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LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 9, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

"NO CONTRACT -- NO WORK!" "Government by Injunction" Rouses All Labor!

Government Aim Is to Create Anti-Labor Panic

By MIKE STEVENS

The government fight against the miners is the opening shot against all labor. As the soft coal strike entered its second week, the mine owners and the government agencies prepared additional strike-breaking methods to coerce and starve the miners back into the pits. The miners have been denied unemployment compensation in almost all of the mining states and the company stores are refusing to extend credit for food. In addition, the government has granted permis-

sion to the mine owners to levy a fine of one to two dollars a day on each miner for the duration of the strike. This latest move will take from the miners most of the one-to-four-days' pay that they have coming on December 15 for the work done between November 16 and November 20. This move, with its threat of huge fines accumulating during a long strike, is expected to break the morale of the strikers.

During the past week, national, state and city officials continued their barrage of statements and proclamations. In many cities where coal stockpiles were high enough for the next four months (it is interesting that the press speaks of these stockpiles in terms of days, because it sounds like less) brown-outs have been ordered and housewives have been told to cut-down on their cooking. In many states, the coal stockpiles are so high that it was considered ridiculous to obey the dim-order of J. A. Krug, Secretary of Interior. Krug immediately announced that his orders were mandatory. He wanted everybody to feel the effects of a coal shortage.

WORKING UP A PANIC

The press and the radio have tried to work up a feeling of panic. They have printed and reprinted the words of wisdom on this situation from the lips of every educator, scientist, economist, bar-fly, two-by-four town and village politician that they could dig up. They have told their readers how the country of Denmark has gone on a dim-out and that the government of Italy is in a panic because of the mine strike in this country. Every owner of an apartment house, mansion or hut who has switched to oil for heating has been quoted and his photograph, as well as his property appeared in the press. But with all this frothing and gnashing of teeth not one of those newspaper editors or radio commentators tell why the miners are on strike, or why the government is so intent on breaking the strike.

The newspapers are correct when they say this is a "show-down strike." Their interpretation is that this is a show-down between government authority and the "one-man dictator, Lewis." But they know this is false and that this is a "show-down" strike in a different sense. Truman and the mine owners decided on the action to take on the demands of the mine workers as a springboard toward new anti-labor legislation. Truman knows that the Democrats in Congress will join their Republican colleagues to push anti-labor legislation during the coming session of Congress. Truman also knows that if the workers are expected to vote for his party in the next elections, he must convince them that an "outraged" public opinion demanded these laws, and that this "crippling" (Continued on page 2)

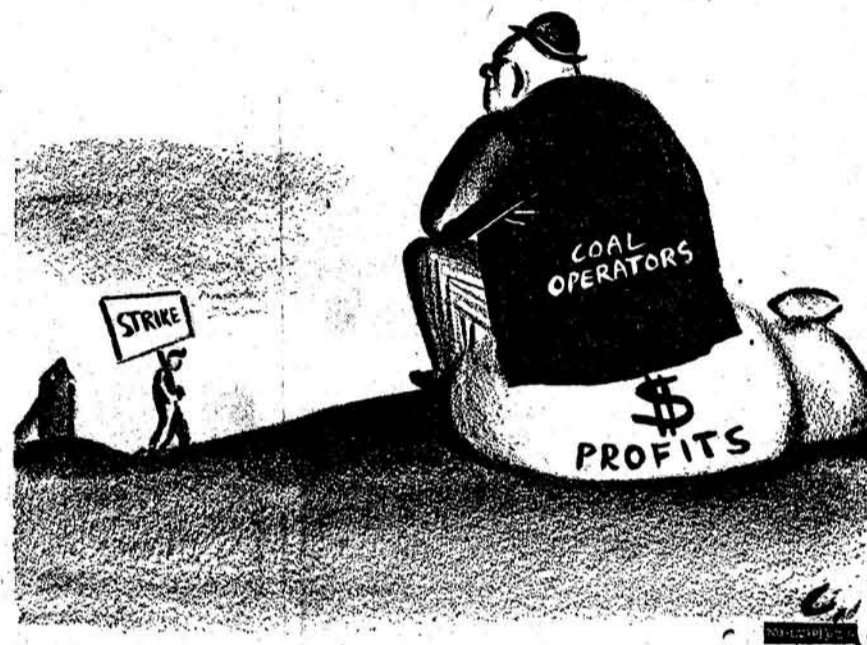
At today's meeting of Goodrich Local 5 a resolution was carried unanimously which said in part: "We declare our full support to the struggle of the Mine Workers both financially and in any organizational measures we might be called upon to take, and... we condemn the injunction action of the Truman administration and declare it to be not one bit different than any other union-busting injunction." Copies of this resolution were sent to the UMW, the National CIO, Truman, Congressman Huber of Akron (PAC endorsed) and to all CIO locals of Akron.

And the Operators Rake in Profits!

Does the cartoon alongside seem strange to you in the midst of all this talk about government ownership of the mines? It is nevertheless a fact. Throughout the period of government operation, the mine operators, without doing a blessed thing, and certainly without going down into the pits, have been coining immense profits. That is point one!

But if you haven't read very much about profits, you have been regaled with endless references to the high wages of the miners. If you've read a reference to the \$64.50 wage the miners are supposed to be earning once, you've read it a thousand times.

And it just isn't true. The wage rate that is supposed to give miners an average weekly wage of \$64.50 does not take into account the weeks and months that miners do not work because of shut-downs, half-operation of mines, accidents and so forth. There are accidents every day in every mining community. That is known. Not so well known is the fact that many mines, in this period of presumably desperate need, operate only half the week. Further, the extra-inflated prices common to every mining community squeeze



es the miner's wage especially hard. That is point two!
It is true that the miner's wage is higher than it used to be. It is equally true that conditions in mining towns are much improved over what they used to be, though hardly what they should be. The company lords no longer rule with the same iron hand. Company stores no longer bilk miners so greedily that at the end of the week the miner was left with a DEBT to the company. \$20 or thereabouts for a full

work-week is a thing of the past. Rule by company thugs, such as is recorded in every miner's memory, is increasingly a thing of the past. Yes. The union did that for the miners.
That is why the miners do not propose to yield their union and their gains so easily. That is point three!
But suppose miners did earn \$64.50 a week, which they don't. Suppose they earned much above that. What of it? They would be underpaid at

any scale!
There is the most hazardous mass occupation in the country. There aren't many mining families who haven't lost one or more of their number in accidents. If the judge who issued the injunction, and Truman, and the operators, and the staff of legal experts trying vainly to stab the miners with court action, think differently, let them go down into the mines to dig for coal.
\$64.50? A pittance for a miner's work. That is point four!

BULLETIN, Dec. 4—The entire labor movement rallied today to the support of the United Mine Workers and its president, John L. Lewis, after Justice T. Alan Goldsborough had imposed the outrageous fine of \$3,500,000 on the miners.

The financial tribute exacted by Goldsborough after a decision breathing hatred for the striking workers, aroused a storm of indignation in the mine areas, where UMW locals began sending in blank checks to help defray the fine. Though Goldsborough could set in motion the power of the capitalist state to exact tribute on workers whose sole crime was their struggle for a decent wage, neither he nor anyone else could move the miners from their determination to stand behind their two slogans: "No Contract, No Work" and "You Can't Mine Coal with Bayonets."

The issue is squarely joined: the Truman administration, the labor haters inside and outside of Congress as well as the bosses and the reactionary press, against the striking miners, supported by the united forces of all the branches of the labor movement in the United States.

DECEMBER 3—John L. Lewis, speaking for the United Mine Workers of America, today told the court that found him and the union guilty of violating an injunction order, that the UMW would not obey the court's decision and could not "acquiesce in what must be described as the ugly recrudescence of government by injunction."

Charging that the court's order deprived the miners of their constitutional rights, Lewis reiterated the position adopted at the 1919 convention of the AFL which decided to defy injunctions "and accept whatever consequences may follow."

Thus, with the court announcing that it will impose sentence tomorrow at 10 a.m., the issue of "government by injunction" was joined between the government and the labor movement.

Leaders of the AFL and the CIO have declared their support of the miners, and it is to be assumed that they will stick by their position. At stake is the welfare of the entire labor movement.

While the UMW attorneys will continue the legal battle to upset the court's decision on appeal, the decisive battle will be waged in the mine fields. Thirteen days ago 400,000 miners quit the pits under their established principle: No Contract, No Work. There is absolutely no doubt that these 400,000 miners will continue to stand fast, until the injunction is broken and the court ruling rescinded. Reports from the mine fields quote miners as saying that the government is "trying to break our union" and "we'll go back to work" when the union tells us to.

Judge Alan T. Goldsborough, who found Lewis and the UMW guilty of contempt of court for violating the court's temporary restraining order, is reported to be studying further action against the miners on the basis of the Smith-Connally Act, which has consistently been denounced as anti-labor by every section of the union movement. The government is also expected to ask for an extension of its temporary order which expires on Saturday.

Lewis spoke for the miners when he read the court a prepared statement citing labor's long fight against the injunction, culminating in 1932 (Continued on page 2)

Oakland Tied Up by General Strike

100,000 AFL Members, with CIO Support, Protest Police Protection of Strikebreakers

BULLETIN:

More than 100,000 members of 142 locals in the Oakland, Calif., area, today, December 3, went on a general strike to protest against the importation "of strike breakers and trouble makers" to drive merchandise through picket lines at two department stores under police escort. Transportation, shippers and every branch of industry was hit by the walkout. Fifteen thousand workers at an overflow meeting in Oakland Auditorium enthusiastically backed their union leaders' call for a "fight to the finish."

With CIO unions pledged to honor the AFL picket lines, the labor movement is solidly united against the city administration and the police department. James F. Galliano, attorney for the AFL clerks, announced these demands:

- (1) Return imported strike breakers to Los Angeles.
- (2) Assurance from the City Council that it will not use the police department as a tool of the employers.

OAKLAND, Dec. 2 (By Wire)—Acting in sympathy with department store clerks who struck downtown stores a month ago, all AFL unions

in Oakland and adjoining East Bay communities walked off their jobs today to protest police protection of scabs. Plans for a general strike were touched off by police action in escorting twelve truckloads of merchandise through picket lines.

N. Y. Rally on Miners

E. R. McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, will speak at a specially arranged meeting of the New York Local of the Workers Party on the Coal Miners Strike. This meeting will take place on Sunday night, December 15, at the New York Center of the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street.

Comrade McKinney has just returned from a tour of the coal mining area in Pennsylvania and West Virginia

Arranged just shortly before our press time, the meeting supersedes a Labor Action Forum scheduled for the same time, and advertised in the inside pages of this paper, at which Nathan Gould was to have spoken on Militarism in the U. S.

Today's sympathy actions gave some indication of what a general strike will do to the city. Public transportation facilities serving 1,000,000 persons will be completely tied up. Everything from restaurants and bars to newspapers and shipyards will be closed down.

Teamsters spearheaded the strike plans, angered by the action of Police Chief Robert Tracy in directing 250 police in moving pickets, belonging to AFL Department Clerks' Local 1265, from the store entrances of Kahn's Department Store and Hastings Men's Clothing Store to permit trucks to bring in merchandise from

a Berkeley warehouse. The scab trucks came from the Veterans Trucking Lines, Inc., of Los Angeles. According to the Retail Merchants Association, the truck company "is not a strikebreaking outfit but does move merchandise in case of jurisdictional or organizational disputes."

The two stores were struck a month ago when the union asked for a closed shop in negotiations with the Retail Merchants Association, which acts as a bargaining group for its member stores. The Association has refused to negotiate until the union calls off its strike.

That's the Way!

"If they can get away with things like this, it's time for us to get our own labor party and put our own ticket in the field."

—Bill Baker, member of the United Mine Workers, former president of its Republic Steel Company mine local at Russellton, Pa., as quoted in the New York Times of December 4, 1946.

\$5,000 Xmas Fund Drive for Labor Action!

With this issue, LABOR ACTION is launching a Christmas Fund Drive appeal to its readers. This drive, intended to raise the sum of \$5,000 within a month, is being held in conjunction with a drive among Workers Party branches and members for the purpose of sustaining and stabilizing the Eight-PAGE LABOR ACTION.

The Eight-PAGE LABOR ACTION is now over three months old. The response to the paper by our readers has given us heartening proof that there is a real desire to continue the paper, to see it expand and grow, to help support it. All the sacrifices, difficulties and headaches encountered by the Editorial and Business staff (not to mention our Printer!) in putting out the paper have been compensated for by this response from our readers.

Now it is Christmas time, and the New Year is approaching. We know that our readers and subscribers are not among those with wads of money, to be carelessly spent. We know that you think carefully and twice before making gifts; that, above all,

you want to know whether it is a worthwhile expenditure. Well, in our opinion, just about the most worthwhile gift you could make this year would be a contribution to this \$5,000 fund we are raising, to see that the Eight-PAGE LABOR ACTION continues on its way.

Until now, the burden of supporting LABOR ACTION has rested on the members and friends of the Workers Party, who have contributed generously of their money to keep the paper going. The paper does not make any profit; in fact, it is run at a considerable loss. We have been steadily cutting into this loss with the growth in the paper's income and sources of revenue. But this has not been sufficient to meet mounting costs and sustain the paper.

We therefore find it necessary to appeal to a wider source of support, and we feel justified in doing this from the friendly response we have already received. As a working class paper, fighting in the socialist cause, we realize that the bulk of our contributions will be scaled to a working class level. But, at this season

of the year, we believe our readers will be willing to contribute generously—TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO LABOR ACTION THEIR SPECIAL CHRISTMAS-NEW YEAR'S GIFT OF THE YEAR!

