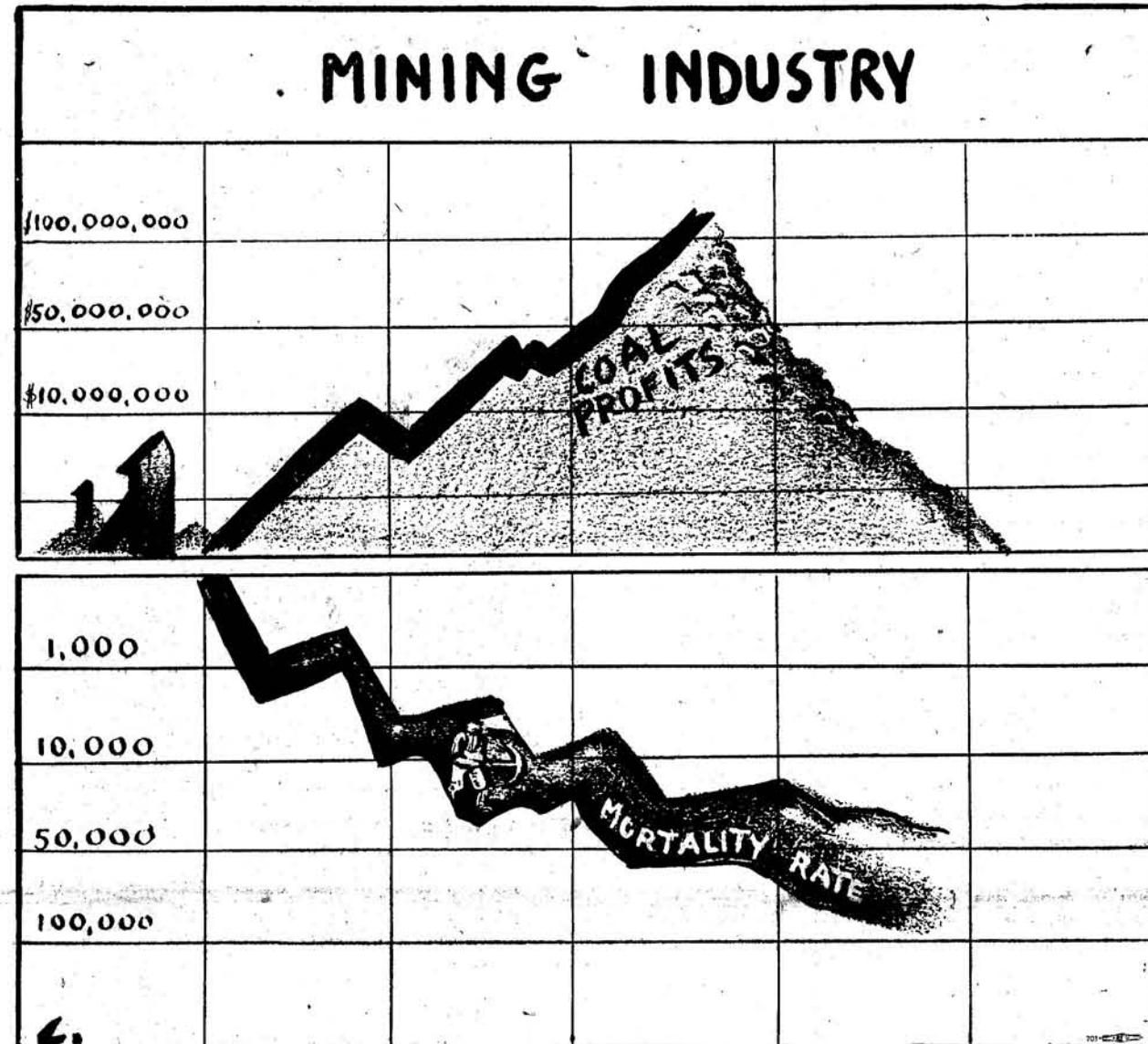


## All Labor Must Protest the Centralia Disaster

# MUST MORE MINERS DIE?

### Coal Mining - - Our Deaths and Their Profits



Since 1839, according to the Accident Analyses Division of the U. S. Bureau of Mines, 109,441 miners have lost their lives in mine accidents. These figures tell only part of the story. Reports for the years 1839 to 1907 are INCOMPLETE and show only 39,925 deaths for the 107-year period. The real figure must be many times that. The 36-year period since 1910, when provision was made for the keeping of accurate figures, shows a loss of 69,016 lives. Averaged per year, these figures mean that each year 1,887 miners needlessly lost their lives through the negligence and greed of the mine operators. Incomplete figures for 1946 show the loss of 974 lives for that year. These figures are for deaths. They do not include injuries, or deaths resulting from work in the mines but not in accidents. There were 57,000 non-fatal and loss-of-time injuries in 1946. For the years 1930 to 1945, there was a total of 1,032,995 REPORTED injuries—an average of 64,562 a year. It has been estimated that every miner has twice been injured seriously enough to keep him from work in that period.

By DAVID COOLIDGE

As this is being written, hundreds of thousands of members of the United Mine Workers of America are preparing to stop digging coal for one week in protest against the slaughter of 111 human beings in a mine belonging to the Centralia Coal Co. at Centralia, Ill. These 111 human beings, all coal miners, were entombed 540 feet below the surface on Tuesday, March 26, following an explosion. They were digging out coal, as the capitalist press hypocritically puts it when a strike is threatened, to keep little children warm in school buildings and the sick in the hospitals from freezing.

There were 131 men in the mine and 111 are dead. That means that 20 were "saved" to go back again and be slaughtered in the next explosion. As is usual in these mine explosions, the mouth of the pit was surrounded by women and children, the families of the entombed miners, hoping that their kin would be brought out alive, or at least brought out whole if they were dead.

## One Year Ago They Pleaded For Their Lives

On March 3, 1946, Jake Schmidt, Local Union No. 52 president, William E. Rowekamp, recording secretary, and Thomas Bush and Elmer Moss, mine committee members, addressed a letter to Governor Green. The letter, warning of unsafe conditions at Centralia Coal Co. No. 5 mine, is a plea "to please save our lives." Of the signers, all but one are dead. Below we publish excerpts from the letter:

"We the officers of Local Union No. 52, UMWA, have been instructed by the members of Local Union No. 52 to write a letter to you in protest against the negligence and unfair practices of your Department of Mines and Minerals.

"In fact, Governor Green, this is a plea to you to please save our lives, to please make the Department of Mines and Minerals enforce the laws at No. 5 Mine of the Centralia Coal Co., at which we are employed, before we have a dust explosion at this mine like just happened in Kentucky and West Virginia.

"In December, 1945, we preferred charges before the Mining Board against the mine manager and the superintendent of our mine and requested that their certificates be revoked for operating the mine in violation of the state mining laws and for ignoring the recommendations of the state mine inspector.

"A special investigation commission was sent to the mine. They were very unfair to us. On the commission was Robert Weir, a boss for our coal company. They ignored the officers of this local union. They did not talk to us or give us a chance to call their attention to unsafe conditions or listen to our complaints.

"We are giving you a chance to correct the conditions at this mine that may cause a much worse disaster than the one at Gillespie or the one at Kentucky."

The rescue teams were there, the mine inspectors, and mine officials. The police were there of course "to keep the crowds back." Floodlights played on the scene and the ambulances were lined up for a quarter of a mile. The state, the mine owners and "the public" were ready to do everything possible for these DEAD MINERS, They must have "Christian burial."

Of course there will be "an investigation." There have been a thousand of these investigations. But every miner knows that there is no need for an investigation to determine why this disaster occurred. They know why these 111 human beings are dead. They know why thousands of miners have died in the past in mine explosions. They know that these explosions are not "acts of God," like hurricanes, cyclones and death from lightning. The federal and state governments know this too. The coal operators know it. They all know the reason and they know that no investigation is necessary. They know, and the miners, know, that nothing much will come from this investigation.

The federal government, the state governments, the coal operators and the miners know that these "accidents" can be reduced to minimum. They can be reduced to minimum if the coal companies will take some of their profits and install safety devices; if the state mine regulations are enforced, if federal mine safety recommendations are followed, if mine inspectors cease to be political appointees and if bribery of mine inspectors is eliminated.

The closing of the mines from March 31 to April 6 means that no miners will be slaughtered during that week. There will be no additions to the 100,000 miners killed in the past one hundred years or to the 58,000 killed and disabled during 1946. State mine inspectors in Illinois and other states can go about the political tasks assigned them by their masters during this week with a clear conscience. They will not be responsible for the "safety" of hundreds of thousands of coal diggers.

### LET OTHER WORKERS DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY

Fire bosses at the mines will not be faced with the demand of the coal companies that they change their reports to make them conform to the requirements of coal company policy and profits. The Wall Street bankers who own or control the coal properties can take themselves to their Christian churches on Easter Sunday and join in the chant about "the risen Christ." They will rejoice that they are not as other men "who pile up treasure where moth and rust corrupt." Their serenity will not be disturbed because they will have no reports on Easter Sunday that a hundred or more human beings have been slaughtered in their mines, 540 feet underground.

The Workers Party joins the miners in mourning their dead. We believe, however, that it is not enough that the miners be

(Continued on page 7)

## Price Levels Climb to Near All-Time Peak

Consumers Paying 7 Per Cent More for Basic Necessities Since Price Control Abolition Last October

At a press conference on March 26, 1947, President Truman declared that the continued trend of price rises posed a serious danger of inflation. He did nothing about this danger, however, except to issue a flabby appeal to Big Business to cut prices, an appeal which we may be certain will not be taken seriously. Nor will business men, gloating over one of the greatest profit booms in American history take very seriously Secretary of the Treasury's assertion that "prices are out of line at this time." For them prices are never out of line as long as they are as high as the traffic will bear.

Just how high prices have gone since QPA was abolished last October is revealed by a report published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Washington. Five months after the abolition of price controls, living costs were at a near-record level. Despite slight decreases since December, the consumer was still paying 52 per cent more for basic necessities than in January, 1941; 3 per cent more than in January, 1946; and 7 per cent more than last September. That means that prices have jumped 7 per cent since controls were wrecked. The trend of prices in the past year is shown in the following table, based on the consumers price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (with 100 representing the average from 1935 to 1939):

Jan., 1946	129.5
June, 1946	133.3
Aug., 1946	144.0
Dec., 1946	153.2
Jan., 1947	153.1
Feb., 1947	152.8

These facts are merely the statistical generalizations of facts which every worker and housewife has felt in his or her own experience. When

taken with the current threat to increase rents above the board, and the fact that in many instances rents have already been increased by various dodges, we can see that a serious cut in the living standards of American workers has taken place since the abolition of price control.

Apologists for the capitalist class waxed profound then about the workings of "the normal laws of economics" and pontificated about "supply and demand" which they said would bring prices down. Yet the facts are that prices have not gone

down; they have gone up. It is true that prices may after many months more go down; by then supply may begin to catch up with demand. But it should be remembered that when that happens, there will be a squeeze on the workers from another direction: jobs will become more scarce and employers will be trying to cut wages. It is NOW that workers need price reductions.

President Truman has issued his flabby statement on this matter because he fears that the price jumps of profit-wild business men may

throw the entire economy into a jam thereby hurting capitalism as a whole, the defense of which is his main task. Yet he takes absolutely no action. What an interesting and revealing contrast this makes with his behavior during the mine crisis. Then he was all bristle, fire and thunder denouncing the miners who wanted a better wage as people who were defying the government. He put his Attorney General to work on it and, if reports are to be believed, even had a hand into pressuring the Supreme Court into rendering an

anti-miners' verdict. All this against labor.

But when it comes to doing something about the prices rises, from which labor is the main sufferer, he is weak and ineffectual.

That is to be expected. That is characteristic of the present government, the government of the two old parties of capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans. Tremendous energy against labor; meaningless statements for record for labor. Action against labor; talk for it. And this case is just another example.

## German Workers in Mass Demonstrations for Food

Goaded by Desperate Hunger, German Masses Participate in First Large-Scale Actions Despite Threats of British Occupation

### BULLETIN:

APRIL 2 — The demonstrations in Ruhr towns by German workers demanding food are continuing. In Duisburg, 20,000 workers gathered yesterday despite a drizzling rain to protest starvation food levels. Similar demonstrations took place in Dortmund, Iserlohn, Bonn and Hilden. In Lower Saxony, demonstrations have also taken place.

The British occupation authorities have threatened to cut the food allowance of miners who refrain from work in order to attend such demonstrations. They have also alerted their troops to "stand by."

APRIL 1—Goaded by terrible and unrelieved hunger, over 100,000 workers in the British-occupied zone of Germany demonstrated last week, demanding enough food to live. The demonstration reached a climax when 4,000 German miners in Dortmund,

industrial city in the Ruhr area, refused to go into the pits.

Reports have been appearing for months telling of the inhuman conditions under which these workers have been existing. Men fainting at their machines or in the mines from malnutrition has been a frequent occurrence. LABOR ACTION has published numerous articles, written specially for it by correspondents in Europe, detailing the terrible plight of the German workers and predicting that they would be forced to engage in larger demonstrations if the situation continued.

At the time of writing, the demonstrations have not reached their climax. They have spread from Duesseldorf and Dortmund to other cities. That the miners, who receive the highest food allotment of any group of German workers (miserable though that allotment is) have joined the demonstration, indicates how desperate they are.

It is not clear under whose leadership these demonstrations have taken place. A report to the New York Times by Edward Morrow, dated March 29, says that "Social Democratic leaders denied any active leadership in these demonstrations. Communist leaders refused to commit themselves beyond saying it was natural to expect such protests from people whose stomachs were empty."

