble to the United Nations Charter, who is the screeching defender of white Christian civilization, upholds so callously in that place where callousness and robbery have reached new heights—the UNO.

It is only on the basis of this regime of terror, violence and color discrimination and racial oppression that a Smuts can strut the world stage with his hypocritical idealism and abominable lies. Every time he mouths his hollow ideals about fundamental human rights and the greatness of de-

mocracy he and his masters spit upon them in South Africa. Thus is expressed the nature of modern imperialist statesmanship.

The basic and fundamental task in South Africa, the first essential step to be taken in the direction of mass struggle, which is the only way of fighting back victoriously against the arrogant imperialist slave-drivers, is to awaken the fury of the non-European masses as a whole. The non-European people, and especially the super-oppressed and super-exploited African toilers who constitute the bulk of the non-European masses in the Union, must be driven into a mass political opposition against the white ruling class. A national liberation movement of non-European oppressed must be mobilized, with the African masses as its spinal column.

This can be achieved only by exposing the treacherous policy of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which is leading the Indian and African national organizations into the narrow and dangerous swamps of isolated struggle and which is using the groaning and suffering non-European peoples in the Kremlin's interests of embarrassing British imperialism.

Only the Trotskyists in South Africa have advocated this vital political and historical necessity of forming a broad non-European movement. This is the only means whereby the non-European masses of South Africa, feeling the bludgeon blows of imperialism on their existence, will find the means of liberation from imperialism and its segregation shackles. Only in this way will the fight for full equality, full democratic rights and liberties be won.

Examines Cleveland Unions' Independent Political Action

By GERRY McDERMOTT

Cleveland's first independent labor political campaign, that for Mathew DeMore's congressional candidacy, has shown union militants the path labor must take as soon as possible. As a result of this now concluded campaign, Cleveland labor has formed the beginnings of a political organization of its own, an organization which continues to function now that the election has passed.

The DeMore campaign was an attempt by union men and women to send a union leader to Congress on a ticket independent of capitalist parties. The story of this campaign provides information for the thousands of workers everywhere who want to put labor on its own political feet.

In the recent election, DeMore, an official of the International Association of Machinists in the Cleveland area, ran for Congress with the support of all union locals in the 22nd Congressional District of Ohio. These locals of the CIO, AFL, MESA and Rail Brotherhoods were banded together in a council, the Collinwood Conference of Shop Committees.

DeMore received 8,000 votes, not a great deal compared to the capitalist parties, but more significant than the number first indicates. For one thing, he ran well ahead of the Communist (Stalinist) Party candidates, although they have a large, well-financed and experienced machine here of some years' standing. Secondly, there is no doubt that DeMore's actual vote was much larger than the official figure, since the technicalities of voting for an independent and splitting a ticket always result in many ballots being thrown out. Thirdly, the 22nd District, lying partly in industrial areas, also contains many heavily Republican suburbs. Further, certain weaknesses in the campaign decreased its effectiveness. These weaknesses can and must be remedied.

The idea of running DeMore originated in the Collinwood Conference of Shop Committees. It was first put forward by the Stalinists in that body in order to form a sort of front organization which they hoped to control and use. Honest unionists, however, saw the possibilities in the situation, ditched the Stalinists and led

FAMINE AND HUNGER IN EUROPE'S GRANARY

In the center of the "granary of Europe," famine and bitter cold have struck the suffering population. At least one-third of the people are expected to undergo unimaginable misery this winter, reports the press. In Moldavia, a province of Rumania, an average of three slices of coarse bread a day is the normal ration. Peasants are eating acorn meal and grain seed. To prevent this, the government has tried pouring gasoline on the seed, but the peasants wash the seeds and eat them anyway. Workers do not even have seeds.

Prices have risen so high, meat cannot be bought by the average worker. A two-year drought coupled with Stalinist reparations has despoiled Rumania completely.

UN Best Measures Its Achievements By Paper Tonnage

By HENRY JUDD

The United Nations General Assembly has now adjourned and the delegates have gone home. Only the Security Council remains in session, disputing the issues of Greek border incidents. In one respect at least, the UN gathering was a massive and weighty matter. The New York Times reports that 200 tons of paper were used in printing and mimeographing reports and resolutions, and a total of 70,000,000 impressions were made!