The Eight-PAGE LABOR ACTION has been making favorable progress, week in and week out. Its list of subscribers has been expanding steadily; its sales have been growing slowly but surely; its income has grown most rapidly of all. What we require now is a boost—a boost to liquidate accumulated debts, and to put the paper on a firmer financial footing; to take additional steps in its stabilization. That is the entire purpose of this Christmas appeal.

We know that you will respond generously and quickly. We urge you, therefore, to fill out the blank attached, and to send it in to the LABOR ACTION CHRISTMAS FUND DRIVE FOR \$5,000. Our fullest appreciation goes with this appeal to our
EMANUEL GARRETT—Editor
HENRY JUDD—Press Manager

LABOR ACTION CHRISTMAS FUND
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, N. Y.

I am enclosing \$..... as my contribution to the LABOR ACTION Fund to help continue and sustain the Eight-Page paper.

Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Create Anti-Labor Panic - -

(Continued from page 1)

mine strike was responsible for the laws. Truman wants these anti-labor laws and wants them quick before the steel union and other unions embarrass him by going out on strike. Because if he has to intervene, he will once again show his hand as he did during the railroad strike.

The mine owners also agreed to this show-down. If the miners didn't strike, that meant millions of dollars that they would not have to pay out in increased wages. If the miners did strike, then these owners had the full assurance of the government that this time it would really kick the miners around. It is interesting to note that some of the owners are beginning to realize that they are losing millions of dollars in this strike while the coal miners are as solid as ever in their determination to stay out. These owners expect the next Congress to put curbs on the labor movement anyhow, and they are now wondering if they were smart in this deal after all. Some of these owners were originally for the show-down because they did not expect John L. Lewis would risk going to jail. But Lewis knew the sentiments of the coal miners and that it would be impossible to hold the miners in check with the old agreement. He tried it the last time, when he asked the miners to work an extra thirty days extension and only a small fraction of them responded. Proof that Lewis gauged the sentiments of the miners correctly was apparent when more than 140,000 of them walked out of the pits from three days to a week before the present contract was terminated.

GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKER

That this is a show-down strike with the labor movement has been evident from the time the mine workers filed their contract termination notice and the government did nothing about it. The notice was filed a full month before the miners went on strike, but the only thing the government and the mine owners did was to work up their newspaper campaign against the miners. During that entire period when the government or the mine owners could have been negotiating a new contract they did not even once sit down with the union representatives. They did not even inquire what the miners wanted. With a situation developing which they now call "crucial to the economy," J. A. Krug went out West on a vacation and President Truman decided to go fishing in the Gulf.

There is no doubt that the coal shortage can become serious if the strike is prolonged. But the government doesn't seem interested in ending it the only way it can be ended—by meeting the justifiable demands of the miners. The government seems mainly interested in carrying on its show trial against Lewis because in this way it can best hide the real reasons and purposes of this strike.

The government is using this strike to strike a blow at the labor movement. It wants every man, woman and child to feel the effects of a coal shortage. How else can the various moves of the government be ex-

plained? For example, there are close to 600 soft coal mines working today. They are manned by members of the Progressive Mine Workers, unorganized workers, or by members of the United Mine Workers working under other contracts. These mines produce more than 300,000 tons of coal each day and the government could easily earmark this coal for public utilities and essential consumers, along with the coal it has on railroad cars at the struck mines. But the government has done nothing about these 300,000 tons (not a small amount) of coal which are mined daily.

The demands of the miners for higher pay and an increased health fund are entirely justified. Their wages are low and the cost of living has gone sky high. The miners pay more for their food, clothing and rent than any other section of the population. In addition, they have to pay for their safety equipment and tools. Despite newspaper talk, many mining sections have been providing only part-time work for the past eight

months, thus reducing the take-home pay even more.

When the OPA was first instituted it put the company stores in the mining communities into Group 1. This group system was used to classify the various types of stores to determine what prices they could charge. Group 1 represented the stores which had the highest possible prices and included the most exclusive stores in the big cities (some of the better chain stores were only in Group 3). Since controls were lifted the prices have continued to climb.

Mine accidents in this country continue to be the highest in the world. During the war, the miners asked for the abolition of the three-shift system, to permit time for inspection, rock dusting and adequate ventilation to dilute inflammable and noxious gases. The owners refused, and without question the long hours in the mines during the war have raised the number of miners suffering from silicosis way above the 25 per cent figure of pre-war days.

Defy Injunction - -

(Continued from page 1)

with passage of the Norris-La Guardia Act, which restrained any court from issuing a temporary or permanent injunction "in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute." Lewis then added that "The United Mine Workers are in a dispute over working conditions in the mines which in our opinion spells nothing else but a labor dispute" and that miners would consequently defy any move designed to violate "their rights as free men."

The court's verdict against Lewis recalled the cases of Eugene V. Debs, the great socialist leader, and Samuel Gompers, first president of the AFL. Debs was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for defying a court injunction in the famous Pullman strike of 1894. The Debs case established the use of "government by injunction" on a wide scale and in the labor movement it initiated the fight to outlaw injunction procedure. In 1911 Samuel Gompers was sentenced to one year in jail for violating an injunction in Buck's Stove & Range Plant in 1908. After considerable litigation, the sentence was reduced to thirty days and finally rescinded altogether by the Supreme Court in 1914, marking a major victory over "government by injunction."

As stated above, the AFL in 1919 went on record to violate, regardless of the consequences, any injunctions issued against it. That is the established practice and principle of the labor movement. It is certain that the miners, with the support of all major unions, will act according to this principle.

It is not known at this writing what the sentence will be, though there are reports that the government is seeking a jail sentence and a fine. One thing, however, is certain: not an ounce of coal will be mined if Lewis or other UMW officials or members are jailed. Nor will an ounce of coal be mined while the injunction order stands.

Ask D.A. Why He Dropped Tresca Case

NEW YORK CITY—District Attorney Frank S. Hogan has been asked whether his office had dropped the Carlo Tresca murder case, "or relegated it to the long list of unsolved crimes in New York County," by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee.

No answer has yet come from Mr. Hogan, said Thomas, who added that his committee would be "keenly interested in any reply that the District Attorney may see fit to make." The letter to Mr. Hogan read in part:

"The death of Joseph Scottorriggio, an active Republican campaign worker in Vito Marcantonio's district, as the result of his being beaten by thugs, has raised the question of the degree to which this was a political murder. We understand that your office is busily investigating that crime.

"This inquiry ought to revive interest in the deliberate and premeditated assassination of Carlo Tresca almost four years ago... Murder was the only intention in the death of Carlo Tresca. It is, moreover, well nigh certain that Tresca's assassins acted from political motives, or were hired by men who acted from such motives, taking revenge because of their victim's effective attacks upon one form of totalitarianism or another....

"The failure to apprehend the murderers or even to solve beyond peradventure of any doubt the specific motivation behind the Tresca killing will stand as an encouragement to the employment of assassination in American political quarrels...."

The Boss's Dictionary

Outrage:



RUSSIAN STATE ANALYZED AT PHILLY MEETING

By F. HARPER

PHILADELPHIA—A large audience packed Labor Action Hall to hear Max Shachtman on the timely topic of "Russian Since 1917." The national chairman of the Workers Party outlined the course of the successful revolution of 1917 and of the subsequent degeneration with the development of the bureaucracy.

Today, 29 years after the establishment of the world's first socialist state, the Stalinist bureaucracy has succeeded in obliterating all traces of socialism in Russia.

The Bolshevik Revolution inspired more people to action and instilled more hope in the hearts of the people than any other event in human history. Nevertheless the degeneration in Russia has been so complete as to remove all aspects of the workers' state.

NATURE OF RUSSIA

Comrade Shachtman then presented the Workers Party's contribution to the interpretation of modern Russia. That contribution is the concept that the present Stalinist régime in Russia is a bureaucratic dictatorship with a new exploiting class of party functionaries, military leaders, factory managers and intellectuals. Russia is no longer a degenerate workers' state because the working class has no control over the state, which owns the factories. Collective ownership is not a sufficient criteria for the existence of a workers' state; one must also ask who controls the means of production and for whose benefit it is controlled.

Max Shachtman declared that the need here in America is to reorganize society on a rational basis. The Bolshevik slogan, now and here, is "Labor must be made conscious of its task to reorganize society and to understand that it alone has the power to perform this task." A working class, independent in goal, program and leadership, can transform America into a land of security, freedom and plenty. A purely defensive program, such as advanced by the union officialdom, will achieve only temporary gains and destroy the faith of the common men in their own ability.

Announcement was made of a symposium on The Palestine Crisis to be held Friday, December 13, at 8:00 p.m. with Albert Gates presenting the LABOR ACTION viewpoint; of a dance on December 14 and a New Year's party, all to be held at Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Ave.

GOLDMAN OPENS FORUM SERIES IN CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND—"Reactionary Stalinism, posing as socialism, has kept thousands of people from fighting for the socialist ideal," stated Albert Goldman, Workers Party leader, at a forum held by the Cleveland Workers Party November 19. "Yet," Goldman continued, "American labor can and will solve its recurring problems only through a socialist program." The subject of his speech was "Stalinism and the American Worker."

This was the first appearance of Goldman in Cleveland since he led the Minority of the Socialist Workers Party into the Workers Party. He was greeted with the largest audience which has heard a WP spokesman here in several years.

A number of members of the radical and labor public came in contact with the Workers Party for the first time at the meeting following a news story in Cleveland's largest daily paper announcing the Goldman appearance. They showed great interest, quizzing Goldman after the meeting on various specific aspects of Trotskyism.

Goldman's appearance was the first of a series of open forums planned by the Cleveland branch to bring prominent Workers Party spokesmen and LABOR ACTION writers before the Cleveland public.

You Can Subscribe To Labor Action For Six Months For 50 Cents!

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

Back in January, 1940, the Polish government, then in exile in France and under the domination of Britain, published a notice that owing to the exigencies of war, payment of interest on all Polish loans would be suspended for the duration of the war, but that the government recognized its obligation to foreign bondholders and had firm intentions to resume payments. The other day the current Polish government, owned by the Stalinists, published a little ad in the Wall Street Journal, "reaffirming" that earlier declaration, and proposing that negotiations for the resumption of payment should begin next year... Governments come and go, but the American bondholders' interest payments continue.

IS A BUST COMING?

Banks throughout the country, expecting a bust soon, are tightening up on credit, shortening terms of loans, inching up interest rates, and stamping "rejected" on more and more loan applications. They say they're concerned chiefly with what they call "over-extension" of inventories—what you and I, dear reader, would describe as "too many companies holding too much goods off the market in the plot to keep goods scarce and prices high." In short, the banks fear that the pipelines from the manufacturers to the retailers are so full they are bound to burst soon.

The number of unemployed in October, according to the Bureau of the Census, was 1,950,000, a decrease of 5 per cent from September, but 27 per cent above a year ago... The Department of Agriculture acknowledges that world wool stocks stood at 5 billion pounds on June 30, more than three times the pre-war stock. Of this year's 5 billion pound carryover, the British government owns 81 per cent, the U. S. government, 19 per cent.

BACK TO NORMAL

Millions of bushels of potatoes are going to freeze this winter, though there are millions of underfed Americans and tens of millions of starving persons in Europe and Asia. Blame it on the irrational capitalist system. The Department of Agriculture's price-support program guarantees the farmer an abnormally high return for his produce and places a premium on over-production. Warehouses in the potato states are bulging and there is no room for the spuds, which are piled in pits, barns or any place else the farmer can pile them. Nearly all the potatoes not in storage will be rotten when the loans come due in April, 1947. The government will take the loss. The government price-support program, granted the farmers to whip up their enthusiasm for the recent war, must be carried on for two years after the end of the war, which officially is not yet over. Piles of potatoes as high as houses are reported exposed to the northern winter in many states.

BACK WAGES DUE

There is about \$6 billion due United States workers for back wages, as a result of the U. S. Supreme

New Japanese Constitution An Expression of U. S. Policy

By WILLIAM BRAD

The new Japanese constitution was publicly proclaimed last week by Hirohito. General MacArthur also announced his satisfaction with the document—an author's blessing on his own work—thus indicating that his Imperial Quisling Hirohito was speaking for the American authorities. The document therefore has a double interest since it represents American policy toward Japan and the Orient and is also the new organic law by which the ruling class (ZAIBATSU) intends to continue its domination.

The events around the proclamation of the constitution illuminate the document. Plans for the day of announcement were carefully made to center around Hirohito, including a demonstration of "spontaneous" obeisance for which tens of thousands of peasants were brought to the police courtyard by special train and truck—a neat trick right out of Mussolini's book.

An elaborate propaganda campaign for several months had driven home the continuity of the constitution with the previous one. The forms prescribed by the latter for amendment were followed in this one. On this Constitution Day, Hirohito opened the ceremonies by a visit to the palace Shinto shrine for his imperial ancestors. The day itself was the birthday of the Emperor Meiji, grandfather of Hirohito and first emperor of modern Japan. This traditional reactionary imperial holiday was made the new Constitution Day.

THE EMPEROR "ABOVE CLASSES"

During the past year every care has been taken to place the throne in a key position as a "neutral stabilizing force" above classes and factions. Hirohito's popularity was low on V-J Day. Since then he has been toured through devastated areas where he patted infants' cheeks, deigned to shake hands with commoners and in other ways comported himself like any politician on the make. All major pronouncements have been made in his name, continually emphasizing that it was he who was the very first "democrat" in the land.

