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LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 2, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

400,000 COAL MINERS DEFEY STRIKEBREAKER TRUMAN!

For Wage Increase Without Price Increase!

CIO Convention Announces Wage Drive

By EMANUEL GARRETT

The CIO, which met last week in Atlantic City, passed rather quickly over a statement of policy that we consider of the utmost importance. At its Thursday session, the CIO convention formally opened what has been termed its campaign for a "second round" of wage increases. Doing so, it advanced the idea of campaigning for a wage increase without an increase in prices.

It is not our purpose here to estimate the value of this decision in the scale of the entire CIO convention. We leave that to our comrade, David Coolidge, who attended the convention as a reporter for LABOR ACTION and who will analyze the convention as a whole in our next issue. We here take the campaign outlined by Philip Murray and Walter Reuther at its face value and hail it, for it points to the only real direction of coming to grips with the wage-price issue.

Debunks Bosses



WALTER P. REUTHER

Speaking before the delegates, Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers and a vice-president of the CIO, held that it was the CIO's job to "debunk the stupid economic theory that you cannot raise wages unless you get a comparable price increase. The whole history of American industry belies the contention."

President Murray, speaking on the same issue, continued as follows: "We believe that American business is now extracting enough profit out of its various enterprises to enable them to make substantial wage concessions without necessarily increasing prices."

TOWARD RAISING LABOR'S LIVING STANDARD

Both Reuther and Murray are absolutely right. For the CIO to make that the pivot of its wage campaign is an encouraging sign. For Murray to join in raising the demand is especially encouraging. As recently as last winter, Murray opposed that concept. Through the manner in which he settled the steel strike, he contributed to the govern-

ment-industry policy of stealing wage increases won on the picket line by raising prices.

American industry is more than capable of paying higher wages—not merely higher wages to compensate for the rise in the cost of living, but higher wages of a kind that will RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING. To go after that is a legitimate, and basic, object of unionism.

Effecting the demand, however, requires something more than merely stating it. Murray, Reuther and the other leaders of the CIO are in a position to realize that demand, for they have behind them the organized strength of millions of workers who will respond with enthusiasm to whatever is demanded by such a campaign. And the demand itself is many-sided, including actions aimed primarily at cancelling the deadly effects of rising prices and other actions aimed at raising the standard of living of the people.

For example, there is already a wide sentiment in the ranks of labor, AFL and CIO, for an escalator clause, that is, a clause that will provide for a boost in wages with every periodic jump of the price graph. Curran of the National Maritime Union stated his objection to the escalator clause on the ground that it would mean "our standard of living will become static." Only if the labor leaders make it so! The escalator clause is a starting point, one that can overcome the immediate problem of inflationary prices that are in their effect cutting wages, wiping out gain, and depressing living standards.

In our opinion, a nation-wide campaign to write an escalator clause into every union contract cannot only be successful; but, in its success, it will rank among the greatest achievements of the labor movement. Obviously, the escalator clause by itself is insufficient, however great the advance it would mark. The point is that it can be given greater meaning by a parallel campaign for wage increases without price increases.

HOW WILL CAMPAIGN BE CONDUCTED?

Hence the value of the CIO campaign as stated, but not outlined, by Murray and Reuther. A little less than a year ago it inspired the General Motors workers in their magnificent strike. Though their demand fired the entire labor movement, they were left to continue the fight alone, and so had to retreat. Embraced by the whole of the CIO, as is now proposed, it can become the rallying cry for such

a demonstration of union solidarity and victory as the country has not before seen.

There we come to the heart of the weakness in the Murray and Reuther position. It appears to us as though the campaign was not implemented by any course of action or plan of campaign. Even at the convention, Reuther's speech can hardly be said to have been as effective as the arguments he advanced last year on behalf of the General Motors strikers. The figures were clear, the argument unanswerable, the logic demanding action by its very inner drive. And that time it was linked with such a necessary and reasonable demand as Open the Books!

We missed this, the spirit as well as the actual content, in the speeches at the CIO convention. We are not here dealing with Murray's fuzzy thinking or reasoning on behalf of the campaign. We accept the campaign as stated by the CIO leaders at its face value. However, to be genuinely meaningful it requires some statement of direction. And that was lacking, except for a declaration that "there is no threat of strike in the offing," and a feeble protest that the big manufacturers can get away with statements in the public press for which labor leaders would be denounced.

If there is no threat of strike in the offing, just how does President Murray mean to effect his demand? We are not here implying that strikes have to be called immediately. Calling strikes, when, where and how, is the business of the labor leaders and of the rank and file in the unions who judge their own needs. We are not calling strikes in the columns of our paper! But it does seem to us as though the situation calls at least for the "threat" of strikes, unless Murray has some other real sure-fire way of achieving labor's demands. Reuther said something about a war chest of \$10,000,000 to counteract the well organized and wealthy campaign of the financiers and industrialists. This is



PHILIP MURRAY

(Continued on page 2)

With John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, scheduled to stand trial on Wednesday, November 27, for contempt of court, 400,000 miners showed their contempt for the government's strike-breaking action by quitting the pits.

Acting with characteristic solidarity and determination, the 400,000 miners held fast to their principle, "No Contract, No Work," despite the violent anti-union campaign unleashed by the government to break the power and militancy of the UMW. While the headlines are being written about the court battle between the union and the government, the miners are writing the real story in coal pits paralyzed by their militancy.

Push Demand For Seattle Price Control

SEATTLE, Nov. 15—Persistent Seattle housewives appeared before Seattle's City Council to reiterate their demand for a city ordinance establishing the price of milk at 14 cents this week. The Council passed the buck to the Committee on Public Safety and Health and on Tuesday, November 12, a committee of the Homemakers' Price Control League doggedly presented to the Committee its plea. The ordinance was referred to the Corporation Council and the request for a resolution against the high prices was filed.

This rebuff by Seattle's city fathers has not discouraged the Price Control League. Plans are under way for the organization of a caravan to Olympia to place the case for lower milk prices before the Governor.

The ladies speaking before the committee were treated to a high class legalistic run-around by the Seattle Council. In answer to the charge that the Council had no authority to act, Mrs. Helen Burns, member of the League, read chapter and verse from the city charter.

OFFER TO DO CONTROLLING

Some of the Public Safety Committee members expressed their sympathy for the demands of the League but pointed out that they were powerless to act, for by passage of such an ordinance a precedent would be set for price control on all commodities. "We don't have the apparatus to investigate or enforce the prices," they said.

Mrs. Rose Palmquist, speaking for the League, assured the committee that their organization was prepared to do all the investigating and enforcement if the committee would recommend passage of the ordinance.

After the "liberal" evasions came a roar of pain and anguish of the outright reaction, represented on the committee by Councilman Harlan, who indignantly defended the rights of private property as being prior to and more important than the satisfaction of the milk requirement of Seattle's families, who are now paying 19 and 20 cents a quart for milk. This interview with the City Council's sub-committee is the latest step in a campaign organized in Seattle in the last month to bring the price of milk down. The increase in milk prices a month ago was met by indignation and a hastily organized phone-calling campaign culminating in a demonstration in front of City Hall. This was followed by the issuance of a petition and the calling of a meeting to set up a permanent housewives' organization to combat price increases.

The foundation meeting of the new existing League had an attendance of two hundred fifty women; from that meeting a strategy board of thirty-two was established and a caravan to the City Council planned.

The future of this League depends decisively on the organization of tens of thousands of Seattle's women. Hard work and patience will in the end bring the indignant but as yet immobile masses into the movement. Homemakers are striking. They are cutting down in their purchase of milk and milk by-products. This is so partly because of economic necessity and partly because of the organized strike. However, to date they have not responded en masse to the call of the League to take organized and systematic action to solve the inflated price of milk.

Leaders of the AFL and the CIO have announced that they are backing the mine workers to the hilt against the government's injunction procedure. Whatever the disputes between the union leaders and inside the unions, the whole labor movement stands united with the mine workers in a solid front against the government's attack on the right of unions to strike. Union leaders, known for their strong opposition to Lewis, have been compelled by the necessity of defending unionism to announce their support of Lewis as the representative of the mine workers in his fight with the government.

Appearing in Washington's Federal District Court on Monday, November 25, Lewis was cited for contempt by

Defies Injunction



Justice Alan T. Goldsborough, who last week issued an injunction order demanding that the union cancel its notice of termination of contract, Lewis and the union, given until November 27 to "purge themselves of contempt," ignored the injunction order and proceeded to act according to what was demanded by union interests. Union attorneys are prepared to argue that the union was (1) within its legal rights in serving notice of cancellation of contract, and (2) that the government is violating the Norris-La Guardia Act in issuing the injunction. The Norris-La Guardia Act says nothing in it about strikes against the government, putting them on the same plane as any other strikes, and barring injunctions in all strikes.

BIG ISSUES INVOLVED

The legal battle that will begin on November 27 is one of immense importance to the labor movement. At issue is the entire business of injunction procedure against unions. Should the government, for example, be successful in its action against the miners, then 52 members of the CIO's United Electrical and Radio Workers Union in New Jersey, also facing (Continued on page 2)

The Boss's Dictionary

Equality:



Big Power Blocs Vie for Control of Trieste

Wishes of Trieste People Disregarded as Big Four Ministers Wrangle Over How Strategic Area Shall Be Governed

By HENRY JUDD

At the meetings of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, now taking place in New York's Waldorf-Astoria, a tight deadlock exists and grows deeper. The issues involved, reaching far beyond the fate of that seaport city, have become of such importance that it is claimed that their solving will unloosen the deadlock involving all the Powers and make possible the speedy conclusion of treaties with Italy and other European Powers.

While the Trieste issue has great importance, it is incorrect that its solution would bring a speedy end to the conflict between the Powers and move Europe more rapidly toward peace and reconstruction. Its solution would only pave the way for discussions on the yet more difficult, complex and more controversial problems of treaties with Austria and Germany.

STRATEGIC CENTER

Yet the dispute over Trieste is significant for what it reveals of the motives and methods of the Big Four in handling Europe and its problems. Trieste, and its surrounding territory of Venezia Giulia, is not so much

a sore spot in Europe to which the soothing balm of agreement, peace and economic recovery needs to be applied. It is a strategic center, a vital spot in the power game of the imperialist rivals and each is anxious to maneuver so that it dominates the fate of this city.

Trieste is a strategic port on the Adriatic, and whoever wins it wins control over that sea. Trieste is a railway center, branching out in all directions to Yugoslavia, Italy and Austria. Trieste is a valuable ship-building center, a trading and commercial center of high importance. In the fundamental division existing between the Anglo-American partners and the Russians with their satellites, Trieste is a prize package worth slipping into anyone's pocket.

But the longer the negotiations have proceeded, the more serious have the differences become. This does not exclude the final arriving at an agreement, but at the moment this does not appear to be in sight. During the course of the negotiations, the Russians, represented by leading Stalinist Molotov, have cleverly maneuvered so that they (to and behold!) appear as the demo-

crats, while the Anglo-Americans represented by Byrnes and Bevin appear as the anti-democratic authoritarians! As for the French representative (some stupid Comte or other), he doesn't appear at all.

REASONS FOR DISPUTE

How did this occur? A Free Territory of Trieste, established by statutes, is to be established under United Nations control. To this degree, all have agreement. It is over the concrete statutes, investing powers in a proposed Governor of Trieste, police, etc., that the sharp disagreements have taken place. Russian imperialism, knowing that Yugoslavs are a majority in the territory and knowing too that their friend and stooge Marshal Tito is just around the corner where he can exert terror-pressure on the population, is anxious to fix the statutes so that the Yugoslavs can, through supposedly legal forms, seize power and turn the entire area over to Stalinized Yugoslavia. They therefore want a Governor with weakened powers, and with real power resting in the hands of a constituent assembly to be called for the purpose of

creating a permanent government for the territory.

Byrnes and Bevin, on the other hand, are most anxious of all to prevent seizure of the area by Tito, and therefore desire to install all kinds of safeguards against such possibilities, as well as statutes that will give them, the Anglo-Americans, the power to intervene at any moment. They therefore wish a Governor with wide powers, including the right to control the police, suspend legislation, issue decrees, declare martial law, etc. This Governor proposed by America and England would, in effect, have the powers of an all-mighty dictator. He would also be appointed by the Security Council of the UN, where the Anglo-Americans have a majority, as against Molotov's proposal that the Foreign Ministers agree on who he is to be.

PEOPLE NOT CONSULTED

In addition, the whole question of fixing a date for the evacuation of Trieste by foreign troops is under dispute, with Molotov insisting upon a date 90 days after the Italian treaty goes into effect and the others insisting upon no definite date at all. They aren't particularly anxious to

pull out and see Tito's strutting Stalinists walk in the next day!

These differences, of course, reveal the profound and mutual distrust these two power-hungry blocs have for each other. It goes without saying that the desires and wishes of the Trieste people—be they Italian or Yugoslav—are in no way whatever consulted or considered. There is no spokesman from either nationality permitted at the hearings. This is the situation, reactionary and the proposed socialist solution to this hypocritical, as it appears today. For difficult problem, see November 11 issue of LABOR ACTION and the coming issue.

Inside Labor Action

Resolutions of the Workers Party National Committee on the recent elections and the "anti-Red" campaign in the trade unions.

Turn to Page 3.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Washington Group Urges Labor Party

By VINCENT WHEELON

SEATTLE—The Washington State Committee for a Labor Party, an organization of union militants, is urging AFL and CIO locals to place themselves on record for independent labor political action. Ultimate goal is to build an instrument that can be tied to any national movement for a genuine labor party.

The committee was set up over a year ago by advanced rank-and-file union members who saw clearly that the drive in Congress and local legislatures to smash the organized labor movement with union-shackling laws demands that American workers set in motion their own political apparatus.

The CLP declares that the Republican and Democratic machines are "company parties" run by the "bosses." Just as the workers have cleaned up the labor movement by tossing out "company unions," the committee explains, "they must now beat down the boss politicians by building their own party and electing their own candidates to office."

The inevitable consequences of the "Republican landslide" on Nov. 5 cannot help but ripen further the will of union members to struggle politically. It is already clear that, despite warnings of such GOP "left wingers" as Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon, to his party colleagues in the 80th Congress that they must go easy on labor, the Republicans have already blueprinted an attack on unions. Senator Joseph H. Ball, Minnesota, has called for passage of the Case bill legislation to outlaw the closed shop.

Appraisal of union forces in the state convinced founders of the CLP that little headway could be made unless some means could be found to break members of the AFL from the traditional Gompers formula: "reward your friends and defeat your enemies." A base of operations had to be secured in the AFL because its members account for 90 per cent of organized labor in Washington.

Significant support has been obtained among AFL members. But finding excellent response from the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (CIO), the CLP steering committee has recommended that members in this organization base their agitation on the slogan: "turn the PAC into a labor party." The greatest single bloc of AFL support, so far, has been obtained in Boiler-makers Local 104.

Over 200 unionists, representing about 30 locals, have joined the Committee for a Labor Party. In doing so they signed a petition reading:

"We, the undersigned trade unionists, being convinced that organized labor should have its own independent political instrument, hereby join the formation of the Washington State Committee for a Labor Party."

Buffalo Meeting On WP Program Attracts Union Men

Seventy-five friends and members of the Buffalo branch of the Workers Party attended a meeting for Albert Goldman, former attorney for Leon Trotsky on November 21. At least sixty of those present were from the UAW and other CIO shops in Buffalo. The meeting was held at the Workers Party headquarters, 639 Main Street.

Goldman, who is at present a member of the National Committee of the Workers Party, spoke on "For a Socialist America." Emphasizing the bankruptcy of the Democratic and Republican Parties, Goldman advocated a break with the capitalist parties and the formation of an independent Labor Party. Goldman pointed out that only a party which stands for the nationalization of industry under workers' control, which demands full political and economic rights for all, and which bases itself upon the trade unions can ever begin to solve the problems of housing, prices and wages.

The union men present, and particularly those militants who had just recently come off the picket line at the K. R. Wilson plant in Arcade, N. Y., voiced their assent as Goldman characterized the police as agents of the capitalist class.

In answer to a question about the role of the Communist Party in the trade unions, Goldman replied:

"Union militants must beware of the Stalinist rule or ruin policy in the union movement. They must be fought uncompromisingly but they must be fought on the union floor and not by red-baiting appeals to the reactionary elements. Gathered around the Workers Party program, militant unionists can build genuine, democratic and progressive unions, and thereby destroy Stalinist attempts at domination."

All sections of the working class in Buffalo were represented at the meeting. The interest and enthusiasm of the friends and members were more than justified when six people who had been studying the Workers Party development indicated their willingness to join the party.

Party. It is understood that the function of this committee shall not be to act as a labor party, but to inform workers of the necessity for a labor party and to urge the unions of this state to go on record favoring the establishment of such an independent political instrument by labor."

The committee's brochure, entitled "Build the Labor Party," is a clear, down-to-earth presentation of why only independent political action by labor can beat down the "company parties." It stresses the point that "union members must assume the initial responsibility for forming the labor party because organized industrial and agricultural workers constitute the chief economic determinant of the nation... The workers

who are able to combine their strength and act in union, because they are organized, likewise have it in their power to control the national economy."