These two sentences tell us a great deal about the Social Democrats and the Stalinists. In a situation in which the masses are desperately striking out in search for a little bit to eat, the Social Democrats—even in the zone where they are headed by Kurt Schumacher, played up by his American admirers as a "militant"—haughtily wipe their hands of these actions; they are more interested in remaining on the good side of the British. And the Stalinists play it cautious, close to the chest; they are not sure yet, whether it is to their

advantage to be publicly associated with such obviously just struggles of the workers for bread.

The British have been attempting to apply their usual Machiavellian imperialist "cleverness" to gloss over the situation. They say the food debacle is due to the poor organization of the puppet German government they have set up in their zone. (Formally, the Food Ministry is in the hands of the Germans.) This, they add, may show that the denazification policy was pushed through too rapidly. In other words, they are using the demonstrations as a pretext for weakening even the wretched puppet government they have been forced to set up, so that they may retain their own direct control. And by their attacks on the German officials, they would deny that the basic responsibility for the food crisis rests on the entire imperialist division of Germany which paralyzes the economy and creates chaos and hunger.

Similarly, they have attempted to turn the wrath of the German workers against their puppet government rather than themselves. Morrow writes that the British officials "have pointed out to the demonstrators that the proper place to lodge their complaints was with the German authorities." But the workers are completely correct in directing their blows against the occupation. For they understand that the so-called German government is nothing but a meaningless puppet, that the occupation powers are the real rulers and that these occupation powers must be held responsible for what happens.

In this way the demonstrating workers of Dortmund and the other cities have made an excellent beginning toward a policy which, if continued, can reassert the strength and independence of the German working class. The basic struggle in Germany today is the struggle to

drive out the occupying powers; for intimately linked with that struggle are all the other economic and political demands of the German workers.

A campaign to drive out the parasitic imperialist occupations can lead to the reassertion of the German working class's historic position. That is why, above all else, the demonstrations are encouraging and why the workers involved in them are completely correct in directing their protests against the occupying powers.

### More on Miners

Additional background material on the coal industry appears in this issue on page 6.

An article by James Dakota describes living conditions in mining towns.

An article by James Dillon tells of the concentration of ownership in the industry.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Stack Is Barred from Office by NMU

By N. GADEN NEW YORK, March 31—Four thousand NMU seamen voted overwhelmingly in favor of barring from office for five years Joe Stack, Stalinist vice-president. The vote was taken after "Blackie" Myers, chairman last night, decided to "recess" the meeting without giving the assembled rank and file a chance to vote on whether they wanted to recess the meeting. Curran, at this point, took over the chair and called for a vote on the Trial Committee reports. The ranks then voted to accept the minority report, which recommended Stack's suspension.

The Stalinists used every trick in the book to keep the membership from voting Stack out of office once it was obvious the meeting was for taking such action. They had their boys as tellers, they didn't count certain votes, they didn't add the figures right, they refused to announce the vote—finally they bureaucratically recessed the meeting. Everything was tried, but they couldn't get away with

Seek Jim Crow Prohibition in Chrysler Contract

DETROIT—An important and significant change in the no-discrimination clauses of UAW contracts is being attempted in the present Chrysler negotiations.

The union is seeking to have the following clause included in the new contract: "The company agrees that it will not discriminate in the hiring of employees or in their training, upgrading, promotion, transfer, layoff, discipline, discharge, or otherwise, because of race, creed, color, national origin, political affiliation, sex or marital status."

The present contract merely says: "Rank on the seniority list shall not be affected by the race, marital status or dependents of the employee."

The proposed change will make it more difficult for the corporation to break the solidarity of the Negro and white workers in the auto plants. It must be fought for wholeheartedly.

But the fight against discrimination cannot stop with the inclusion of this clause in the contract. The auto workers, both Negro and white, must be vigilant in the enforcement of this clause. It is up to the men on the line to see that discrimination does not exist in their shop. No matter what the contract provides for the company will not hesitate to use race hatred, playing one national minority against another, or religious antagonisms to divide the workers and break their solidarity. No discrimination in practice means a united membership.

it. Curran took over the chair, denounced their tactics and called for the vote on the Trial Committee reports.

CHARGES AGAINST STACK

The charges against Stack were made by Curran a few weeks ago. He was charged with slandering Curran, misappropriating funds as head of both the New York Strike Preparations Committee and the Organizational Department, showing preference to members of the Communist Party when appointing organizers and discriminating against non-Stalinists.

The five-man Trial Committee was appointed by the National Council (which the CP controls). They chose three Stalinists and two non-Stalinists. At first they tried to rig the committee with five Stalinists, which would have made impossible a minority report.

The majority report was nothing but a whitewash of Stack. The minority report found Stack guilty of the above outlined charges. They threw out as irrelevant the eleven charges of Curran, which dealt with Stack's personal history in the NMU.

Now that the membership has barred Stack, what happens? The Stalinists still have a firm control of the NMU apparatus. The National Council, if it doesn't override the membership decision, will simply replace Stack with another Stalinist.

The action against Stack, while it certainly expresses the will of the membership and exposes the CP as an insidious gang of maneuverers, actually accomplished very little. THE ONLY WAY TO BEAT THE STALINIST MACHINE IS TO ORGANIZE THE RANKS AROUND A MILITANT PROGRAM PUT FORWARD BY A WELL ORGANIZED RANK AND FILE CAUCUS.

ISSUES OPEN LETTER

The most important development in the NMU this week was the publishing of Curran's "Open Letter to Our Members" in the NMU organ, The Pilot (March 28). This letter will go a long way toward solidifying the ranks against the Stalinist misleaders in the union. In it, Curran exposes the role of the CP in the union, tells how its apparatus functions, names those in charge of party work in the different ports, etc. He warns the membership against their tactics—phony "unity" cries, "red-baiting" charges, dragging out meetings for hours so that the ranks become fed up and go home, leaving them in full control. Curran tells the members to caucus aboard ship and prepare themselves for meetings so that the Stalinists can't rig them. He comes out for exposing their program rather than purging them.

We quote from Curran's letter: "Demanding purges of Communists from the union will accomplish nothing, just as the demand now to out-

law the Communist Party legally will accomplish nothing. They will not only go underground, but such action endangers all liberals and democracy itself.

"They must be defeated in the meetings aboard ship and ashore. They must be defeated in elections and at conventions. Their program must be shown up as not a program for a trade union, and our union in

particular, but as a program of making the union a stogie union for the Communist Party."

But we must repeat. Curran's program can win out in the NMU only if he organizes around himself the best and most articulate anti-Stalinist militants. You cannot fight and win against a well organized machine unless you fight with a well organized machine.

Workers Dictionary

Compiled by JACK RANGER

American Federation of Labor, a central organization composed of affiliated trade unions in the United States and Canada, founded in 1881. The most important unions affiliated to the AFL are the International unions, approximately 105 in number, each of which has considerable independence and which charters its own local unions. The stated purposes of the AFL are to promote cooperation and mutual assistance among member unions, to further legislation in the interests of members, to encourage the sale of union-made goods and to extend unionization into unorganized fields. The CIO is a rival central organization of unions, and there are some unions such as several of the railroad brotherhoods which are independent of both AFL and CIO. Whereas the CIO generally represents the basic industries of the nation, and assumes the industrial form of unionism (industry-wide), the AFL generally represents the older forms of industry—construction, transportation, service, printing—and is organized on a craft union basis. At the head of almost every AFL union, local and international, is an entrenched and well paid bureaucracy, long divorced from actual work at the trade, conservative, cautious, disdainful of the ranks, with an unbounded faith in capitalism. Almost without exception, officials of the AFL are members or sympathizers of the Republican or Democratic Parties and represent the policies of those parties within the union movement.

American Labor Party, a party formed in 1936 in New York City which organized the workers independently of the two old parties, but which supported and continues to support candidates of the two old parties. For some years the ALP has been controlled by the Stalinists.

Americans for Democratic Action, an organization of liberals—some real some not—representing little beyond themselves, formed late in 1946 with the stated purpose of "giving the United States what it has lacked for many years—a broad and militant progressive movement unattached to any old-line party and free of the often constricting embrace of the Communist Party." Its program is vague and general—expand the New Deal; protect civil liberties "from both concentrated wealth and overcentralized government"; support the United Nations and the American plan for international control of atomic energy; "raise standards of living and support civil and political freedom everywhere."

Born of the five-year-old Union for Democratic Action, the ADA is largely representative of that section of liberal capitalist thought which prefers American imperialism to Stalinist imperialism. Its leaders include Chester Bowles, Wilson Wyatt, Leon Henderson, Eleanor Roosevelt and other ex-governmental bureaucrats. Like its counterpart in the Stalinist camp, the Progressive Citizens of America, the ADA's main political role lies in preventing if possible the development of a national labor party based upon the trade unions.

American plan, a name employees use for the anti-union open shop. A patriotic term for union-smashing. Also the name of a former union-smashing organization.

Americanism, fundamentally American nationalism in its most publicized usage. Many different groups claim to represent "real Americanism." Like nationalism in all other countries, Americanism is typified by rabid patriotism, attempts to settle all problems on a national basis rather than on a world basis; it is opposed to conflict within the nation, such as to any attempt on the part of labor to fight for its rights. Reactionary interests use slogans of Americanism to whip up hatreds against other nations and races in order to divide the workers.

Finaly, unable to stand the pressure, Upshur presented a bill on his own. The other four Philadelphia Negro representatives did NOT support his bill. They waited for Duff, because the machine is their bread and butter and also their prison, while the Negroes of Philadelphia are, after all, only votes.

Pennsylvania House Gets FEPC Bill

By JACK BRAD

PHILADELPHIA—After much behind-the-scenes maneuvering, political trading and pressuring, the administration of Republican Governor Duff has introduced a Fair Employment Practices Bill into the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. The bill was a last-minute entry, placed in the legislative hopper on Wednesday, March 26, the last day for presentation of bills for this session. There were four other FEPC bills on the calendar at the time.

The Duff Republican machine was forced to act under combined public and political pressures. Its considerations were always those of votes and maneuvering with the Democrats and the five Negro Republican representatives from Philadelphia. Not for one second did the interests of the Negro people have any part in Duff's considerations or his machine, dominated as it is by Grundy, Pew, Miller and the State Association of Manufacturers.

Two years ago, under the Republican Martin administration, an FEPC bill was introduced by Homer Brown. It was defeated in the Republican-dominated House at that time and pigeon-holed in a Senate committee.

BUSINESS OPPOSES BILL

Behind the scenes, opposing an anti-discrimination bill, there stand today, as two years ago, the organized big business interests which have dominated the state since the Civil War and which control both Republican and Democratic Parties, though they prefer to operate through the former.

There is Pew, who controls eastern Pennsylvania political life and also heads the Sun Oil Co. and the Sun Shipbuilding Co. as well as many other large businesses. Grundy, the ally of the Mellon and the Pittsburgh steel interests, was formerly head of the State Manufacturers Association. He is one of the most powerful and most conservative forces in control of the Republican Party and in particular of the Senate. Ex-Governor Martin, now U. S. Senator, by

grace of Grundy, was reputed to be the front man and personal choice of Grundy and Pittsburgh manufacturers. The boards of trade, State Chamber of Commerce and various real estate boards are prime forces opposed to a state FEPC.

Yet Governor Douglas was forced to include a promise for an FEPC in his campaign platform last year. The reason was simply that the Martin-Grundy forces had gone too far. In the 1944 Legislature they killed an anti-discrimination bill. The Democrats began an active campaign among Negroes to break the traditional dependence of the Negro people on the Republican Party. The Democrats made serious inroads in Allegheny County and in Philadelphia. That is why Duff gave a promise for a state FEPC in 1946.

Nevertheless, Duff and the Legislature Steering Committee successfully sabotaged all efforts toward fulfilling this campaign promise. The NAACP and American Jewish Congress organized wide support for an FEPC. They presented a bill but could not find a Republican sponsor. Mass meetings were held throughout the state. Scores of trade unions supported a state FEPC.

The five Negro Republicans from Philadelphia felt the fire under them most especially; as did Walker of Allegheny County, a largely Negro community. Walker, in desperation, finally introduced a bill against the wishes of the Republican Steering Committee. It was generally conceded, however, that without administration support the Walker bill is just "for the record" and bait for the Negro vote. It had no real chance of passing.

Representatives Upshur, Mintess, Smith, Henry and Thompson, the Negro Republicans from Philadelphia, became increasingly frantic as the March 26 legislative deadline approached. They had their own bill but feared to split with the administration, to whose political coat-tails they are tied. They did not present their own bill. These five Negroes were Republicans and subject to the discipline and dependent on the patronage and machine support of this party of big business. These so-called "Negro representatives" trembled between the fear of losing Negro votes and the wrath of the conservative political machine of which they are the tools.

All of the disgusting details are not yet known. Yet even the broad outline of the story, as revealed above, illustrates the kind of shoddy bargaining, insincerity and foul maneuvering that tries to parade as defense of Negro rights. It is clear, in sharply etched terms, that the Republican and Democratic parties are not at all interested in the rights of the Negro people or in abolishing discrimination. Once more the lesson is clear that these parties are dangerous blind alleys for the Negro people, as they are for all minorities and the working class in general.