Hirohito broke tradition to visit MacArthur at the latter's headquarters several times, in this way certifying his acceptability by the military occupation authorities, who have established themselves as the judges of what is democratic.

By many acts, not one contradicted by MacArthur, Hirohito's position as head of the nationalist cult of Shinto has been retained, making of the legal abolition of emperor worship a mere formality. Separation of church and state is not a reality under the new constitution; its alliance continues with American blessing.

It is apparent that American policy is to support Hirohito, to build him up as a strong point for reaction around which to base its own imperialist occupation policies.

Most widely acclaimed section of the new constitution is the one abolishing all armaments or resort to war for all time. There is one joke in this otherwise commendable policy. That is that American, British and Russian armies today occupy Japan. Since these imperialist partners are engaged in military activities throughout Europe and Asia and are at this moment in a bitter atomic armaments race, the demilitarization of Japan simply legalizes its reduction from the rank of imperialist power to that of dependent satellite. Caught in the conflict between the giant militaristic imperialisms of Russia and America, unarmed Japan cannot retain its independence. It is a captive of the inter-imperialist struggle.

There are several aspects of American policy which are not in the new constitution but which are of decisive importance to Japan. Truman's proclamation of

Court's recent portal-to-portal pay decisions. One such suit pending is that of the CIO Steel Workers against U. S. Steel, for \$300,000,000... But Big Business is quietly preparing to use its government to get out of paying the workers what is due them. The labor legislative committee of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce held a special session November 21 in Washington, laid plans to rush legislation through the 80th Congress that would override the court's ruling and amend the wage and hour statutes to block a pile of lawsuits filed by unions. The \$6 billion figure was presented to the Chamber of Commerce on the basis of confidential reports from leading industries, which indicated that many unions have valid cases under the court's ruling in the Mount Clemens Pottery Case.

ITEMS IN PASSING

Price Administrator Paul Porter announces he has taken "a strong stand" against any general rent ceiling increase at this time. Now we are doggone sure a rent increase is coming. Everytime he has taken one of his "strong stands," prices have shot up.

The distillers have grown hog-fat during the war, because they were making high profits two ways, on their liquor business and on producing alcohol for the war program. And what rotten likker they're making nowadays! Seven years ago, at a hearing before the Temporary National Economic Committee, officials of the Big Four—Schenley, Seagram, National and Hiram Walker—testified that the best whiskey in the world could be made for 29 cents a gallon. Today you are paying \$6.75 and more for a fifth of a gallon of bourbon, and about \$4 for the blends. There's more profit in the blends, and most distillers are now peddling the stuff.

Monopolistic trends have grown tremendously in the war years. Schenley, for instance, went out to California and bought up a good share of the wine industry, Roma, Cresta Blanca, and others; went to Milwaukee and bought a brewery; bought out some of the European liquor factories; is now considering going into the food industry. In the fiscal year ending August 31, Schenley established new sales and net earnings records. Net income after a special contingency reserve of \$1 million rose to \$49 million, or \$13.64 a share, against \$6.43 a year ago. The company gathered in two more Kentucky distilleries in the year, too.

PRICES ARE STILL GOING UP

On November 20 nylons and rayon hose went up 25-33 per cent; batteries went up 15-20 per cent; copper, up 2 cents a pound; sugar, up 36.5-40 cents a 100 pounds. Other recent price rises: Industrial alcohol, up 28 cents a gallon; paper prices, up \$20-\$25 a ton; cocoa, butter, fowl up; live stock prices only 50 cents below the all-time high; some cotton goods up as much as 50 per cent over old ceiling prices... But, thank God, the price of Adam hats has come down to \$8.50. Now, if all of us spent all our income on hats....

American intention to retain the Pacific islands captured from Japan, rings Japan with bristling fortresses from Alaska and the Aleutians to Iwo Jima and Okinawa. And on the continent and to the north, are the Russian bases. In a strategic geographical position between these opponents and under American military rule, Japan is not formally included on Truman's trusteeship list. In political and economic reality, however, Japan already heads the list. The so-called "trusteeship" program is a resort to diplomatic double-talk to achieve recognition of a cold and brutal reality: that the Pacific Ocean has been transformed into an American lake, in which Japan has its political use today and is being prepared for military use tomorrow.

The nature of the Japanese economy is not discussed in the constitution directly. However, Japanese capitalism cannot exist as an independent force without an empire any more than American or British can. By the deprivation of its army and navy, Japan is banned from any independent imperialist program. The Japanese capitalist class is thereby doomed to the role of economic quisling or semi-compradore to its American financial and military overlords.

Reparations have not yet been determined because of conflicting ideas by each of the occupying powers. Thus Japan's industrial structure, the very flesh and blood of her advanced economy, is being determined by the relationship of forces between the conflicting imperialist vultures, and in this relationship American imperialism holds all the aces thus far.

The new constitution is a juridical expression of American policy: the reduction of Japanese independence and the transformation of Japan into an outpost of American imperialism as part of its preparations for World War III.

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Europe's People Restive in Face Of Second Winter of Starvation

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Nov. 24—Though the food shortage has struck the American zone of occupation in Germany, General Joseph T. McNarney, chief of the American forces, declared on November 21, "By and large there will not be any great disorder, though possibly some demonstrations."

However, the French paper, *Combat*, reported on November 23 that "in a certain number of factories, the workers are on strike." Railroads are near a complete stoppage, say the medical services, because railroad workers are "at the end of their strength"; and "their capacity of resistance cannot last another week." If the railroads stop, all industrial production will be crippled.

Karl Arnold, Mayor of Dusseldorf, and Christian Democratic Party leader, declared two days ago that several incidents have broken out. Housewives or their husbands who stood in queues for six or seven hours and were then told no bread was left, have smashed bakery windows in several cases. Two trucks carrying flour were overturned. Mayor Arnold said: "The people feel hopeless and desperate."

Approximately 1,500 people demonstrated before the Bremen Town Hall on November 14 against American military government requisitioning of homes, scheduled for the end of November, whereby 700 persons lost their homes. The number of civilians per room has risen, e.g., in Kassel, from 1.4 in 1939 to 4.2 in 1946.

Ruhr mine workers overwhelmingly rejected extra shifts on Sundays, with 67 per cent voting against the British proposal, 9.8 per cent for, three per cent spoiling ballots and 22 per cent abstaining.

Dr. Rudolf Amelunxen, Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia province, stated: "A few weeks ago I did not believe there was danger of epidemic. Today I am convinced it has to be reckoned with." The first epidemics are of demonstrations, for

Dr. Amelunxen reported that great demonstrations had been planned by workers in Dusseldorf. Though the unions had thus far managed to restrain the workers, "they may not always be so successful," said Dr. Amelunxen.

MILLIONS TO STARVE

With 12,000,000 inhabitants, the Ruhr zone, possibly the most densely populated section of Europe, has food for only one-third of its population. Dr. Amelunxen added: "We had about 1,000,000 starved after the last war. If no help comes this time it will be worse."

Wuppertal has been declared a famine area. German papers publish daily horror pictures of "living skeletons." Hospitals are crowded with malnutrition cases. A British survey listed Duisburg as receiving only 750 to 1,000 food calories a day per capita, Aachen 1,000, Bochum 1,000, Gelsenkirchen 950, Essen 993. One town was without bread for ten whole days.

A thousand calories is about 3½ thin slices of dark bread, a bit of margarine and a little soup.

In the French zone the bread ration has been cut from 300 to 200 grams a day, states General Joseph Pierre Koenig. Dr. Amelunxen added that the coming generation would "die like flies" because of starvation of mothers during pregnancy. With 200 cases in four days, typhoid outbreaks reached epidemic proportions in the Bavarian villages of New and Old Ulting.

MALNUTRITION WIDESPREAD

"Of 47,000 children examined in the Kassel County district, 35,000 are underfed," declared Dr. Hanz Hormung on November 20. Among 1,200 infants, 700 are suffering from malnutrition and nearly all show signs of rickets, anemia and debility. In a part of the U. S. zone, tubercular children increased from 1,475 to 3,324, more than 100 per cent, since January, 1946.

A military government branch in

Wurttemberg-Baden said that of 3,700,028 people, an average of 52 suicides a month occur. The *Kurier* of Berlin writes:

"During one week we live on some boiled potatoes and some ersatz tea. ... Tickets are used to light fires. The men are depressed. They listen to endless talk of international conferences, of decisions of experts, of interlarded accords, of colonies, of the Red Cross, of UNRRA, of cereal boats and they see nothing comes. Most of them believe nothing any more."

Bitter hate for the Allies is shown not only by calling Control Commission, Germany (CCG) "Complete Chaos, Germany," but by its new title, "Charlie Chaplin's Grenadiers."

We mean just this: labor conventions should belong to labor and to the delegates in the conven-

CIO Convention Plans Wage Fight and Southern Drive

By DAVID COOZIDGE

IN a previous article on the recent CIO convention, I discussed only the Statement of Policy adopted in connection with the Communist (Stalinist) Party. In that article a very critical attitude was taken by me in relation to the way this very important question was handled by the convention and I attributed the responsibility for it to Philip Murray's presentation of the matter. Despite the fact that the convention got off to a bad start on this matter, and despite the necessity to be sharply critical of Eisenhower's presence on the rostrum, the convention accomplished some things of great importance.

Before discussing the genuine and worthwhile accomplishments of the convention it is necessary to deal with the Eisenhower episode. The Army Chief of Staff addressed this convention of labor at the very moment the government and the capitalist press proclaimed that the army was "alerted" for duty in connection with the coal strike. Whether or not the government would actually use the army is beside the point. The real point is that, if the army were so employed, Chief of Staff Eisenhower would direct its operations in the same way that the then Chief of Staff MacArthur directed the "bloody Thursday" massacre of unemployed veterans camped on the Anacostia flats in 1932. I do not now wish to go into the matter of the propriety of having army officers speaking at labor conventions; it is enough now to think of it in relation to the present coal strike.

If Eisenhower and other high officials of the government were so "pleased" and "honored" to appear before a convention of labor it would not have been out of place to have some delegates ask a few pertinent questions. They might have asked what the Chief of Staff thinks about using the army to break strikes. Someone might have asked just what the General meant by his statements: "It is your army and no one's else." "The average man benefits from military training." The army gives "full play for the best of man's virtues." We see no reason why a convention of workers should be subjected to verbal machine-gunning from government officials with only the right to sit quietly and applaud at the end of a barrage.

Only the day before Eisenhower's appearance, the convention had passed a resolution condemning peace-time conscription, one of his pet projects. Would it have been out of place to have Eisenhower stand up and defend his position before the convention? Especially when he says that it is "our" army.

We mean just this: labor conventions should belong to labor and to the delegates in the conven-

tion who have been sent there by the membership to legislate for the union, to discuss the union problems and to find solutions for them. This CIO convention had only five days in which to do its work, but hours and hours of the time were consumed in listening to speeches and most of them made no contributions whatever to the problems confronting the delegates.

CONVENTION GETS TO WORK

Despite the waste of time, the convention did accomplish several things. In the first place, the CIO is slowly moving steadily in the direction of becoming what it should be: the chief economic organization of labor in the U. S. This progress is far too slow but the direction is unmistakable. This is attested to in many ways and by many things. It has to be made clear that my critical comments are made for the purpose of pointing out what needs to be done in order to achieve more quickly the above goal.

The CIO has made real progress in integrating Negro workers into the organization, as well as in fighting for Negro equality in the plants and in the country in general. In relation to the AFL in this matter, the CIO stands out distinctly and to its credit. There were three separate resolutions dealing specifically with problems of Negroes: a resolution entitled "Oust Bilbo," another on "The Right to Vote," and the third, "Protection of Democracy."

The very titles of the resolutions indicate their content. The progressive nature of the convention's actions on this test question is revealed in the following demands:

Federal, state and municipal fair employment practices legislation. The immediate enactment of a federal anti-lynching bill. Federal legislation in the District of Columbia against discrimination and segregation and the same legislation in the States. Federal and state legislation invalidating restrictive covenants based on "race, color, creed or national origin." Safeguards against racial discrimination in federal appropriations for state aid. Federal, state and municipal laws guaranteeing right of suffrage, and against Congressional barriers which exclude Negro newspapermen from Senate and House press galleries.

The CIO has attempted to carry the letter and spirit of these resolutions. Negroes occupy a position in the CIO today never before known in the history of the labor movement in this country. I should like to emphasize this. We see in the CIO a most significantly progressive development of race relations and of intra-class solidarity. The Workers Party welcomes this development. It is entirely in accord with the position of the Workers Party which holds that the Negro in the U. S. can gain his freedom not only by the active support, but the initiative of the organized labor movement in the struggle for democratic rights for the Negro. With the establishment of union FEPC committees, the selection of Negroes as members and heads of im-

portant CIO committees, even of committees not concerned directly with "the Negro problem," means that the CIO has placed itself in a position to handle this problem effectively.

This is not to say that the CIO has answered all the problems of discrimination, even in its own ranks. It has not. Many sore spots remain. But the program of the organization is being developed in a correct direction.

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

The convention also dealt with highly important problems of "Organizing the Unorganized." This part of the agenda was concerned largely with the campaign to organize the South. The resolution and reports, particularly by Van Bittner and Baldanzi, emphasized that the drive would be continued and stepped up. This was important because of rumors that have been making the rounds that the drive was falling off and that in the future each international would be expected to finance its own operations.