The CLP declares its function to be "both organizational and educational. Although the committee will not act as a political party, its purpose is to move unions to cut their ties with existing capitalist parties and form their own independent political instrument. This requires education of individual members and organization of pro-labor forces in each union."

Under "methods of action" the CLP brochure calls for education among active unionists which develops into agitation at "points of con-

ferences"; for conferences, mass meetings, a speakers bureau, printing of literature in order to develop pro-labor party sentiment to the point where resolutions can be passed in local unions to endorse the CLP and contribute financially for its support.

DEFECTS OF THE COMMITTEE

The committee's main defect has been the lack of continued agitation for a labor party around such specific issues as anti-labor legislation, price inflation, failure of the national housing program, struggle for the FEPC bill and numerous other issues that have occupied the attention of the workers during the hectic sessions of the 79th Congress.

The committee started with every intention of utilizing these issues to orient labor to a political position. But the burden of setting up the machinery, circulating petitions, the lack of manpower and a far too heavy emphasis on the organizational structure at the expense of educational work has prevented the CLP from being in a position to capitalize on these rich propaganda possibilities.

In the first few months of its existence the committee generated considerable enthusiasm. But after this initial spurt, the response began to lag. Only a few came to meetings and finally they were discontinued for a long period.

This experience has taught CLP leaders that they must not wait for "big events" to precipitate a spontaneous mobilization of the workers in a movement toward independent political action. Committee members realize that while the coming period will be characterized by intense class antagonisms expressed in renewed outbreaks of strikes and parliamentary struggles against anti-union legislation, it is necessary to turn CLP activity back to the patient business of convincing individuals in various unions.

The Republican landslide in Washington State wiped out De Lacy and state legislators Thos. C. Rabbitt, William J. Pennock and George Hurley who are Stalinist accomplices. There has been a general feeling here that the Communist Party will shortly call for the formation of a labor or "third" party. But De Lacy declared two days after election: "It has not been demonstrated that efforts to maintain a progressive position in the Democratic Party are futile, either on a state or national basis."

At any rate, experience here proves that there is plenty of rank-and-file response to the concept of a labor party. And from here on out the CLP is going to capitalize on this sentiment for all it is worth.

GOLDMAN SPEAKS ON WAGE RISE ISSUE IN AKRON

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, Nov. 20—Albert Goldman, former attorney for Leon Trotsky and member of the National Committee of the Workers Party, spoke here this evening to an audience composed of members of the party, sympathizers and friends. He spoke on the struggle for wage increases and the future of the American working class.

Goldman pointed out that during the Second World War there was no difficulty in manufacturing \$100,000,000 worth of warships, tens of thousands of airplanes and other instruments of destruction but that now the government and big business find it impossible to provide housing and "peacetime" necessities. The reason for this, he explained, is that during the war American imperialism was menaced by a rival German imperialism and that therefore it was entirely to their interest to organize production. He also pointed out that all production was based on guaranteed profits and that under "cost plus" the greater the wastage and cost, the greater the profit.

Now, however, there is no such incentive, Goldman pointed out. The question of housing for the homeless and necessities for the working class does not immediately involve the question of the existence of American imperialism. The government of big business is not now so anxious to produce for an uncertain market. Yet it cannot help but be understood by everyone now that the only way to solve the problems of today is through planning of production. The government of the business men will not cause this planning to come about when it is no longer in their interests; therefore the working class must undertake the task.

Goldman pointed out that the Workers Party supports every strike of the working class but that the real solution to the problems of the workers lies not in individual strikes which may or may not wage increases only to have them taken away through price increases. Rather the solution to the problem lies in the formation of an independent Labor Party based on the fight for power and planned production for use

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

The aim of Big Business, to legalize the former black market prices, is now complete. With practically all price controls scrapped, OPA officials snickeringly refer to their agency as the Office of Rice Administration, rice being almost the only commodity left under control. But it isn't a funny situation at all. For the people of this nation, it spells tragedy. Here, for your record, is what has happened in the first four days since President Truman's sweeping decontrol order of November 9:

Hide prices—soared over 100 per cent over previous price ceilings.
Steel scrap—up \$2.50 a ton, November 12, another \$2.50 November 13.
Rayon—up 10-20 per cent.
Copper—up 25 per cent.
Lead—up 30 per cent.
Building materials—up an average of 25 per cent.
Electrical appliances—up 10-60 per cent.
Laundry and dry cleaning prices—up 10 per cent.
Typewriters—up 10-15 per cent.
Sweaters—up an average of \$1.
Sheets, towels, pillowcases—up 5 per cent.
Men's hosiery—up 5-8 per cent.
Lingerie—up 10 per cent.
Shoes—some companies raised prices 20 per cent.
Paint—rise of 30-40 per cent predicted immediately.
Innerspring mattresses—up sharply.

General Motors announced it had immediately increased prices of all cars and trucks \$100. Willys-Overland increased prices on jeeps and station wagons by \$44 and \$48 respectively. Zenith raised prices of its radios from 2 to 20 per cent. Carpets went up 5-10 per cent. Some cotton goods went up 25 per cent. Gum turpentine went up 20 cents a gallon. International Harvester increased prices on all farm implements and tractors 9 per cent. Minneapolis-Moline farm equipment went up 10 per cent. U. S. Steel announced it would raise prices of those products "now being sold below cost."... The New York Journal of Commerce predicted that decontrol would drive the general commodity price level up about 10-12 per cent the first week.

"BUSINESSMEN TORMENTED"

"Pricing dilemmas torment businessmen," writes the Wall Street Journal. Manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, are being torn between their ingrained cupidity and their fear that the consumers won't and can't take it... The AFL recently compared food advertisements published in Washington, D. C., newspapers in June, 1939, and those appearing November 1, 1946. "Increases as high as 500 and 600 per cent were noted in basic and routine items on the average American table," said the AFL. The Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics on the other hand, says its retail price index shows "only" an 86.2 per cent increase for the same period. Guess it depends on who does the figuring... The Journal of Commerce's daily index of 30 sensitive commodity prices has risen 50 points since July, 1946, as much as the total increase from 1942-1946.

FOREIGN TRADE BUST COMING

Big Business in this country is worried about the foreign trade situation, afraid that the boom will break when foreigners have no more cash. Foreign nations have been buying U. S. exports with dollar surpluses built up during the war, or with money shipped out of

those countries before the war, or with loans from the Export-Import Bank. They will soon run out of dollars and will have to borrow more money—or sell to the U. S. "Sell what?" is the question that worries U. S. industry. The recent war lessened this country's dependency on the outside for raw materials... For instance, in 1940 the U. S. paid \$570 millions for three big commodities—tin, rubber, silk. But nylon and rayon factories have finished off the great silk trade. The U. S. consumed 463,000 tons of synthetic rubber in the first seven months of 1946, and only 106,000 tons of natural rubber. Only tin remains... Whereas before the war, U. S. exports averaged about 20 per cent above imports, today they are about double imports. This off-balance situation cannot prevail much longer.

HOUSING SITUATION WORSE

The housing situation will grow worse. The sharp rise in the price of lumber, plumbing fixtures, brick and clay, roofing, insulation, electrical equipment, will just about finish off the hopes of many people to build their own homes. Rents are sure to go up shortly about 15 per cent. A head-on collision is coming between the landlords and their natural enemies, the tenants... A survey of servicemen being discharged reveals that 55 per cent are searching for housing in the so-called "middle-rental bracket" of \$30-\$40 monthly. Some 34 per cent want housing in the \$30-or-less bracket, and only 11 per cent can afford to pay \$50 or more. Almost everyone of these servicemen are doomed to disappointment.

THE INSURANCE MAN'S SOUL

I always wondered what insurance salesmen had in their souls. Now a fellow named Wendell F. Hanselman, president of Agency Management Assn., let's us in. Speaking in Chicago the other day, he said: "One of the greatest obstacles to communism is the group of more than 100,000 trained life insurance salesmen. These men have imbedded in their souls the sermon of thrift and free enterprise."

GETTING RID OF SURPLUS

With all the talk of shortages, representatives of 13 nations are now meeting in London, behind closed doors, trying to figure out what the hell to do with the vast wartime accumulation of wool, without upsetting the world market. One official thought it might take "12 or 13 years" to get rid of the surplus.

WHAT HAPPENS IN WASHINGTON

Under pressure of many unions, Congress and Truman created a "full employment" braintrust not so long ago. The Wall Street Journal reports that members of the "Council of Economic Advisers," so created, are "nourishing ideas that may make labor leaders nearly in surprise." Their thinking, it seems, "has most nearly crystallized in the direction of legal curbs on union activities." The group has held off-the-record discussion with John Steelman's Office of Reconversion, and proposed a revision of the National Labor Relations Act to the benefit of the employers, abolition of "union monopolies" to make it impossible for a union to bargain on an industry-wide basis, and other means of hampering labor demands and ability to take strike action. The council, it is reported, hopes that a bit of "scare talk" will frighten the unions out of "any rash acts they may be contemplating."

United Mine Workers Defy Strikebreaker Government - -

(Continued from page 1)

trial for violating an injunction, will be in immediate jeopardy. But the bigger issue of whether a union has the right to strike when it thinks it necessary, whether or not the plant is technically held by the government, will not be decided by the courts but by the action of the miners themselves. It is something that rests entirely in the hands of labor. The fiction that labor cannot strike against the government is receiving a proper answer in the silent coal pits.

Behind the battle between the union and the government is the real issue: the government's attempt to crack the UMW on the one side, and the miners' determination to protect their union and to seek a new contract with the operators on the other. As explained in last week's LABOR ACTION, the government's action arose out of a calculated plan to crush the effectiveness of the UMW, and through that, the effectiveness of all unions. This plan goes back a long time, to Ickes' demand, while he was Secretary of the Interior, that Truman act to "break Lewis." When, before the elections, Lewis called for new contract negotiations, the government first agreed to negotiate, and then, after the elections, decided the time had come to test its strength against the labor movement.

In the circumstances, the miners are waging a battle on behalf of all labor. If the government is successful against the miners it will be emboldened to try to straight-jacket the rest of the labor union movement on the eve of its drive for wage raises.

The miners want a contract with the operators and in this contract they want provisions for a wage raise and a new agreement on hours. The mines were taken over by the government when many operators refused to sign the last contract, providing a welfare fund. Rumors, however, are now current that the coal operators are seeking to arrange a deal to sign with the union.

STRENGTH OF MINERS

The press has made much of the fact that miners' wages average some \$14.50 a day. In only a few cases

have they cited the real facts which reduce the miners' average wage so much that at the end of the week the miner and his family are left with a few dollars in cash. In only a few cases have they cited the facts about conditions in the coal towns, the accidents, the months spent without work for one reason or another.

The strength of the miners' union lies essentially in the fact that the miners built the union and improved their conditions at enormous sacrifice. The strength of the miners' union lies in the memory of the Ludlow massacre, where company deputies shot 22 women and children, and in the memory of Harlan, Ky., where company deputies imposed a reign of terror. It lies as well in the victories won against the barbaric stranglehold of mine operators who ruled their coal towns like feudal barons.

We strongly believe that the mine operators have demonstrated that ownership cannot be left in their hands. They have proved their callous indifference to the needs of the mine workers. They have proved the bankruptcy of their operation, which has periodically doomed miners to starvation so severe that emergency food shipments have been necessary to relieve famine, and which continually subjects the miners to hazardous work at inadequate pay and with small protection.

We strongly believe there is only one way to solve the needs of the miners and that is by the nationalization of the mines UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL! That bears no resemblance whatsoever to government operation of the mines. But the issue right now is the miners' fight against the government. It is a fight that every question resolves itself in the end to political as well as economic power. For that reason, as well as the simpler reasons of union solidarity and protection, it is an issue of extreme importance to labor.

Increasingly, every wage struggle, every strike battle, involves the government. Thus the miners' fight today has a double significance of immeasurable consequence to labor. It is the elementary duty of every working man and woman to take his side with the miners. Regardless of what happens in the courts, the issue will be

joined in the coal fields, and there, backed by the labor movement, the miners are certain to emerge victoriously.

HAWAII SUGAR STRIKERS WIN

The CIO's most far-flung outpost won a smashing victory last week in the settlement of the 75-day Hawaiian strike of sugar plantation workers. The workers were affiliated to the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, which functions in Hawaii as a one-big-union movement. Twenty-eight thousand strikers go back to work with a pay increase of 18½ cents an hour. It should be remembered that the pay scale before the strike was so low that the raise represents about 33 per cent.

In forty years of labor struggles, this is the first time that the plantation laborers were organized by a union from the "mainland," and the first time that the strikers were successful. Even attempts by the bosses to fall back on new workers arriving from the Ilocos coast of the Philippines failed, as the immigrants were met at the dock by Ilocano-speaking organizers, and signed up in the union. Some 75 per cent of the sugar workers in Hawaii are Filipinos.

The solidity of the strike had its effect on local politics. Farrington, Hawaii's delegate to Congress, running for re-election on the Republican ticket, actually came out editorially in his paper, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, on the side of the strikers. This tactic, obviously designed to appease the new, vigorous unions until they can be successfully housebroken, was too much for the diehards, who rallied and ranted against Farrington's stand throughout the election campaign. Unfortunately, here as elsewhere, the PAC is tied to the capitalist politicians, endorsing Farrington as well as many Democrats, instead of using the new groundswell of labor in the islands for the purpose of forming an independent Labor Party. But as the sugar workers continue their struggles they will take the next step, and break with the political parties of the planters.

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The Next Step for U. S. Labor

Statement on the Recent Elections by the National Committee of the Workers Party

The great victory of the Republican Party and the rout of the Democratic Administration in the November elections marks a strong shift to the right not only of the big bourgeoisie but also of the middle classes.

The defeat of the Democratic Party was predetermined by the complete abandonment of New Dealism, upon which was based the effectual coalition of the workers and the middle classes that enabled the Democratic Party to attain government power again and to hold it for more than three presidential administrations. The abandonment of New Dealism was not, however, followed by the adoption of the more or less openly and consistently reactionary policy of the Republican Party. As a result, the Democratic Party wavered and oscillated in its policies. It irritated all the classes and satisfied none of them in any of the important fields of foreign and domestic policy. Thereby it lost the support not only of the middle classes, but also of considerable sections of the working class, that is, its conservative sections, who either abstained from the elections or else supported the Republican Party directly. As in the case of the middle classes, these sections of the working class voted for the Republican candidate, not out of political confidence in their party but primarily—given the absence of any significant working class political alternative—as a protest against the vacillation of the Democratic Administration and its inability to deal firmly and consistently with any of the urgent economic and political problems.

The elections also marked a defeat for the official labor movement and for official labor politics. The great majority of the candidates supported by the organized labor movement (including the PAC) were defeated at the polls. But this was not a defeat for independent working-class political action. On the contrary, it is a defeat for capitalist labor politics. The importance and significance of this distinction must be repeatedly

emphasized and elucidated in all the propaganda and agitational work of the party in the coming period.

WHAT KIND OF SHIFT?

To the extent that the Democratic Party preserved any strength in the elections, this was due—outside of the tremendously weakened Northern city machines, and the Southern Democratic Party, which is distinguished from the Republican Party only in that it is more reactionary—primarily to the fact that the more militant and more advanced workers, particularly the organized unionists, gave the Democrats their votes, reluctantly and without conviction or enthusiasm and only because they understood that a vote for the Republican Party would be interpreted as a victory for the outright anti-labor reaction. Without this reluctant and unenthusiastic support, still given the Democratic Party by the most important section of the working class, it did not and could not rally the support of the rest of the working class and the middle classes in general. Exasperated by the Administration, these sections of the population rejected the Administration's party and all those who supported it. In this sense, the elections were a rebuke not only to the Democratic Party but also to capitalist labor politics, that is, the policy of tying the working class and the labor movement to the tail of a capitalist party.

The ability of the advanced sections of the labor movement to gain the support not only of all the working classes but even of the middle class as well, provided that these sections put forward an independent working class political position, was demonstrated only recently by the tremendous, widespread support obtained all over the country for the aggressive "GM Program," half-hearted, reformist, confined to paper though it was. The contrary was demonstrated as a result of the official labor political course in the November elections.

The shift to the right in the coun-

try as a whole is not equivalent, nor does it predetermine a shift to the right of the working class. This would probably be the case if the economic perspective in the country were one of smooth, continuous, long-lasting prosperity, or if the political perspective were based upon a working class heavily defeated in the economic field and deprived of its self-confidence. That, however, is not the perspective. The resolution on the United States adopted by the last convention of the Workers Party requires no important modification in this respect.

FORTHCOMING STRUGGLES

The workers in the United States still feel a tremendous and undefeated strength. They retain unprecedentedly powerful economic organizations and a strong confidence in their organizations. They are not only under severe economic pressure to engage in continual struggles to maintain their standard of living, but they are aware of the fact that the boom, however temporary, and its attendant (relative) absence of unemployment, places them in a relatively strong position to fight aggressively and confidently on the economic field.