'An Extremely Welcome Gift'

NEW YORK, March 28—The American Committee for European Worker Relief this week makes a special appeal for donations of cigarettes to send to workers in Europe. Next to food and clothing, cigarettes are most desired by these suffering people. The following excerpt from a letter recently received by the committee shows the need for this item:

"Today I received a notice from the postoffice that I should go and pick up a package. The joy about the contents of the package you cannot imagine. Especially my wife could hardly control herself with joy. The two pieces of butter were of great value. Here unfortunately there is a great lack of fat in Germany. For me the two packages of cigarettes were an extremely welcome gift. I lit one right away and smoked it with great joy."

Tragically highlighting the committee's continued appeals for food and clothing to send to stricken European workers is the following news item reported by the Berlin newspaper Tagesspiegel: "Three hundred and thirty-three residents of Berlin committed suicide in January, including 186 who feared they would starve to death." The City Health Ministry estimated 400 Berliners died of hunger and exposure in December.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

Today a loaf of bread generally costs you 15 cents. A year ago it cost 12 cents, and in 1939 it cost about nine cents. Retail bread prices have recently been boosted throughout the country by one cent a loaf, and the big bakers are threatening further price gouges. Do the bakers have to raise bread prices? Let's look at the earnings of the "big four."

Continental Baking Co., which recently boosted bread one-half cent a loaf at wholesale and threatened another increase, made profits of \$7,510,206 in 1946, compared with profits of \$2,493,031. Dividends rose from 65 cents a share in 1945 to 55.68 in 1946. General Baking Co. earned profits of \$3,964,625 in 1946, as against \$1,879,759 in 1945. Ward Baking Co. more than tripled its profits, from \$1,122,650 in 1945 to \$3,642,738 in 1946. Profits of Purity Bakers rose from \$2,030,847 in 1945 to \$3,424,308 in 1946.

WAR AND PEACE

During the war the federal government shoveled out \$100 billion dollars a year for the purpose of achieving maximum destruction in Europe and Asia. Remember? The other day Senator Taft had some ideas on the amount that the federal government should spend yearly to improve U. S. living conditions. Clearing his throat, the senator said he thought \$1 billion would be about right—\$150 million for housing, \$250 million for education, and \$225 million for health assistance. This only totals \$625 million. "It would not be too much to raise this even to \$1 billion a year," Taft told the Senate Banking Committee. Why, \$100 billion annually for housing alone would not be enough to house adequately our people. And Taft, who together with all the senators, raised his hands for hundreds of billions for war, grudgingly concedes a penny on the dollar to improve U. S. living conditions.

Although there are six million farms in the United States, about 2 1/2 million of them furnish almost all of the commercial farm production for the entire country. And of this number, only a small percentage of the huge "factory farms" account for the greater portion of production. . . . Though the coal crisis in Great Britain is one of the contributing factors to the crack-up of the empire, that nation has been exporting millions of dollars worth of mining equipment, locomotives, and railroad cars in a desperate effort to obtain credits to bolster up still weaker segments of the economy. . . . Schen-

ley Distillers, besides buying up wineries in California and Europe and breweries in Milwaukee, has built up a large animal feed business, entered the imported fancy foods field, and become a large producer of penicillin. Now Schenleys has a new soft drink formula and plans to enter the field in a big way as soon as sugar rationing ends. In addition, the company is considering entering the drug field. The war was very good to all the distilleries. Net sales of Schenleys, for instance, rose from \$74 million in 1939 to \$644 million in 1946. Seagrams, National Distillers, and Hiram Walker did just as well. . . . A new synthetic yarn designed to compete with nylon is being produced by Union Carbide & Carbon Co. Called vinyon N, it is said to be 75 per cent as strong as nylon, can be stretched 40 per cent, takes dyes with ease, and unlike nylon is warm to the touch.

TAXES AND THE RICH

One of the additional ways in which big corporations can avoid paying taxes was recently revealed by the Wall Street Journal. By indirect purchase of shares in investment companies specializing in bonds, they can pare as much as 85 per cent on their taxes. For instance, a corporation receiving its interest indirectly in dividends from such a trust pays a tax on only 15 per cent of the income. But had the same bonds been owned directly, the corporation would be fully taxable. On \$10,000 dividend income, the corporation pays only \$570; had it owned the bonds outright, it would have paid \$3,800.

Don't think that Big Business isn't taking advantage of this loop hole, either. One such "open-end" investment bond trust has grown from less than \$1 million in 1937 to more than \$25 million today. The assets of all such investment companies have more than tripled since 1937 and today stand at more than \$1.3 billion. The number of shareholders has risen from 250,000 in 1937 to about 550,000 today. . . .

The packers pulled a fast one during the last days of OPA price controls. Under price control, subsidies averaging \$2 a 100 pounds were paid to slaughterers on live hogs, cattle and sheep, to "enable them to sell at ceiling prices. Last Fall the packers accepted the subsidies, but held the meat in inventory until price controls were ended October 15. Then they sold the meat way above OPA ceilings, as we all remember. Altogether, they netted between \$5 and \$10 million on subsidies alone.

One-Tenth of the Nation By J. R. Johnson

NEGROES AND BOLSHEVISM

The American government is today building up its campaign against the Communist Party, "the Reds." Readers of LABOR ACTION know that the Workers Party has been the unswerving foe of the Communist Party. But we oppose the Communist Party because it betrays the revolutionary struggle. We attack it because, in its slavish subservience to the Moscow bureaucracy, it uses Negroes and the American labor movement purely to advance the projects and policies of Russia.

Many Negroes know this. And they are filled with a deep skepticism of political movements which are in any way radical. At this time it will be useful to recall exactly what Bolshevism was and will always be. There are many lessons for Negroes, not only in judging political parties in general but in judging and forming organizations of their own.

MASS ACTION

First of all, Bolshevism represents revolution and the revolutionary struggle. All other political parties depend on parliamentary means, on petitions, telegrams to Senators, mass meetings at which "important" and "distinguished" politicians speak. Bolshevism does not disdain parliamentary means. But fundamentally it relies upon mass action—mass demonstrations of workers, strikes, picketing, mobilizing workers in order to bring the pressure of organized labor and its allies upon the capitalist state. Let us illustrate the difference by an example.

POLICY FOR NEGROES

The Negroes of the United States would do wonderfully if they could impose upon any Congress or municipal candidate exactly some such policy: "You want to go to Congress by our vote. What do you propose to do there? Are you going to maneuver with the Democratic Party and the Republican Party? Are you going to waste your time and our votes by arguing with Bilbo and Pappy O'Daniel and Taft and Pepper, that liberal from Florida who gets into Congress by preaching white supremacy? You are of no use to us. Go there not to convince and bargain with them, but to say loudly what we want and say it so that the nation and all the world will hear. Then you will get our vote. Otherwise we have no use for you."

Baltimore Meeting:

"THE CRISIS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT" Speaker: E. R. MCKINNEY Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party APRIL 11, 1947, 8:00 P. M. FELLOWSHIP HOUSE 21 West Preston

ized labor and its allies upon the capitalist state. Let us illustrate the difference by an example. In the years before World War I, the Bolsheviks elected about half a dozen members to the Duma—the Russian Parliament. These elected representatives at once became very active about bills, the budget, parliamentary procedure, etc. They went for advice to Lenin, who was living in exile. Lenin laughed heartily and told them what amounted to this: "Don't bother about their bills and their budget and their parliamentary procedure. When your turn comes stand up and tell them about the lives of the workers, tell them about all the exploitation and oppression by the classes they represent and then tell them that it would not be long before the workers will rise in their revolutionary wrath and sweep capitalism and its dishonest thieving parliaments into the dustbin."

Something at once becomes clear. The Bolshevik deputies were not begging the capitalist politicians and the capitalist state for anything. They were not even speaking to the parliamentarians. They were speaking to the workers outside. They were using the Parliament as a forum to make revolutionary propaganda, to force the attention of the more backward workers, to make the middle classes listen, to expose the fraud of parliamentarism.

Naturally the revolutionary party holds its own meetings, etc. But its main interest in the capitalist Parliament was to use it for mobilizing the workers AGAINST capitalism and all its works.

Exactly the same policy is the Bolshevik policy for a labor Congressman. "Friends of labor" in Congress are no good to the working class movement. "Friends of Negroes" are no good in Congress to the Negro people. They are no good on City Councils. All they do is to confuse and corrupt the people's political thinking. Now we ask the Negroes: has this or anything like this been the policy of Ben Davis, for example, the Communist Party member on the New York City Council? One year he is supporting Lehman and Mead. Then comes an upheaval in the Communist Party. Browder is thrown out, Foster comes in. A new policy is announced and—Ben Davis supports Mead and Lehman! A genuine Bolshevik is distinguished by the consistency of his opposition to all aspects of the capitalist system. He votes for or supports only those specific things which benefit the workers and the oppressed and he opposes everything else.

Now it seems to us that a Negro community like Harlem would create a stir that would be felt in all parts of the country if it demanded of its candidate that his main task in and out of Congress or municipality was to denounce the system and use parliamentary forms and practices as a tribune for the education of the people.

The great crime of the Communist Party is that it has prostituted the very name of Bolshevism in the service of Moscow. The American capitalist class is out to break these Stalinists. Negroes cannot stand aside and see this happen without protest. It is an invasion of democratic rights. But our way of defeating these corrupting rats is to put forward labor and Negro candidates who, by a genuinely revolutionary policy, will educate the people both as to the crimes of American imperialism and the betrayals of the Moscow stooges.

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# LABOR ACTION

April 7, 1947

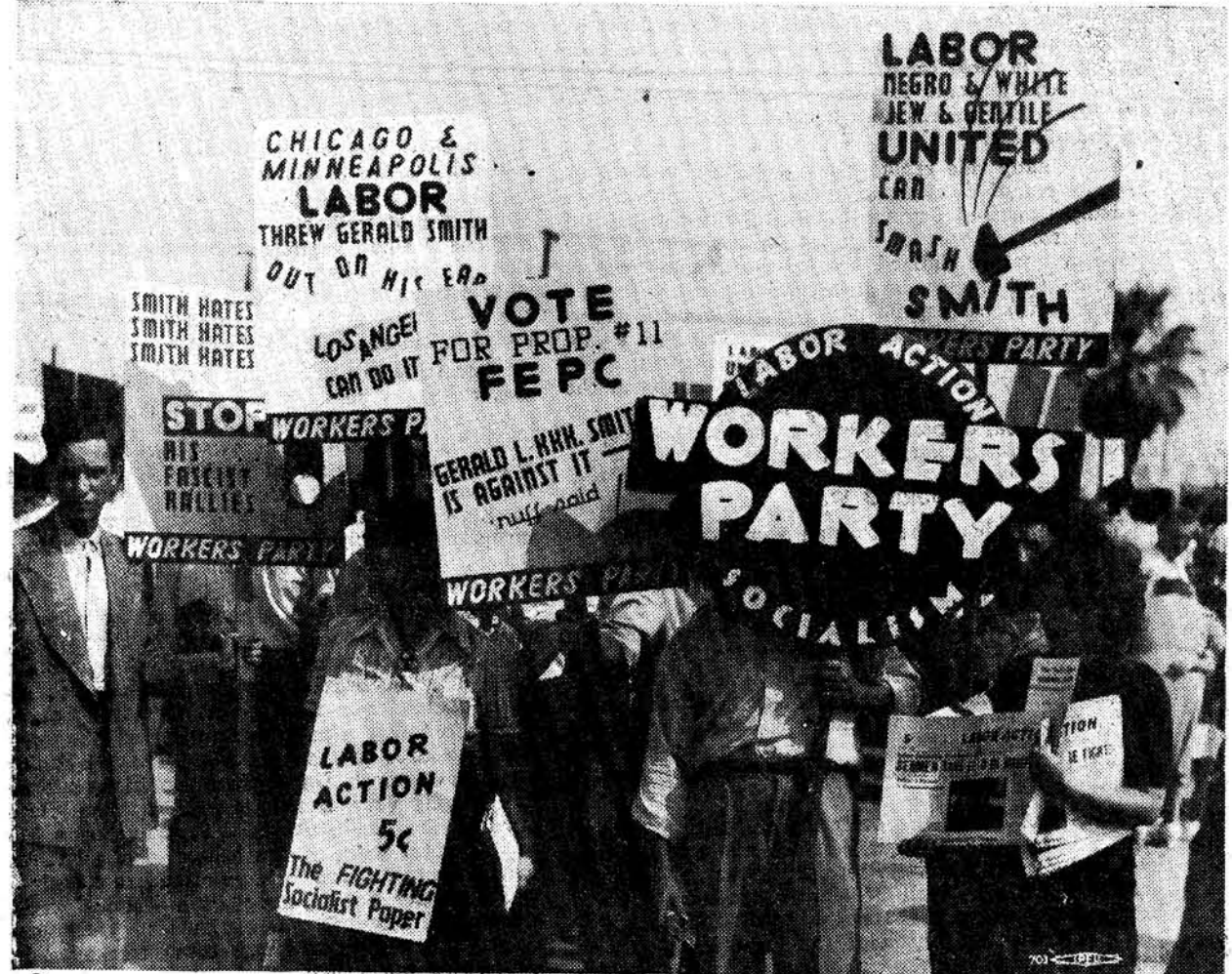
A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

## A Record of Socialist Achievement:

# Seven Years of the Workers Party

### The Workers Party in the Struggle Against American Fascism



The above picture shows the Los Angeles Local of the Workers Party in action during an anti-fascist demonstration held in that city. The occasion for the demonstration was the arrival of the anti-Semitic, labor-hating fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, who was "received" by a large demonstration, of which the above picture shows the Workers Party contingent.