But one solid (and sufficient) impression was left on the mind of the general public that 200 more tons of paper couldn't counteract—namely, that the UN IN REALITY did nothing, accomplished nothing and took not the first essential forward step toward a durable world peace.

A study and summary of the seven weeks of the Assembly meeting bear out this general public impression.

PLAY SAFE ON FRANCO

In last week's LABOR ACTION we analyzed the so-called resolution on disarmament and pointed out how, in reality, it meant nothing beyond an agreement to continue negotiations and efforts to make an atomic energy-atomic bomb deal. These negotiations are now continuing and meeting with no success. This can last indefinitely—or, to be more exact, until the great powers are ready to launch the next war.

On the issue of veto power and the right of the Big Five to block any action not suitable to their taste, no important action was accomplished beyond the passing of a resolution "urging" the great powers not to abuse their use of the veto power.

This impotent resolution did not even contain a censure of the powers for having utilized the veto to their narrow, imperialist advantages.

On the question of trusteeship and control of colonies, the General Assembly merely transferred control of former League of Nations mandates to control by the United Nations. A Trusteeship Council was established, the purpose of which will be to carry out the trusteeship agreements over New Guinea (mandated to Australia); Western Samoa (to New Zealand); Ruanda-Urundi (to Belgium); Tanganyika, British Cameroons and British Togoland (to England). The imperialist colonial-mandate system of the defunct League of Nations was simply continued under a new title. Not a single step toward colonial liberation was recorded. A resolution condemning the treatment of Indians in South Africa was passed, but no improvement in this treatment has yet been heard of.

BURY UNRRA OFFICIALLY

On relief and refugee problems, the General Assembly took the step of permitting the end of UNRRA and refusing to vote for the creation of a new international relief agency, as proposed by La Guardia. Instead, the whole matter has been passed back to the will and interest of the individual governments concerned. UNRRA is now dead and buried officially, by the United Nations.

And this, in essence, was the "work" of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We have not yet heard what is to be done with the 200 tons of paper, but recommend that our readers forward suggestions to the Secretary General himself.

the campaign. In doing so, they showed the only effective way to take the leadership away from the Stalinists in the labor movement. They fought more militantly for the needs of workers than the hypocritical Stalinists pretend to fight. The Stalinists wanted a "Third Party" campaign, but honest unionists wanted a Labor Party campaign, and the Labor Party idea won.

The idea was effective, too. Unionists organized neighborhood clubs on a ward basis, and set out to "get out the vote" aggressively in competition with the capitalist parties. A notable feature of the campaign was a well organized and enthusiastic torchlight parade. Everywhere, the idea of an independent labor candidate was well received.

The most significant aspect of the campaign is that these neighborhood clubs, built around the idea of independent labor politics and tied to the trade unions, are still in existence and are planning to "try again." These clubs offer an opportunity for politically alert unionists to get in the fight. They deserve the support and encouragement of the entire Cleveland labor movement, and will undoubtedly win it.

In analyzing the campaign and looking toward the future, it is important to note two enormous handicaps which the movement met.

One of these is the political position of the national CIO and AFL, which becomes increasingly ineffective. Because of the timid and disastrous policy of supporting only Democratic and Republican Party (that is, capitalist) candidates, the County CIO did not endorse DeMore! How-

ever, the PAC committees of local unions did.

The County AFL body, following Green's horse-and-buggy tactics of "rewarding" labor's "friends" in the two old parties (as if there were any) likewise ignored DeMore. Thus the campaign was deprived of the publicity and finances which the organized labor movement can provide—help which was greatly needed. In the light of this experience, it can easily be seen how necessary and sensible is the Workers Party slogan of "Turn the PAC into a Labor Party!" To have done so would have made a world of difference in the DeMore campaign.

THE ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

The second serious handicap was the influence of the Stalinists. This will be a problem until the whole labor movement awakes to the reactionary nature of these supposed "progressives." They tried to make the DeMore campaign a move toward "Third Party" they want—one that would chain labor to those capitalist politicians who, like Wallace, play ball with the Kremlin. They want this because a Labor Party would fight for the needs of the workers instead of the selfish interests of Russia's bureaucratic and greedy rulers.

Therefore, in the initial stages of the campaign, before the militant unionists took over, the Stalinists saddled the campaign with the wishy-washy, timid program of the Wallaces and Peppers. This program could not win much support. The vagueness of this program was only partially overcome in the latter days of the campaign.

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