These economic struggles cannot fail to be translated into political struggles and political organization. The PAC has received a stunning blow, but independent working-class action has not. The defeat of the Democratic Party, and the policies which brought it about, have already produced a revulsion in the ranks of the more advanced workers against tying the labor movement to the Democratic Party in the future. Not even the efforts of the New Deal winglet of that Party, represented by Wallace, Pepper, etc., have sufficed to overcome this revulsion. At the same time, with the triumph of the Republican Party and the prospects that it may take over the entire Administration in the Presidential election of 1948, the workers cannot help but feel that they will hence-

forward be deprived of the semi-protection or apparent protection they were afforded by the New Deal Administration in their economic struggles of the past. The trend toward acquiring political protection and support for their economic struggles cannot but grow in the labor movement and the working class in the period ahead. Even though the Republican semi-Administration may proceed with some caution in coming into head-on collision with the labor movement, in order to assure itself of the maximum election support in 1948, the anti-labor offensive can only grow and the Republican Party can only give it aid and comfort, where it does not directly spearhead it. The present Democratic Party can only echo the Republican policies or offer feeble amendments to them.

Under these conditions, the idea of independent working-class political action, in the form of a Labor Party, will grow in the coming period and may indeed grow with surprising

speed and strength. At all events, the situation offers extremely fertile soil in which to propagate the slogan of an Independent Labor Party among the organized workers in particular and in which to transform the slogan, under suitable conditions, into actual organization.

THE MAIN SLOGAN

The main task of the revolutionary Marxists in the present period is the struggle for the establishment of a politically independent working class in the United States, an Independent Labor Party based primarily on the trade unions and upon a political program that leads to the establishment of a workers' government. The concrete slogan put forward by our party for the achievement of this goal has been and remains: "Transform PAC into a Labor Party." There is every indication that the defeat of the PAC policy in the November elections will not be followed by the

(Continued on page 5)



Resolution of the Workers Party National Committee:

"Anti-Red" Drive in the Unions

The current "anti-communist" campaign which is a drive against American Stalinism, reached its height during the election campaign and is concentrated inside the labor movement. Thus within a brief period of time, the war alliance between the American bourgeoisie (capitalist class) and the Stalinist bureaucratic ruling class of Russia, reflected at home in the solidification of the Stalinist position in the labor movement, has been shattered. The "anti-red" drive coincides with the sharpening international relations evidenced in the division of the United Nations into rival imperialist camps led by the United States and Russian imperialism, respectively. Two compelling forces have produced this drive: the struggle between Russia and the United States for world domination, and the effort of big business to destroy the militancy of the labor movement, to domesticate it to the point where it will not be able to struggle effectively in behalf of the working class. The fight against the "reds" on the part of the financial and industrial rulers of this country is based upon their belief that the native Stalinists are the bearers of a revolutionary policy in behalf of a revolutionary state.

This is reflected in the designation of the Stalinists as the "left wing" in the labor movement and their opponents as "right wing." By history, tradition and fact, "left wing" became identified with those sections of the political and labor movement which are revolutionary, socialist, militant or progressive to distinguish them from the "right wing," i.e., conservatives and reactionaries. But the whole history of Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary and anti-working class current demonstrates how false is this designation. Those who develop policies based upon the acceptance of Stalinism as "left wing," even in its most general meaning, can only produce disorientation and confusion in the coming struggles.

But precisely because the American capitalists have a mistaken conception of the meaning of Stalinist their struggle against it in the country at large and especially in the labor movement is reactionary and dangerous. The bourgeoisie struggles against Stalinism not only because it is the representative of a rival imperialist power, but also because it believes it to be a dangerous revolutionary force among the masses. For the labor movement to fall in with this campaign means for it to become part of a conspiracy against the labor movement itself. For under the cover of a struggle against Stalinism, the bourgeoisie is seeking to destroy the effectiveness of the labor movement.

WHAT IS STALINISM

The character of Stalinism as a state power with international auxiliary forces determines the second aim of the "anti-red" campaign. It is the expression of an inter-state struggle. In defeating American Stalinism, the ruling class hopes to be better prepared for any future struggle with Stalinist Russia. The fact that this campaign takes the primary form of a struggle against a wing in the labor movement arises from the dual character of the Stalinist movement, as a state power with organized movements inside the working class organizations of all countries. American Stalinism confronts the bourgeoisie at home as its dangerous enemy precisely inside the labor movement. This drive, if successful, would endanger the entire trade union movement because it would encompass not only the Stalinists, but also all progressives and militants.

The bourgeois struggle against world Stalinism and its American representatives is not our struggle. That struggle, based upon imperialist interests is reactionary. In seeking to enlist the support of the official labor movement to destroy Stalinism, the bourgeoisie aims to tie labor closer to the bourgeois state and its class interests. Its success in this purpose would be measured by the weakening of the labor movement as a whole. The working class can have nothing in common with the bourgeois struggle against Stalinism which is based on preserving their own class rule.

Several weeks ago LABOR ACTION carried an article analyzing the current "anti-red" drive which reached its height during the election campaign and was concentrated inside the labor movement. The subject, of course, has many ramifications as well as a long history in this country. Because of its importance for the working class and its various organizations, the National Committee of the Workers Party discussed the problem and adopted a resolution on it at its plenary sessions of November 23 and 24. The resolution supplies a general analysis of the problem, concluding with a line of action calculated to strengthen and advance the interests of the labor movement as a whole. We print this resolution for the information and guidance of all our readers and friends.

The struggle to defeat and destroy Stalinism as the greatest danger to the world and American working class is an indispensable need for the proletariat before it can make lasting progress on its road toward emancipation. It is a struggle which cannot be assigned to the bourgeoisie but one which must be carried out by the labor movement free of any ties with the ruling class. Any struggle against Stalinism which is based upon class collaboration cannot but rebound to the harm of the working class because it would strengthen the rule of capitalism. Our aim is to destroy the power and influence of Stalinism on the working class. Because the present leadership of the trade union movement struggles against Stalinism without understanding its nature and in alliance with the capitalist state, it is ineffectual and reactionary. It is based upon bourgeois interests and not working class. The tasks of the party in this situation, based upon the resolutions adopted at our successive conventions, are simple.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

1. The party is opposed to the "anti-red" campaign (read anti-Stalinist) in the labor movement initiated by the bourgeoisie as part of its struggle against Stalinist Russia, and the working class at home. This campaign is reactionary in motivation and purpose. It has nothing in common with the proletarian struggle against Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary, anti-working class force inside of the labor movement.

2. The Workers Party must play an important and leading role in the fight against Stalinism. It has the task of educating militant and progressive unionists in the origin and meaning of Stalinism, in order to achieve by this education and direction, a progressive struggle against these Russian agents. Such a struggle, however, would not be confined to Stalinism alone, but by its very nature would involve a struggle against any and all forms of imperialism and reaction.

3. As Stalinist agents inside the working class movement, the Communist Parties of all countries, in the United States as elsewhere, pursue a changing line of policy to conform with the world interests of the Russian ruling class. Class collaboration, followed by an exploitation of the militant moods of the masses, are not contradictory policies in the Stalinist political system, but merely express the developing and changing foreign policy and interests of the Kremlin. These sweeping changes in policy serve to confuse militant and progressive workers in general. But they also confuse hundreds and thousands of Stalinist rank-and-file members and followers, who believe that their organizations are truly revolutionary, socialist, militant bodies, executing clever maneuvers in the higher interests of socialism. The Workers Party must patiently but persistently explain the nature of the anti-

socialist politics of Stalinism which employs a pseudo-socialist propaganda as a means of exploiting the novel and honorable sentiments of the masses in all countries. Labor cannot and must not become the appendage of American imperialism in its rivalry with Russia. The struggle against Stalinism cannot be left to the bourgeoisie, for their fight against Stalinism is a struggle against the working class itself.

4. In opposing the present "anti-red" drive of the bourgeoisie, the Workers Party will at the same time be carrying on the fight against U. S. imperialism for the independence of the working class movement. But in opposing the plans of the bourgeoisie, the party must at the same time develop its independent campaign inside the labor movement against the Stalinists and Stalinism.

5. In urging all militants and progressives to join hands in order to defeat and destroy Stalinism as a reactionary political current in the labor movement which exploits the best sentiments of the working class, the Workers Party declares that this is not the same thing as driving the Stalinists out of the labor movement. Stalinism cannot be defeated by purely organizational measures. Stalinism can only be defeated politically by the superior politics and policies of its opponents. Our aim must be to destroy the leadership of Stalinism and the policies of Stalinism in every union in which they exercise such leadership.

The Workers Party will join hands with all progressive and militant groups, even conservative labor groups, to help bring about the defeat of this dangerous cancer in the labor movement. There is no other way to achieve the defeat of Stalin's agents in America.

6. However, we must warn all unionists against the dangers of Stalinophobia which can result in the pursuit and practice of reactionary anti-working class policies in a fight against Stalinism. It will be necessary in the struggle against the Kremlin's representatives to distinguish between its leaders, who are its real agents and the many good, honest and militant rank and file workers who follow their lead in the mistaken belief that Stalinism is progressive and revolutionary. To distinguish between the Stalinist leaders and their paid hacks and the rank and file is one guarantee of winning their best elements. This will be particularly true in such trade union problems as the struggle against race discrimination in unions, racketeering officials, fascist elements and groups, and above all, in strike struggles. Under these circumstances, militants and progressives may find it necessary to make a common front and common struggle with such trade union elements. Such blocs with Stalinists are not only progressive but make it possible to defeat Stalinism itself. In all such circumstances the guiding line for all militants and progressives is the strengthening and advancing of the total interests of the working class.

Next Week:

Is There Anything to Defend in Stalin's Russia?

By ALBERT GATES

Genocide and Socialism

By IRVING HOWE

The James M. Cain Plan—Part II

By JAMES T. FARRELL

PAC Policy Leads to Victory For Republicans in Northwest

SEATTLE, Nov. 22—The resounding two-to-one defeat of Hugh DeLacey, Democratic candidate for U. S. Congress, and Tom Rabbitt, William Pennock and George Hurley for State Legislature, calls for some fresh thinking on the part of the trade union movement in this city.

The above candidates, previously holding office and dominant positions in the Democratic Party, were wiped out by the Republican landslide. These men were representatives of the Communist Party (Stalinists) who had infiltrated into the Democratic Party during the war. This was made possible by the patriotic war-mongering based on the Stalinist line of support of the imperialist war.

The Republican Party here engaged in a furious campaign of Red baiting. They called for "real Americanism," and counterposed themselves to the representatives of Stalin inside the Democratic Party. The electorate responded in that way, and deserted the Democratic Party. DeLacey, and the others, answered this red-baiting with weak reform propaganda. They suffered the difficulties of being denounced as "reds," and none of the virtues of having a real militant class program. In addition they were being constantly embarrassed by their obvious 100 per cent approval of all acts of the Soviet Government.

POLICY OF THE PAC

The PAC, basing itself on less than 10 per cent of the organized workers in the state, gave support to the Democratic Party. The AFL having almost 90 per cent of the organized workers, followed a hands-off policy.

The working class voted in the main for the Republican Party; a small section voted Democrat. Thus we have the shortsighted policy of labor voting for its enemies; we have the picture of labor handing over to its class opponents a gun and saying "go ahead, shoot me."

Why has labor followed this course? The leadership of the labor movement, men of narrow vision, guide their supporters into the blind alley of a choice between the frying pan

and the fire. They have resisted the growing demand in the ranks for the formation of labor's own political party. Therefore, faced with increasing restlessness among the rank-and file, and being somewhat uneasy themselves over the role of the 79th Congress, all that certain AFL leaders advocated was a change to the GOP.

The honeyed words of Republican candidate for U. S. Congress, Harry Cain, fell pleasantly on the ears of labor. He promised release from governmental restrictions; the end of inflation by abolition of OPA; and the restoration of collective bargaining without the intervention of the government. Labor fell for the negative criticism of the Republicans with such haste that they overlooked the omission of any positive solutions.

"Turn out the old, and welcome in the new," is an old battle cry in American politics, and the Republicans blew that horn for all they were worth.

Last the workers swung over to the Republicans because in their eyes, DeLacey and his friends were too much "for Russia." The working people of this state feel that Russia represents a sinister force. Cain's Wenatchee speech, culled from the old Dies Committee Report of two years ago, and dressed up as something of immense importance, played an important role in the outcome of the election.

The working people have once again failed to exercise their power. They failed to get their own representatives into Congress or the State Legislature. Once again they have given the reins of power to their enemies to drive through a reactionary and anti-working class program.

DILEMMA OF THE STALINISTS

The Stalinists have had their "clever" policy of fooling the leaders of the Democratic Party and the people thrown back in their face. Their holding office was based on a temporary support to the government; now they do not support it, and thus they find themselves with no mass support, and a disoriented and discouraged membership. The confusion

in their ranks is pitiful to witness. DeLacey states that the new party is still a matter of the future; the "progressives," he says, must continue to work inside of the Democratic Party. He merely repeats what Wallace has already said: together they avoid and postpone the organization of labor's own political arm.

Democratic U. S. State Senator Warren G. Magnuson, realizing that the Republican victory was due to the presence of the "Progressives" on the Democratic ticket, has taken it on himself to "get" Rabbitt, leading "left wing" candidate for state committee. What the Stalinists will do if they are catapulted out of the Democratic Party is difficult to predict. They have already closed the door to a new party, and certainly slammed it shut on a Labor Party, thus backing themselves into a hole.

Washington labor has put its trust, by and large, in the Republican Party. Will labor learn? Will the working men and women finally come to realize that they must create their own party? The answer to this question is not to be found in a crystal ball. To a large extent it depends on what the vanguard of the labor movement says and does and how loud they are able to say it.

The Committee for a Labor Party, an organization of militant trade unionists in Seattle, has its work cut out for it. It poses clearly and neatly the dilemma of the trade unionists who up until now have felt it necessary to pick between the two main parties. This committee for the formation of a new labor-based party has the answer to the political problems facing the citizens of Washington in urging labor to form its own party now.

It is movements like this to which we must look. They must be built up, strengthened where they do exist; and where they do not exist they must be formed. Only through working for a Labor Party will one be formed. Only through a Labor Party with a program of aggressive struggle for workers' needs can labor enjoy its real power and secure for itself a measure of security and protection.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Editorials

Hunger Descends on Europe

Winter, harsh and bleak, has again descended upon the ugly ruins of Germany and the principal cities of Europe. Preliminary reports have indicated this winter will not be fairly warm and mild, like that of last winter, but cold and snowy. Frosts, and even snow, have been reported from France and Germany.

But how far has Europe advanced toward preparing itself for a severe winter? Any study of conditions—and LABOR ACTION has constantly supplied its readers with first-hand accounts of European conditions—can draw only one conclusion. Europe has fallen back still further than last year, with the possible exception of France, and is more than ever unprepared to meet the food, warmth and medical problems that winter is bringing.

Now beginning to feel the long-range effects of undernourishment and a life of grubbing for daily bread, the masses of Europe are in a perfect state of physical decline to fall easy prey to sweeping epidemics and illnesses. The startling leap in tuberculosis figures (the workers' disease) among Germans is an indication of this. Reports from Germany, facing another winter without any civilian home heating beyond that obtained from wood cut in local forests, indicate that the possibilities of mass deaths and extermination are not alarmist. The same holds true for sections of Italy, above all the industrial working class Italy of the North. Austria is at the lowest point in its food levels but many other countries (Poland, Hungary, etc.) are not far behind.

It must be borne in mind that figures on rationing, particularly those about calories, are often merely government announced statistics; figures not realized in practice when the people go to redeem their ration cards against non-existent stocks. The foreign occupying powers (America, England, France and Russia) are particularly guilty of this criminal deceit. People receive less than is reported—that is, starvation rations. Europe is indeed on rations to imperialism!

What is being planned to carry Europe through the winter? Two facts indicate what is in store for Europe, if the imperialists of the UN have their way. First, UNRRA is about to end on December 31, 1946. Its shipments have fallen steadily lower and will gradually peter out. Secondly, the United States has already rejected the proposal of UNRRA's present director, La Guardia, to extend the organization in another form and advance \$400 million capital to finance pro-

jects for further feeding of Europe. American imperialism has now clearly accepted the sinister doctrine that it will make loans and food shipments only to those countries whose régimes are "friendly" (subservient, in English) to it.

It is high time for the American labor movement, both AFL and CIO, to intervene in this situation and call a halt to the systematic starvation and threatening of Europe's masses. First victims are, it goes without saying, the workers of Europe, the poor people. There must be immediate action to bring help, food and medicine in worthwhile quantities to these people.

UNRRA must not be permitted to die out at the will of the imperialists; on the contrary, its shipments must be increased and extended. Who caused all this misery and ruin? Not only Hitler and the Duce, but those same powers now seeking to ignore their responsibilities.

UNRRA shipments must be taken out of the hands of foreign and domestic politicians alike. Let the organized unions and labor movement of the affected countries bear responsibility for the distribution of these precious supplies, regardless of the politics, race, religion or color of those who need.

Let the American labor movement awaken to Europe's need and, on its own initiative and behalf, start the collection of food, money and relief for the workers of Europe. Too long a time has already been wasted; this is a job that can be undertaken immediately.

LABOR ACTION will continue its reports from Europe and will do all in its power to awaken support for this simple program of class support to the working classes of Europe.

A Correction...

In the article "Is There a New Class Structure in the U. S.?" (LABOR ACTION, November 11, 1946), a technical fault resulted in one sentence being incomplete. While this fault did not change any idea of the author's, it left the sentence unreadable. We are printing the section below with the deleted words appearing in bold face:

"Moreover, how 'totally different' can Bell's presentation be when he admits that the so-called new middle class is a 'fuzzy concept' (he would apparently include in it only the 'technical-managerial' group) or that this class, 'as well as the worker is at the mercy of the labor market,' and when he is forced to use the material ideas already promulgated by Lederer, Corey and Bingham and especially by Marx, who already in Capital (Vols. 2 and 3) and in the Theories of Surplus Value discussed the socio-economic development of the 'new' middle classes."