Baldanzi remarked in his speech that the drive should not be understood as an "Operation Dixie." He explained this by saying that the Southern workers are not hostile and that they wanted to be organized. But here Baldanzi seemed to be missing the point. The expression "Operation Dixie" is an excellent designation for this campaign. The slogan is not directed against the Southern worker but against the same forces in the South encompassed by the first Operation Dixie, namely, against the rulers of the South and their Northern masters. It is an operation against the South's "peculiar institution" of 1946; against the mill owners, the cotton planters, the poll tax, lynching, mob rule and all the dark and reactionary forces of the South. This operation can only be carried out by the working class of the North with the participation of the Southern toilers, white and black. This it seems to me is what the slogan "Operation Dixie" must mean.

There was a resolution pledging the organization to fight against anti-labor injunctions. Since the convention was sitting at the very moment that the injunction against the miners was issued, the resolution was amended as follows: "We condemn the actions taken by the federal government in obtaining a sweeping injunction against the United Mine Workers of America. This is a clear violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. No anti-labor injunctions can dispose of the problems now confronting workers who see their earnings shrink before the fast-rising cost of living. American democracy cannot tolerate any attempt to impose economic slavery through vicious anti-labor injunctions."

The question of Lewis and the miners' strike really pervaded this convention. Not much was said but it was clear that the leadership was worried and disturbed over whether or not to support Lewis and on how to separate Lewis from the UMWA. But it is gratifying that a little common sense and a measure of labor solidarity prevailed.

(Continued on page 4)

A Call to Militant Action

How to Lick the Stalinist Menace in the AVC

By CHARLES STEWART

Of all the existing veterans organizations, the American Veterans Committee, by its more militant activity, has served to attract over 80,000 members—all World War II vets. These ex-GIs were more socially advanced than most veterans and their activities included action on housing, price control, terminal leave, etc. In general, this activity was conducted in a dramatic manner. The vet who wasn't looking for a political crutch like the American Legion, who wanted to fight but his problems against all comers—gravitated toward the AVC.

What sort of an organization is the AVC? What is the nature of the political crisis it faces? The American Veterans Committee was an outgrowth of an idea thought up in the midst of World War II by GIs who took the promises of post-war America seriously and who felt that the old-line organizations would not seriously consider the problems of the veterans and would not link these problems to the needs of the masses of the American people.

How the organization got started is related in the book written by the head of the AVC, Charles Bolte—The New Veteran. The organization was started by young college-bred liberals of the Roosevelt-Willkie stripe. They whipped together a "Statement of intentions" which was to be their credo, is now the preamble of the AVC, and is printed on the reverse side of every membership card. This statement, besides barring any discrimination in membership based on race, color and creed, embraced the merchant seaman as eligible for membership.

THE AVC PROGRAM

The "Statement" asserts that: "Adequate financial, medical, vocational and educational assistance for every veteran. A job for every veteran under A SYSTEM OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (My emphasis—C. S.) in which business, labor, agriculture and government work together to provide full employment and full production for the nation. Thorough social and economic security. Free speech, press, worship,

assembly and ballet. Disarmament of Germany and Japan and the elimination of the power of their militarist classes. Active participation of the United States in the United Nations Organization to stop any threat of aggression and to promote social and economic measures which will remove the causes of war. Establishment of an international veterans council for the furtherance of world peace and justice among the peoples of all nations."

What does this statement reveal? It indicates the complete middle-headedness of the organizers, who honestly believe that the system of private enterprise, that is, capitalist, can really bring peace, security, jobs and plenty for all. They really believe that the system which breeds war oppression, unemployment, poverty, disease and insecurity will do the very opposite! Further, these starchy-eyed, middle-minded liberals think that the league of imperialist bandits known as the United Nations Organization can stop aggression. It certainly is lucky for these patriotic gentlemen that the Japanese attacked at Pearl Harbor—imagine if the U. S. had been the "aggressor"! What a useless way to judge a war! The statement also asks the United Nations to disarm Germany and Japan (not U. S., Britain and Russia) and out their militarist classes (not U. S., Britain and Russia). Needless to repeat, disarmament is totally incapable of stopping war. It doesn't take very long to convert "reconverted" factories to the production of bombers, machine guns, ammunition, etc.

There was another purpose behind this declaration of intentions. Besides the avowed political program of the leadership, the additional purpose was the naive hope that since the Stalinists did not believe in "private enterprise" and civil liberties, the AVC would be immune from infiltration of the potentially dangerous followers of Joseph Stalin. Bolte, F. D. R. Jr., Gilbert Harrison, Oren Root Jr., et al., breathed sighs of relief when the Daily Worker attacked the AVC and urged CP members and sympathizers to enter the American Legion. But the relief

felt by the liberals has given way to great anxiety. The Communist Party "boys" found it tough sledding in the highly bureaucratized American Legion—many of the posts the CP members and fellow travelers had entered were suspect and rudely trampled upon by the clique of Legion king-makers. What was left for the CP to do? Start a drive to take over the AVC! Here was a loosely organized democratic organization that was just a ripe plum for Stalinists to pick. No expulsions, no hierarchy of ossified red-baiters and successful business men. All the Stalinists had to do was to get their boys to attend every meeting of the local chapter and grab the lion's share of the key positions. The average non-Stalinist AVCer wasn't to "eager"

and it was easy for the Stalinists to take over. Wherever the Stalinists took control, as in New York and Chicago, they used their gains to pervert the activities of the AVC, to rig conventions, appointing convention committees in advance, and to sound off with the same line that was in the Daily Worker. In New York they put the pressure on Dewey alone because the CP was supporting the Democrats, Mead and Lehman.

A PROGRAM IS NEEDED

The Stalinists were defeated by a narrow margin at the last national convention in Des Moines. The National Planning Committee is now viewing with alarm the creeping Stalinist influence over the AVC local bodies. They know only too well what happened in the old American Student Union, the American Youth Congress, the New York American Labor Party, and in many unions. If the Stalinists win control of the AVC, only those "liberals" would be tolerated who want to be window-dressing fellow travelers.

In the face of this situation the "solution" of the National Planning Committee is to pass a resolution against Stalinism! They demand a vote of the AVC chapters on this resolution which attacks as "immoral" the infiltration of Stalinists into the ranks of the AVC because the Stalinists do not divulge their open party affiliations. The course the AVC national leadership has charted is unrealistic and dangerous. In addition it is just as useless in reducing Stalinist influence as the recent resolution of the CIO convention against Stalinist tactics which was passed by a committee including three Stalinists—Ben Gold of the Furriers, Michael Quill of the Transport Workers and Abram Flaxer of the Public Workers!

History has demonstrated that there are really only two ways to defeat the Stalinists and their pernicious, destructive and dangerously reactionary influence. Either you can handle them as THEY would handle any opposition within their own party, union or state—dictatorially, bureaucratically, expulsions, resolutions

and this only gives them an undeserved cloak as martyrs—or by pursuing a policy of militant action on behalf of the veterans—no "ear-banging" or "brown-nosing" with high officials—a disciplined caucus and faction against the Stalinists on a minimum progressive program—a fight conducted along political lines. Resolutions against the Stalinists do not mean a thing unless your opposition is thoroughly organized. The Stalinist ALWAYS attends the AVC meeting and doesn't hesitate to volunteer for work and snap up the posts. They are always prepared in advance by a tightly knit caucus.

We are AGAINST resolutions and preambles which call upon the veteran to support rotting capitalism as the only alternative against the corroding influence of Stalinism. We are FOR a militant program to counter the Stalinists. We must say that exclusive dinners at the Waldorf-Astoria with General Omar Bradley, the head of the Veterans Administration; pussyfooting on the question of the cut in subsistence for veterans receiving on-the-job training and serving apprenticeship; an obstinate refusal to consider the "bonus" question, do not aid the fight for the veteran. These tactics merely add fuel to the Stalinist fire.

We repeat, the only way to defeat the Stalinists is to be more active, more disciplined, and have, above all, a militant, progressive and fighting program for the veteran—one which will place him WITH the labor movement in the struggle for decent jobs, decent housing in a world without wars and oppression.

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CIO URGES AMNESTY FOR CO'S

The CIO at its recent national convention in Atlantic City voted unanimously for a resolution urging President Truman to grant amnesty to imprisoned conscientious objectors. The convention's action followed adoption of the resolution by the CIO veterans committee.

The resolution said:

WHEREAS, More than a year after the end of hostilities 1000 conscientious objectors to war and conscription are still confined in federal prisons, many with sentences of five years, while 5000 others who have completed their sentences continue to be punished by the loss of civil rights; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of religious objectors accepting assignment to Civilian Public Service camps were later sent to prison for striking against the camp's policy of forced labor without pay under military control; and

WHEREAS, The reason given for their imprisonment, that of wartime necessity, no longer exists, and it is fitting for a democracy to remove wartime restrictions upon its citizens at the earliest moment; and

WHEREAS, Amnesties have been granted by nine Presidents of the United States, and since V-J Day have been given in many other countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Congress of Industrial Organization, reaffirming a high tradition of the American labor movement, urges the President of the United States to proclaim an amnesty for all such conscientious objectors.

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114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. General Offices: 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel: IRonsides 6-5117 Vol. 10, No. 49 December 9, 1946

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WORLD POLITICS

An Analysis Of the CIO Convention - -

(Continued from page 3)

The all-important question of wages was discussed and a program set forth in a resolution. No definite sum for a wage increase was specified. But the resolution is a good one and entirely correct. It is interesting that the resolution does not call on the government to do anything about the wages question. What it does say is that: "Under present conditions it is therefore imperative that American industry in collective bargaining give substantial wage increases. Our people must have sustained purchasing power and a decent living wage to avert the swift economic tragedy which now confronts us. This is the important task for CIO unions in their approaching collective bargaining conferences."

There was a resolution on "The Jewish People," which urged that "our government immediately enact a code of laws dealing with the hateful evil of racial bigotry. . . . We must make anti-Semitism and anti-racial acts and incitements a crime." The government is asked "to open its doors to the thousands of homeless and desperate Jews in Europe." The government is urged to "bring pressure upon Great Britain to secure the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine and the immediate provision for free and unlimited immigration to Palestine and free and unlimited land purchase in Palestine." It adds "that our government take every possible step to bring about the establishment in Palestine of an independent commonwealth as a Jewish National Home with full guarantees of the legitimate interests of other national groups and equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants."

The resolution on "Foreign Policy" called for support to the United Nations Organization, "demilitarization," and to sever all diplomatic and economic relations with "breeding places of world fascism." (Spain and Argentina.) The resolution calls for "progressive universal disarmament," that the colonial peoples shall have self-determination and self-government—"free from interference or coercion from any source—benevolent or despotic." An enduring peace demands "a free, united and independent China. . . . We call upon all foreign governments as well as our own to cease intervention in Chinese affairs and to end military aid to any faction. . . . We urge that under no circumstances should food or any other aid given by any country be used as a means of coercing or influencing free but needy people in the exercise of their rights of self-government." The resolution demands the unity of the "Big Three" and opposes any bloc which would destroy this unity.

POLITICAL ACTION—THE LABOR PARTY

Something which must be emphasized is the fact that the CIO in this convention took under consideration virtually all the important problems with which the masses in the U. S. are concerned. These resolutions place the CIO formally in the position of establishing itself as the spearhead of the working class in its bid for the leadership of the nation. The heads of the CIO understand this in a primitive and naive sort of way. What they do not understand is that the most important questions dealt with by the convention are political and cannot be handled by a trade union or other economic organization.

Inherent in the deliberations of this convention and the resolutions passed is the demand for political action by labor. Not the type of political action engaged in by the PAC, but independent class political action on the part of labor. Implicit in the actions of this CIO convention is the necessity for the organization of an independent labor party. This is really what PAC is faced with: transforming itself into a labor party. There is no way to accomplish the demands set forth in these resolutions except through independent action by the working class. No "third party" will do. The leadership of Morgenthau, Pepper, Ickes and Wallace will not produce the results demanded in these resolutions.

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From Address

Will They Be Left to Die?

In one day's news reports, those of November 27, 1946, there are three items which, if taken together, provide a vivid picture of how persistently and tragically acute remains the problem of Europe's Jews. These three items are:

• A report from Palestine describing the frenzied resistance of 4,000 Jewish refugees on board the ship, Jewish Resistance, to the attempts of British troops to seize them for internment in Cyprus. One refugee Jew was killed and twenty-one British soldiers hurt in a pitched battle in which the soldiers used tear gas and the Jews retaliated by throwing cans of food. Wrote J. E. Meltzer in the N. Y. Times:

"Soldiers who took part in the operation . . . said they had experienced nothing like the opposition given today. The refugees seemed almost frantic in their desire to beat off the troops and make a mass break toward shore and freedom, although barbed wire blocked them."

• At a meeting of the Jewish community of Vienna, Dr. David Brill, its president, charged that "Nazism was getting strong in Austria, that when the doors of the refugee Jews' home was opened this morning the entrance stairs were strewn with paper swastikas."

• After a four-week trip to Europe, Edward Warburg, chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, said that "the number of displaced Jews in Europe has doubled in the last year and has now reached 250,000, or 25 per cent of the total number of homeless persons there."

Perhaps a fourth news item should be added to complete the picture. Secretary of State Byrnes and Foreign Minister Bevin are planning a conference "in several weeks" to discuss what to do about the problem of Palestine.