By ERNEST ERBER

THE announcement seven years ago that a split had taken place in the American Trotskyist movement and that a new organization, called the Workers Party, had been formed received scant notice from those readers of the metropolitan press who may have chanced across the item buried on the inside pages. It seemed less important to the average reader than a fight at an Elks convention over the naming of the next convention city. It hardly rated as a footnote of history when compared with the big news of the day, Hitler's invasion of Norway and the fight between the interventionists and isolationists in this country. *Time* magazine saw in the schism among the Trotskyists an occasion for one of its displays of political ignorance and gave it a couple of columns of humorous treatment—under the head of "Religion." Even to that section of the public known as the "radical labor public," the event seemed somewhat routine; "the Trotskyists had another split."

The press of the Socialist Workers Party did its best to create among its readers a variant of the latter reception; "another unassimilable group has left to follow Weisbord, Field, Ohler and others into oblivion." Our early demise was repeatedly and confidently predicted.

As we approach the Seventh Anniversary of the Workers Party, we do not find it possible to record that the public-at-large has been made much more aware of our existence

than it was in 1940; however, the radical public and large sections of the progressive labor movement not only know of us but recognize us as a distinctive current on the American labor scene. As for the SWP, few among them still console themselves with expectations of our imminent collapse.

#### A DISTINCTIVE CURRENT

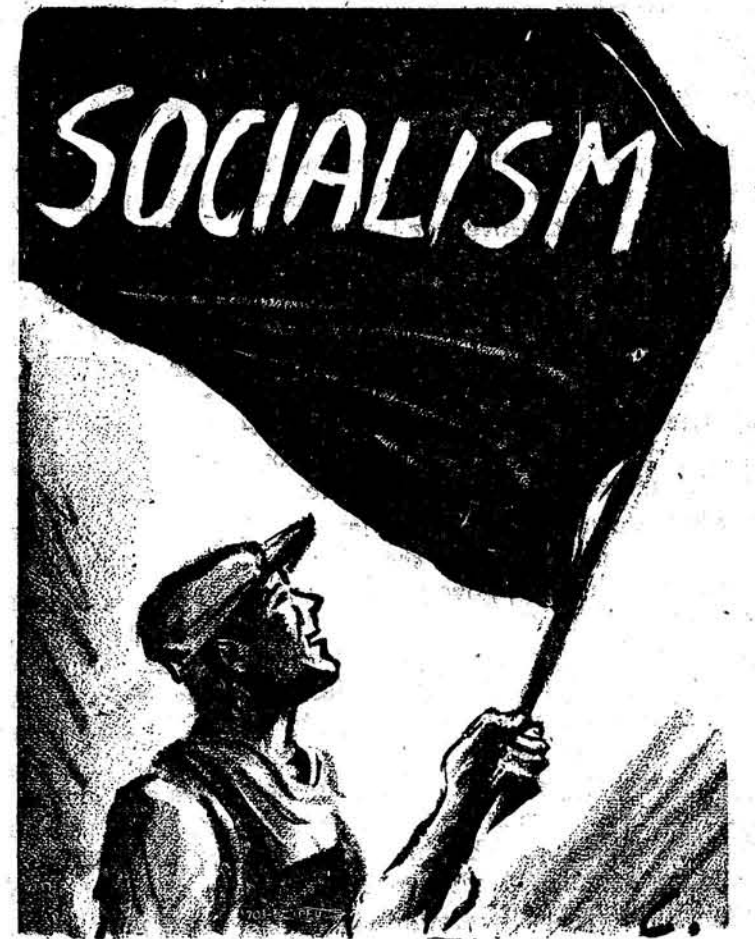
To the politically inexperienced, it seems inexplicable that a political organization should find cause for pride in the mere fact that it survived. Yet a quick look back over the road traveled by the workers' political movement to date should be sufficient to reveal that our pride is not merely a form of whistling in the dark, for this road is strewn with the remains of dozens of organizations, most of which hardly lasted more than a couple of years. The reference of our opponents to Field, Weisbord, Lovestone, et al, was not without some basis. The basis, however, consisted of a notion that "history repeats itself," rather than an analysis of what our tendency represented.

How explain the fact that the Workers Party not only survived for seven years, but, far from facing disintegration today, is prepared for sturdy growth in the future now that it has lived through its perilous infancy? The cause is to be found in the same factors that determined the survival of the Trotskyist movement as a whole when all other opposition groups that split off from the Comintern dried up and vanished. Like the Trotskyist movement as a whole in the pre-war period, the WP survived because its ideas met the test of events.

The program, consisting of both the formal, written documents and the actions taken, is the heart of every political movement. A mass party has much more in addition to this vital organ. When the heart begins to miss a few beats in time of critical turns, such a mass party can carry itself along for a considerable time upon its other assets. However, with a tiny ideological grouping, the program is practically everything. If its heart misses, the grouping dies swiftly. It either lives by the strength of its ideas or it ceases to live.

#### SOME POLITICAL ZOMBIES

There are, of course, organizations whose heart has failed long ago but which, for the purposes of the census, are still counted among the living. But these are organizations with a great past they continue to live off of. Among such political zombies are the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the IWW—spectral shadows that defy burial. Their hearts lie buried with Debs, Haywood and De Leon. If the Socialist Party gives evidence of some vitality in contrast to the others, it is indicative of its programmatic



adaptability, born of its historically amorphous character. For some years now there has been a quest for a new heart for the SP, i.e., a program related to our times. We do not deny that the latter is possible. "Doctor" Krueger's efforts to resurrect the corpse with a heart compounded of the non-Socialist "mixed economy" theory and a frank appeal to the middle class, may restore the SP among the living. Such a movement, of course, would not only not represent any continuity of the Socialist Party of Debs but hardly any continuity of the Socialist Party of Hillquit.

Compared to parties which live by looking forward to a great past, our Workers Party made its way through the bleak years of World War II without the benefit of any historic past in the eyes of the public. This is not to say that we had no well-known antecedents. Our WP boasted a pedigree traceable to an honorable ancestry. Our ideological roots were in the international Trotskyist movement, in the Left Opposition and in the Bolshevik Revolution. But this tradition, as well as the formal program of Trotsky and the person of Trotsky were linked with the SWP in the eyes of radical workers. They chose to speak of the "Trotskyists" when referring to the SWP and of the "Shachtmanites" when referring to us.

We have characterized the theo-

retical and political blunders of the Fourth International as being extremely serious. Yet the Fourth International also survived and, in some countries, grew despite these blunders and in the face of terrible persecution that robbed it of some of its best cadres. The Fourth International did not have the support of a state power which supplied it with prestige, funds, facilities and personnel as did the Stalinists in the European underground. The Fourth International survived because the traditions of the Trotskyist movement gave the cadres an abiding faith in the imminence of a proletarian revolution that would end the war and conquer power in Europe. As a result, the blunders were not to exercise their consequences until after the war when the balance sheet could be struck and the discrepancy between programmatic orientation and reality would begin to emerge. The ideological crisis of the Fourth International is only now beginning to take hold of its cadres.

The program of the Workers Party met the two great tests of the war—a revolutionary orientation toward the role of Russia and toward the role of the mass resistance movements under the Nazi occupation. Beginning by characterizing Russia's invasion of Poland in 1939 as an imperialist act on the part of a badly bureaucratized and degenerated workers' state, we

(Continued on page 5)

## Active in Labor Struggle, Leader In Socialist Thought -- WP Record

By NATHAN GOULD

SEVEN years is a very short time in the life of a revolutionary socialist party. Yet these PARTICULAR seven years have been adequate to demonstrate the loyalty of the Workers Party to the ideas of revolutionary socialism, its devotion to the cause of the American and international working class.

The Workers Party was born in April of 1940—shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. The first six years of its life were war years. In its unflinching opposition to the imperialist war this young organization passed its first test as a revolutionary party.

The war itself could not prevent the vigorous presentation of our Marxist views nor impair the development of new ideas to cope with the many developments in working class world politics. The party was a living movement composed of thinking revolutionists. It met trying circumstances with bold ideas tested and proved by events.

But the war DID impair the organizational growth of the party. Hardly had we celebrated our first anniversary than the party began to take note of a growing depletion of our trained young cadres by the draft. Despite the handicaps imposed by the war, the organization was sustained. It was not, however, until one year ago that our party, which had met its political obligations so admirably, was in a position to test itself organizationally. It is now possible and important to submit our activities since our last anniversary to review.

#### PARTY IS STRONGER THAN A YEAR AGO

The seventh anniversary of the Workers Party finds us still small and weak—in our very organizational infancy. We are as yet very far from being a mass party with great influence among large masses of workers. Our membership is small—even tiny. Our influence is commensurately small. We suffer almost all of the inadequacies common to and inherent in a party that is largely isolated in a vast and powerful country.

But the party TODAY is LARGER and STRONGER than it was one year ago. Within the limitations of our size, the Workers Party has made some very measurable strides forward since April, 1946. The amazing firmness and tenacity displayed by our party during the war, when it held its ground against the heaviest odds, has been supplemented by a new vitality which drives the party and the ideas which it represents forward.

We have recruited many new members during the last year. Our branches have been consolidated and, where necessary, reorganized. Almost every branch has increased its membership and expanded vastly upon its activities. In addition to the strengthened old branches, several new branches have been formed, most notable among these being the branch of coal miners in West Virginia. These branches have held, more public meetings, engaged in more public activities, issued and distributed more literature, conducted more classes, and educational forums than ever before in the history of the party.

In one year, we have more than doubled our staff of organizers. LABOR ACTION with our support has been expanded from a four to an eight-page weekly and despite rising costs and financial difficulties has been maintained as an eight-page paper. The New International, monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism, has improved its content and has almost doubled its circulation.

Since last April, our publications department has published one full-length book, "The Fight for Socialism," by Max Shachtman, and three pamphlets: "Plenty For All," by Ernest Erber (a revised and illustrated edition); "Marxism in the United States," by Leon Trotsky; and "The Question of Unity Between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party," by Albert Goldman. It has, in addition, published and circulated several educational outlines and works, among these "The ABC of Marxism," by Harold Draper, and "Outline of Volume I of Marx's Capital," by F. Forest.

The branches of the Workers Party engage in publication activities of their own, geared to local problems and issues. Some outstanding examples of these are the pamphlet published by Local New York on prices, the pamphlet published by local Los Angeles against "Jim Crow in Los Angeles," and the election program published by local Chicago.

Almost fifty per cent of our party members are workers active in their unions. As worker militants they have participated actively in the

strike struggles of the workers in numerous industries. The militant stand advocated by these members and their model conduct in the struggles of labor have widened our influence in militant labor and union circles. Similarly, the party's program for the veterans and its fight for housing and against rising prices and rents have extended its influence among the ex-GI's.

Since April a year ago, the Workers Party has participated in election campaigns in three different cities: In New York (November, 1946), where it sponsored the candidacy of Max Shachtman, national chairman, and Ernest R. McKinney, national

secretary of the Workers Party, for Congress; in Chicago, where Albert Goldman is the candidate of the Workers Party for mayor; and in Los Angeles, where Harold Draper is our candidate for councilman in the Seventh District. These campaigns, of course, involve many public activities, including radio addresses, mass meetings, street corner meetings and the circulation of many thousands of pieces of literature.

In our public activities primary attention has been focused upon the fight against rising prices, against the lifting of rent controls, for adequate housing, and for the formation of an

(Continued on page 6)

## A Party With a Free and Alert Internal Life

By IRVING HOWE

In this issue of LABOR ACTION we are celebrating the seventh anniversary of the Workers Party. There appear other articles on the party's political contributions, its differences with the other sections of the revolutionary socialist movement and its history of political activity and development. What I wish to discuss in this brief comment is a much more modest point; but one which, in my opinion, is of central significance in making possible the political development of our tendency.

It is perhaps a commonplace to say that we are living in an age of mushrooming bureaucratism. In every sphere of social life and every aspect of political organization, we can see the cancer-like growth of conceptions of political relationship, organization and life itself, which reflect this development of bureaucratism. Far from accepting the superficial analysis that bureaucratism in modern society arises from the sheer fact of large organization, of concentration of the means of production and the means of coercion; Marxists rather see in the development of bureaucratism an index of the decay of an already rotting society. Bureaucratism is the parasitism of a historically, outlived society. To say this is not by any means to exhaust the matter, but it is to say something which is essential to its understanding.

#### WP'S ACHIEVEMENT

But the bureaucratism and the development of bureaucratic mentalities—of which a corollary is always the development of subservient mentalities among some of those subser-

vient to bureaucratism—does not merely manifest itself in the capitalist world. It seeps into the labor movement and into the socialist movement as well. The revolutionary party, for all its socialist idealism and its rejection of capitalist attitudes and modes of life, must exist in the capitalist world. It is therefore not immune to the poisons of capitalism which it wishes to destroy.

But a recognition of this fact means that revolutionaries will be constantly on guard to preserve and improve the standards and practices of their organization; they will preserve diligently the democratic practices and attitudes of their party. This means not merely the formal democratic procedures, but much more important the actual content of democratic party practices: the tolerance

of minority points of view; the loyalty to those with whom one disagrees by stating their ideas honestly and fairly and in polemizing objectively and impersonally; and the encouragement of habits of critical and independent thought. Better a membership which thinks critically and independently and makes mistakes than one which depends on a leader, no matter how clairvoyant he may be!