THE DECEMBER ISSUE OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

FEATURES:

An Analysis of the Republican Election Victory

By the Editors

A Special Feature on India

Resolutions and Articles

An Article by James T. Farrell on

"Movietone Realism"

A Critical Letter from Meyer Schapiro

on the Review of "Open City"

WORLD POLITICS

A Big Three Deal on Germany?

Reports have seeped into the press that new secret negotiations have begun between Russia and the U. S., with Britain in attendance, on the future of Germany. The military chief of the U. S. occupation forces in Germany, General Lucius Clay, has just returned to the states in order to be present at the meeting of foreign ministers in case they get around to the subject of Germany.

For another winter is approaching—a winter of cold, of hunger and despair. And Germany has never been in as disorganized an economic and disoriented a social position as at present. The authoritative foreign news magazine, World Report, writes that "The situation in Germany is now so bad that Russia, Britain and the United States are finding it necessary to submerge their differences and revive the German economy... The British and Americans, meeting in Washington to complete plans for a merger of their two zones, are running into growing criticisms over the high cost of occupation. Meanwhile, the Germans are running out of food, coal and hope."

The Russians are beginning to suffer the effects of their reckless economic policy. Having stripped their zone of Germany, they are now worried that they may have killed the goose that lays the golden eggs at a time when they need those eggs most desperately in Russia itself. Accordingly, Marshal Sokolovsky, Stalin's military commander in Germany, approached General Clay with the following proposition: Russia is willing to agree to a program of political and economic unification for Germany—which U. S. and Britain deem essential in order to move Germany along the road to economic self-sufficiency—and is also willing to agree to a boost in German steel production, provided that the other powers agree to let Russia take part of her reparations out of the increased production.

MOTIVES FOR THE RUSSIAN MOVE

The motives for this move on the part of Russia flow from the following considerations: Up to now, the Stalinist-occupied zone in Germany has been far more of an asset than a liability to the Kremlin—in contrast to the other zones in which the U. S. and Britain have sunk millions of dollars. Scores of plants and thousands of tons of machinery have been transplanted bodily to Russia. The Russian army has lived largely off the land. German labor has been put to work both in Germany and in Russia producing for the Kremlin's needs. Now the point of diminishing returns seems to have been reached. The Russians, World Report informs us, have not succeeded in maintaining production in the reassembled plants in their borders at the level which they originally had in Germany. Eastern Germany is in a state of economic chaos.

Accordingly, the Russians having looted most of what could be taken from Eastern Germany, are now ready to talk—at a price—on conditions for German unification, even though they had already agreed to it before in the Potsdam agreement. And the price they have set is quite high. It is a new request for reparations out of Germany, for an amount totalling \$10,000,000,000. While the Russians drew reparations from the

eastern zone, they have been cut off from reparations from the western zone when they refused to accede to the Anglo-American plan for governing Germany as a unit. Now Russia asks that reparations be paid her in the form of goods produced by German factories, at the rate of \$2,000,000,000 a year for five years.

In return, the Russians would agree to raising the level of steel production in Germany, the most basic productive unit in the German economy. The level of German production has been established by the Allied Control Council in Berlin. The Russians had originally proposed that German steel production should be set at about 4,000,000 ingot tons annually; the U. S. had suggested 5,800,000 tons and Britain had talked about making it 11,000,000 tons, but later put forward a suggestion of 9,000,000. A compromise was reached at 7,500,000 tons.

THE ECONOMIC DEBASEMENT OF GERMANY

But at this economic level—symbolized by the figure for steel production—Germany was unable to subsist economically. The prices which the Allied imperialist powers paid for their deliberate economic debasement of Germany was that they, the U. S. and Britain, had to foot the bill themselves for the occupation costs as well as for providing a bare near-starvation food level for the German people. The U. S. has been expending at the rate of \$20,000,000 per year for its occupation costs exclusive of the military aspects of German occupation which come to \$800,000,000. Britain has expended \$320,000,000 a year for non-military occupation costs with corresponding millions of dollars spent on military costs. The imperialist powers are tasting the fruits of their own destructive policy. And the workers of these countries are paying even more heavily; for it is with money taken in the form of taxes from their pockets that the people of Germany are being held in military occupation bondage.

The Russian plan, however, offers no easy salvation for Anglo-American imperialism. For one thing it means a continued siphoning off of German resources to Russia, even if the adoption of the plan were to result in increased economic productivity. For another thing it means the partial strengthening of German industrial power which they conducted a war to capture and control. And still another reason for reluctance in accepting the Russian plan is expressed by Reston in the New York Times of November 22 when he writes that "The fear of those who oppose the Sokolovsky scheme is that if the Russians are allowed to get reparations out of current German production, they will come to rely on that production and will never agree to get out of Germany if the production is stopped."

And thus again the sharp struggle among victors of the war for the major share of the booty continues. Victim of this struggle is the German people, already worn and tortured by years of Hitler's rule. The costs of imperialism, the destructiveness of capitalism—these are nowhere better seen than in the tragic dead-end to which Germany has been brought. The nation which, in a rational socialist society, could be used to provide industrial resources and products for all of Europe, lies bleeding and tortured from the work of first the Hitlerite and now the "democratic" and Stalinist imperialists.

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

Veterans' Attitude Toward Organized Labor

For a period following the close of the war the most conscious members of the labor movement worried about the utilization of the veteran by employers as an anti-labor force. These fears have proved groundless. The capitalist class has been unable to mobilize veterans against organized labor.

On the basis of a poll it recently conducted, Fortune, the swank business magazine, wryly concedes that veterans, "who according to some were going to make labor behave, are more friendly to unions than the general population."

Two statements were posed in the poll: (1) "Labor unions are doing a fine job," and (2) "While they do make some mistakes, on the whole labor unions are doing more good than harm." Of the general population 41.8 per cent responded affirmatively. Veterans, however, supported the statements in 49.6 per cent of the cases. A rephrasing of these statements in a negative form similarly confirmed, though not so sharply, that the veteran is more friendly to unions than is the general public.

That once out of uniform the soldier would tend to think as do other members of his class, with all the variations possible within the class itself, could have been anticipated. But given the age of the veteran, which meant, in general, that his experience in the shop or elsewhere was often limited; given the anti-labor propaganda to which he was subjected in the armed services; given his explainable envy of those who stayed at home; and given the often disadvantageous conditions under which he had to return to work—the result must be a little surprising and a little discouraging to those capitalists who counted on the returned veteran.

WHY THE VETERANS SUPPORT LABOR

What are the reasons behind the veterans' support of organized labor? Basic, of course, is a simple economic fact: employment is virtually total, thereby, under the present conditions, forestalling a social crisis in which veterans could be playing off against the working class. Further, as a result of the general extension of unionism in recent years, a higher level of union consciousness than has existed for several decades now exists. This was bound to find its reflection within the ranks of a mass army. Moreover, when young worker veterans returned they found the best champion of their rights in the union, which, generally speaking, by correct policies reduced the veteran "problem" to a minimum. Aiding in the integration of the veterans, also, were most of the new World War II veterans' organizations, which have had a friendly orientation toward labor.

And certainly, as far as the immediate economic problem centering around housing shortages, and rising prices is concerned, the veteran, knowing better than the general public the miracles of production (and destruction!) accomplished during the war, must be less prone to blame labor for present conditions. And where he is not, as may well be the case among many veterans of the middleclass, he is victimized, like other members of the middle class, by the failure of organized labor to provide a way out of the current mess other than by support of the Republicans or Democrats.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT?

The real test of the support of organized labor by the veteran will come with the unemployment which accompanies the inevitable and periodic crises of capitalism.

Big business is keeping its eye on the veteran, as the issue of state bonuses in the recent elections attest. Labor can do no less.

The fate of the veteran, whether he comes from the working class or the middle class, is intimately tied up with the working class. Similarly, the fate of the working class depends in good degree, as the growth of German fascism demonstrated, upon the ability of the working class to win the veteran to its standard.

The first step is to break out of the cage of bi-partisan capitalist politics through the creation of an independent labor party.

Brief Catechism on Capitalist Ethics

Question: What is truth? Answer: A five-year-old lie.

"There were no great battles on Bataan—except in the newspapers back home. In the communiqués and the press accounts, we repeatedly "defeated" the enemy. The size of the Japanese forces and the scale of the enemy's attacks were frequently exaggerated. To Capt. Colin P. Kelly, Jr. was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for "sinking" the Japanese battleship Haruna; but the Haruna (finally sunk at Kure more than three years after) was not even attacked. The Japanese lost only four or five small vessels in the first Philippine invasion, plus some ships damaged.

"We pictured General Homma, then Japanese commander of the forces besieging Bataan (who was recently executed for war crimes) as dying under a hara-kari knife, "disgraced by his defeats." Actually the Japanese fought a containing and siege action against Bataan, a war of attrition; they allowed time and disease and starvation to weaken our forces and then smashed through our lines in their first major attack.—Hanson W. Baldwin, "Corregidor: The Full Story," New York Times, September 22, 1946.

Books You Should Know...

KARL MARX: HIS LIFE AND WORK, by Otto Ruehle. New Home Library, 98 Cents.

Reviewed by IRVING HOWE

One of the best book buys on the market is this reprint of Otto Ruehle's biography of Karl Marx. Though there is much in it with which one disagrees, it is a most valuable study of an intellectual titan of modern times, second in its field only to Franz Mehring's magnificent biography of Marx, which is now out of print.

Perhaps it is unfair to compare Ruehle's book with Mehring's. For the latter is one of the jewels of socialist literature, a careful reading of which can provide a quite thorough Marxist education. But in the absence of a readily-available edition of Mehring's book, the interested reader can turn with profit to Ruehle, provided he maintains a certain critical attitude toward Ruehle's unfortunate tendency to indulge in amateurish psychology.

For the most part, Ruehle writes in the tradition which sees a biography of a great thinker as a history of intellectual development rather than an account of personal experience. Himself a trained Marxist, Ruehle traces in brief, succinct but encompassing sections the development of Marx from his position as a student under the influence of the liberal Young Hegelians to his position as a fully matured revolutionist and social analyst; the passionate defender of the Paris Commune and the rigidly careful analyst of capitalist society. Many intimate details of Marx's life are given but these are usually subordinated to descriptions of his ideas and writings.

MARX AS THINKER

Ruehle is clever enough to let Marx speak for himself in those instances where summary could result only in vulgarization, though the reader should be warned that he has an unfortunate habit of quoting paragraphs from different sections of a book which often do not quite hang together because of the omission of intervening material.

The full stature of Marx as thinker and intellectual pioneer again strikes the eye after rereading this book, which is by no means uncritical in its approach. One grasps the awe-inspiring extent of the genius of a man who was deeply learned in the

work of the best minds preceding him but bold enough to establish his own syntheses of ideas. But above all we are impressed by the picture of the thinker who is also at the same time the doer: there is no longer in himself—as he urged in his famous Thesis on Feuerbach—the crippling divorce between thought and action which had characterized so many great minds before him. One is further impressed by the catholicity of his intellectual interests, the breadth of his mind which is such a vivid contrast to some of the intellectual moles who were afterward to take his name in vain.

Marx was a great economist, a brilliant historian and politician; but above all else, a totally devoted revolutionist. And for that devotion he suffered throughout his life. Some of the most moving pages in this biography describe his never quite successful struggle against want, because of his dogged devotion to the work and cause to which he dedicated his life.

One cannot leave this book without saying a word about Ruehle's unfortunate psychologizing on Marx's personal traits. There is conflicting testimony on Marx's personal character. The valuable little memoir of Wilhelm Liebknecht speaks of him with veneration and love; Engels too painted a picture of him which is warm and endearing. Others, especially his opponents, wrote of him as being vain, egocentric, arrogant and extremely difficult to deal with. Ruehle leans to the latter interpretation.

He attempts to explain what he considers Marx's neuroticism by applying the method of historical materialism to individual psychology, but the application seems to this reviewer not very successful. For Ruehle engages in a rather crude transference of materialistic criteria: he traces Marx's "neuroticism" to his bad liver condition, his sense of inferiority caused by his Jewish descent, and his position as an only child. Now all of these three factors may and do play various roles in aggravating personality disturbances, but the mere assertion of their simultaneous existence is not yet proof either of the existence of the alleged symptoms or the operation of the alleged causes. Ruehle has by far oversimplified the factors in Marx's personality; he has chosen to emphasize only those which permitted him to deprecate Marx; and, worst of all, he has substituted general factors for an analysis of their specific applicability.

If, however, one ignores Ruehle's psychologizing and concentrates on his political sections, this book is a fine introduction to Marx and his thought; and in this cheap reprint it should find a wide circulation.

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A TRIUMPH FOR TROTSKYISM IN BOLIVIA

By L. VELASCO
Special to LABOR ACTION

LA PAZ, Nov. 15, 1946.—Although Bolivia is a small, semi-colonial country of 3-4,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 80 per cent are native peasants completely isolated from civilized life, the development of the Bolivian labor movement is worthy of being studied and utilized by the American working class.

After the political revolution of July 21, in which the people of La Paz destroyed the creole Nazi-fascists, hanging President Villaroel from a lamp-post, the tri-partite committee of workers, teachers and students handed the power over to the supreme court of the district, "to constitutionalize the country" and convoke the elections. This committee, led by the Stalinists of the PIR (Party of the Left Revolutionaries), was totally unable to control the new government assembly and ended up in complete impotence by handing power over to the capitalists.

In spite of the fact that the PIR defended the slogan of "national unity," in spite of having been the initiator of the Democratic Anti-Fascist Front (DAF), an alliance of the PIR with the capitalists, the Stalinists have been kicked out of the DAF. Thus forced into isolation, assuredly on the orders of the Kremlin, which is trying to build a strong fifth column in South America, the Stalinists called for the program of a UNITED FRONT OF THE LEFT through the CSTB (Bolivian Workers Federation of Labor). They invited the Marxist parties, the PSOB (Bolivian Socialist Workers Party), and the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party, section of the Fourth International), together with the university federation and the miners', builders' and railroad workers' union, to form a front around the PIR. The purpose was to enable them to launch the presidential candidacy of Jose Antonio Arze, the Stalinist leader, by proposing the vice presidency for G. Navarro (Tristan Maroff), leader of the PSOB, according to unofficial accounts. Nevertheless, the Stalinists did not break with the ruling class but used the fantasy of the left front as a shadow-boxing maneuver.

THE MINERS FIGHT BACK

Meanwhile, very important events were taking place in the Bolivian labor movement. The crisis in Bolivian mining—the lack of a market for tin—forced the mining capitalists to close some of the mines and the mine workers faced the prospect of hunger. One of the Hochschild mines, "San Jose" in Oruro, did not wish to pay the legal indemnities owing to the workers. Other mines also threatened the workers with lay-offs.

The workers responded with the threat of occupying the mines and operating them for their own use. The miners' congress meeting in Pulacayo came out in favor of the sliding scale of wages and the forty-hour work week and expressed its lack of confidence in the government assembly and especially in the "labor" minister, the Stalinist Alcoba. The delegates from the labor ministry, dominated by the Stalinists, were expelled from the miners' congress. The delegates resolved to fight for a workers' government, which alone can emancipate the working class. The congress declared the Stalinist PIR, a party of the

middle class, thus unmasking even the Stalinist union bureaucracy as an instrument of reaction and of betrayal of the working class. The miners' congress proposed the creation of a WORKERS CENTER, a new union form, directed by the union of mine workers. The congress also proclaimed as a program the nationalization of the mining industry by a workers' government and the taking over of all the mines which do not conform to the labor legislation and which threaten the workers with lay-offs.

The action of the miners was inspired and led by the POR (Fourth International) which took advantage of the defeat of the Nazi régime and succeeded in gaining influence among the miners, heretofore dominated by the Nazi-fascist bureaucrats and bullies. By this mass action the Trotskyist movement made itself a political factor of great importance, the first Trotskyist movement in Latin America which leads the mass labor movement and openly opposes Stalinism and the capitalist class. The valiant action of the native Bolivian miners is also worthy of note as an obvious proof that Stalinism is losing the proletariat as a social base and sliding toward the skilled workers and the middle class.

The picture would be incomplete if we did not consider the dangers which lie in wait for the young Bolivian working class. The leaders of the POR propose the slogan of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, realizable only under the dictatorship of the working class, a revolution which in its development will pass over to the socialist stage.

In a pamphlet titled "Ends and Means of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution," the POR author quite reasonably submits to severe criticism the concept of the democratic revolution defended by the Stalinists, which they believe can be realized in alliance with the bourgeoisie through the medium of the "National Union." Citing the "Two Tactics" of Lenin, the author argues quite correctly that the middle class is incapable of accomplishing the democratic revolution in Bolivia against the feudo-capitalists and that the feudo-capitalists, allied with feudalism and imperialism, do not want to undertake this revolution. Only a workers' government, the dictatorship of the proletariat, can realize this revolution. The author, however, makes the error of considering the situation in Czarist Russia before the revolution as parallel, or almost identical to, the actual situation in Bolivia, a very great error, because Russia was an independent feudal empire with capitalism sufficiently developed, and a country of enormous expanse and enormous resources of its own. Bolivia is a poor, small, semi-colonial country, without capitalist industry and politically and economically dependent on imperialism.