THE JEWS ARE BARRED EVERYWHERE

That is where it stands: the Jews of Europe have no home; they do not, for the most part, wish to remain in the countries which they associate only with terror and persecution, concentration camps and yellow badges. They know now that the mere removal of Hitler has not ended anti-Semitism in Europe; that all the social poisons, the seemingly irrational but socially definable prejudices and passions of which they were the victims, still fester among the misguided and disoriented of the continent. In Poland, anti-Semitism has been rife and open; in Germany and Austria persistent if somewhat subterranean; and even in France it has shown surprising virility. For anti-Semitism is one of the most powerfully ingrained social toxins of our time: the desperate, hate-filled and almost deliberately irrational response of people grown frantic with insecurity, poverty, war and national oppression. The Jew has been the scapegoat of Europe for centuries—and Europe, in its present condition, still needs a scapegoat. . . .

For the time being, then, most of Europe is finished for the Jews. This statement represents neither a wish nor a conception on our part; it is merely the recognition of a fact. We would have it otherwise: it would have been better if the Jews of Europe could have been

integrated into the nations in which they lived, with whatever cultural autonomy they might have desired, as part of a free and democratic socialist continent. But that was not the case. The bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals gave fascism the green light; and fascism has made most of Europe uninhabitable to the pitiful remnant of the Jews still alive.

And so they turn elsewhere. First and foremost, they turn to Palestine. This statement, too, is not a matter of wish; it is a simple fact. We revolutionary socialists are not Zionists; we are opposed to political Zionism with its nostalgic nationalist pretensions and its disregard for the rights of other nationally oppressed groups. But between the nationalist nostalgia and political chicanery of Zionism and the simple natural desire of Europe's Jews to find a home for themselves in Palestine, there is a wide gulf. Socialists oppose the former; the latter we support.

Why the Jews turn to Palestine at the moment is not of first importance. Whether because of desperation, or a resurgence of religious messianism, or an increased acceptance of Zionism, the fact remains that as a people, who look upon themselves as a nation, they wish quite overwhelmingly to go to Palestine. And just as we socialists support the legitimate democratic-national aspirations of oppressed minorities everywhere, so must we support the right of the European Jews to migrate to Palestine while simultaneously defending the rights of the Arab masses on which most of the Zionist leaders would trample.

THE HYPOCRITES AND SYCOPHANTS

But that is not enough. We live in the United States; our ears are burdened with rhetorical pap about this "great land of democracy." We must make clear that the indifference—that compound of occasional after-dinner speeches about the "plight of the poor Jews" and a failure to take any action whatever—of this country's political leaders and parties is today the most damning and decisive refutation to their democratic claims. So long as the doors of this country remain shut to all but a trickle of Europe's Jews, their talk about sympathy is simply a lie. A lie, a vicious, hypocritical, damnable lie!

That is the pattern of the treatment Europe's Jews are receiving. From the U. S., bushelfuls of rhetoric and no action. From Britain (and oh, the shame of it that the gang of imperialist scoundrels which calls itself His Majesty's Government should appear in the eyes of the world as "Socialist!") repression, bullets, concentration camps in Cyprus. They are tempted to ask those who justified their support of Allied imperialism in the recent war in the name of the plight of Europe's Jews—is this the salvation of the oppressed for which you led the soldiers to their graves? But of that another time. At this moment, the question that must agitate every thinking person in whom there is still a little area of the heart not deadened by the contemporary cynicism; the question that we perhaps vainly hope disturbs at least a few minutes of the sleep of the mighty, remains:

And what of Europe's Jews? Will they be left to die? —I. H.

International Socialist Notes

Election Campaign Of French Trotskyists

THE ELECTION PLATFORM

- 1. General adjustment of wages, benefits and pensions on the basis of a minimum living wage established by the unions and guaranteed by the sliding scale of wages.
2. Workers' control of production and prices at every step of manufacture and distribution. Opening of the employers' books by workers' delegates. Abolition of commercial secrets.
3. Popular control of rationing by organizations of workers, peasants and housewives.
4. Make the rich pay by stopping all compensation to the bondholders of the nationalized enterprises, and by expropriating the banks and large industries.
5. Abolition of military credits, which are now one-third of the budget.
6. Defense of secularism by the closing of the religious schools and the creation of a single, free and compulsory secular school system.
7. The right of self-determination of the colonial peoples.
8. Defense of democratic and workers' rights:

No limitation on the right to strike. Complete proportional representation on a national scale. Popular recall of elected officials. Election of judges.

A single and sovereign assembly. In Paris proper, the swing to the right has been more marked than anywhere in France. Here the Catholic MRP drew a considerably larger vote than the CP, and the party of the extreme right (the PRL) came in a good third. For the first time, the PRL undertook a serious invasion of the workers' districts to campaign, and our comrades, as a result, had a chance to expose the supine and super-respectable attitude of the CP toward the threat of reaction. Here is an interesting incident in this fight:

EXPOSE STALINISM

November 1, the PRL organized a meeting at Boulogne-Billancourt (a Paris suburb). The workers decided to give them the proper reception. The hall was full of workers when the PRL chairman opened the meeting. At this moment a Socialist worker jumped up and proposed a presiding committee composed of one Socialist, one Stalinist, one Trotskyist. The workers loudly approved it and the meeting was transformed into one of united action, with the speakers of the Socialist Party and the PCI speaking by turns. The repre-

sentative of the CP declared he was not authorized to speak. At this point the PRL leaders, Barrachin (before the war, a leader of the fascist Croix de Feu) arrived. The audience arose, greeted him with The Internationale, and adjourned the meeting.

In many places the huge Stalinist rank and file fraternizes freely with the Trotskyists (PCI). The most dramatic exposure of Stalinist duplicity took place in Bordeaux, France's fourth city. The Stalinists spread rumors that the PCI was working with the Catholic MRP (of course, the Stalinists sit in the cabinet with the MRP all year around). Posters were immediately put up by the PCI in answer to this calumny. On Saturday, November 2, at the end of a meeting held by Marc Dupuy, leader of the CP election slate in the Bordeaux area, in which he slandered the Trotskyists, a comrade of the

PCI mounted to the platform brandishing copies of the illegal Verité. "I carry here the proofs that Dupuy is a liar and calumniator," Dupuy slunk out.

You will notice in both the above incidents that Socialist Party members cooperated actively. That was not rare. In the Seine-et-Oise, the SP Departmental Federation voted to endorse the Trotskyist proposal for an electoral endorsement. When this was turned down by the SP nationally, a number of local SP branches resolved by motion to cast their votes for the PCI. At a PCI meeting of 400 workers in Pontois (a Paris suburb), with an overwhelmingly Stalinist audience, the Socialist Youth patrolled the aisles to preserve order.

(The above was condensed for LABOR ACTION by Saul Berg from La Verité, weekly organ of the PCI.)

The Delicatessen Store Mystery

Thanks to Hollywood, we in America have had long acquaintance with every variety of mystery and spy story. But leave it to a Russian Stalinist to provide us with a brand new comic version of the mysterious store (known as a "front," to the trade) where the well-groomed spy comes to report to his "contact man." We've had cafeterias, cigar stores, beauty parlors (a favorite place), etc., but never an honest, down-to-earth New York delicatessen with the smell of dill pickles et al.

It all began at night, November 21. Two Ukrainian delegates to the UN General Assembly entered a 58th Street, Manhattan, delicatessen. Joseph Braunschweig of the Bronx was, at this fortuitous moment in the process of being stuck up by two of New York's familiar thugs. But Messrs. Stadnik and Voina from the Ukraine are of a different brand than delicatessen clerks; they are Stalinist heroes. So they refused to obey orders (probably didn't understand what the gunmen said to them) and, as a result, Stadnik got a bullet in his leg and was hospitalized.

And thus began a story going on until this day. A dastardly political assassination attempt, howled the Ukrainian delegate-in-chief, D. Z. Manulsky. A capitalist conspiracy to wipe out the Workers' State representatives, echoed Molotov and Vyshinsky. The Russian press wrote lurid tales of New York's political gangsterism, and the lesson was driven home (in Pravda) that the representatives abroad of the Fatherland lived in daily fear of murder at the hands of the foreign bourgeoisie.

But Drew Pearson in his syndicated column came up with another story. LABOR ACTION cannot vouch for the truth of this tale, but it can be true.

The delicatessen store, it seems, was a front for the Russian secret police service functioning in America. Delegate Stadnik and Voina were on their way to make a report there and, by coincidence, the place was stuck up at that moment. The shooting was the result of a mutual failure by two different type of bandits to recognize one another as brothers under the skin.

Why did the Russians get so hot about this? According to Pearson, they know that the Americans (thanks to FBI counter-espionage) knew about the place. So they figured the FBI had cooked up the whole thing. Russian imperialism vs. American imperialism on all fronts, including the delicatessen front!

Maybe Drew Pearson has the right dope, we don't know. For what could be better than getting your secret information along with a hot pastrami sandwich and a cup of tea?

Editorials

Nationalize the Coal Mines!

There can be no doubt whatever that the main fight of the coal miners of this country at this moment is against government strikebreaking through injunction. If the government should succeed in its case against Lewis, or if a compromise is reached in the meantime, without defeating the Attorney General's court action, but allowing it to drop by default, a serious blow will have been struck against the whole labor movement. Long years of experience with injunctions, whether by government or by private industry, has taught the trade union movement that any recurrence of such measures demands immediate resistance. That is why the AFL and CIO, despite their many and vigorous differences, reacted swiftly against the government action and threatened to resist it.

The fight against government strike-breaking by injunction is therefore the immediate aim in the struggle of the coal miners. But there is a long-term, basic problem involved in the coal strike: what shall be done about a sick industry which is threatened by the greed of the profiteering operators and new sources of cheap power? The miners are threatened with loss of their livelihood. They cannot make a living wage out of coal mining without fighting a constant battle against the mine owners, who not only resist paying a living wage, but also any measure which would improve the general welfare of the coal diggers and their working conditions in the mines.

In each struggle which the miners initiate against a decline in their living standards they are threatened with a loss of their jobs by increasing use of oil and gas as sources of power and heat. Coal mining is a sick industry, but its condition reflects the sickness of capitalism. Yet, despite its illness, the coal industry could function for many, many years and pro-

vide a decent standard of living for the miners. To achieve this, however, it is necessary to get rid of the whole gang of greedy operators to whom coal mining is important only for the profits that are produced. If the coal mines were taken away from this gang of parasites, the mines could produce enough coal to meet the needs of the country and provide a decent living standard to the miners.

The immediate answer to the needs of the miners is to nationalize the mines. Nationalization of the mines has long been a demand of the miners' union. In recent years, it has rarely, if ever, been used. But the union cannot long evade this issue. The New York Post, for example, has been agitating for the nationalization of the mines, too, but its demand is motivated by the idea that "government ownership" would end strikes in the industry! At least, the Post hopes so.

There are indeed two kinds of nationalization: One is for the government to take over the mines, pay the operators handsomely for them, and then place these same operators in charge of the industry at high salaries, with interest-bearing government bonds thrown in for added inducement to these vultures. Such a nationalization will not greatly improve the conditions of one of the most heavily exploited groups of workers in the country.

No, a real nationalization of the coal mines, nationalization of the mines under control of democratically elected committees of workers supervising production, would eliminate all parasitic elements from the industry, make possible a high production of coal and a higher standard of living for the coal diggers. That is what is needed as a genuine means of aiding the coal miners in their struggle to live.

Nationalize the mines under workers' control!

The Mounting Crisis in India

The political situation in India is rapidly deteriorating and that turbulent country is again approaching one of its innumerable crises. This crisis, however, promises to be of a catastrophic and violent nature because of the continuation of the fratricidal warfare between Hindus and Moslems.

The full responsibility for this disastrous situation, in the historic sense, rests exclusively upon the shoulders of British imperialism. For 200 years, this foreign power has ruled India at will, subjecting the population to its law and order. It is not, therefore, just to conclude that whatever has resulted from these two centuries of rule is the full responsibility of the British? If today the Hindu and Moslem communities are wider apart than ever (an unfortunate fact), it is the consequence of deliberate British practice of divide and rule. If today India as a whole is more miserable, more hungry, more unclothed, more poverty-stricken than ever, it is likewise the responsibility of the British. They have had charge of the nation for 200 years, and this is what they have accomplished!

The sources of conflict between Hindu and Moslem are many and complex. But one source, at least, is clear. The grinding poverty of the country make it exceedingly easy for religious and communal fanatics, of both communities, to rabble-rouse hatred and violence against the other community. It is likewise clear that today the British, for reasons of their own, are leaning toward the Moslem League headed by the fanatic reactionary, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, with the aim of stimulating the already widespread difficulties. Close to 10,000 dead are already the fruit of this sinister policy. The Congress Party, which took the treacherous

step of forming an interim government under British aegis, has declared its patience is approaching the end.

At this moment, the colonial bosses of London's Labor government have summoned Indian leaders to that city for an emergency conference over the situation.

The British, with typical hypocrisy, are advancing the story that they have offered India its freedom, but that India (as is obvious from the communal tension) is not ready for it. We brand this as hypocrisy because it is precisely the continued presence of the British that is causing the increased communal rioting. Their presence bolsters up the whole hated system of super-exploitation that leads to such intense poverty. It prevents the masses of peasants from taking and dividing up the land they need for food and crops. It protects the industrial exploitation of the city workers. Furthermore, it encourages, sustains and provokes actions of Jinnah and the Moslem League. It prevents the people, Hindu and Moslem alike, from taking possession of their own country and deciding how it shall be ruled in their own way. Britain is a prop to every reactionary, backward force in the country.

The British may well try to withdraw their offered concessions, previously made to the Congress and Moslem League, and again reassert their bloody rule with the force of British soldiers. Such an action would precipitate the sharpest possible crisis and would prove once more the treacherous character of British imperialism. Now as before, the first and most important step for the solution of India's problems is:

The immediate withdrawal of British imperialism — troops and all — from that country. For the right of the Indian people to rule themselves.