It is such conceptions which have animated us in building the Workers Party. And I think that in this respect—which has made possible our political development and our practical activity—we have succeeded to a high degree. We have established a party with a free and alert internal atmosphere, where members not merely have the RIGHT to express

their views but feel free and are encouraged to do so. We have built a party in which revolutionary Marxists can live in comradeship and mutual respect, even though they may have many serious disagreements among themselves and may conduct a sharp ideological struggle on these disagreements. And we have built this kind of party while preserving the discipline in action without which no serious party can exist.

But you may say: what is so remarkable about that? Isn't that what a Marxist party should be like and isn't that what the great Marxist parties have always been like? Of course, of course. But we must remember the epoch in which we live—which is not the golden epoch of revolutionary upheaval but rather the period of defeats and decline. In such a period, as has been noted before, disintegrative bureaucratic conceptions and practices seep into the revolutionary movement too; leadership; disloyalty to oppositions, disregard for their actual rights even while ceding their formal rights; a narrow monolithism of political views which brands disagreement on even minor questions as "revisionism"; abusive and spiteful polemics against internal party opponents and against other socialist groups.

#### JUSTIFIED IN PRACTICE

Our practice has, I think, justified our conceptions. Let me take two deliberately minor illustrations, which yet illuminate the entire matter. At one time it was believed in the Trotskyist movement that to give to a sympathizer of the party an internal bulletin which contained discussion of different points of view,

was a serious breach of discipline. We have changed our attitude on that. We believe that there is no reason for any interested sympathizer not to know the opinions of any comrade on POLITICAL questions, be those comrades in a majority or minority in the party. In that sense we have a stronger feeling of our responsibility to sympathizers. I think this change in procedure on our part is a step toward the refurbishment of the revolutionary party's democratic character and thereby the entire conception of socialism.

Another small example: the New International, our theoretical magazine, has opened its pages to a diversity of opinion in the Marxist movement, both from inside the WP and from those non-party Marxists willing to contribute to it. Polemics on a variety of subjects have spiced the magazine; perhaps as a result the magazine has even suffered somewhat in terms of integration of continuity of material. This atmosphere of intellectual "openness"—which has not in the slightest prevented, but has in fact helped, both the magazine and the party to expound most vigorously its own official positions—has provoked thought and discussion, conflict and clarification. For the most part, we have kept these discussions clean and clear of abuse and personal reference.

This, I think, is part of our central achievement: the conception of a Marxist party loyal to revolutionary principles but simultaneously alert to new events and ready to face problems rather than repeat by rote; a Marxist party where revolutionary militancy and democratic freedom go hand in hand.



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# WORLD POLITICS

**OFF LIMITS**  
 By  
**James M. Fenwick**

## Desertions from Stalin's Army

Faced with the prospect of returning to the "glorious workers fatherland," the "home of socialist construction," the soldiers of the Russian army in the occupied countries of Europe are deserting at an amazing rate. At the moment the Russian army authorities are holding in a camp in eastern Mecklenburg, Germany, seven thousand Russian army deserters who have been apprehended. Thousands more are reported to be roaming through the countryside of eastern Germany, Poland and the Balkans. An estimate offered by the New York Times reporter, Delbert Clark, in a dispatch dated March 25 is that 10 per cent of the Russian occupation troops have deserted. Some of them, he reports, have become bandits and others have even gone to the extreme of filtering into displaced persons camps, though they must certainly know the unhappy lot of the DPs.

## OTHER ASPECTS OF THE DESERTIONS

This, we think, is the central significance of the news about the Russian army desertions. But there are at least two other aspects worth discussing.

**The Stalinist leaders give their soldiers frequent leaves because of their "unwillingness to expose Soviet army men too long to the pleasures of life outside the Soviet Union." But where have these soldiers been? In Poland, in Bulgaria, in Hungary, in eastern Germany—most of them never having had anything but an abysmally low standard of living, all of them countries wracked by the war, and now at a semi-starvation level. Yet by comparison life in these countries is "luxurious"; in wretched Bulgaria and Rumania the Russian soldiers find temptation! What then, we can ask ourselves, must conditions of life be in Russia?**

Clark writes: "It is reported that rotation in the occupation forces is more frequent than in the past, with soldiers going home only after three or four months' service in Germany. The reason for this constant turnover in the large occupation army is believed to be unwillingness to expose Soviet army men too long to the pleasures of life outside the Soviet Union and to the possible subversive influence of non-Communists."

"Near the end of last November the Russians executed a large replacement maneuver, sending a large proportion of the veterans of occupation home. The highways and railroads were clogged for weeks and at that time it was learned that a large number deserted rather than go back to the Spartan life under the five-year plan."

## ANY RISK TO ESCAPE STALINISM

This is truly a remarkable situation. Here are the soldiers of what is supposed to be a "workers' country," one in which there is "freedom and plenty" who yet prefer to take the terrible risk of deserting the Russian army rather than return to the blessed paradise of Stalinism. We may be certain, too, that deserters in Stalin's army are treated with at least as much harshness—do not indulge in a far-fetched understatement—as in the U. S. army. A Russian army deserter must certainly know that if he is apprehended, he will likely find himself in a forced labor battalion in some Siberian waste or in some distant and bleak Asiatic province. *Yet they still desert.*

And finally this report sheds considerable light on the problem of Russian army morale, which was so heatedly discussed during the war. If the morale of Russian soldiers was as high as its apologists of one stripe or another claimed, the extremely high rate of desertion (let us even be conservative and cut in half the figure the correspondent offers) would be impossible. Surely no other country's army had as high a rate of desertion during the war; and let it be remembered that when, for example, there were desertions in the U. S. army during the war they took place under the strain of combat or possible combat, not at the prospect of returning to the native country.

## BASIS OF MORALE DURING WAR

The news about the Russian army desertions enables us to conclude what was possible to deduce from a whole series of other facts: the stubborn and high morale of the Russian soldiers during the war was based on any adherence to the Stalin regime, any desire to defend their invaded nation. It was not based on a desperate hatred for the Nazi invaders and enthusiasm for the bureaucratic rulers. Whether correctly or not, the Russian soldiers fought so desperately because they believed Hitler to be a greater evil, not because they believed the Stalin regime to be a positive good.

They are even willing to go to the extreme of getting themselves into DP camps to share the lot of those most wretched of Europe's survivors. Anything, apparently, but return to the suffocating, wretched, dismal, starving prison-camp of Stalinism.

This striking news gives us a glimpse into the fact that the Russian people do not blindly accept the Stalin dictatorship, as some have been telling us. Those thinkers who see a total manipulation of the mass will by the modern totalitarian state are wrong, for wherever the masses have the opportunity they indicate their dissatisfaction, their rebelliousness. It is of course true that the modern totalitarian state makes it infinitely more difficult to express this dissatisfaction, to find an outlet for it; but though they may be forced to remain

Now that the war is over, the signs of strain are beginning to show. Though Russia is the most tightly-knit totalitarian regime in modern history, it can only establish the iron wall of silence around its OWN borders; so soon as it is required to send its troops to other countries to consolidate its imperialist policies, aspects of the true situation in Russia become known.

All of which is not to indulge in any wishful thinking about the immediate or imminent collapse of the Russian dictatorship. Quite the contrary. It is merely to point to the fact that large sections of the Russian masses know they are in a prison-camp; whenever they can they express, even in the most extreme ways, their dissatisfaction with their status.

## Cannon Explains SWP Position

In its March 24 issue, LABOR ACTION printed a letter which Ruth Fischer wrote to *The Militant* and a copy of which she sent to LABOR ACTION. This letter replied to an editorial which appeared in *The Militant* denouncing her appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Affairs to testify against Gerhart Eisler, GPU agent. *The Militant* editorial had referred to Ruth Fischer as an "informer" and a "tool of American imperialism."

There is no doubt whatever that Stalinism is the most formidable and dangerous enemy within the ranks of the labor movement and the greatest obstacle to the emancipation struggle of the workers. But who will defeat Stalinism, and what will take its place in those regions of the earth where it is consolidated in the form of state power? That is the question.

**We are, however, glad to note, as we are certain our readers will also be, that *The Militant* in its March 25 issue prints a special editorial article which repudiates its previous characterization of Ruth Fischer. Written by the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, James P. Cannon, the March 25 statement declares its characterization of Fischer as an "informer" to be a "most unfortunate and inexcusable error."**

Our own view on the question of the propriety of working class use of capitalist institutions in the fight against the GPU murder machine and our attitude toward the case of Ruth Fischer in particular, has already been set forth, in substance, in a letter to LABOR ACTION by Comrade Jack Weber (March 17, 1947), and in the editor's introduction to Ruth Fischer's letter to *The Militant* (March 24, 1947).

Ruth Fischer in the above-mentioned letter also protested against the reference in *The Militant* editorial to her "serving as a tool of American imperialism." If that is taken to signify any conscious and mercenary service to the American imperialist monster on the part of Ruth Fischer—as is the case with not a few professional anti-Stalinists—then such an interpretation must be emphatically disavowed. We know very well the long and honorable record of Ruth Fischer in the international labor movement, and the difficult conditions under which she has had to work as an emigre in war-time in America, and we do not wish to impugn her personal integrity in any way or to any degree.

Because the article by Comrade Cannon puts the question properly and gives it the answer it requires, we are glad to reprint the bulk of it for the information of our readers:

**By JAMES P. CANNON**

In the February 15 issue of *The Militant* appeared an editorial referring to Ruth Fischer and her testimony against the Stalinist GPU agent, Eisler, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The editorial was occasioned by the fact that the capitalist press, following the lead of the *Daily Worker*, had referred to her as a "Trotskyite." Since this is obviously not the case, the object of the editorial was to reject the false political identification of Ruth Fischer with the organized Trotskyist movement.

In the course of the editorial, Ruth Fischer was referred to, in passing, as an "informer." In view of the invidious connotation which is popularly attached to the word "informer," this was a most unfortunate and most inexcusable error. All the more inexcusable since we Trotskyists for many long years have been explaining the criminal character of Stalinism and its GPU murder machine, and have been denouncing it

Stalinism must be overthrown. By whom? Stalinism must be replaced wherever it is consolidated into a state regime. By what? These are political and not personal questions.

To put the issue positively: Either, the independent movement of the working class will defeat Stalinism and capitalism with it, and proceed to the construction of the Socialist world order. Or, Stalinism, as represented by its state regime, will be overthrown by American imperialism in the course of its mad drive to reduce the people of the entire world to the status of colonial slaves. That is to say, those people who survive the atomic bombs, and the rockets, and the bacterial warfare, and the other harmless toys which the playful "democrats" at Washington are spending so many billion dollars to manufacture and prepare.

In our opinion, it is not enough to be an anti-Stalinist. One must also have a positive revolutionary program. In our opinion, those anti-Stalinists who do not unequivocally take the program of the independent movement of the workers, counterposing it to both Stalinism and capitalist imperialism, must inevitably fall into the service of the latter, regardless of what their subjective intentions may be. The question of Stalinism and how to fight it, and what to replace it with, is a problem of the greatest magnitude. It does not admit of any ambiguity.

We did all we could to expose the Moscow Trials and to defend the honor of its victims, including those who were not Trotskyists in doctrinal sense of the word. Our party held a protest-memorial meeting for the martyred Andres Nin, leader of the Spanish POUM, and spared no space in our press to accuse the Stalinist murder bund in the mysterious disappearance of the Socialist, Marc Rein, and the mysterious "suicide" of Krivitsky. And the columns of our press likewise remain always open to the Treseca Memorial Committee in its tireless efforts to keep alive his noble memory and track down his assassins.

## PURE SCIENCE—AND THE PRICK OF CONSCIENCE

PART II

The refusal of the scientist Norbert Wiener to transmit information on guided missiles to another scientist is an honorable act. It is all the more noteworthy at a time when the great body of scientists seems content to bask in the public esteem which now accrues to them and to savor the comforts of the unexpected salary increments.

Wiener's position, as he himself recognizes, is of limited utility, and he has been successfully attacked by persons whose moral criteria are lower than his but whose logic is more consistent. He is also susceptible to criticism on broader grounds. On the basis of his present position he cannot successfully answer the question: Does not the suppression of some scientific information predicated on the suppression of all new data, since no one at the moment can tell when such data might be militarily useful in the future?

How can a person be offered to indiscriminate destruction of civilians by controlled missiles and condone similar carnage in "normal" warfare through area bombing, for instance? Further, what serious differentiation can be made between the civilian and the civilian-soldier? Why is it moral to kill one and not the other?

And in blaming the military for putting new discoveries to perverse use Wiener is on very shaky ground. It was the scientists, in fact, who called the attention of the army and navy to the military potentialities of nuclear fission, and it was they who achieved the adoption of the atomic research program in spite of the bureaucratic myopia of the big brass. No less a figure than Albert Einstein, the onetime pacifist, was an initiator of this campaign.

The generally accepted concept of the scientist as locked in his laboratory, free in time, place, and social conditions in his search for absolute truth must be heavily qualified. Science has always been closely tied to the exploiting class. Heretofore this class has constituted the only serious source of the paid leisure necessary for scientific research. Under these conditions science has usually very directly served the immediate aims of the dominant class. Pasteur began his experimental work at the behest of the French wine industry. "Pure" science often has a derivative character, flowing out of such practical work. Other free research was confined to poorly endowed universities and was often conducted in professors' spare time.

What is new now is that scientific investigation is experiencing the centralization and monopolization which capitalist society as a whole is going through. The individual today, unlike the individual in Newton's time, has neither the mental or laboratory resources to conduct significant work. Research has become collective. The age of great individual syntheses or scientific discoveries is over.

Only big business and more latterly—given the increasing world tendency toward state intervention—only the government itself is able to make available sufficient resources. During the war Harvard, MIT, and Columbia received a total of more than \$200 million dollars in research contracts. Atomic energy research in universities alone probably cost in excess of \$100,000,000.