ROLE OF TROTSKYISTS

In analyzing the situation in Bolivia and the working class movement, the other revolutionary party, the PSOB, came to the conclusion that only the socialist revolution can realize the delayed tasks of the bourgeois revolution, the nationalization of the land, the emancipation of the Indian and the conquest of real national independence, economic as well as political. Since the Bolivian feudo-capitalists are neither able nor will-

ing to develop the capitalist industries, the democratic revolution will not be realized in Bolivia by the capitalist class, and still less by the completely impotent middle class. The Stalinist slogan of the democratic revolution as the next step, realizable by them in alliance with the progressive bourgeoisie is a political fiction. Only the socialist revolution, synchronized with the proletariat and South and North America, can end feudalism and introduce socialism in Bolivia.

Therefore, we see that the PSOB differs fundamentally from the POR in its estimation of the revolutionary perspectives. While the POR believes in the possibility of the democratic revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, almost without taking into account the international situation, the PSOB considers only the possibility of a directly socialist revolution, realizable only with the aid of the American working class, or at least the South American. The concept of the POR appears to us to be circumscribed by the theory of the possibility of socialism in a single country. It therefore runs the danger of falling into a political adventurism, isolated from international working class action. Thence derives the slogan of occupying and taking over in the mines by the workers inside the system of capitalism. Even the militants of the POR are not clear on this problem: some confine themselves to the taking over of the inactive or sabotaging mines, others are for nationalization of the mines under a workers' government. Thence stems the danger of isolating the mining proletariat from the rest of the working class and exposing itself to a bloody defeat, thus fomenting Bonapartist and reactionary tendencies. The Bolivian proletariat is therefore not confronted only with the weak Bolivian bourgeoisie, but with powerful imperialism, which has its interests in mining and which dominates Bolivia economically and politically.

The revolutionary movement of the miners ought to begin by grouping around itself the entire working class, the native peasants, the middle classes and the artisans of the city, under the program of a working class united front, which would out-manuever the Stalinists and later bring about a workers' and peasants' front. By eliminating creole Stalinism, the labor movement advances further toward final victory over the capitalists than by venturing a miners' rebellion, isolated from the rest of the working class and peasant masses.

The immediate task is to cut off the Stalinist initiative of the left front by transforming it into a workers' front, destroying Stalinism and isolating it from the working class. The nucleus of the workers front must be collaboration between the POR and PSOB, together with the miners, in order to attract the left-wing students, the building workers and the railroad workers, eliminating the Stalinists from the unions.

The workers' front is a force capable not only of keeping in line the attacks of Nazi-fascist, feudo-capitalist and Stalinist reaction, but of maintaining political democracy and the social conquests of the workers, extending them and rousing the native peasantry to reach the final victory together with the American proletariat.

(Translated by Mary Bell)

Labor Party --

(Continued from page 3)

dissolution of the PAC. If anything, the contrary is indicated, namely, a strengthening of the PAC, a greater consolidation and expansion of its activity, and a greater pressure exerted upon it by the more advanced workers in favor of separating it from the Democratic Party, as well, of course, as from the Republican, in favor of abandoning reliance upon either of these capitalist parties.

However, the fear of an independent class party on the part of the labor bureaucracy will lead them to attempt to channelize the pressure of the workers for a break with capitalist politics into some form of a middle class third party. In this effort they will receive powerful support from the Stalinists and their liberal allies. This requires that we everywhere pose the need of a party based on labor as the alternative to third partyism. "However, it is necessary that our party examine each new political alignment of labor by going beneath surface appearances and seeking the class essence of the movement. Above all it would be wrong to condemn out of hand any new political movement merely because it denies that it is a Labor Party or proclaims itself a 'third party or people's party.' While fighting

against the Wallaces and La Guardias who play a role in the labor political movement, even as figureheads, the party must not be misled into sectarian errors merely because of their presence. A party that bases itself on 15 million organized workers, represented by their trade unions, and is controlled by the labor movement and expresses its demands, must be judged on the basis of its class content." (From the resolution on the United States, adopted by the Workers Party at its fourth annual convention, June, 1946.)

The Workers Party, in all its propaganda and agitation, must, therefore, lay even greater emphasis in the coming period upon its slogan of "Transform the PAC into a Labor Party." Thereby it will emphasize the possibility and need of converting the political arm of the more advanced section of the labor movement (CIO) into the independent political party of the labor movement, of taking the political movement that is already based upon the trade unions and converting it into an independent party based upon the trade unions, as distinguished from a middle class third party which is not based upon the workers' organizations and not subject to their control.

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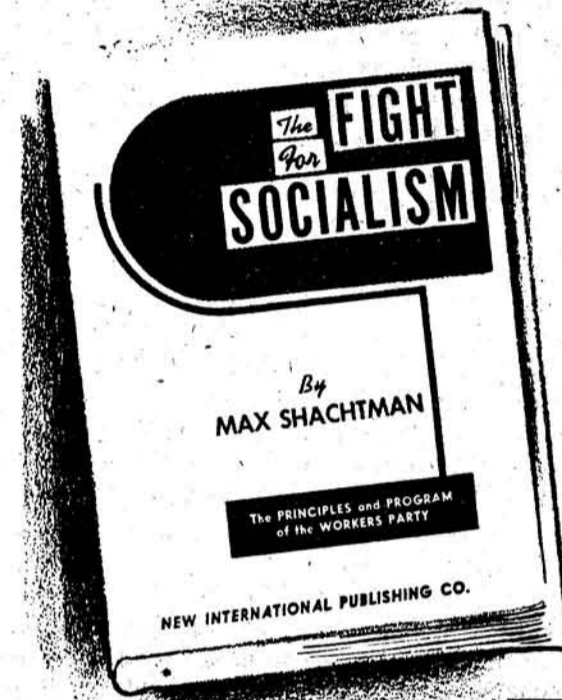
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How Youth Is Debased Under Russian Totalitarianism:

Stalin's Education: From Classroom to Barracks

By JULIUS FALK

Every socialist knows that in a real socialist country the greatest effort would be made to guarantee the education of its youth. Education would, of course, be free with the greatest latitude allowed the individual student in choosing his curriculum and developing his ideas. The individual student in a socialist land will be an economically secure individual, which will relieve him from worry about immediate needs and will give him more time to study.

For women, education under socialism will have an added significance; to place them on an equal social and intellectual level with men. What socialism means for the student then is summed up in a few phrases: education for an increasing proportion of the population, experimentation and freedom of thought as opposed to regimentation, an economically independent student and an extensive co-educational school system.

That Russia is already a socialist state, has for a long time been the claim of the Kremlin. That this claim is a monstrous lie has for a long time been the claim of revolutionary socialists.

THE RUSSIAN ATTITUDE

Nor is it mere speculation that the Russian government has failed to provide proper education for its youth. The facts are there for anyone to read directly from Russian sources. Russian laws and statements related to education are, from the socialist point of view, self-condemning; by their own words and deeds the Kremlin leaders point to themselves as a class which prohibits a widespread, not to speak of socialist, education of its youth.

Let us examine these points to see how education today is more the antithesis than an example of a socialist society.

1) Education for an ever increasing proportion of the population: In all of Russia with its nearly 200 million, there are only 550 thousand high school students. After ten years of supposed "socialism" in Russia there is this pitifully small number of high school students! This is a fact, not invented by the author, but found in an article by Sergei Kaftanov, the Minister of Higher Education in the USSR. In this article, published in the October 1946 issue of a bulletin put out by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, Kaftanov writes: "A student body of 550 thousand attended 806 institutions of higher learning in the Soviet Union in the academic year 1945-46."

And what about future plans for Russian youth. Kaftanov informs us: "During the next five-year period the number of students in the higher schools is to be increased to 674 thousand." What sort of socialism is it where, with millions of youth deprived of a high school education, only an additional 124 thou-

sand can hope to be admitted during the next five years?

NO INTELLECTUAL ROOM

2. Experimentation versus regimentation—The position of Russian youth today in the schools is analogous to the social status of the Russian worker. Just as the Russian workers are held in a tight exploitive grip of the state, so are the students deprived of any intellectual elbow room by the school authorities. There is no real learning in Russian schools, for that requires investigation, debate and exchange of opinions between the students and with their instructors. In Russian schools, however, that is strictly taboo. The very fact that there is not one student-teacher organization in Russia that has not been initiated or wholly approved by the Russian state is indicative of the lack of freedom and thinking in the schools. In an article from Pravda, August 2, 1943: "Practical experience of the best teachers long ago refuted all the talk that compulsion or punishment was harmful." Sounds as if Pravda were quoting a Nazi expert on education! The essence of Stalinist school methods can be seen in a series of twenty regulations first printed in "Vechel'skaya Gazeta"—official publication of the Department of Education of

the S. U. (reprinted in the January, 1944 issue of *American Teacher*). Just a few of the 20 rules:

Rule 3—"Obey unquestioningly the order of the school and the teacher."

Rule 9—"Arise and stand at attention upon the entrance either of the teacher or the director of the school and on their exit from the class."

Rule 12—"Be respectful to the principal and the teacher. In meeting the principal and the teacher away from the school, greet them with a polite bow, boys removing their hats."

"Compulsion," "Punishment," and bowing before the teacher in the manner of a serf before a lord, these are the self-proclaimed earmarks of education in Russia. This despotic educational policy is not accidental. It is a necessity for the bureaucratic class in Russia to keep its youth intellectually sterile and to train them to take orders. A progressive educational method might produce a generation that doesn't remove its hat to a director and might question, doubt and act accordingly.

MILITARIZATION OF EDUCATION

Militarism is playing an ever greater role in Russian "education." Not only is more emphasis placed on

military drill during school hours, but male students are required—not asked—to spend many hours in the Russian equivalent of the ROTC. Also, a number of military schools have been opened almost exclusively for the children of the wealthier classes in Russia. At these academies youngsters from the ages of 8 are dressed in uniforms and taught all the aspects of modern warfare in a manner strangely reminiscent of Mussolini's corps of 8 year old soldiers.

3. Economic status of the student—By and large the bulk of high school and university students do not suffer from want, for the simple reason that Russian schools above the 7th grade are open only to those who can afford it. In Russia one must be able to afford a "socialist" education. In two Russian decrees (Oct. 3rd and 12th, 1940) free education above the seventh grade was abolished. Students in secondary schools must pay 200 rubles annually in urban centers, and 150 rubles in rural districts. College students must pay 400 rubles in the city and 300 in rural areas. The tuition in music and art schools was set at 500 rubles.

Almost immediately after the decrees were passed 600,000 of the poorer students were forced out of

the schools and universities. Because of the small income of the average family in Russia they cannot secure anything more than the most elementary education for their children. The managers and officials, however, who receive many times the income of the Russian worker find no difficulty in sending sons to a smart Suvorov Military Academy or their daughters to an exclusive ballet school. The ruling class is worried about the low level of production and shortage of labor power. One way of forcing Russian youth into the mines, factories and fields is to make schooling financially prohibitive. There is another more direct means of forcing youth into industry—the labor draft. From July to mid-August of this year hundreds of thousands of 14-year-old boys and girls were forced into the grey uniform of the labor reserve. The plan is to give most of these children a two-year course in a factory trade or railroad after which they will start work in their trade. (N. Y. Times, Nov. 13, 1946.)

4. Co-education in Russia—Russian women today are assuming more and more the social status of women in bourgeois countries. No longer are women being educated to think for themselves, and actually to be, the intellectual and social equals of men. Instead, they are being taught that their role in society is to work and bear children for the state. The latest abortion and divorce laws bear this out. But there is no evidence so striking as the end of co-education in the Russian schools. Extensive co-education has always been an inherent part of progressive educational methods. However, in Russia a decree was issued in August 1943 abolishing co-education. ("Vechel'skaya Gazeta" Aug. 1943.) All children from the ages of 7 up are to be separated according to sex, and a special curriculum arranged for girls along the lines of domestic virtues. In explaining the significance of this new policy a school director in an official report wrote:

"A girl as a future mother must know how to care for children and how to educate them. Whatever is said about the various duties of men and women in the education of children, mother is always mother..."

The degeneration of education is not an isolated phenomenon. Rather, it is an integral part of the pattern of life in contemporary Russia. The needs of the bureaucracy conflicts with the needs of its youth. The former requires a large military and labor force and a constantly increasing population which is well schooled in acquiescence; a thinking, educated section of people is a threat to any despotic rule.

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THIEVES IN THE NIGHT, by Arthur Koestler. Macmillan, \$2.75.
Reviewed by ABE VICTOR

Arthur Koestler's recently published story about Palestine is not a good novel. Most of the characters never become quite real; they are incompletely and inadequately developed. The novel deals with a series of very heroic and very tragic events, but somehow the mood of a great and tragic problem is not created. Yet it has all the elements necessary to make it popular on the American market: a battle in the Palestinian hills, sex and some emotional conflict, and some overpopulated allusions to psychoneurotic problems. And, in addition, it is as fresh as tomorrow's headlines; it deals with the struggle against the anti-immigration blockade of Palestine enforced by British imperialism.

If *Thieves in the Night* made no pretensions to being a novel, if it were written as a series of articles, descriptions of the Hebrew communes, of the terrorist movement and its organization, the characters would be incidental to accurate and colorful reporting, and the entire writing could be classed as vivid journalism. Without being able to vouch for the correctness of Koestler's descriptions, one can appreciate the color and the life which he brings to the Palestinian scene.

Thieves in the Night is a tale about the settlers of a Hebrew commune in Palestine, a collection of young and courageous *chalutzim* of many shadings of left-wing Zionist opinion who take a hill and a few acres in a rather simple military operation, fight off Arab opposition, and finally build their commune into a large and prosperous Zionist settlement. The original twelve settlers, of course, dominate the leadership and the life of the commune. And to the characters of several of these Koestler tries to give some life as individuals and personalities: Joseph, the half-Jew who desires to help solve the problem of the Jews by becoming a supporter of the terrorist movement; Dina, the refugee from German-controlled Europe who was so maltreated in a Nazi prison that she cannot tolerate the touch of a man's finger to her skin; Bauman, military leader of the original detachment who wears riding breeches and a black leather jacket, relics from the street fighting in Vienna in 1934 when as a member of the Schutzbund he took part in the war with Dolfus's troops.

OVER-SIMPLIFICATION AS A SYSTEM

To Koestler, characters are primarily representatives of oversimplified and often vulgar political and social ideas. Joseph is the essence of Jewish self-hatred (which one of the characters refers to as "the Jewish form of patriotism"). Koestler describes Bauman as the characteristic Schutzbund fighter; yet he becomes converted to the philosophy of individual terrorism without any visible mental or emotional struggle.

Not only the characters, but the social conflicts are all reduced to overly-simple ideas in Koestler's novel. The struggle between the Arabs and the nationalistic Jews is to Joseph like the evolution of the reptile from the fish in the world's natural history. "Once upon a time the most perfect product of creation were the fish. . . . Then came the time when some force drove some fish to creep ashore and they became amphibious. Those who did had a terrible time of it. Instead of drifting with streamlined grace through the water, they had to waddle and wobble on land." Eventually, however, the poor struggling creatures on land developed lungs and learned to use them thus becoming a more highly developed species of animal.

"The Arabs are the fish. They are happy, they

have tradition and beauty and self-sufficiency and lead a timeless, carefree existence." The Jews are the overly-ambitious fish who have crept ashore and become amphibious. They are having a terrible struggle. They are ungraceful. They have to waddle and wobble on land till they perfect the new form of propulsion. But eventually they will develop the higher civilization.

The Arabs are backward, you see. And the Jews are bringing civilization to Palestine.

The flaws in this vulgarized version of natural history is that the Arab peasants are not reported by most observers to be living the happy, beautiful, self-sufficient, timeless and care-free existence which this parable ascribes to them any more than the plantation Negro in the southern part of the United States was living the happy, beautiful, timeless, care-free existence which the literary hacks ascribed to him under the plantation system.

THE GENERALIZATIONS AND SHALLOWNESS

Koestler's writings are replete with these generalized social ideas, which when analyzed often turn out to be oversimplified and quite wrong. The leftwingers are knights in rusty armor. . . . The war against Germany, 1939 to 1945, was a war against a total lie in the name of a half-truth. . . . the political leaders of today's world range in gradations between two extremes, the Yogi on one end and the Commissar on the other.

These, at once shallow and seemingly profound generalizations, Koestler puts into the capsule of what one reviewer calls the epigrammatic flash; but which would more appropriately be called the flashy epigram. And truly, Koestler's style, when dealing with political thought has the quality of something smart and flashy rather than profound and thorough. Upon first glance it seems thought-provoking. A second glance indicates that it is simply provoking.

This must, however, not be interpreted to mean that Koestler is insensitive to genuine political problems. With all his over-simplifications and vulgarities, he occasionally collides with a fundamental defect in the politics of his generation. He did so quite dramatically and effectively in *Darkness at Noon* in which he caught the essence of the frame-up psychology and its prisoners. That he has done so also with the Zionist conception of a Hebrew nation is indicated by certain lines from the diary of Joseph, the half-Jew.