Why Workers Should Not Defend Stalin's Russia

By ALBERT GATES

Of all the organizations that adhere to the general program and ideas of the Fourth Internationalist movement, there is none so sterile, so impervious to events, so alien to the free and scientific spirit of inquiry as the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. It clings conservatively to outdated theories and false slogans with a tenacity characteristic of theoretical ignorance. And nowhere does this manifest itself so clearly as on the famous "Russian question."

As many of our readers will know, the SWP still adheres to the theory that Russia is a "degenerated workers' state," and therefore, whatever the differences with and opposition to Stalinism, the "defense of the Soviet Union" remains the key slogan of world socialist policy. Those who disagree with their theory of the Russian state and the slogan which flows logical from the theory, are described as being on the other side of the "class barricades."

FETISH AND RITUAL

The founder of the theory of the "degenerated workers' state," and the "defense of the Soviet Union," was Leon Trotsky, the greatest socialist leader of this era. But he never went to the absurd lengths of his epigone followers in the SWP. Where Trotsky was deeply concerned with Russian developments in the latter period of his life and concerned with the real possibility that he may have to revise his position on Stalin's state, the SWP proceeds in this question with the blindness of cave animals who perambulate without sight. Their theory of Russia has become a fetish, the slogan of defense, a ritual. The war years came and went without having the slightest effect on the thinking of the Cannonite leaders of the SWP.

One of the best examples of an absolutely hard-headed approach to this great question is contained in the Militant of November 9, in an article by Joseph Hansen, called "What Trotskyists Defend Today in the Soviet Union." The opening sentence of this article declares:

"Today in the Soviet Union nationalized property, the great conquest of the November 1917 revolution, still remains."

Therefore? Therefore, despite the crimes of Stalin, the workers must not be blinded "to the necessity of defending this great historical conquest of the world working class." How? By the "defense of the Soviet Union."

Such a slogan had justification, if it did not have validity, years ago, before experience and greater knowledge of Stalin's Russia was at hand. But today, this position is absurd, as Hansen himself proceeds to prove unthinkingly. Years of Stalinist rule have shown that mere nationalization of property does not advance the interests of the working class nor improve their historical position in society. What made the Russian Revolution the most progressive event in modern history is that it destroyed the power of the bourgeoisie and elevated the working class to political power. It established the first workers' state in history which proceeded to govern the country in the interests of the masses, proletarians and peasants. This was true during the period when property was not nationalized as well as when it was. It was not nationalized property which made Russia a workers' state, but the political power of the working class, the fact that it ruled the country through its state. The

moment the workers lost political power, i.e., from the day that the Stalinist bureaucracy usurped power and proceeded to destroy the independence, initiative and power of intervention and control by the working class, the workers' state no longer existed. The fact that the nationalization of property remains under the régime of Stalin only proves that such property forms can exist under the most reactionary, anti-working class, counter-revolutionary régime imaginable. Thus there is nothing to defend in a nation ruled by a reactionary brutal dictatorial régime, which rests precisely on this form of property. To call for the defense of this property form, as though it were something distinct and separate from the régime which rules the country, is an absurd abstraction totally unrelated to life itself.

JOSEPH HANSEN DESCRIBES RUSSIA

If you want to see to what absurdity Hansen is compelled, listen to what follows in his article immediately after the monumental statement quoted above:

"Virtually all the other conquests of the November 1917 revolution, however, have been liquidated. . . . Counter-revolutionary forces seized power. . . . Stalin crushed the Bolshevik Party that had been built by Lenin. Stalin exiled tens of thousands of Bolsheviks.

. . . He executed all Lenin's general staff of revolution. He murdered Leon Trotsky. . . . Stalin stamped out all democracy in the soviet organs of government. . . . Stalin instituted dictatorial personal rule. His political party prohibits the organization of any opposition. . . . In elections the people are permitted to vote for only one slate of hand-picked candidates. The rule of the Stalin bureaucracy rests on the terror of a secret police. . . . The secret police has in its power between ten and twenty million workers. . . . doomed to slave labor. . . . Periodic purges terrorize the population. . . . The Stalinist regime has restored privileges in the Soviet Union. . . . So thick and powerful has this growth (the parasitic bureaucracy) become, that the tree of the workers' state can scarcely be seen."

The "tree of the workers' state can scarcely be seen," or better, cannot be seen at all, because no such tree exists in Russia. Hansen might well have added that there are no "soviet" in his "Soviet Union"; that there are no trade unions, except in name, for what are called trade unions are government bodies for the purpose of binding totalitarian chains around the masses and enslaving them to the régime. There is no party of the working class in Stalin's Russia. In a word, the working class is a down-trodden, persecuted, enslaved proletariat in Russia, ruled

over by a new class of bureaucratic collectivists which arose on the basis of nationalized property. And if ever a theory was proven false in life, it is the theory that Russia is a "degenerated workers' state." That would be bad enough if the adherence to such a theory had only an abstract significance. But it doesn't. It has a real living significance. It is one of the most dangerous myths that has ever entered the working class movement, for the political consequences of the theory has already destroyed in large part the effectiveness of many organizations which, in all other respects, embrace revolutionary socialist principles.

WHAT IT MEANT POLITICALLY

As a result of this rotten theory, the SWP hailed the victories of Stalin's army in Europe as the harbinger of the socialist revolution on the Continent. The SWP counseled the European workers to welcome Stalin's gang of marauders, secret police detachments, and oppressors as "liberators." The usually silent leader of this party once declared that the Polish underground, which fought so valiantly in the battle of the Warsaw Ghetto, should subordinate itself to the Red army on the other side of the Vistula.

As a further example of the disorienting effect of this false theory of Russia and the slogan which ac-

companies it, we have the response of the SWP to the termination of the most destructive war in the history of mankind. The end of the military conflict saw the SWP declaring that: "The war is not over! If by that it meant that peace is only an armed interlude between wars under capitalism and that so long as imperialism prevails war is inevitable, that would be one thing. Even then, its declaration is confusing and disorienting. But in the minds of the SWP leadership this declaration had another meaning. The sharp conflict between U. S. and Russian imperialism, the new struggle for world power between these two imperialist camps, described as the preparation for an immediate attack on Russia. Stalin's expansion into Europe, the spread of his murderous, totalitarian, anti-working class rule into other countries are minimized by an attack on only one of the imperialist camps. This one-sided, unrealistic analysis causes the SWP to raise again the slogan of 'defense as the most important immediate slogan for revolutionary socialists."

To say that the powers are preparing for a third world war is one thing; to speak in the terms of a daily threat of war is to live in another world. Thus, on the basis of a false analysis of the world situation, the Cannonite SWP have resurrected a

slogan that can only doom the progress of the revolutionary socialist movement. The "degenerated workers' state," even by their own description, is in reality a modern slave state. Nationalized property in Russia under Stalin has been the means to enslave the Russian workers. It is now clear from life itself, the nationalized property can be subverted for reactionary social purposes or used for socialist purposes. To separate the nationalized property in Russia from the bureaucratic class of exploiters and usurers is impermissible.

Given the real conditions that exist in Russia, there is nothing for the workers of Russia, or the rest of the world, to defend. On the basis of the Cannonite theory, they would be defending an abstraction. The reality is that the "degenerated workers' state" theory and the slogan of de-

fense, disorients the movement of socialism. The worker is asked to defend what Joe Hansen has described as virtually a prison for the Russian masses. If one did not know that they are serious one could easily believe that the SWP leaders write about Russia with tongue in cheek. For, what possible conclusion, can one reach upon reading Hansen's description of Russian society than that it is not a workers' state, degenerated or otherwise, but is rather another exploitive society, a "prison of the working class."

The refusal to think, to reexamine policies in the light of reality, which is a distinctive feature of Marxism, results in a sterile adherence to outdated theory produces such self-defeating and illusory concepts as are contained in Hansen's article.

Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

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

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

GENOCIDE or SOCIALISM

By IRVING HOWE

Language, it has been said, reflects the state of a civilization, its health or sickness. If that statement is true, then we can find an extraordinary index of the decline of capitalist civilization in the recent influx of new terms into our language. Think of some of them: Blitzkrieg; concentration camp; buzz bombs; radar; atom bomb; bacteria warfare. These are the verbal reflection of a society which has sunk to such depths that—

at the very moment when it has advanced man's mastery over nature to an unprecedented extent—it threatens quite literally the very existence of the human race itself.

Accordingly, there is still another new word: genocide. It was popularized at the recent Nuremberg trials where Hitler's cronies were accused of having attempted to destroy entire peoples—the Jews and the Poles. But the conception of genocide is not merely applicable to those peoples that fell victim to Nazism. Increasingly it becomes descriptive of capitalist civilization as a whole. Not, of course, that the conception of genocide can be applied literally and immediately to the United States, for example. But if you will read the reports of starvation in Europe, the terrible prospects for the coming winter, then you will see how capitalism is providing a sort of genocide-in-extension for humanity.

Almost a century ago the two founders of socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, wrote that capitalism was doomed, that it contained in itself the seeds of its own destruction and that humanity faced the choice of socialism or barbarism. In the subsequent heroic period of socialism, when the movement grew and success seemed assured, and later when in fact there took place in Russia the first successful working class revolution, little attention was paid to the second half of Marx's prediction: "socialism or barbarism." For when socialism seemed so surely on the order of the day, when the mighty armies of revolution were rallying under Lenin's inspired banner, what cause was there to inquire into the phrase: "or barbarism?"

DECLINE OF A SOCIAL SYSTEM

But today when we are living after the most terrible series of defeats for the working class and for socialism; today when the previously unheard-of and unimagined symmetrical totalitarianisms

of fascism and Stalinism have arisen as the end-products of the decline of a social system putrifying for lack of a force powerful enough to overthrow it; today, then, we must begin to inquire what meaning can reasonably be assigned to the latter half of the Marxian alternative: socialism or barbarism.

And when we see the popularization of the term GENOCIDE, its casual acceptance by a world acclimated to accumulating social horror, we have at least a symptom, a SIGN of what that phrase "OR BARBARISM" can mean.

Surely, no one can say that he has in his mind or heart fully registered and assimilated the meaning of the corruption, the absolutely stinking decomposition of modern society. It is too much for one mind to try to grasp.

Who could have foretold or imagined twenty-five years ago what has happened to Europe in the past decade? Who would have believed that six million Jews could be murdered in the center of modern culture? Who would have believed that Stalinism would arise, having at its command the loyalty of millions of devoted workers who sincerely believe that this totalitarian monster is the symbol of socialist liberation? Who would have believed that the continent would today be a maze of homeless peoples, shifted first by the Nazis and then by the Allied victors, millions uprooted; a plague-spot of terrible hunger where millions of children are being doomed to tuberculosis; a miasma of corruption and despair, half of it gripped in the vise of the totalitarianism which arose over the grave of the Russian revolution?

THE MEANING OF GENOCIDE

When we think of socialism or barbarism, we must not fall into the trap of imagining that barbarism means the human descent into some form of primitive life in which technology exists only as a vestigial remnant of a previous society. That is a possible future degeneration from the contemporary barbarism which threatens humanity, a barbarism which is highly organized and utilizes technology. But today the threat is real: it is the threat symbolized by such simple words as atom bomb and genocide.

Think again of the facts: Europe starves. No rational organization has come as a result of the war; none is possible. Capitalist economies crack at the seams and in many countries measures are required to keep it together which are ultimately

additional attacks on it. The whole world shudders at the possibility of atomic war—and at the fact that preparations for such a war continue.

Do not think of the alternative socialism or barbarism as some hypothetical aspect of the future; the barbarism of modern society has already begun.

And what are the odds in this race between the bright rational future society of plenty and leisure and peace which is the promise of socialism as against the decline into neo-despotism, or barbarism or whatever you wish to call it?

The odds are in part what we make them. It would be the height of folly to say that upon a world scale at the present moment the socialist movement—that is, the real socialist movement and not the horrible contrary of it, Stalinism—is flourishing or on the verge of success. The black days are still with the socialist movement internationally and they will remain for some time yet. Only rogues or fools attempt to deny this simple fact.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS

But still there is reason for hope and possibility for victory. For so long as the working class—the only source of potential revolutionary socialist power—remains capable of revolt, so long as it is active, so long as it exists as a working class, there remains the possibility of a socialist triumph.

What do we mean by that phrase, "so long as it remains as a working class?" So long as the working class retains its central position in the process of production, the position which simultaneously makes it indispensable and yet constantly prods it to active revolt because of the intolerable conditions of life to which capitalism dooms it, then it is to this class that we must look as the power which can overthrow all of the old social rubbish and start afresh.

There is nothing automatic about this; there are no guarantees. First and foremost it is necessary to build a movement which dedicates itself to rebuilding the socialist cause on a revolutionary and democratic basis. The very course of struggle opens new possibilities of victory. Every human being who desires to put an end to this society of corruption and decay, of war and starvation, must find his place in the reassembling revolutionary socialist movement, at the head of which in the United States stands the Workers Party.

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.

(Continued from last week)

One of the major grievances of James M. Cain concerns taxation. Now it is true that there is a certain inequity involved here. The author must pay an income tax, and thus, he receives different treatment than does the corporation. And in the long run, he is also at a disadvantage if he is contrasted with the person who pays an income tax on what he gets from stocks and bonds. But this is an inequity which concerns all professional people, and not solely the writer. He is not a special victim of the government. In addition to which, this inequity mainly concerns the more successful authors, those who have to pay taxes according to surtax rates. It would be better if the successful writer did not have to pay such high taxes. But at the same time, this grievance involves complicated questions of taxation, and it likewise involves important principles.