Given the global political commitments of the United States and the contemplated war against Russia, it is inevitable that scientific research should fall under the control of the military, like so many other aspects of our life. *Business Week* put it bluntly enough: "The odds are getting better all the time that pure scientific research will become, permanently, a branch of the military establishment."

## THE SCIENTIST AND GROWING REGIMENTATION

This regimentation of sections of the middle class is the complement of the repressive measures currently being taken against labor. What is foreshadowed here is what Hitler brought to a conclusion with the destruction of the labor movement and the assignment of some of the best brains of Europe to work on rocket planes, buzz bombs, poison gas, ribbon parachutes, super-sonic wind-tunnels, and similar socially useless projects.

Most United States scientists, like their Nazi counterparts, sleep well of night, untroubled by the social implications of their work. A few, like Wiener, have revolted. Unfortunately, this revolt takes place against a backdrop of traditional United States political primitivism, upon which is superimposed the well-known political naivete of the highly specialized scientist or engineer.

Hence the best of them can succeed only in making what inevitably must remain a brave but utopian gesture. Wiener wants a form of limited warfare. This was possible and inevitable in the period between Grotius and Napoleon. Even if such a type of warfare were desirable, it is completely impossible in the epoch of monopoly capitalism, which in the military realm means the total mobilization of all resources—actual and potential.

Other scientists speak vaguely of a world state. This is closer to being meaningful. But it is possible only on a socialist basis. For only socialism eliminates the economic and political causes of modern war.

And only socialism can transform the scientist from the blind mole of capital which he is today into the trailblazer of society which he should be, leading humanity to the horizons beyond horizons which, mysterious and beckoning, lie challenging the human intellect, will, and imagination.

## Editorials Are Gov't Employees Slaves?

The Condon-Wadlin bill outlawing strikes by public employees has become New York law with Governor Dewey's signature. Similar bills are before various legislatures and Congress. One such bill, introduced into the House of Representatives by its Labor Committee and presumably designed to halt the pending strike of telephone workers, would give the government sweeping powers to issue injunctions in strikes effecting the public welfare.

law strikes, who contribute absolutely nothing to "public health, safety or convenience."

It is painful even to contemplate the reasoning advanced in support of the assertion. The same people who need to wait for a major disaster before they find it necessary to investigate safety conditions in the mines, drool hypocritically over the calamity that will beset the people if their children cannot attend school during a strike or if they are deprived of the use of the telephone.

Thus, we have in New York a law based on the fraudulent premise that you cannot strike against the government. And a bill introduced in Congress which is an extension of that fraud—to virtually every worker, for there are few industries that do not effect the "public health, safety or convenience." Between outlawing strikes by public employees and outlawing any and all strikes, there is a difference more superficial than real. The end result can only be enslavement of all workers.

The teachers situation occasioned the New York law. We have a much higher regard for the value of teachers to society than do the Deweys. We have so much regard for the service they render that we believe they ought to get paid enough to live like human beings, and ought to have the rights of human beings, including the right to strike.

What about this assumption that "you cannot strike against the government?" It is an argument contrived by the government without any basis in fact or logic. Which government? The capitalist government, of course. We have heard the "argument" used repeatedly. And by sheer weight of repetition it has perhaps gained plausibility. But it is nothing more than an assertion, an assertion which has grave consequence for both public and NON-public employees.

Invariably, usually when teachers or clerks threaten strike action, we are treated to a doleful picture of what will happen if street cleaners are permitted to strike. Yes, street cleaners perform a great public service, a much greater one than that performed by Wadlins and Condons, who contribute nothing but stench. Yet until somebody can suggest a better way for street cleaners to settle their grievances than that established through generations of labor history, their right to strike must be considered inviolable, regardless of monstrous laws. Their service is an essential one for the people as a whole. But if they have to resort to strike, then we must support them. They come from our class, the working class, and we have confidence in their judgment.

In its immediate effect it deprives government workers, clerks, teachers, street cleaners and so forth, of the rights held by other workers. In its eventual effect it can destroy the rights so painfully won by other workers, and thus reduce them to the slave status of government employees.

*It must be our object to extend the rights of all workers to government employees, and not the reverse. The labor movement, virtually in its entirety, has already indicated its opposition to the various propositions which would limit the rights of workers, employed by the government or by private industry. It must not be permitted to rest there. There is already a law on the statute books of New York. Action must accordingly be taken to wipe that law off the books and to bar other laws from being enacted—through union organized mass protest, test cases in court, work stoppages, and independent political pressures.*

It is time that government employees, whose rights have always been limited, subject as they are to purges, witch hunts, investigations and political pressure, be elevated to the status gained by workers in private industry.

We think it altogether legitimate for public workers performing a vital service which it may be dangerous to suspend to call upon other workers to strike for them. We think it also legitimate for teachers and others who are denied the right to strike to test the prohibition by calling upon other unions to support them in sympathy strikes. We think it necessary that the entire labor movement take appropriate action—a nationally organized protest demonstration, for example—to halt "government by injunction" and to block the attempts to enslave labor by outlawing the right to strike.

Let us examine that last phrase, "private industry," and relate it to the point we are discussing. Every act of private business is now the affair of the government, directly or indirectly. We have seen ample demonstration of that. Moreover, we no longer live in the day of tiny factories. We live in a time of high industrial concentration and, as a parallel of that, involved government intervention. Economy and politics become more intimately related with each passing day. Hence, almost every strike is already in a sense a strike against the government. As an illustration we can use the mine situation. The mines are currently under government operation, though the profits fatten the private owners. And so several hundred thousand coal miners become subject to the fiction that "you cannot strike against the government."

Or look at it apart from actual government seizure. Look at it from the point of view of "public health, safety or convenience." How many workers do not in some way contribute to "public health, safety or convenience?" The telephone workers most certainly do. The coal miners most certainly. Steel workers, auto workers, agricultural laborers, teachers—in short, virtually everybody. The only ones excluded are the profiteers and coupon clippers and idlers of all kinds, including congressmen, and others who are anxious to out-

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 New York Times, Feb. 12, 1947.

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**THE STRIKE WAVE AND THE WAR**

**ATTITUDE TO WAR**

The first issue of the paper dated May 20, 1940, warned that whether the Axis or the Allies won the war, the masses in all nations would lose it. "Roosevelt is trying to scare us into war by pointing to the horrors of a Hitler victory," wrote LABOR ACTION. "He could save his breath. The working people know what a Hitler victory would mean. Workers everywhere, including Germany, hate and despise Hitler and all he stands for... But why does not Roosevelt also tell us what the victory of Great Britain and France would mean?... The victory of the Allies, like the victory of Hitler, would leave Eu-

ropes a heap of ruins. The victory of the Allies, like the victory of Hitler, would mean world-wide unemployment, chaos, hunger and misery such as the world has never seen."

With death and destruction still stalking two continents long after the formal victory of the Allies, how many people are today pondering this question? With dictatorship fastening itself on the peoples, with the Third World War—of course to end all wars—already in sight, how many people are wondering why the working classes went through the hell of the Second World War?

**RUSSIA IN THE WAR**

On the subject of Russian imperialism and the role of the Stalinists, our press wrote: "We condemn the Hitler-Stalin pact, with its shameful partition of Poland. We condemn the invasion of Finland and the Baltic states. We propose to the workers, both inside and outside of Russia, to resist these and similar actions, which are hostile to the interest of the world revolution." LABOR ACTION called imperialist invasion by its name, whether the invaders were the totalitarianized capitalist class of Germany or the totalitarianized bureaucratic class of Russia, and later when the invaders came as conquerors with the "gift of democracy."

We did not need the revelations of a Budenz to tell us that "the Stalinists today have at last been found out for what they really are—paid agents of Stalin, serving the interests of the Moscow bureaucrats. As long as Stalin wanted an alliance with Britain, France and America, they supported every measure of Roosevelt and urged workers to fight for capitalist democracies. But when Stalin chose to ally himself with Hitler, these agents of Russia changed their policy. Today they pretend to be against war. In reality they do all they can to assist Hitler's victory."

Neither were we taken unawares when Hitler directed his blitz eastward, and the Stalinists again became the lickspittles of Roosevelt and Churchill. During the days of the short-lived Hitler-Stalin honeymoon we foresaw: "While Stalin has thus aided the victorious march of barbaric fascism in Western Europe, Hitler tomorrow will turn on his Russian ally to plunder the rich resources of the Soviet Ukraine and destroy Soviet nationalized property." When Hitler attacked Russia, LABOR ACTION marked the event as "a new stage in the imperialist war" and issued a call against the imperialist camp of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo as well as against the imperialist camp of Washington-London-Moscow. We stood then, as we did through the imperialist war, for the victory of the Third Camp, the camp of the suffering peoples."

The "Four Freedoms" and the "liberating" influence of the conquering

An Excellent AFL Statement Reprinted

Hit Use of Slave Labor by Powers in Europe

The American Federation of Labor has issued a strong statement condemning the increasing use of forced labor in Europe by the Allied powers. Special stress was placed upon the fact that this reactionary system of utilizing slave labor started in Russia, which, as the statement correctly observes, "calls itself 'Socialist,' and the government of which parades as a 'workers' republic,'" but which actually "is the worst and biggest slave center on earth today."

We are reprinting below the most important sections of this statement. The complete text may be found in the March issue of the official AFL "International Free Trade Union News."

**TEXT OF AFL MANIFESTO**

Forced labor has become a post-war institution in many lands. In Europe alone, it has been estimated that nearly one-third of all produc-

ive work is now being done by forced labor.

This expanding system of slave labor is a dire threat to the free workers of all countries. It is a mortal menace to the economic standards and rights won by the working people in many decades of bitter struggle. It is a challenge which free labor must meet and meet at once—or be driven into slavery itself.

It is now almost two years since the collapse of Nazi Germany. Eighteen months have passed since the fall of Japan. Yet millions of men and women from former enemy countries are still being held as slave laborers.

France continues to hold hundreds of thousands of war prisoners captured by the American Army. Well over 300,000 are still being held as war prisoners in Great Britain, which has recently begun to release them at the rate of about 15,000 monthly. How many Poland holds no one knows. In Yugoslavia even German civilians who did not flee with the Nazis have been made prisoners. In addition to those still held as prisoners of the Second World War, there are millions of other victims of slave labor. Throughout Tito's paradise there are forced labor camps for all who differ in any way whatsoever with the party in power or with the government. Here, at one time, even American citizens—nearly 200 of them—were held as slave laborers.

**HITLER USED SAME EXCUSE**

The cry of the Czech government that it is short of labor cannot drown out the bitter protest of the Hungarians exiled into the Sudetenland to work as slave laborers. This excuse is no less reprehensible than was Hitler's conduct when he enslaved the Czechoslovakians. Nor can the present Czech regime explain away its enormous moral guilt in organizing the biggest mass deportation of modern times. It has cruelly deprived and maltreated over 2,000,000 Sudetens, among whom there were several thousand Jews. And under the new decree promulgated for the mobilization of labor at home, the Czech government can order workers to take or leave jobs and punish them by fines, jail and concentration camps if their work is not satisfactory. No worker is allowed to change a job without permission from the government. The Central Trade Union Council has been robbed of its status as a free trade union and has been forced to become the "straw boss" for the government by approving this enslavement program and by declaring its opposition to increasing wages.

**RAPID RETROGRESSION**

Insufficient food, inadequate clothes and brutal treatment are often the lot of these unfortunate millions. Crimes committed by the Nazis yesterday are no excuse for the crimes being perpetrated today by anyone else—especially in the name of democratic and peace-loving peoples. Under no guise is the return to chattel slavery and the dark ages permissible or desirable. What a sad retrogression! Compare this with what happened after the First World War

when, within ten months after the end of hostilities, all prisoners of war were freed. With such impetuosity has mankind been going backward that even an organization calling itself the World Federation of Trade Unions has proposed the imposition of forced labor on the Ruhr coal miners.

Paradoxical as it may appear, it is the land which calls itself "Socialist," the government of which parades as a "workers' republic," that is the worst and biggest slave center on earth today. It is from Soviet Russia that the tidal wave of labor enslavement has swept westward. The "Irkutsk Pravda" only recently boasted that 5,000,000 prisoners of war are being used at penal labor in Siberia.

**DISAGREEMENT MEANS DOOM**

In the Kremlin domain there are millions of Soviet citizens doomed to slave labor camps merely because they are suspected or convicted of disapproving or disagreeing with some act or policy of the ruling group. Involuntary servitude has become an organic feature of Soviet economy. But the Moscow dictatorship also holds in slavery millions of non-Russians. Under the whiplash of the N.K.V.D. or M.V.D. and the prodding of Soviet bayonets, millions of Austrians, Estonians, Hungarians, Germans, Lithuanians, Latvians, Poles, Ukrainians, Crimeans, Japanese and Rumanians—men and women, civilian and military alike—are now being used as slave laborers. Hundreds of thousands of these slaves were rounded up by the Soviet police and snared by its spy dragnet in the capitals of Russia's conquered and satellite lands: Russia's highways and railways, mines, factories and Siberian secret war projects are teeming with such slaves—helpless human beings exiled and cut off entirely from their homes and families, blotted out ruthlessly in their native identity and deported from their own motherlands.

**DEMOCRACY OR DISASTER**

This is the "higher form" of democracy about which the Soviet dictators are boasting! This is the higher form of democracy the Soviet rulers are now seeking to extend to other countries! This is nothing else than twentieth-century slavery! The white man's exploitation of colored and so-called backward races has brought many a disaster in its train. The enslavement of one group of white men by another will bring similar calamitous consequences in its wake.