The Palestinian born Jewish youth, Joseph writes, "have been brought up in one language which had been hibernating for 20 centuries before being brought artificially back to life. . . .

"There, in the language, is the main rub. The revival of Hebrew from its holy confinement to serve again as the living tongue of a nation was a fantastic achievement. But this miracle involves a heavy sacrifice. Our children are brought up in a language which has not developed since the beginning of the Christian era. It has no records, no memories, hardly any trace of what happened to mankind since the destruction of the Temple. Imagine the development of English having stopped with Beowulf—and even Beowulf is a thousand years nearer to us! Our Classics are the books of the Old Testament; our lyrics stopped with the Song of Songs; our short stories with Job. Since then—a millennial blank. . . .

There, in spite of the music and the dancing and all the creative yearning of the ardent Zionists—there indeed is the rub. A Hebrew nation from the purely cultural point of view, would create a second generation of stolid artisans and mechanics and tillers of the soil (scientific though they might be) with a most backward and cri-

pled kind of literary, philosophical and politico-economic development. Compared to the new Hebrew culture, even the backwardness of Stalinist Russia with its odors to tractors, purges of artists, and tunes which even a commissar can whistle, might seem progressive indeed.

The Zionists who come to Palestine from Europe and from America are very often intellectuals of no mean caliber. They have acquired their background from English, German, French, Russian. . . . from all the great European cultures. But how are they to transmit this to the new generation in Hebrew. With a highly advanced industrial economy providing sufficient leisure, with world socialism, in short, all things become possible. . . . yes even backward nations, in a brief historical moment, might spurt ahead in cultural development overcoming a thousand years of handicap. But under the circumstances of today's struggle with production, with collective farming, with hostile Arabs and hostile British troops, a thousand geniuses who worked themselves to death could not, by translation, inject into the Hebrew culture, the writings, the teachings and the traditions of the Shakespeares, the Hegels, the Marxes, the Prousts, the Deweys, the Carlyles and the Balzacs. Some have been translated into Hebrew; but the total is pitifully minute.

And who, in that land of Palestine so desperately in need of engineers, mechanics, agricultural scientists, military experts, would advocate that a thousand men spend their time exclusively to infuse the Hebrew language with the world's accumulation of culture?

KOESTLER'S REAL LITERARY NICHE

Koestler is aware of the logic of his own argument in this respect. His political essay on Palestine which appeared in the New York Times magazine section several months ago is the essay of an assimilationist. It is also the essay of an apologist for terrorism. Koestler, although he is a good journalist, is certainly not a responsible political thinker. The hater of "The Commissar" who within one short year dedicates a novel about Palestine to fascistic Jabotinsky is not being very clear in his politics.

It is possible, and has often happened, that a very poor student of political science is great in his stature as an artist. Unfortunately, Koestler fails to fill either niche. Why, then, is he touted and hailed far out of proportion to his significance?

The only fundamental explanation is the historical one. Not often in the past five centuries has western civilization reached the cultural impasse of the last two decades. Eighteen years of Stalinist degeneration in Russia and thirteen years of fascism on the European continent, climaxed by an imperialist war which reduced living to a bitter struggle for elementary necessities, have tended to force European art into the position of a beggar pleading for the right to exist. American literature has grown up in the bawdy house of capitalist wealth. A most obscene kind of corruption, has had its deleterious effect. The popular trend in American literature, naturalism and above all the naturalist novel, has never come up to the mark of its literary forbears in Europe.

Culture, like nature, abhors a vacuum. Even an Arthur Koestler can be sucked into the void created by this paucity of good literature. Thus have the conditions of a declining economic society and its effect on culture in general, and thereby on literature, created a situation whereby a Koestler becomes so prominent that he is proclaimed by some critics the foremost contemporary problem novelist of our time.

Behind the Allied Struggle For Control of Danube Area

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Nov. 14.—When the American forces in Europe announced on November 12 that restitution of 600 Danube River commercial vessels to various countries would be made Austria was not among those listed.

Yugoslavia is to receive 167 vessels, Czechoslovakia 42, and Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania the balance of the 600 which the Americans had seized in spring and summer of this year, ostensibly in a drive against the black market. Why the boats are returned now is not explained in the release from Berlin headquarters of the U. S. Army. Since it will take 30 days to return the boats, and since the Danube freezes over by December 15, the American "concession" will not have any real economic effect until spring. By that time the growing clamor of all Danubian countries for their boats will have had to be answered somehow.

AUSTRIAN BOATS HELD

Austria's several hundred vessels have been held in the upper Danube, in the American zone of occupation in Germany. Without commercial shipping, Austria, which depends far more than other central European countries on imports of coal and food, is near complete collapse. Why the Austrian vessels are not returned is not revealed by the U. S. Army, but the story is coming out.

An American note of July 23 to Russia declares that "restitution of commercial inland water craft on the Danube will be deferred pending the outcome of the discussions between the American military authorities and the Soviet authorities in Vienna with a view toward establishing principles of freedom of movement of vessels on the Danube under the flags which they now fly without danger of seizures." The U. S. feared that if the boats were released Russia would attempt to seize them as reparations, on the claim that they were German property.

But this is only one side of the story which is as full of perfidy, treachery and international power political blackmail on all sides as anything Machiavelli ever reported in *The Prince*.

CONTROL OF DANUBE

Austria is the pivot of the story. To understand her relation to the battle between the American and Russian giants it is necessary to look into the murky waters of the blue Danube. Having arrived on the scene first, the Russian armies seized control of the river directly or indirectly through their subordinate régimes in Hungary and Yugoslavia and the friendly government of Czechoslovakia, and commenced a system of Russian control of the hitherto international (i.e., German-dominated) waterway in her drive

to increase Soviet economic and political penetration of central and Southeastern Europe.

Since the Germans in retreat had withdrawn most of the Austrian boats to the upper Danube, when the Americans reached the river, they found Russian armies in control of the most vital transportation link in central and southeastern Europe, and desperately trying to get the ships with which to complete this transportation control. Then followed U. S. seizure of the boats.

In Austria this economic and political battle for control of European communications and transport was reflected in the Russian claim for the Austrian Danube Navigation Company as subject to seizure as reparations because it was German-owned property under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement of August 1945. The Austrian state denies that the Danube Navigation Company is German property, alleging that the Germans had forced Austrian citizens to sell their shares, under pressure, after the Anschluss of 1938. Russia counters with declarations that even before the Anschluss the property was largely owned by Italian fascists.

NATIONALIZATION ISSUE

To halt the Russian seizure of the company and of 50-75 per cent of Austrian industries which are located mainly in the Russian zone of occupation, the Austrian state moved to nationalize most of the big industries in June of this year, the law becoming "effective" on September 17.

Among 71 plants listed for nationalization, including the Danube Navigation Company, 90 per cent had already been seized by Russian armies as reparations. Of the remaining 10 per cent only a few had any U. S., British or French capital investments. Austria said it would pay compensation for any "United Nations property" and would not even nationalize such property until foreign capitalist owners had presented their own evaluation of their property and received compensation. By promising compensation, Austria hopes to get U. S. and British capital credits and loans. Russian-seized property was excluded from this category. The Communist Party of Austria voted for the nationalization law.

On August 1, the Russian paper *Izvestia* denounced the nationalizations as "illegal," calling them a "hostile act against the Allies." General Kourassov, commander-in-chief of the Red army in Austria, declared that the nationalization law violates Article 5 of the provisions of the Allied Control Council for Austria which says that German properties are subject to seizure as reparations. Just as promptly, the U. S. and Britain, in a veritable comedy of

errors, approved the nationalization law, said it did not violate any Control Council provisions, and turned back to Austria the Herman Goering, works and other plants they had controlled, claiming that not even these were subject to reparations seizure.

Austria thus offers the unusual spectacle of a country in which the Russians oppose nationalization, whereas the American and British are for it.

BATTLE OF THEEVES

In the very center of these disputes over what is German property, what is Austrian property and, levity aside, what is property, is the Danube Navigation Company. Since the dispute is unresolved and the Americans and British consider that if the boats are freed the Russians will seize them as reparations, Austrian ships are not returned. Thus tiny Austria starves, her economy cut to 40-50 per cent below 1938 production levels is falling apart, and all the Big Four powers force her to pay their occupation expenses reaching more than \$75,000,000 already, while the dispute rages.

In Austria British and American capital investors and their governments are no more in favor of nationalization than the Russians. They are content to employ Austrian opposition to Russian seizures, even if this means supporting Austrian rights to nationalize property, with compensation. In this entire struggle the Russians have been outsmarted and made to look like thieves by some of the world's sharpest imperialist businessmen who are old hands at being "silent partners" and not outright expropriators of another country's industries.

(Note: This article is based on material in the forthcoming book, "Nationalization in Europe, 1946-1947.")

The Three Graces

At the end of the first act, the audience saw the official party in the box. The packed house rose to its feet and began to applaud and cheer. The Ministers stood and waved a greeting. There were repeated bursts of applause, and at one point Mr. Byrnes clasped Mr. Molotov's and Mr. Bevin's hands and held them aloft.

"They look as amiable," whispered a lady, "as the three graces." From the N. Y. Times Report of Opera's First Night.

By an inadvertence, the picture of George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, was used in place of Marantonio in the article which dealt with the latter's role in politics in New York City. We apologize for this inadvertence.

James T. Farrell on the "Cain Plan" for Writers

On November 11, 1946, LABOR ACTION featured an article by Albert Gates which dealt with the James M. Cain plan for the establishment of an American Authors Authority. The plan, envisaging the control of authors' copyrights by destroying the power of book publishers, Hollywood and the radio chains, was subjected to criticism because of its totalitarian, bureaucratic and Stalinist character. Once the plan was made public, followed by a campaign to force its acceptance by all the Author's organizations, a struggle broke out among these bodies and their individual adherents. One of the most active opponents of the plan is James T. Farrell, noted novelist, literary critic, and socialist. Farrell's letter to Elmer Rice, who subsequently also came to oppose the Cain plan, is printed because of its intrinsic importance in the fight against Stalinist totalitarianism which is the most powerful force at work in favor of the Cain plan. It subjects the Cain plan to devastating analysis and criticism.

Oct. 3, 1946, N. Y. City.

Mr. Elmer Rice, President
The Authors League of America
Authors Guild
6 East 33rd Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Rice:

Inasmuch as a committee is now presumably studying the James M. Cain proposal for the creation of an A. A. A., I take the liberty of addressing a second letter to you. I have again read the Cain proposal, and the arguments favoring it in *The Screen Writer* for July, and I have tested my views by discussing them with a number of persons, with writers and non-writers. I wish again most urgently to propose that this plan be rejected both in its original form, and in any modified version of it which may be suggested.

I have learned that many confusions concerning this plan exist in the public mind. A considerable number of persons have been fooled into thinking that the issue involved in this proposal is one in which the forces of progress are lined up against the forces of reaction. The plan is considered to be a liberal plan advanced by pro-Roosevelt writers, and opposed by anti-Roosevelt writers. The most gross version of this false view is to be found in the pages of *The Daily Worker* and *New Masses*. In these organs, all opponents of the plan are lumped together as, in effect, fascists, members of a fascist literary front. Also, the impression has been created that I am a member of the American Writers Association, both in the pages of these organs and elsewhere. Thus, for purposes of information, I stress the fact that my opposition to this plan is independent, and that I am a member of The Authors League in good standing.

After I sent my letter of September 14th to you, you sent me a telegram in reply in which you assured me that the Council of the Authors League would never permit the passage of any measure "that would prejudice" the freedom of writers. However, I cannot accept your assurance. For in the same telegram, you also stated to me: "The unfortunate injection of political and fractional issues into the discussion has merely played into the hands

of the powerful groups who would like nothing better than to see dissension within the ranks of the Authors League."

"FRACTIONALISM": FALSE ISSUE

Your statement here is, in itself, political; from it, one could only imply that I am one of those who have been "guilty" of what you would call "fractionalism." Your statement further makes it clear that you see some of the issues involved as one demanding unity among authors. This is false. The question of dissension is not at all significant in this matter. And the fact that you made such a statement has left me with anything but assurance concerning what will happen in the study which the committee is now presumably making.

I have learned that many persons have been fooled and misled into seeing the Cain proposal falsely as one which concerns liberal and reactionary politics. The reason for this, of course, does not lie with you, nor with the Authors League. However, the statement of yours which I have quoted causes me to fear that you, also, may have allowed yourself to be fooled. I hope that my suspicion is unwarranted. But then, it is based on your own words.

In my letter, I have charged that this proposal is bureaucratic. Others have made a similar charge. I have learned that some members of the public dismiss this charge, and that they argue that the word "bureaucratic" is one used by reactionary newspapers in their attacks on the New Deal and so on. It is unfortunate that such shoddy views should be current among literate people. I do hope that no members of the committee also sponsor such a view. I, personally, am highly fearful that this plan would permit the literary Stalinists to gain powerful influence over American writers. The attacks of the Stalinist press on all opposition to this plan only strengthens my fear. However, I think that on its own merits, the plan is most dangerous, and the essence of this danger lies in the fact that it is a bureaucratic one.

PLAN HAS BUREAUCRATIC TRAITS

The distinctive trait of a mind bureaucratically disposed is that of a lack of faith in ideas. In line with this lack of faith in ideas, there is a lack of confidence in democratic action. In my letter to you of September 14, I pointed out to you that the Cain proposal was based on the premise that authors are suckers. In the course of re-studying and reconsidering this document, I even found it more shocking than I had originally thought. James M. Cain spoke vaguely and generally of the rights of authors, but he was not at all clear as to what these rights are. Only in passing, did he speak of the right of free speech, and, in general, it is impossible to know what he really means by rights. The word is used most ambiguously in his document. But the document appeals to writers to accept an AAA on the ground that their rights will be defended, and that they will make a lot of money. This defense of their rights will be carried on by "tough mugs." And the proposal also tells us that these "tough mugs" will use all means in defending the rights of authors.

This strongly suggests that the plan was drawn up without any complete conviction in the justice of the authors' case, without any conviction in the capacity of writers to learn and to defend themselves. Cain's faith lies solely in organization, qua organization, and in the herd-boiled competence and aggressive spirit of these "tough mugs" who will use all means to obtain Cain's end. This proves

most clearly that the plan comes from bureaucratically minded persons.

Also, please let me stress for the benefit of the committee, that the plan itself is bureaucratic. It proposes that each section of the Authors League will appoint one member of the board. These four appointed members will then appoint a chairman of the board, who, in turn, will be the fifth board member. He will have the power to appoint a number of persons, representatives, lawyers and others. Also, the plan provides that a tax be imposed on all licensings of copyrights, and that this tax serve as the means of supporting the board.

In this way, Cain said that a "million dollar kitty" will be raised, and that this can be used by the board in advancing and defending the interests of authors. This board will be appointed. Its head will in turn be appointed by the four appointed board members. They will receive very good salaries, and presumably, they will get traveling expenses, etc. And they will have at their disposal, if the plan works out successfully, a sum of something like a million dollars. And they are instructed in the plan to use all means to advance the interests of authors. This is shocking. And it shows that one can state that in two ways the plan is bureaucratic. The arguments in its defense are bureaucratically minded arguments: structurally, the plan is bureaucratic. It ought to be clear that this plan will be best for those who want to become literary pie card artists.

CONTROL OF COPYRIGHTS

It is also pertinent to speak once again of the proposal that the board be put in control of all copyrights. This plan envisages only the copyrights of un hired writers. Copyrights belonging to business organizations which hire writers will not be placed under the control of this board. Thus, the plan would permit large organizations to hire writers, and to have them work for salary or wages, and thereby, they could escape the necessity of having to deal with the board. And we can be sure that if this plan is adopted, such a practice will become more widespread than it is now. Between the board and employment for large cultural enterprises, the independent writer will have no place to go. In my previous letter, I stated that this plan does not promise to help the poorer and more independent writers. And this possibility strongly suggests the validity of my argument. I might state that the fact that this provision was put into the plan shows how carelessly worked out it is.

One of Mr. Cain's proposals—the one which plans to have the board legally defend the author—seems to impress him very much. And yet, it is also dangerous. In any legal proceedings involving copyrights, the board as the owner of these copyrights will come into court as a defendant. Mr. Cain thinks that this would be better than the present practice whereby the Authors League comes into court in an amicus curiae. I strongly doubt that Cain's claim here is legally sound. However, there is a more important point to be mentioned in this context. This plan would deprive the author of any say in his own defense. He would have no choice concerning his own lawyers, and he would be likely to have no voice in the defense of his own case. And let us not forget that this is a board which is, also, to be instructed to use all means to defend the rights of authors, and that it is to be intentionally composed of "tough mugs."

I know that I personally would consider it most onerous if I had to leave any legal offense of my rights in the hands of such a board, without any choice in the selection of lawyers, and without any real voice in the way that I was to be defended. This provision is particularly ominous for radical writers who maintain any independence of position.

ABETTING OF STALINIST INFLUENCE

It is a public fact that there are strong Stalinist influences in the Authors League. The Stalinists are now sufficiently powerful so as to have an important voice in the appointment of the board members. And these board members will have complete power of decision in the legal defense of all authors. Any writer who has opposed Stalinism can well be alarmed at this possibility. And even if such a possibility were not real, this feature of the proposal is most alarming on its merits. For let me repeat—it deprives the writer of the power of decisions in his own defense.