Given the economic system we live under, the best principle of taxation is that which is based on ability to pay. Most certainly, the question of taxes here should not be a sound argument for the appointment of a board such as the one proposed.

And let me remind you, further, that after citing the grievances of the writer, including this concerning taxation, Mr. Cain speaks of the plight of desperation to which writers have been reduced. Think of it—Mr. Cain, and Hollywood writers earning a thousand dollars a week and two thousand dollars a week, are reduced to desperation, and they are, presumably, among the major victims of social and governmental injustice in these United States. For remember, the economic complaints on which this plan is based are the complaints of rich or well-to-do writers more than they are of the poor and the independent ones.

And despite such facts, there are many who dare to call all opponents of this plan fascists, reactionaries, illiberal. These features of the plan, also, should stress what I wrote in my previous letter. This plan is in the interest of the hired writer, rather than of the free writer. It has been concocted from the standpoint of Hollywood writers. Their trade mark is on it. I offered my cooperation in any struggles they make to better their lot. However, I again wish to point out that all writers must not be herded and bureaucratized as the means which will help them get a better deal. Their problems are not always precisely the same as the problems of the independent writer.

The very economic relationships of the independent writer are different from those of the employed writer. The relationships of the former are more those which are like the relationships of a craftsman to a merchant capitalist: the relationships of the hired writer more resemble those which prevail in the case of a factory owner and a worker. However, the scale of pay of the screen writer is much different from that of the factory worker. In the light of these facts, I wish to urge that the most complete and careful study be made of the different types of economic relationships which prevail in the business world of writing. Such a study will, I predict, confirm my criticisms: it will also reveal that this plan was worked out before it had been properly thought through to the end.

BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL OF COPYRIGHTS

You were quoted in the press as stating your opposition to any plan which would require that authors sacrifice their copyrights. However, even if this pernicious proposal be eliminated from the Cain plan, I would still most strongly urge its total rejection. The

creation of this appointed authority would give such a board an entrenched position, and from this entrenched position, it could well be able gradually to expand its power and influence. It could well work toward the acquisition of power over copyrights in the future. It could set up the basis for clique and group control among American writers.

At the present time, it is not a secret that many prominent American writers are either nonmembers of the Authors League, or else, they have stopped paying their dues and have lost interest in the organization. It is dubious as to the real significance of the League, and as to how many writers it really speaks for. The League has no provisions—to my knowledge—for the admission of poor young writers who cannot afford to pay their dues. By and large, the League consists of successful writers.

The fact that it has not attained a greater membership places a greater responsibility on its shoulders when it considers this plan. For even without the copyright provision, the League and the Board could be turned into a powerful group that could be controlled by cliques. The one organized group of writers in America could become an instrument of pressure on other writers. This pressure would possibly be in line with the ideas of pressure proposed by Cain and the other proponents of his plan. Without this copyright provision, the AAA will still be bureaucratic. Likewise, the claims that the AAA will not have any authority over what is printed are inadequate to defend the plan. For the AAA will have too much power. There will be no democratic control over it. In indirect ways, it can easily influence what is written when it wants to.

The fact that I am a member of the League should testify to my acceptance of the idea of the organization of writers. But different principles and plans of organization are possible. The Cain plan is not the only solution to the problems of the organization of writers. It is not the only alternative. Many of the concrete proposals for the economic betterment of writers, envisaged in this plan, can be accomplished without it.

"TOUGH MUGGS" AND LICENSING

For instance, it is not necessary to appoint this AAA of "tough muggs" in order to establish the practice of licensing the motion picture rights of books instead of selling them outright.

A large number of those whose books are likely to be sold are already members of the League. I am sure that it will not be hard to convince them that they ought to license their work to studios rather than sell them outright. This plan does not stand or fall on the licensing proposal. However, this proposal has already been advanced in such a way as to fool many members of the public. They seem to think that all opponents are against licensing, and that, thus, opponents are against the economic interests of writers. This false impression is then amalgamated with the false notions that all opponents of the plan are reactionary, and that its sponsors and defenders are progressive.

The press quoted you as stating that this issue is a trade union issue. This is also a misconception. It is not a clear cut trade union question. It centers in the matter of the property rights of authors. And further, even if it were an out-and-out trade union question it would not follow that Cain's proposal is a good one. I think that I have established this point in my two letters to you, and I hope that the Committee will carefully consider them. Also, I would add that if you persist in treating this question as a pure trade union one, and as one of merely formal unity, then you, yourself, will contribute greatly toward the creation of what you will call "fractional issues." For you will then be laying the basis for the misrepresentation of all opponents of the plan according to the amalgam which is now being publicly created, the amalgam which presents all writers opposed to the Cain plan as fascists.

Unity in terms of the Cain plan can only be a most dangerous unity. In fact, I predict that if the Committee recommends this plan, and if the League adopts it, both will have created conditions for the biggest "disunity," for the greatest "fractional" fight in the history of modern American writing. For I am confident that American writers as a whole, and in particular the best and the most independent ones, do not want to be herded about by Jim Cain's "tough muggs" and pie-card artists.

In conclusion, then, let me formally propose that the Committee rejects this plan in toto.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES T. FARRELL

South Africa - - A Hell Hole of Capitalism

AFRICA—A ray of light pierces the gloom that has so long surrounded the eight million natives in South Africa. Emaciated, wax-like creatures, with lips framing carious teeth, who feed on the garbage pails of ships at the quays; little children, old-looking, who yell all day begging food and clothing; old hags who hang around the docks hoping to sell the bony bodies they hide under foul cotton dresses worn paper thin at the seats; Transvaal mine coolies bent almost double from hauling ore on their backs; bedraggled dock workers, whose sweat is so much cheaper than the fuel needed to run a locomotive that they have to push freight cars up and down tracks at the docks, and who become so hernia-ridden that they carry their secretums in their hands as they waddle along—all these are on the march for a better world.

Beaten down by an exploitation so complete that it has reduced them to horrible caricatures of human beings, filthy, ragged, and diseased; these victims of a brutal economy, are now moving into action to improve their conditions.

Indians are conducting passive resistance, natives are burning their degrading "passes" and even a few voices are heard in the lily white South African Parliament demanding a better deal for the natives.

The stake that the industrial capitalists of South Africa have in the improvement of native conditions is a potent force in the movement for the betterment of the African people.

Although little discussed, it is the motivation behind the opportunistic mouthings in Parliament and by certain sections of the South African press, masquerading under the guise of altruistic solicitude for the natives.

ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITALISTS

For in the same manner that the northern industrial capitalists of the United States had a stake in the Civil War and the emancipation of Negro slaves, so do the arising industrialists of South Africa have a stake in the demand for higher wages for natives. Such an increase in wages means greater purchasing power for the native, which would alleviate the recurrent glutting of the consumer goods market in South Africa.

The Africans' lack of purchasing power stems from the deplorable low wages paid by the mining and agrarian capitalists, many of whom sit far away in England clipping their coupons. This situation places the industrial capitalists in competition with the mining and agrarian capitalists, and the farmers' fight for power takes the form of backing up the demands for bettering of native conditions. The industrialists are now seeking political power commensurate with their growing economic power and they therefore advocate broader franchise and more native representation.

They have advocated abolition of the "pass laws" since these iniquitous devices are the clever mechanisms of the mining and agrarian groups for controlling native labor by restricting it to mining and agrarian areas and denying a free labor market for the industrial capitalists to exploit.

All over the Union of South Africa the words on the lips of every exploiting European are, "the bloody natives won't work anymore." And that is precisely the situation. The natives have nothing to lose except restriction of movement under constant surveillance, little or no food, and ragged clothing. Work stoppages have become common, goods pile up in the sheds at the docks and ships glut the harbors.

The native has changed from an individual living a primitive communal life to a dejected victim of capitalist exploita-

(We publish here a first-hand report written exclusively for LABOR ACTION by a friend who has just returned from South Africa. This vivid account of the terrible social conditions under which the people of that country live is additional evidence of the world-wide decline of the capitalist system. In line with our policy of presenting information unobtainable elsewhere, as well as socialist analyses, on international events, we are pleased to print this contribution.—Ed.)

tion. He first began to feel the effects of change when the Cape became the stopping off place for the ships of the East India Trading Co. on their way to India. In the 19th century the Boers, who were descendants of Dutch and French Huguenots, began to set up large scale farm enterprises, driving the African deeper into the interior. About the time this seizure of the best lands was complete, gold and diamonds were discovered and the English stopped over at the Cape longer than the usual few days needed to restock ships with provisions. They stopped long enough to wage and win the bloody Boer war and to establish British control of South Africa.

THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE NATIVES

The natives were herded into reserves so that they could never compete for the better lands with the Boer farmers. But this state of affairs was short-lived as British capitalists exported capital to Africa to produce super profits. South Africa then began a period of industrial expansion. People were driven off the land and compelled to seek work in the towns.

To facilitate this process and to obtain docile labor, numerous tax levies were imposed. They were imposed on the native in the full knowledge that he would be forced to leave the land and seek work in the cities. The "pass law" came next. Under this act a native cannot leave one place of employment unless his employer (a European) signs his "pass." To chain him to the land the employer merely withholds his signature. A native caught without a "pass" is arrested, considered surplus labor and shipped to some area where labor supply is inadequate.

These reserves have become mere breeding grounds for labor for mine, industry, and field. In the towns native industrial labor is herded into dirty, vermin-infested compounds that are a menace to public health. Since some natives attained some skill and were used to undercut the wages of European skilled workers, color bar legislation was enacted and a rigid color line drawn in the white unions.

With the use of machinery there has been a gradual increase in consumer goods in excess of the home market. South Africa could find no sizeable foreign market for this surplus.

America's leap to economic domination with loans ready for those with hat in hand, has attracted many South African capitalists. But despite the prospect of developing trade with the United States, the need for expansion of purchasing power to include the eight million impoverished natives remains.

No less important to the picture is the influx of white entrepreneurs, skilled workers, engineers, advertising men, etc., sent by Britain and America as they compete for the South African market. These new arrivals threaten to depose a large section of the Indian population, which was given carte blanche by Britain to operate all small business as outlets for British

goods, particularly since the native was used for cheap heavy labor, and the Europeans for skilled and administrative work.

In the competition with America, Britain must replace her Indians with white men too, because the racial feeling prevalent in South Africa will be exploited for all it is worth by the prejudice-bearing Americans to the detriment of British interests.

The Indians own all the business sites and live in the same or adjacent areas. In order to make room for the invading horde of Americans and Europeans, laws have been passed barring Indians from owning property in the very sections where they already own it. If enforced the laws can only result in bankrupting the Indians.

To gain popular support for this wholesale dislodgement, opprobrium is heaped upon the Indian. He suddenly has become "dirty," "smelling like garlic," a "heathen," "burns incense and howls all night" and "they will become our rulers unless we drive them out."

The passive resistance movement of the organized Indians has focused attention on the condition of all Africans including the unorganized native. Asiatic and African exploitation has reached a bursting point. So explosive was the Indian question, that in the face of thousands who chose jail rather than fines for their offences of "sitting down" in the newly white areas, not a single Indian politician dared to accept the government's two \$5000 posts set up in a commission empowered to effect the gradual expulsion of the Indians.

THE AFRICANS "MAKE STRIKE" ON THE CAPE

Everywhere the Africans band together to "make strike" and refuse to work unless they are guaranteed wage increases that are conditioned upon six months service, but which are circumvented by employers who fire them at the expiration of that period and hire new labor.

So effective were these work stoppages that Port Elizabeth on the Cape became weighted with a backlog of unmoved cargo and American ships spent eight days in the harbor awaiting a berth in this port that used to be an overnight stop. Proposals for using a more northerly port for discharging American goods were met with extension of the work stoppages. Africans have been holding ceremonious rituals dedicated to public burning of their "passes" in defiance of the laws.

Any formula to settle the unrest that is brought forward by the capitalist groups, any order they try to create, will be the old order, full of unpalatable, unendurable conditions and the African and Indian people will continue to struggle for full equality. The capitalists are unable to provide full employment at home.

The need for increasing the purchasing power of the impoverished native conflicts with the need for buying his labor power at the cheapest possible rate.

The revolt of the Africans and the Indians, to be successful, must receive the support of the white European proletariat in South Africa. Beguiled by the ideology of white supremacy and enjoying some of the benefits of native exploitation in the form of better jobs, the European worker has thus far assisted in the oppression of the native.

Only if the British and American labor movements take a vigorous stand in favor of equality for all peoples in South Africa, will there be sufficient education of the European proletariat in South Africa to permit the entire working class of that country to go forward to a free and better social order.

Overflow Crowd at Farrell LA Lecture

By MARY BELL

NEW YORK, Dec. 1—An overflow crowd of 200 people came to hear James T. Farrell, the prominent novelist and critic, discuss Tolstoy's "War and Peace," in the third of a series of Sunday evening forums held by the Labor Action School. Farrell began his lecture by pointing to the increase of interest in "War and Peace" during the Second World War, indicating why this great writer of the nineteenth century has contemporary appeal. Many were turned away from the hall.

Later, in analyzing this interest, Farrell stated, "I think it is because we are now on the other side of progress from which Tolstoy began."