Barrack economy anywhere is a menace to free labor everywhere. When Japanese soldiers are turned into slave-toilers on the Volga-Lake

Baikal railway for the benefit of the Russian bureaucracy or when Papuans and New Guineans are kept in slavery for wealthy Australian plantation owners, the freedom and welfare of the workers in London, New York, Paris, Brussels, Sydney and Prague are in mortal danger.

It would be the most degrading and contemptible hypocrisy for the nations whose judges condemned Sauckel and his Nazis for instituting slave labor in Germany to accept and allow, to condone and tolerate this immoral and pernicious slave system in their own countries or in territories under their tutelage or "protection."

A specter haunts the world—it is the specter of slavery. Even the freest democratic republics and the most prosperous nations with powerful free trade union movements are in grave danger as a result of the swift spreading of mass enslavement of toilers. Progress which it has taken centuries and colossal sacrifices to attain is now in serious jeopardy.

**CHIEF PROP OF DICTATORS**

The new slavery is not always as open as was the slave system of old. Though often veiled in political illusions and surrounding itself with social haloes, this 20th-century slavery is as unashamed and brutalizing as the worst slavery of old. And today, as yesterday, this slave economy is the basis on which rests the power of every ruthless ruling class. These dictators know that with the disappearance of the slave system which they have set up their own despotic dictatorship would quickly disappear. That is why they are resorting to the most desperate methods and demagogic weapons for maintaining their system of slave labor and, with it, their totalitarian one-party regime.

This relapse into slavery must be halted and ended. Humanity must go forward—not backward. There is no normal, political, social or economic justification for any form of forced labor. Involuntary servitude or compulsory labor by any other name or hidden under any pretentious guise is nothing else than slavery. Free labor—the workers of all countries who are still free to organize and associate in bodies of their own choosing—must take the lead in the struggle against this terrible menace.

Rally to the cause of free labor! Rally to stem the tide of slave labor! This is the heartfelt and urgent appeal of the American Federation of Labor to the workers of all lands, to the freedom-loving people of all nations. The struggle for free labor is the struggle for the future of all mankind!

**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**

- For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
- For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
- For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5,000 annual minimum per family.

**III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!**

- 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.
- For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

**IV. Tax the Profiteers**

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

**V. Nationalize Big Business**

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

**VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People**

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

**VII. Open the Doors to the Jews**

- For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
- 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**

- 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.
- For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

**IX. For Peace and Freedom**

- For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
- 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!**

**Notice to New York City Readers of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL**

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**WP Political Line --**

(Continued from page 3)

took the initially correct step that permitted us ever more clearly to analyze the nature of the war as a whole and especially Russia's participation. Our opposition to unconditional defense in 1939 having dismembered the workers' state theory of any political significance, the early break of the Workers Party with any form of the theory that Russia was a workers' state was indicated. The development of our theory of bureaucratic collectivism made it possible, as a result, to clearly orient the revolutionary politics of the working class in regard to the role of the advancing Russian army in the areas it occupied.

A blunder on the Warsaw insurrection was an impossibility for us. It was possible, as a result, to clearly orient the revolutionary politics of the working class in regard to the role of the Stalinist parties, both in the underground and in the post-liberation period. The suicidal slogan of "The Communist Party to power" was impossible for us.

**THE NATIONAL QUESTION**

Having designated the Russian state as a totalitarian regime resting upon a bureaucratic exploitation of the proletariat, we had a basic criteria with which to measure the distance the proletariat had retrogressed since the revolutionary period of 1917-23. It was, consequently, impossible for us to make the blunder of believing that "the workers were more advanced as a result of their experience under fascism" and that a "democratic interlude" was excluded in the post-war period. It was, therefore, impossible for us to fall into the sectarian error of shouting "class against class" while turning our back upon the millions of European workers who had been drawn into movements for national liberation which offered the Marxists a powerful lever with which to again reconstitute mass revolutionary parties of the proletariat.

Yet our record on the great tests posed by World War II must not become a source of smugness that lulls the party into a false satisfaction with its program. Ours will never be a "finished program." The problems posed by history in our period

are so many and so complex that we can consider ourselves merely to have scratched the surface. The existence of a non-capitalist and non-proletarian power and the impending struggle between it and the bourgeoisie for world mastery, the strategy of the proletariat in the struggle against both of these forces and their agencies, the further decline of capitalism and the increasing intervention of government in economic life, these all pose problems of a depth and range such as no previous generation of Marxists has been called upon to grapple with. Yet we are confident of our ability to master these questions as we have others in the past—confident that we will succeed as long as we keep a firm grip upon the methodology of Marxism and maintain the atmosphere of independent thought and critical inquiry in our party that has proven so conducive to uninhibited and untrammelled discussion and ideological clarification in the past.

**"Truman Doctrine"**

**Democracy or Imperialism?**

**Speaker: IRVING HOWE**

Editorial Board, Labor Action

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Exposing the Myth of "Miners' Prosperity"

A Social Portrait of Life of Coal Miners in the United States - II

By JAMES DAKOTA

The social and cultural conditions of the mine area mirror the industrial situation on which they are based.

Houses of miners usually cluster about the mine entrance. There are several reasons for this, not the least of which is that the miners have never been able to buy cars to any great extent.

COMPANY TOWNS

The barbed wire and armed guards have disappeared but the company towns remain. Usually the mine entry is in a valley between two hills.

There is almost no lower limit to the housing scale. I know a driver who asked to sleep at the mine with the ponies as he considered their barn superior to his shanty.

The supply of water is usually polluted by all of the germs known to man and some as yet to be discovered.

The author of this article, James Dakota, is himself a coal miner in a section of the general eastern area he describes.

Coal is the universal fuel. It can be had free of charge at some mines. Otherwise it is necessary to buy it or, more frequently, pick it up along the road or railroad where it falls from carriers.

HOUSES AND SHANTIES

In general, each camp is divided into two sections: houses and shanties. The shanties have three rooms and one family, the houses six or more rooms and two or more families.

Thus the workers, after having paid the value of the house many times in simple rent, are forced to buy them for many times their value.

Transportation is either inadequate or non-existent. Camps fortunate enough to be located on a main road are served by buses.

The position of women is unenviable. They drudge over a wash board trying to erase the dust of the pit from work clothes.

Among the miners there exists almost no racial prejudice. In a sense this is phenomenal when it is recalled that the Negroes were imported to

the valley in the '20s as strikebreakers from the deep South. Now these same men, and their descendants, are completely integrated in union activity and community life.

The social relations and specific characteristics of the coal industry have materialized in a union which is something of a phenomenon.

RISE OF THE UMWA

The history of the rise of the UMWA is pregnant with lessons for the entire labor movement yet it is not given adequate study.

McAlister Coleman notes in the Nation that the UMWA is the most militant union in the country and also the most autocratic.

In respect to daring and strategy Lewis is unequalled in the labor movement. His fighting spirit and tactical sense perfectly expressed the needs of the miners in that former period when the game was one between operators and miners.

But the militancy of the union and of Lewis was complemented by the autocracy which grew concomitantly. The fundamental decentralization of the locals demanded a unified national policy and permitted the transition from united action to autocracy.

Lewis brought the economic strike

to the acme of success and his very success discloses the bankruptcy of the method. The war years demonstrate this. Today the miners are called "America's highest paid industrial workers" by the prostitutes of the bourgeoisie who fill the daily press with their lies and slanders.

But other factors intervene. Work is notoriously uneven. At present there is a coal car shortage which means that many mines work only two or three days a week.

The miners are caught in a peculiar social noose. By virtue of the relations within the industry the UMWA has been able to win almost every economic demand, but no economic success is able to alter the basic conditions of life which must prevail.

It is evident that the solution to the miners' problem must have a

two-fold nature. In order to overcome the fluctuations in employment and stabilize the industry which is usually in a chronic state of over-production (about 17 per cent more coal being produced now than consumed) and in order to employ elementary safety standards it will be necessary to nationalize the mines under workers' control.

And in order to raise the standard of living for the miners it will be necessary to put a complete social plan into operation which will provide for education, transportation, centralized communities, and so on.

That economic demands alone are inadequate is no secret to the miner himself. This manifested itself in a certain apathy which preceded the November strike.

And even granted full employment the conditions of life remain approximately unchanged. Year after year the union has struck and gained an increased pay schedule. But the squalor and degradation continue.

Concentration of Ownership in Coal

By JOHN DILLON

(Continued from last week)

The coal industry is divided into two categories, anthracite (hard) and bituminous (soft). Anthracite mining is concentrated in the Pennsylvania region.

Production in 1945: 55,550,000 tons; 1944: 63,701,000 tons; 1943: 60,844,000 tons; 1942: 60,328,000 tons; 1941: 56,368,000 tons; 1940: 51,484,000 tons; 1938: 46,099,027 tons; 1937: 51,856,433 tons.

The number of operators in the

anthracite fields is small in comparison with the number of bituminous operators. Production is dominated by about ten companies, with the Glen Alden Coal Co. being the largest.

Production in 1945: 55,550,000 tons; 1944: 63,701,000 tons; 1943: 60,844,000 tons; 1942: 60,328,000 tons; 1941: 56,368,000 tons; 1940: 51,484,000 tons; 1938: 46,099,027 tons; 1937: 51,856,433 tons.

These corporations have bought outright control of many coal companies engaged in direct operation of mines, leaving very few large independent operators. They own many subsidiaries, which operate under their own company names; they are linked with public utilities and run company towns in which they have complete control.

The number of operators in the

when the workers could work 24 hours a day seven days a week and still not have enough to live on. He replied, "My God, that time has come already!"

But beyond economic demands the union has not gone. The reactionary labor leaders instinctively feel that at the present stage of declining capitalism to demand a social program is to challenge the capitalist system itself and thus destroy their own basis of power.

A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

The nature of the crisis in the coal community, the possibility of solution only through social action, and the inability of the union to cope with the problem leave the field open to the socialist movement.

The coming period will present real possibilities of growth for the socialist movement in the entire coal community.

The relative absence of Stalinists simplifies matters. The Stalinists came off none too well with their national miners union which was overcome by the UMWA and finally broke their necks on the issue of strikes during the war.

It is impossible to predict the exact course of concrete events which will take place this year. But several things are obvious. (1) The position of Lewis depends on an attempt to gain something for his men after the defeat of last fall and in the face of the dropping standard of living.

And overshadowing this is the spectre of over-production. Even now a few mines have returned to the five-day week.

The coming period will present real possibilities of growth for the socialist movement in the entire coal community. To the miners it will become increasingly apparent that political methods are necessary to solve the chronic social problem.

Detailed Record of WP Activities - -

(Continued from page 3)

demand to open the doors of the United States and of every other country to the hounded and victimized Jews of Europe.

The party, through its press and other institutions, has fought for the amnesty of conscientious objectors. It has waged an unremitting fight to expose the anti-working class murder activities of Stalin's GPU in the United States and throughout the world.

Two other accomplishments of the last year must be noted. The party has laid the foundation of a youth organization of the Workers Party composed of young workers and students.

Almost every branch of the Workers Party has participated actively in the fight against Negro discrimination and the lynch laws of the Bilbos and Rankins.

DEMONSTRATE INTERNATIONAL CLASS SOLIDARITY

Vital interests of the party are not confined to America alone. The struggle for the liberation of mankind from the capitalist yoke and imperialist oppression is international.

Hence, while the colonial slaves of Indo-China were fighting arms in hand for liberation from barbaric French imperialism, the Workers Party in New York initiated united front action in behalf of the Viet Namese.

Similar demonstrations were conducted by the Workers Party before the British Consulates, protesting British policy in Palestine, demanding an end to the Cyprus concentration camps and demanding that the doors of Palestine be opened to unrestricted Jewish immigration.

Some of our activities are not yet properly coordinated and at times show evidences even of uncoordination. This situation can be traced largely to imperfections in the work at the national center.

Finally, the party, though active and hard working, is still often too sluggish, fails to respond with the necessary agility to new tasks and techniques of work.

The principal weaknesses of our party obtain from a small size, which restricts our range of activity and influence. But we suffer other weaknesses which are faults of our methods and techniques of work.

WEAKNESSES ARE MANY, BUT CAN BE OVERCOME

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Our branches are not uniformly active. A few of our branches are under-average in activity and these tend to pull the national average down.

Although there has been a noticeable improvement here, we still suffer from a lack of "recruitment consciousness," that is, we are not alive to recruiting possibilities and are not bringing as many new members into the party as quickly as we should.

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SAUL BERG

Newark Organizer, Workers Party

"Development of Trotskyism in France"

April 6 8:00 P. M.

HAROLD BROWN

Composer and Teacher

"Relationship Between Artist and Audience"

April 13 8:00 P. M.

GUENTHER REIMANN

Author of "The Vampire Economy"

"Is Germany Doomed?"

April 20 8:00 P. M.

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

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With the Workers Party

AKRON Write to Box 221 for information. BALTIMORE Headquarters: 21 West Preston St. BUFFALO HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. CHICAGO LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison. CLEVELAND The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m. DETROIT Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10. LOS ANGELES New headquarters address: LABOR ACTION, 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7. LOUISVILLE For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party. NEWARK HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. NEW YORK CITY CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St.