Furthermore, this feature of the plan exposes the bureaucratic minds that are behind the plan. We will both agree that actually or potentially, the writer exerts a powerful influence in society. He often becomes an important voice. But what is the American public going to think of writers who are (on the one hand) important voices, and who are (on the other hand) considered so unintelligent, so incompetent, so pronounced a group of suckers that they cannot even trust themselves to select their own lawyers, and to make responsible decisions concerning their own fate.

I am surprised that many members of the public have not as yet seen the proposal in this light. We have writers who are constantly speaking on every crucial problem of the day: we have the Hollywood screen-writers who are, day in and day out, agitating so that they may be held in higher public respect because of their craft. And we have at the same time, this proposal, with this feature central in it. And it plainly tells the public that these writers who are such voices, who speak on so many issues, who should be held in such high regard—these writers are not competent to defend themselves, not competent to have a voice in their own defense.

Alongside of these allegedly important advantages which will accrue to the author if this plan is adopted, Cain offers the writer other and trivial ones. For instance, one of the functions of this board will be that of keeping records, and it will have the power and the funds with which to hire people who will keep such records. This will save the writer the trouble of keeping his own records, a not too complicated procedure. He will not have to worry lest he lose his contracts.

When I reread what Cain and the plan has to say of this advantage, I paused and wondered how it was that the newspapers failed to pick it up, and to treat it with the loud and raucous laughter which it deserves. Had this plan been carefully read by newspaper editors, they would have made the authors of America a laughing stock. And if the authors of America are as incompetent as Cain seems to think, they only deserve ridicule. Think of it. If we have five tough mugs to speak for us, Mr. Rice, we don't have to worry about losing our contracts. We have no need to concern ourselves with the business details of writing. We don't need to say yes or no on anything of consequence concerning our profession. It will all be done for us.

(To be continued next week)

With the Workers Party

AKRON
Write to Box 221 for information.

BALTIMORE
WP and SYL branches hold public forums the second Friday of each month at 21 West Preston St. The next will be on December 13 and the topic will be 'The Future of Militarism in the Nited States'. LABOR ACTION is sold on newsstand at Fayette and Calvert Streets.

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

CHICAGO
LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone—CHesapeake 5798. Office hours: 2-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesdays and Wednesday evenings.

CLEVELAND
The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. in Carnegie Hall, 1220 Huron Road.

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Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).

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

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New International on sale at Eilers Bookshop, between Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.

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

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

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

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In Berkeley: Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

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For information regarding the Workers Party Branch and LABOR ACTION, write to Workers Party, PO Box 143, U. S. Post Office, Seattle 5, Wash.

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

A Letter from Felix Morrow to the French Comrades:

Why Cannon Expelled SWP Minority Leaders

For the information of our readers, we publish below a letter sent by Felix Morrow and David Jeffries to the French Section of the Fourth International. The letter gives only a small picture of the bureaucratic atmosphere at the recent convention of the Socialist Workers Party, at which the Cannonite bureaucracy, on the flimsiest charges, expelled Morrow and Jeffries and issued a "severe warning" to other members of the Minority Group in order to rid themselves of any critical voices in the SWP. We hope to be able to publish a fuller report on the SWP convention in a coming issue, its programmatic sterility and its bureaucratic procedure, notably its high-handed treatment of the Minority Group in the discussion of political and organizational issues.

You will receive shortly a full description of the convention. For the moment, I shall give you only the most essential details.

THREE FORMAL GROUNDS FOR THE EXPULSIONS

Formally, the expulsion is on grounds of infraction of discipline. The Majority made two charges:

1. That the Minority ceased to pay what is called the "sustaining fund" to the party. It refers not to dues, convention assessments and other formal party obligations, all of which the Minority members have paid, but to another fund, which is not obligatory. From the moment it ceased to pay this fund, the Minority stated that it would again pay this fund at any time that the Political Committee made it obligatory. This was never done. The Minority ceased to pay this fund in June when the sole remaining Minority party functionary was removed from the party payroll and when the Political Committee refused to finance a national tour by a Minority spokesman during the pre-convention discussion. Deprived of any full-time party worker and refused any aid from the party funds to make possible a genuine pre-convention discussion, the Minority considered it an elementary revolutionary duty that money previously paid to the sustaining fund be used to finance the Minority's participation in the pre-convention discussion. Only this step made possible the sending by the Minority of Comrade Jeffries on a national tour and the writing, stenciling and mailing of the Minority documents. Had the Minority done otherwise, it would have been unable to continue its political work at all. It should be clear, then, that both formally and in content this charge of the Majority is groundless.

FUTURE INTERNATIONAL COURSE OF CANNONITES

The future course of the Cannonites internationally was indicated by the boast of E. R. Frank that they would burn out with a red hot iron all Morrowist tendencies in the International. He brandished the same iron in particular against the French Majority which, like Morrow, had "voted for a capitalist constitution." And this is logical: those who declare that some fifteen or more political positions of the WP are incompatible with unity in the Fourth International must go on to split the International throughout the world on these questions.

THE REAL REASONS BEHIND THE EXPULSION

But these formal charges of violation of discipline are, of course, not the real reason for our expulsion. If the party publishes the speeches of

the Majority spokesmen, you will see that they quite plainly gave an entirely different reason for our expulsion. Thus E. R. Frank, in his report on the International Question, stated that there was no further value in disputing with the "revisionists." Thus Cannon, in his report on the American Theses, branded the Minority as "low-grade Mensheviks." Thus M. Stein, in his report on U. S. Tasks, stated that there was no point in disputing over strategy and tactics with an "anti-Marxist" Minority. Over and over again throughout the so-called political discussions in the convention, the Majority speakers made plain that they did not want the Minority in the party because they considered it revisionist. In reality, therefore, the leaders of the Minority were expelled because of the Minority's political ideas. And this is logical enough for those to do who oppose unity with the WP and who have explicitly declared that those who do not consider Russia a workers' state do not belong in the Fourth International.

The Cannonites, however, do not have the courage of their political convictions. That is why one witnessed this disgusting spectacle of four days of denunciations of the Minority as revisionists and then their expulsion for a minor infraction of discipline.

Why expel two and not the rest of the Minority? Juridically all are equally guilty or not guilty of the same offenses. The Cannonite distinction between Morrow and Jeffries on the one hand and the rest of the Minority on the other is designed merely to give a semblance of judicial procedure, as hypocritical as when a judge singles out some strikers for more punishment than others who are in the dock with them.

THE REAL REASONS BEHIND THE EXPULSION

3. A third charge, limited to Jeffries, is that he made the national tour for the Minority without first securing a leave of absence from his local branch. Let us grant his oversight of this mere formality (even in the SWP he would automatically have been granted the leave of absence)—is it by any conceivable measuring stick a ground for expulsion?

THE REAL REASONS BEHIND THE EXPULSION

But these formal charges of violation of discipline are, of course, not the real reason for our expulsion. If the party publishes the speeches of

brand the expulsions as an impermissible weapon in a political struggle. They know, or they should know, that it is precisely since the May plenum, when the Minority declared its determination to remain in the party and observe discipline, that the Cannonites, no longer hoping to discourage the Minority and get it to leave as did Goldman, began to plan to expel the Minority at the convention. So long as the Minority seemed on the point of leaving the party, Morrow was kept on the party payroll; he was removed only when it became clear he would not leave. So long as the Minority appeared ready to leave, Cannon boasted that he would never expel it; he changed his tune only when the Minority showed it would stay.

CANNONISM MUST BE DEFEATED IN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Nor should the British and French parties let themselves be confused by the mountain of lies which Cannon has piled up concerning the Minority's political positions. From letters from friends in Europe, it is plain that even intelligent comrades have let themselves be taken in by the sheer repetition of Cannon's lies. The convention provided some truly extraordinary examples of this Cannonite method: Morrow had only to say that a major economic crisis was not yet due in the United States for a few years, and a parade of speakers were let loose on the platform to declaim against Morrow's faith in the permanent prosperity of American capitalism. But the temporary effectiveness of such vicious demagoguery is at the expense of the health and viability of the Fourth International. Unless Cannonism is decisively politically defeated in the International, and within a few years, the Fourth International is doomed to pass from the scene.

THE IMPRISONMENT AND DETENTION IN FORCED LABOR CAMPS OF THESE CO'S WAS A SCANDALOUS VIOLATION OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES TO BEGIN WITH. THEIR CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT IS AN OUTRAGE DEMANDING WIDE PROTEST AND ORGANIZED ACTION TO SECURE THEIR FULL RELEASE.

This letter necessarily has been concerned primarily with the expulsions. It should be understood, however, that the struggle against the expulsions is only a very subordinate

item in the struggle against Cannonism. We do not ask the parties of the International to make the same mistake as did the Minority for a long time: to concentrate the struggle around organizational questions instead of political ones. Cannon's organizational methods are a classical example of political helplessness resorting to vicious organizational means. The primary fight against Cannonism must and can only be a fight against its false political positions; only as part, and a subordinate part, of such a political struggle can a protest against the expulsions have value.

A copy of this letter is being sent to all sections.

Comradely,
FELIX MORROW.

November 23, 1946.

CHRISTMAS DRIVE TO FREE CO'S

A Christmas drive to provide amnesties for conscientious objectors has been started by the Committee for Amnesty, a group of religious, labor, intellectual and civil leaders. At the moment there are still some 1,000 conscientious objectors confined to federal prisons, and 5,000 others who have finished their prison terms have suffered a loss of civil rights. The Committee for Amnesty, which has just announced support for its campaign by several church groups, is headed by the Rev. A. J. Muste.

In an editorial in its November 4 issue, LABOR ACTION took the following position on this matter:

"The imprisonment and detention in forced labor camps of these CO's was a scandalous violation of democratic liberties to begin with. Their continued imprisonment is an outrage demanding wide protest and organized action to secure their FULL release."



The LABOR ACTION Promotional Department has a standing offer to all its friends and agents which many have already taken advantage of, but which we would like more and more to utilize. This promotional offer is as follows:

Any agent of LABOR ACTION, or friend of the paper, or branch of the Workers Party, can have as many copies of the current issue of LABOR ACTION (we don't care whether it is 5 or 1,000), for special promotional and distribution purposes at the nominal cost of only one cent per copy. All we ask is that you let us know in time (by Thursdays of each week), and that you let us know for what purpose these papers are being ordered. Any legitimate promotional purpose (covering a public meeting, distribution at union gatherings, etc.) are all right with us.

Two such large scale promotional efforts were lately carried out and are being carried out now. About 1,000 extra copies of LABOR ACTION were distributed at the convention of the SWP, and to SWP members throughout the country—the issue containing the Workers Party statement on the Unity Question. Large scale distribution of LABOR ACTION in the West Virginia soft coal mine fields have now begun and we hope to continue this throughout the strike.

We urge all friends of LABOR ACTION and branches to take advantage of this offer for one cent copies of LABOR ACTION—an offer which, we repeat, is always in order.

Subscriptions and renewals fell off considerably during the past week. We expect such slack weeks now and then, but are sure that next week's total will make up for this loss. Here's the score:

PHILADELPHIA	8
New York City	7
Akron	4
Oregon	4
Detroit	3
San Pedro	3
San Francisco	3
Seattle	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	34

Full credit to Comrade Harper of Philadelphia, who went and got things moving so that now Philadelphia is a steady leader in getting subscriptions to LABOR ACTION.

From Billy F., Detroit's story writer and singer of proletarian ballads, we get the following news: "I have just been designated as LABOR ACTION agent in Detroit. I am planning a modest program to start with. Our first problem is the sale of our bundle every week. I intend to regularize our sales at local meetings in particular. As soon as we have some indications of the stabilization of sales at 100 copies, we intend to increase the bundle. At present, one of the ideas I'm thinking about is direct sales at plant gates. I mean, wotthehell, with an eight-page paper, Detroit's only getting 100 copies a week—it stinks!"

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Suggests LA Print Additional Letters

Dear Editor:

For a long time I have been thinking, why not have two pages of LABOR ACTION reserved for People's Forum, like The Progressive, which has a wide circulation, and would increase subscribers for LABOR ACTION by leaps and bounds. Lots of writers I believe would donate for that cause if they could write along revolutionary lines. If LABOR ACTION would consider having a forum I'll be willing to donate five dollars for same—many will follow I'm sure. I have been passing LABOR ACTION out faithfully for some time and hope and know it has brought results. May these lines find one and all well and happy and continue on with the noble work for the good of the cause that they so nobly perform. Again best wished.

D. C., St. Louis.

(We think the suggestion of our reader an excellent idea. We have printed regularly a section called "Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor." In this section our readers have been free to express their views on any question they desire. There is no space limitation in this section. We again invite all of our readers to avail themselves of it.—Ed.)

Cleveland SYL Smashes Jim Crow

I wish to report to you about a most successful operation planned

and carried out by the Cleveland Socialist Youth League. About six weeks ago our group went to a public dance hall, Osters, that at one time had allowed mixed dancing. About two months ago they moved. When our group was refused tickets, we turned around and went out. Since Osters had moved they had obviously changed their policies. We then took the matter to the Better Race Relations Committee, a committee set up by the Mayor during the war. We were told that if we intended to go back there again that we could count on their support. We were also informed of a procedure to follow in case we were not admitted. We were to get the names and addresses of the bouncer and ticket girl, give them to the prosecutor, who would subpoena them for a hearing, with the SYL present too of course. In other words, it would be presented in the form of a complaint that the Civil Rights Law of Ohio had been violated. That procedure was suggested because it is sometimes successful.

Well, we went to Osters. They were prepared, too, but not as well as we were. We walked in together. I went forward and asked the ticket lady if we could buy tickets. She said nothing to me but called out for Mr. Oster, who came out after a few minutes' delay. He asked me what I wanted. I told him that we would like to buy tickets to go dancing. He said, "No one has refused to sell you any, have they?" He got acknowledgment from the girl, who in turn asked a fellow standing next to her, who had obviously been planted there. He said no she had not refused to sell us any tickets. This I admitted was all true.

Wants More Pay For Productivity

Dear Editor:

Today being Armistice Day, which is a holiday, has given me a three-day holiday. This has meant I've had a chance to catch up on some of my correspondence, listen to some music on the radio, work at my hobby, and in general do the things I like to do. How little time we have under capitalism to do these things. It is just work, work, work to make ends meet. Some of the fellows at the shop really couldn't afford it either. But

Wants More Pay For Productivity

the boss would have had to pay time and a half, and that he wouldn't do. And when I think of the fact that today in our shop we actually turn out twice as much work today as we did five years ago, due to better machinery and improved techniques. And yet our actual standard of living is lower than it was then. Twice as much we turn out and yet we get less.

Wants More Pay For Productivity

And that brings to mind some of the ideas that are presented in LABOR ACTION in regard to wages and prices. The advocating of the idea of a sliding scale of wages, while very good, doesn't really go far enough. The slogan, even if adopted, just means that we stay where we are. We should even add to that. Everyone knows that improved technology increases labor productivity and yet labor doesn't gain a thing from this increased productivity. Like in our shop, we turn out twice as much and yet our standard of living hasn't gone up at all.

Wants More Pay For Productivity

So what I'm getting at is this. The idea should be put forward that the worker in industry should get an additional wage increase to correspond to the increase of his productivity. Not only a sliding scale of wages, but on top of that a further increase every time his productivity due to machinery and improved techniques, goes up.

Wants More Pay For Productivity

It would be a good idea to print pictures of the labor-saving machines that constantly are introduced and then bring forth these ideas in connection with the new labor-saving device.

Wants More Pay For Productivity

It's high time that workers have many, many holidays, where they

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MODERN SOCIETY

Challenges LA Writer On Question

By ETHEL GOLDWATER

I agree with Susan Green that "for the bulk of womankind, complete fulfillment through motherhood and creative work is unthinkable without a basic change in society." It is possible (and necessary) to improve present conditions, nevertheless. But your party apparently shares this more moderate attitude, for that is implied in the fact that you too have some here and now demands, the \$5,000 minimum income and the building fund. How basically would they alter the situation? (This question was asked of me by Miss Green in criticism of my suggestions in my POLITICS article of May, 1946.) Under capitalism, a uniformly higher wage generally means higher prices. So that even if this demand were won, its benefits are questionable.

What then is the value of these demands? They are characteristic of your party in that they can't be won, and even if they were won, they wouldn't help much:

HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS ARE A MAJOR CONCERN

I believe it is primarily your deep-seated pessimism which renders weak and confusing much of your propaganda. No important change can be made, you argue, until a "favorable milieu" is established. At the same time, you recognize that some change must take place now as a means to establish the favorable milieu. In formulating and promulgating your program, then, you are of two minds: you hope to win, yet you don't believe you can win. There would be pleasure in success, but there is also some pleasure in your failure, since then you also "win," by being right. How can one fight wholeheartedly under the burden of such a conflict? It also affects the very nature of the demands, for these are fashioned primarily for tactical ends, and have little connection with real wishes or possibilities. (For instance, the demand for a \$5,000 income. It is so dull, so colorless! Since you are only wishing, why not some interesting detail? As a matter of fact, it is not even enough! Some women now have this sum; but they may be no closer to a good life than the factory worker.) Few women will be won to Socialism by such negativism and deviousness—no matter how "political" it may seem to be.