Every Worker Must Join the Miners in Protest Demonstration Against the Centralia Disaster

(Continued from page 1) left to mourn these 111 alone. THIS IS A DEMONSTRATION AND PROTEST FOR EVERY UNION AND EVERY WORKER TO JOIN. It is particularly now that the miners need the support of the whole working class and of every union, AFL or CIO. It is the miners especially who have felt the axe of the capitalist ruling class and its govern-

ment at Washington. IT WOULD, FOR EXAMPLE, BE A MAGNIFICENT DEMONSTRATION OF SOLIDARITY IF STEEL WORKERS AND OTHER WORKERS QUIT WORK FOR A DAY DURING THE SIX-DAY MOURNING PERIOD.

Youth Corner... SOCIALIST POLICY ON THE AYD

On many campuses throughout the country, school officials are waging a bitter, reactionary, red-baiting drive against "leftist" student organizations. Queens College, Brooklyn College, Wayne University, Colorado University are just a few schools where political student clubs find it increasing difficult to operate in the face of authoritarian pressure from school authorities.

We do not believe that "this period of mourning... will realistically bring home to our callous government officials and the American people the necessity of such protection in the future."

MAKE COAL COMPANIES PAY FOR THE WEEK OFF

What the capitalist ruling class thinks of the protest stoppage of the miners was voiced by somebody named Battle, speaking for the bituminous coal operators.



The month-long subscription drive for LABOR ACTION is now approaching its conclusion, although another week still remains before the drive is concluded and final results are drawn up.

Schedule Eight Forums in N. Y. Spring Series

A series of prominent speakers including Guenther Reimann, Lionel Abel, Gordon Sylander, Felix Morrow, Harold Brown and others will be featured in the spring series of the Labor Action Sunday Night Forums, which are held every Sunday evening at 114 West 14th Street, permanent headquarters of the Labor Action School, beginning April 6 and continuing until the end of May.

question "Is Germany Doomed." Guenther Reimann is well known in intellectual circles for his book The Vampire Economy which presented one of the best economic and social descriptions of the relation between property and the state apparatus under the Nazi regime.

Ask Safety for Indonesians

WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDL)—Following testimony by two former members of the Indonesian Republican army, who appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee at great personal risk, the Workers Defense League called for U. S. protection of 300 deportees bound for Indonesia aboard the Marine Adler.

in future issues of LABOR ACTION. In addition to these Forums, Labor Action School is currently offering four classes given by its outstanding instructors in the fields of anthropology, economics, and politics.

Last Fifty Copies Available!

INDIA IN REVOLT By HENRY JUDD Only 50 copies are left of this documentary pamphlet on India and its political scene.

Table with 2 columns: City and Subs Obtained to Date During Drive. Total 597.

Comrade Marty Young, director of Chicago's sub-drive, writes of some of the difficulties involved: "Aside from pushing our people to come out on Sundays, it has been more than a little difficult to sell the paper for half a buck.

And from Youngstown, Ohio, our LABOR ACTION agent writes, "The reactions to LABOR ACTION were quite favorable. No one reacted against the paper, even when they refused to renew their subscription.

Introductory Offer to Labor Action form with fields for Name, Address, City, State, Zone and subscription options.

### CIO SETS APRIL AS "DEFEND LABOR MONTH"

# Offensive Indicated Against Wage Squeeze and Anti-Labor Bills

By SUSAN GREEN

The Executive Board of the CIO has designated April as DEFEND LABOR MONTH. It has called upon its own membership, the whole labor movement, all organizations friendly to labor, communities whose prosperity depends upon the wellbeing of the working people, all to unite in concerted effort to defeat the unabating attacks on the labor movement and the workers.

It is high time for labor to use its teeth. In the national Congress and in state legislatures the anti-labor bills keep rolling in. There are bills that would prohibit mass picketing, that would make arbitration compulsory, that would impose cooling-off periods on workers with just grievances. Behind all such provisions the motive is to take away the right to strike. And the reactionaries are making headway.

For instance, in New York the

state legislature passed the Condon-Wadlin bill which bans strikes by public employees. This law not only forces state employees "into the status of second-class citizens with conditions bordering on economic slavery," as CIO President Murray put it, but constitutes the initial weakening of the right to strike for the whole working class. Similar laws are pending in other states.

#### INJUNCTION BILL

However, the blitzkrieg against labor does not wait for the passage of new laws. The recent decision of the court against the United Mine Workers re-established rule by injunction. Already the politicians are taking advantage of that decision. The Hartley bill, if passed, would allow the government to obtain an anti-union injunction against the telephone strikers if they go out.

Other blows are being struck at labor. Congressional handling of the

portal-to-portal pay suits not only deprives the workers of billions of dollars legitimately theirs, but also undermines the Wages and Hour Law establishing minimum wage rates and the forty-hour week. Again, even before Congress has passed amendments to soften up the Wagner Law, the WLRB is obligingly handing down decisions to "appease" the bosses. Nor can we overlook, in this enumeration of anti-labor measures, the various government efforts to get at labor in general behind the pretense of fighting the Stalinists.

These moves are not prompted by abstract hatred of the bosses for the workers, but by something very concrete indeed. Straight-jacketing labor by restrictive legislation means to weaken the ability of the unions to raise wages and better conditions. This translates itself into higher profits for the capitalists—and a lowered standard of living for all workers.

This anti-labor drive by the lawmakers is taking place as the working people are already amply penalized by the economic laws of "private enterprise." Caught between run-away prices and low wages, the standard of living is declining.

#### PRICES GOING UP

According to the most recent figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living has gone up fifty-six per cent since the war, with twenty-three per cent of that rise occurring since June 1946. June, 1946, it will be remembered, is when price controls were lifted and we were promised by the "private enterprisers" that prices would begin to come down. Also remember that the figures of the BLS are always an understatement of the cost of living because they do not take into account such important elements as inferior quality, disappearance of low-priced merchandise, and so on.

And how have wages fared in purchasing power as prices merrily soar? The average weekly factory paycheck is supposed to be \$46.21, according to the United States News. By the same authority, the purchasing power of \$46.21 is today only \$29.62 in pre-war values. However, in June 1946 the purchasing power of the average factory wage was \$32 in pre-war values. So that in terms of purchasing power, average factory wages have been cut almost ten per cent since June, 1946, by the crazy spiral of living costs.

A union survey was made of the workers in the Frigidaire plant at Dayton, Ohio, to ascertain how this ten per cent decrease in purchasing power of wages is affecting them. Seventy-one per cent of the workers stated that they are cutting down on food consumption, after having exhausted their savings—those wartime savings which were supposed to have been so lush.

The crazy spiral of living costs which has slashed the food consumption of working people, has caused profits to climb to a new high. This is corroborated by such divergent sources as the CIO and the National City Bank of New York. The CIO informs us that returns on investments in 1946 were eight to ten times greater than pre-war. From the National City Bank we learn that profits in food, where prices have climbed steepest, were, in 1946, as follows: For sixteen baking firms 96.5 per cent more than 1945; for fifteen meat packing firms 96.7 per cent more than 1945; for sixty-four other food firms 72.6 per cent more than 1945. "Private enterprise" knows what it wants.

Let us not forget, furthermore, that the quiet on the rent front forebodes no good. To save their political necks the politicians will very likely extend rent control for a few months and squelch a blanket rent increase. But that will still mean rent boosts for all of us, judging by the latest concoction to come out of the Senate Banking Committee. If this law is passed, it would set up local advisory boards authorized to recommend to the Housing Expediter, now that OPA is out, both rent increases and complete de-control of whole areas. Rent control would go the way of price control, but more quietly than if Congress killed it now.

This, then, is the background for

the CIO call for DEFEND LABOR MONTH: the actually declining standard of living and the threat from legislative enactments that will make difficult the improvement of the standard of living.

#### RESPONSE IS GOOD

Reports published in CIO News shows a good response from the CIO membership, from the AFL, the Railroad Brotherhoods, independent unions and pro-labor organizations. Rallies are being planned and held, leaflets distributed, petitions signed, telegrams and delegations sent to the halls of government.

LABOR ACTION is completly behind the CIO in this effort—and we go a little further too. We have learned that taking the offensive is often the best defense. On the economic side, the campaign for higher wages in all industries to check the decline in living standards caused by rising prices, can no longer be delayed.

Again, we are assured, as before June, 1946, that prices are coming down. But what is that saying? Once burned, twice wise. On the political side, we will never gain our goal "of a more abundant life for all"—as the CIO News puts it—merely by showing "our elected representatives" of capitalist parties that we want it. The best defense against capitalist politicians, is the offensive toward an independent labor party.

### SALUTE WP ON ITS SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

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*Manhattan Branch Local New York*

**A Salute to the Workers Party for Its TRADITIONS IDEAS PERSPECTIVES**

**Electrical Workers Branch of the Workers Party Local New York**

Greetings to the

**WORKERS PARTY**

*From Boston*

*Revolutionary Greetings from the*

**NEWARK BRANCH WORKERS PARTY**

Greetings From

**A PHILADELPHIA FRIEND**

## Germany the Pawn In Big Four Game

By HENRY JUDD

The Big Four, assembled at Moscow, are now getting down to brass tacks and discussing their serious and sharp differences on concrete issues—what level of productivity for German industry; what form of government for the new Germany; how shall assets available for reparations in Austria be defined, etc. The preliminaries are over and now the rival powers bargain over the table in terms of dollars and property. A vast nation, with its resources and people, are on the block.

As the conference has proceeded, various documents have come to light. These documents, covering secret arrangements and deals between the great powers, are now being published, as a result of the conflicts and antagonisms between the very same partners who concluded the secret deals. Most of those published so far contain clauses whose contents have either been previously known, through other sources, or widely guessed. No one knows how many other secret agreements have yet to see the light, but everyone knows that they will. The disputes are far more likely to grow than to be glossed over. The content of all these agreements spell one word in common. Reduction of Germany to a state of pauperdom, a free-hand in the exploitation of its wealth and man-power by the victors.

Concurrent with these revelations has come the third report of the Hoover Commission sent to the British-American combined zone for the purpose of examining that territory and making recommendations. This Hoover Report is, in effect, a damning indictment of the entire Allied policy, a wholesale criticism of the Roosevelt-Morgenthau policy toward Germany (reduction of the nation to a pastoral state), and another significant step in the evolving American imperialist policy of junking all that Roosevelt stood for, with respect to Germany, and reversing previous policy by permitting the revival of German economic and industrial life, under close American supervision. So sharply does the Hoover Report fly in the face of past and even current policy that it is worth summarizing:

"There is only one path to reconstruction in Europe. That is production. . . . The productivity of Europe cannot be restored without the restoration of Germany as a contributor to that productivity." (Hoover Report, No. 3.)

This is the theme of Hoover's report, a condemnation, even though it is not acknowledged as such, of everything the Allies (including America) have hitherto done in that country. Hoover goes on to list the various ways in which this vital productivity has been lowered and partly destroyed. War plants, easily convertible to peace time, consumers' goods production, have been destroyed. An unknown percentage of factory and equipment removals have taken place in the Russian and French zones, including light and heavy industries. The Potsdam Accord was based on the "pastoral state conception," as Hoover himself acknowledges. He then lists for us the specific percentages by which the productivity of various German industries have been lowered.

#### FOOD IMPORTS DOUBLE

Today, says Hoover, Britain and America must spend \$600,000,000 annually for food imports (despite this, the wave of hunger riots and

demonstrations began by the heroic Ruhr coal miners is on the increase). Why is this? Because Allied policy has deliberately lowered Germany's pre-war 85 per cent food sufficiency down to a present 64 per cent (based upon the new, that is, semi-hunger rations). The food deficiency that must be imported has, in other words doubled from 15 per cent to 36 per cent. Further, the policy of deliberately restricting fertilizer production may bring the food sufficiency percentage down to "below 60 per cent." (All figures are Hoover's.)

Hoover lists various "illusions," typical of Allied policies: (1) A "pastoral state" can be created in Germany. Hoover indicates this would mean the extermination of 25 million German people. (2) Germany can exist without any heavy industry. Hoover points out that the idea of a drastic distinction between "war" and "non-war" industries is a myth. (3) Germany and Europe can recover economically and socially without a rebuilding and resetting in motion of all of German industry. So sternly does Hoover dismiss all these illusions (we are not concerned at the moment with his motives), that he proposes to set the whole apparatus in motion in an exactly opposite direction! All German industrial factories and plants, light and heavy, must be set going once more. This, and nothing less, is what the Hoover Report proposes.

#### CATASTROPHIC STATE

Everything done, up until this point, has had the opposite effect upon German and European life. It has brought the Continent to its present catastrophic state of affairs. This policy is familiar in various agreements and accords well known to the world (Yalta, Potsdam, etc.) The secret aspects of these agreements, now published for the first time, are only reinforcements of public policies:

"The United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall possess supreme authority with respect to Germany, in the exercise of such authority they will take such steps, including the complete disarmament, demilitarization and dismemberment of Germany as they deem requisite for future peace and security." (Secret clause of Yalta Agreement.)

"Removals within two years . . . (equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German investments abroad, shares of industrial, transport and other enterprises in Germany)." (Secret protocol on reparations.)

"Annual deliveries of goods from current production for a period to be fixed."

"Use of German labor." . . . "the total sum of the reparation in accordance with . . . should be 20 billion dollars and that 50 per cent of it should go to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

This is the nature of the secret clauses. Now that circumstances have changed, and the "democratic" British and Americans wish to reverse the trend, they hypocritically deny what has now become public knowledge and property. They share, together with Russian imperialism, full responsibility for the state of Germany today. They gave the Russians leeway to do what they did. This is the only meaning one can attach to the secret agreements now revealed to us.