In my article, I tried to describe some of women's real wishes and possibilities. Miss Green's basic formulation, that "the woman question revolves around certain economic problems" is a half-truth; economic security is only one of women's needs. The "complexities of human relationships, of family life, of character development"—before which she expresses such admirable humility—will remain to bewilder us, even when "certain economic problems" are solved. It is these human relationships which are of most concern to women; and mechanical stereotyped phrasology cannot clarify these matters for them. Your party's unimaginative approach to these problems limits your influence on women and isolates you from the benefits of their interest and sympathy.

Negroes Deal Effective Blow At Meat Prices in Cleveland

CLEVELAND—Local Negroes, under the leadership of the Rev. W. H. McKinney of Antioch Baptist Church, have struck what is perhaps the most effective blow at rising meat prices in this area. Within four days prices of meat have been reduced from within two to eight cents per pound! This was done through an organized buyers' strike in which the consumers sharply reduced their consumption of meat.

The buyers' strike was organized by a group of Negro ministers. Rev. McKinney, chairman of the group, also enlisted the support of other progressive Negro organizations, including the Future Outlook League. Rev. McKinney described the situation as follows:

"The Negro section has always been the largest outlet for the lower grades of meat. The Negro people have been the least discriminating in their buying of meat. Plus these two facts the Negro people have had no organization to combat high prices and cheap quality. This situation left the door wide open for heartless retailers and ruthless wholesalers to dump their lower grades of meat upon the Negro workers at the highest prices."

Rev. McKinney cited figures which proved that Grade 1 meat sold cheaper in the markets at Shaker Square (the wealthiest section of Cleveland) than Grade 3 meat did in the Negro neighborhoods. Also the price on some canned goods showed the same differential. For instance, a can of

The Editors Comment on One Aspect

In our November 11 issue we published an article by our staff writer, Susan Green, critically analyzing an article by Mrs. Ethel Goldwater on certain aspects of the "woman's question" written for the magazine, Politics. In printing below a reply by Mrs. Goldwater, and a rebuttal by Susan Green, we wish to invite other readers to contribute to this discussion.

The editors of LABOR ACTION hope to participate in this discussion themselves, notably on the relation between the struggle for minimum demands and the complete emancipation of women which, in our opinion, is possible only under socialism. For the present, we wish to make a single comment on the argument by Mrs. Goldwater that such demands as \$5,000 minimum family income are not achievable, and that if they were they would do little to better the situation of women or men.

Nobody can guarantee the achievement of any single or series of demands under capitalism. However, the entire history of the labor movement, and of the struggle for human freedom more generally, is filled with precisely such achievements of "unattainable" goals. Demands which as recently as twenty years ago appeared to be totally unrealizable, except by a few "visionaries" like ourselves, are now commonplace. Unemployment insurance, for example. Or, who would have expected, some years ago, that the miners would get a welfare fund? We recall a small illustration out of our own immediate history. As the beginning of the war crisis, we raised the slogan of \$60 base pay for soldiers, then receiving \$21. We were criticized for raising slogans that "sound good" but are meaningless. Shortly afterwards, base pay was raised, not to \$60, but to \$50. Admitted that is not on the same level as \$5,000 minimum family income, and that many factors conspired in the result. Nevertheless, it is a fact.

Or, approached from the point of view of enlisting broader circles in our "unimaginative" ideas. Several years we were the only ones to raise the demand, Open the Books. Last winter it became the principal demand of what was then the largest union in the world. And there was certainly no action in the labor movement for years that so captured the imagination as the General Motors Strike.

We do not say the attainment of these demands will fundamentally solve these problems. No, that can only be done by eradicating the social injustice of class rule, and replacing it by a socialist society. It is a fact that prices have been eating up wage in-

creases. Yet, it is poor economics that says that is the inevitable result. We leave elaboration of that point to a more extensive article, in order to make the simpler point that the labor movement, cooperating with housewives and others, can prevent it. The General Motors strikers, for example, called for a wage increase without a price increase. The CIO is doing the same now. In addition, various things can be done to keep prices in line. But it takes DOING.

The standard of living of the great mass of people in this country today is higher than it was a hundred years ago. The rights of women, by no means yet adequate in any real, social sense, are more extensive. How was it achieved? By advocating demands that "can't be won... (and) wouldn't help much if won." The eight-hour day helped. The closed shop helped. Women's suffrage helped. Equal pay for women, achieved so far only where the labor movement is strongest, helped. Educational opportunities, first promoted by the early union organizations of the American working class, helped.

By themselves they do not solve the problem. But, as Comrade Susan says, the struggle for them advances us each time toward the achievement of our great goals. Many things that we demand will not be realized under capitalism. Obviously, they can't be—Workers' Government, by illustration, and virtually by definition.

But it is precisely because they correspond to the logic of the people's needs, men and women, that they are "imaginative." Insofar as they are achievable under capitalism, they unite the people in a struggle which will proceed from one stage to the next to the completion of our aims. Insofar as they are not achievable under capitalism, the fact becomes demonstrated in the process of the struggle, and leads to its success through posing the necessity of a basic revision of society. All these problems are resolved in the struggle between the classes, and depend on the strength of the only progressive class in society, the working class.

In failing to see this connection lies, in our opinion, the principal weakness of Mrs. Goldwater's approach to the woman's question. There is absolutely no denying that Mrs. Goldwater is a socialist, and sincerely so. It is, however, necessary to stand for more than socialism, namely, the methods of day in and day out struggle for "narrow" objectives that lead to socialism. The woman's question is an integral part of this struggle. Failing to make the link, reduces the issue to secondary matters of individual problem and personal adjustment.—The editors.

Women in the Socialist Cause

By SUSAN GREEN

I made no claim that the solution of economic problems will automatically dispose of the tumultuous dissatisfactions that seethe within us and between us as human beings, both men and women. Trotsky, for instance, stated that such sciences as psychoanalysis which deal with the human being, cannot develop fully until the economic prison bars which confine us are broken. In that sense did I mean that "For the bulk of womankind, complete fulfillment through motherhood and creative work is unthinkable without a basic change in society." With this overall view Ethel Goldwater says she agrees.

On my part, of course, I recognize the "real wishes and possibilities" of women that Mrs. Goldwater described in her article in Politics. I also agree with her, as she pointed out in that article, that unfortunately even among radicals the double standard for women still exists. Nor do I postpone to a more "favorable milieu" the self-criticism and effort at correction called for. Likewise, I do not advise non-resistance to the commercialism which, as Mrs. Goldwater's article points out, makes of women worse slaves than they need to be even under capitalism. Again, I favor every present educational

effort that would make for happier men and women.

WOMEN MUST BE BROUGHT INTO THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

These are all points that Mrs. Goldwater stresses in her Politics article. But such points can be made also by the "enlightened church" or by an ethical culture society. Of course, this does not make them wrong; merely inadequate. The Workers Party thinks of the woman problem as a social problem inextricably entangled in the social-economic roots. As such it cannot be left to individual endeavor, as do Mrs. Goldwater, Politics' editor, the "enlightened church," the ethical culture society, but must be brought out into the political struggle. This is where Mrs. Goldwater misses the mark.

It is from this approach that I asked Mrs. Goldwater "how basically would it [her contribution] alter the situation? To this she now counters that the here-and-now demands of the Workers Party for the \$5,000 minimum income, for instance, would also not basically alter the situation, since "a uniformly higher wage generally means higher prices."

There is a fundamental political axiom Mrs. Goldwater overlooks, namely, that the demands of the labor and of the socialist movements must meet such capitalist contradictions as these, or fold up. Thus the Auto Workers Union had to adopt the slogan of wage increases without any price increases as well as the demand to open the corporation books. The Workers Party endorses this most progressive step and also projects a program for price control by labor and the consumers. We aim for higher wages that are really higher.

As to such demands, however, Mrs. Goldwater says it is "characteristic" of our party to make demands that "can't be won, and even if they were won, they wouldn't help much." Of course, capitalism will not grant the workers what they need for decent living, let alone for a cultured, creative life. That does not mean that our demands for a thirty-hour week, for a guaranteed annual wage, for a \$5,000 annual income and other needs to lighten the burdens of men and women, are "fashioned primarily for tactical ends, and have little connection with real wishes or possibilities." We make these demands because we want these things and we honestly fight for them. I'm sure Mrs. Goldwater does not actually think that such demands are NOT the "real wishes" of the people. And certainly she must regard them as possibilities—that is, as improvements in life that technological advancement can

easily provide. Why does she then say that our demands "have little connection with real wishes or possibilities?"

TOWARD GOALS THAT WILL BE FUNDAMENTAL SOLUTION

That these real wishes and possibilities are not realizable under private ownership, under the profit system, under industrial autocracy, does not produce in us "deep-seated pessimism" nor "two minds" nor a disbelieving hope nor "the burden of such a conflict" nor yet do we find solace in any dubious psychological pleasures—all of which Mrs. Goldwater pins on us. The prospective of the Workers Party is straightforward and simple: to get the people to fight intelligently for, and to fight with them for, these things that they do want and that are easily possible. As they find they cannot attain, and hold such reasonable goals under capitalism, the pressure of need for these things will force them, and us with them, to struggle on a wider social, economic and political arena, namely, against the whole system that stands in the way.

In my article in LABOR ACTION I stated that Mrs. Goldwater was speaking only for a small number of middle-class intellectuals and not for the large body of working women. She now strengthens my contention. She finds the demand for a \$5,000 income "so dull, so colorless"—"why not some interesting details?" Really? Have not the seventy per cent of the population living on incomes of less than \$3,000 a year, imaginative powers strong enough to fill in the picture of a \$5,000 income? Besides one does not put the "interesting detail" in the platform of programmatic demands; there is a place for everything.

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Chicago Veteran Squatters Fall Into Jim Crow Trap

(The following report of the squatters' movement in Chicago constitutes a more accurate and first-hand report of what actually happened in this highly complex development than appeared several weeks ago in LABOR ACTION, when the full story was not yet known. What appeared offhand as a highly desirable squatters' movement on the part of homeless veterans later turned out to have strong anti-Negro overtones. Since we do not claim to be infallible and wish to correct our past report on this matter, we print below the following article.—Ed.)

When 54 veterans and their families "squatted" in the Airport Veterans' Housing Project on Chicago's Southwest Side, the action had all the appearances of being simply a move on the part of these veterans to get badly needed homes—and nothing more.

Since the veterans' action, however, facts have come to light which point pretty directly to the conclusion, that in trying to secure homes for themselves and their families, this group of veterans allowed themselves to be used by Kelly politicians and Jim Crow elements in a campaign to keep Negro veterans out of the project.

Here are some of the facts: The Chicago Housing Authority had authorized the issuance of leases for a small percentage of homes in the new project to Negro veterans. The Housing Authority's action caused a great deal of Jim Crow sentiment among the "lily white" elements in the community.

Several days before the "squatters" moved in, it is reported on reliable authority, a "strategy meeting" was held in the office of County Clerk Michael Flynn with the initiators of the squatters' movement.

Leaders of the "squatters" were assured by local Democratic politicians that if they took possession of the project homes "no action would be taken against them."

The Mayor of Chicago and the Chicago police department (which is not known for its tolerance toward direct action by the population) refused to back up the Chicago Housing Authority when the CHA asked that Chicago police evict the squatters. Chicago Democratic politicians were furious with the Housing Authority for losing for the Kelly machine the votes of the reactionary elements in the community surrounding the new veterans' project.

On being informed by the Chicago Housing Authority that it could not guarantee protection and safety for themselves and their families, most of the Negro veterans whose appli-

cations had been approved and leases authorized, did not attempt to occupy their homes in the project.

On November 16, one Negro lease-holding veteran, Theodore Turner, did attempt to move into the apartment assigned to him. A crowd of more than 100 Jim Crow demonstrators forced him to change his mind. His apartment is now reported to have been subsequently occupied by another "squatter."

The Chicago Housing Authority cannot be defended in this issue, not only because of the painfully inadequate joke which the government calls a Housing Program for Veterans,

but because of its stupid tactics in relation to this project and the squatters' movement.

The veterans who are participating in the squatters' movement at the Airport project are doing so primarily because they need and want homes desperately as do thousands of veterans and their families in Chicago, as well as elsewhere.

But in allowing themselves to become pawns in the hands of the Kelly politicians and the "lily white" reactionaries in the community, they have given a black eye to the veterans' fight for housing and a decent living.

Jersey Labor Shows Apathy To Both Capitalist Parties

By S. BERG

The middle class swing to the Republicans, and working class apathy, produced a Republican landslide in New Jersey. Unlike New York, where the existence of even castrated independent parties like the ALP and Liberals helped to keep the labor vote alive, in New Jersey the workers were confronted with a simple choice between Republicans and Democratic hacks. They responded, more intelligently than their leaders, by staying home. In Essex County (Newark and suburbs), the turnout of voters was as follows: 85,000 in Newark, 133,000 in suburbs. Yet Newark's population is slightly larger than that of suburban Essex! And even in Newark itself the Democrats carried only by 5,000 votes, and lost for the first time since 1930 the most radical ward in Newark, the Negro Third Ward.

The same pattern revealed itself throughout the state. For example, in Paterson, the strongest CIO town in the state, ten out of twelve Republican aldermen were elected, despite the fact that most of these aldermanic wards are solidly working class. Another strong CIO area, Camden County, didn't yield a plurality for Mayor Brunner of Camden, running for U. S. Senator on the Democratic ticket.

The PAC did almost nothing in the campaign. A state-wide PAC conference, supposedly to include delegates from every local, produced 45 people! Rather than face an independent campaign the State Executive Board of the CIO had the gall to endorse the out-and-out Hague man, Hansen, for Governor. The results were as was to be expected.

The minority party vote in Essex County presents a confusing picture because of the voting arrangements. The parties were reshuffled for each office. For example, for Governor, the SWP had line 3, SLP line 6, SLP line 7, CP line 8, with two other parties on lines 4 and 5. On the other hand, for Senator the SLP was on line 3, SP on line 5, and SWP on line 7. Result—the SWP polled 3,112 for Governor in Essex County, but only 230 for Senator. The SLP polled 3,498 for Senator, but only 199 for Governor. The SP, in a bad spot for both offices, polled 512 for Governor, 441 for Senator. The Stalinists got 1,149 votes for Governor, although at the very bottom of the machine.

In the 11th Congressional District the SP congressional candidate had line three, the SWP, the only other radical candidate, line 4. Result—SP, 1,193; SWP, 300. This district is one-third of the county. The oldest Negro ward, the third, remained the most radical ward in the city. Here the combined SP-CP vote for the lower offices reached 10 per cent of the total. And it was this ward that went Republican!

New York Sunday Forums Continue As Big Success

"A conspiracy of silence conceals the real facts about Germany from the American public," declared Guenther Reimann at the second Sunday evening forum of the Labor Action School on November 24. Mr. Reimann spoke on "The Fate of Germany" to an audience of over one hundred who thronged to the school to hear his absorbing speech. An expert in the field of economics, Mr. Reimann brought a wealth of interesting data to detail his lecture.

Mr. Reimann opened his lecture with the question—what is Germany today? The answer, he stated, was complicated. It isn't a nation because the four amputated sections preclude the unity necessary to constitute a nation. In the sense that India is a colony, Germany does not fill that definition either because she does not have enough natural resources to enrich the exploiting countries. With respect to social classes and composition, Germany does not fall into any ready made definition. The workers are unable to work in the war-torn factories; what is left of the native capitalist class is loath to invest capital. A new social phenomena has arisen in the form of the seven million slave laborers in foreign countries. They represent the general decay, not only of Germany, but of all of Western Europe. The most startling and tragic aspect of this situation is that it is sanctioned by the social-democracy and the organized labor movement.

Mr. Reimann concluded his talk with the statement that the answer to the fate of Germany is a question mark today. If the social decay proceeds at the rate it has been developing, the German working class will become declassed slaves and German economy will have to be redefined. If, on the other hand, a new progressive party arises to snatch the German working class out of the morass of misery and degradation into which it has fallen, then there is hope for Germany and Western Europe.

A question and discussion period, ably chaired by Ria Stone, followed the lecture.

Mr. Reimann showed that this was highly unlikely for a number of reasons. First, the expense is enormous. Moreover, an industrial plant means a large working class. That holds dynamite for the rulers of Anglo-America. This time, the German workers who have learned something in the past sixteen years, might use their power for a socialist revolution. If, reason the Western imperialists, they build up a large police force to keep the workers in line, the police and army might again be used against the U. S. and England.

Third, those in the ruling class who believe war is inevitable between Russia and U. S.-England, have written Western Europe off as a strategic base, thus making Germany unnecessary as a military bastion.

EXISTING PARTIES In this discussion of the likelihood of a new progressive party arising in Germany, Mr. Reimann dealt with the existing parties. Any illusions that Russia came as a liberator have long since disappeared, he declared. Workers join the Communist Party to keep their jobs—they see no other alternative for survival.

In the Social-Democratic Party the inexperienced leadership is confused and has many illusions. The situation is fluid and precisely what developments will take place cannot be known at this time.

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There Is Still Time to Enroll In the LA School

Though classes have already begun at the New York Workers Party's Labor Action School, registration is still open for classes to come. Also, tickets are available for next lectures in Sunday Night Forum series.

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