We on the other side of progress in America, the closest approach to paradise that capitalism will ever create on earth, feel the significance of public affairs affecting our destiny. I think that is one of the reasons Tolstoy makes us feel he is such a contemporary of ours. "War and Peace" in the development of Tolstoy is the central work in that it is Tolstoy's first coming to terms with the Russian past and his own past and his feelings about his class and country. . . . It is the beginning of his chain of evolution. . . . It is a great beginning, not the isolated masterpiece many critics think it is."

Since Tolstoy's most renowned work is firmly imbedded in the society of his time, a "war panorama of the Czarist feudal nobility," as Farrell called it, it lends itself particularly well to Farrell's materialist criticism. Farrell compared the breadth of Tolstoy's interests and the problems he posed in "War and Peace" with those posed by Marx and Engels: freedom versus necessity, the class nature of art, class misery, war and peace. Tolstoy believed that the history of any period is the history of the swarm of humanity, but he concluded that history was senseless and that war was the most senseless of all its aspects, whereas Marx uncovered the laws of history.

While Tolstoy in his characterizations of Napoleon and Kutuzoff, the Russian general, seems to favor feudal as against bourgeois society, Farrell contended that Tolstoy really attacked both in the name of the peasants, who had his great sympathy. He cited Lenin's appraisal of Tolstoy's later novel, "Anna Karenina," that Tolstoy had both a progressive and a reactionary side, and that he was a literary harbinger of the peasant revolution in Russia.

Farrell traced Tolstoy's evolution from the time "War and Peace" was written in the 1870's, when Tolstoy was only forty, happy, secure and recognized as a genius by contemporary giants of literature. His future would seem easy, happy and productive. But "War and Peace" written before the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, was the beginning of a change. "Anna Karenina," written after the emancipation which did not accomplish all that was expected and during the hothouse development of Russian capitalism, continues the themes of the first novel on a somber

level. In "My Confessions," the next work, Tolstoy develops his theory that life is stupid unless we are intoxicated, and the only intoxication is love. He tries to achieve the love of all humanity.

Tolstoy also attacked the theory that great men make history, but threw out all the elements of causation. Farrell stated that Tolstoy believed that "art should be the servant of man, and not man the servant of art." Farrell also contended that the failure of Tolstoy as a moralist testifies to the failure of Christianity as a viable social creed.

In response to a question, "Why did Tolstoy become religious?" Farrell pointed out that the period of his conversion to religion corresponded with the reactionary period of the '80's in Russia and that he embodied the "guilt-feeling of his class." The numerous questions and the comments after the meeting indicated the satisfaction of the audience with the well-rounded discussion of Farrell.



BELGIUM PUTS GERMAN POW'S INTO PEONAGE

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Nov. 19—German prisoners of war working at piecework in Belgian coal mines will be released and sent home if during the six months from November 15 to May 15, 1946, they produced 80 per cent of the rate of Belgian miners, the news agency Belga announced yesterday.

Holding these German prisoners of war without a trial, without charges, under forced labor, the Belgian state led by the veteran Socialist leader, Camille Huysmans, and with many Socialist and four Communist Party ministers in the cabinet, has established the piecework system of working for "freedom."

German war prisoners are organized into shifts under German foremen. If a shift reaches the 80 per cent standard over the six-month period, the foreman is also to be released. And as a generous (!) gesture, for every foreman or miner set free, the Socialist-Stalinist government will release three other prisoners chosen by the prison camp commander and the mines staff.

The evils of this situation lie in that a Socialist-Stalinist regime can put helpless German workers in uniform into virtual peonage, under piecework, and in coal mining, about which many know nothing.

A climax of Socialist-Stalinist viciousness toward German workers in uniform who are prisoners is: Belgian miners continue to desert the pits.

Coal mining in Belgium is too hard. It is health-killing. Pay is low. Housing is poor. The government has done virtually nothing to improve mining conditions. So many Belgian miners have quit the pits that Belgium has imported miners from Italy at a rate of about a thousand a week and hopes to import displaced persons from the Baltic states who fear to return to the East. These miners work under terrible conditions, at low pay, are forbidden to strike or to organize and must spend their wages in company stores.

On the Group Recently Expelled from the Communist Party:

Ex-CPers Indict Their Party as Anti-Socialist

By CARL DAVIS

Several weeks ago, we published reports of the expulsions of members of the Communist (Stalinist) Party because they would not accept the "new line" of the Foster-Dennis leadership which has replaced Browder. Among the expelled were such old-timers as William F. Dunne and Verne Smith; a group in the Bronx; and two intellectuals, Ruth McKenney and Bruce Minton. The expelled were charged with organizing a "factional struggle" against the "political line" of the party and advocating "ultra-leftist" views. As outlined in the statement of the National Committee of the CP, these views denied the possibilities of establishing peace under capitalism and asserted that imperialist war was inevitable so long as capitalism existed. The expelled had also asserted that the struggle for socialism must be the main aim of the party and denounced the deals which the CP made with the Democratic Party.

We have at hand several copies of a bulletin called "NCP Report," issued by the New Committee for Publications. The people associated with this bulletin are evidently among those who were expelled during the "purge" of recent weeks. Whether they include Dunne, McKenney or Minton we do not know. The bulletin is an interesting exhibit of what happens to people who join the Stalinist Party in the belief that they are entering a revolutionary socialist organization devoted to the interests of the working class. For the bulletin not only reveals the anti-working class degeneration of Stalinism; it also discloses that those who have broken with the party have themselves been deeply scarred with Stalinist ideology to the point where their program and struggle is, in reality, as anti-socialist as it is ludicrous. The fundamental aim of NCP Report, for example, is "to do what we can to help bring about socialism in the whole world, and hence, (a) to support socialism in that country where it is already established (Russia), and (b), to work to bring about socialism in the U. S. . . ."

They are against the CP in the United States because it is "anti-Marxist," distorts the teachings of Stalin, and has become an anti-socialist organization. The NCP group wants to build a "Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalinist Party in the United States." In answer to a question: "Will you not undermine confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party USA and shake the unity of CPUSA?" they answer:

"Yes—that is exactly what we want to do. We wish to undermine confidence in the leadership of CPUSA because this leadership is politically rotten. We wish to 'shake'

the 'unity' of CPUSA, because facts have already fully demonstrated—for all who wish to see—that this 'unity' is based on support of capitalism and refusal to fight capitalism." (Emphasis in the original)

CONFUSION ABOUNDS

It should be clear to the naked eye, that this group is not a Browder group, protesting the fate of the erstwhile leader of the American Stalinists. On the contrary, evident they had hoped that the ousting of Browder and his replacement by Foster and Dennis would result in a complete reversal of the pro-imperialist, pro-war policies which the party pursued during the military alliance between the U. S. and Stalin's Russia. Now, these terribly confused people find that Foster pursues fundamentally the identical line which Browder reputedly originated.

But it is obvious that these former members of the CP do not begin to understand what happened in their party and how the Communist Parties of the world are nothing else

but the agents of Russian foreign policy. Browder was dumped because he sold himself a bill of goods about the future peace and prospective relations between the United States and Russia. Browder misunderstood Russian strategy and took it for real coin. Thus he got far out on the limb, and when the post-war period demonstrated how untenable was Browder line, he could no longer be retained as the head of the party.

From now on, even though the American party might still pursue a class collaborationist policy, might still support the Democratic Party, and still, in the minds of gullible rank and filers, postpone the fight for socialism, a struggle they never even intended to pursue, they carry out this "Browder (read: Stalin) line" only with a cover of "militancy," exploiting the best sentiments of the worker. Other than that there is no real difference between the two leaderships: they are both composed of handpicked leaders, chosen in the Kremlin, whose main purpose is to carry out such a policy at home as

will redound to the benefit to the Russians in their struggle for world power. Browder now complements, from the outside, Foster's leadership inside the party.

A blind spot of the NCP is its sincere belief that the American Stalinist Party lives an independent existence, and that whatever policies it pursues are of its own making. Misguided people: every important step taken by the Stalinist in this country is decided abroad. If Browder subverted the socialist program; Foster has done the same (according to their own charge). Browder is deposed, but unlike formerly deposed opponents of Stalinism, he is invited to Russia, feted there, made a representative of book publishers, and uses his position to carry on pro-Stalinist propaganda outside of the CP.

In a sense, therefore, Browder can be even more useful than Foster and Dennis. NCP has to explain why Browder, whom they consider the originator of the Foster line, was not pilloried by Stalin. And if they think

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

CLEMENT GREENBERG:

Editor of "Commentary" and Art Critic of "The Nation" on:

The Decline of Art

December 8 — 8:30 P. M.

NATHAN GOULD:

National Organizer, Workers Party

Trends to Militarization in the U. S.

December 15 — 8:30 P. M.

C. WRIGHT MILLS:

Social Research Bureau, Columbia University

The New Middle Class

January 5 — 8:30 P. M.

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

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

about it at all they will discover that what is wrong with the Communist Party originates not on the 9th floor of East 12th Street in New York City, but in Moscow.

TEACHINGS OF STALIN

To bear out their contention that the American Stalinist Party is anti-socialist and pro-capitalist, the NCP group cites a series of unrelated facts which purport to prove the revisionist nature of the politics and practices of native Stalinism. While the recitation of the indictment coincides in a confused way and to a small degree with revolutionary socialist criticism of Stalinism, as a whole it reflects the utter confusion of the NCP. This group is obviously groping in the dark. And it will continue to grope hopelessly so long as it retains the illusion that Russia is a socialist state, Stalin is the leader of world socialism, the Communist Parties of the world are revolutionary socialist parties, but the American Stalinist Party is an aberration, totally different in principle and practice from the movement to which it is affiliated.

One example will suffice to show how completely disoriented this group is: Their most damning charge against the Foster-Dennis leadership of the Communist Party is that it has falsified the teachings of Stalin in order to give theoretical justification for their "pro-capitalist policies!" Thus, the group reflects a really curious specimen. It has broken from a Stalinist Party in order to fight for a "real Stalinist Party."

In doing this it has brought to light several interesting aspects of CP policy and conduct which we will relate in another article next week. We shall also trace the evolution of such a group as this and what it signifies for the revolutionary socialist movement.

Can They Afford It?

Memo to all administrators of New York's Welfare Department from the Division of Services:

"Re: Luncheon Allowance for Mothers' Aides.

"Effective December 1st, 1946, when a mother's aide is assigned to a family receiving public assistance, the food allowance for the family shall be increased to include the meals which the mother's aide will take in the home with the family. The adjusted amounts for these meals are:

- 15 cents for breakfast
- 20 cents for lunch
- 25 cents for dinner."

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- LIVING THOUGHTS OF KARL MARX, by Leon Trotsky \$1.50
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Headquarters: 21 W. Preston St.
Meetings of the Socialist Youth League are held every Friday at 8 p.m. Public forums are held the second Friday of each month.

The next forum will be held on Friday, December 13.
LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist are on sale at the corner of 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: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

On every Sunday evening at 7:30 o'clock, discussion classes of Marxist classics for next four weeks.

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

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tuesday—definite headquarters not yet established.

Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.
Buy LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist in Cleveland at Wheatman's store, 719 Prospect Ave., downtown.

For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Sta. E., Cleveland, Ohio.

DETROIT
Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).

LOS ANGELES
Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-3230.

Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily, except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday and Friday.

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

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

NEWARK
HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St.
OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m.

Newark newstands: 51 Barclay St., 158 Belmont Ave., Stand, Market and Mulberry, north-east corner.

Forum, December 6—ALBERT GATES, editorial board LABOR ACTION, on "THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS."

NEW YORK CITY
It's completely new except the address. New York Local of the Workers Party invites all its friends to visit the newly renovated, redecorated beautiful City Center at 114 West 14th Street, third floor.

All Workers Party literature, Marxist books, LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist are available there.

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 6 p.m.

Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.

You are welcome to attend all open branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

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

A Statement of Position

Socialist Policy in Trieste

In an article on the situation in Trieste published in the November 11 issue of LABOR ACTION, we included a statement of position on socialist policy in Trieste. We have heard comment that this important statement of policy was given insufficient attention by being incorporated into the body of a general article. We are therefore publishing below excerpts from an editorial on the same question that appears in the December issue of *The New Internationalist* that is now off the press.

Trieste combines two features which have made it a coveted spot in Central European politics for nearly a century. The first feature is that it possesses an excellent harbor and developed port facilities. This, by itself, does not distinguish it from a score of other Mediterranean port cities. It is only in combination with the second feature that its harbor gives Trieste an exceptional status. The second feature is its strategic location on the finger-tips of the long arm of the Adriatic which reaches up into the southern region of Central Europe. These combined features make Trieste the natural outlet to world commerce for an important section of Southern and Central Europe, especially Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia. This important fact was discovered over a century ago by the land-locked Austro-Hungarian Empire when its capitalist development made it acutely aware of the need for an outlet to the sea and a naval base for a Mediterranean fleet. The development of Trieste into a world port dates from this period.

Were the issue of Trieste confined to whether it should provide Yugoslavia as a direct outlet or whether Italy should hold it as a key to the European hinterland served by the port, it would not transcend in importance the place it occupied at the close of World War I when an Italian coup settled its fate. Its transcendent importance today arises from the fact that it is the natural spot for the Russian world to open a new "window to the sea." Trieste has a tremendous economic and naval importance to the Russian world. In a sense it takes the place of the old Czarist dream of Constantinople. That Russian ambitions should center on the Adriatic rather than on the Dardanelles is by itself a measurement of Russia's changed status as a world power today as compared to the pre-World War I period.

THE ANTI-RUSSIAN STRATEGY

Like Constantinople, Trieste has only a negative—that is, an anti-Russian—importance to the Western powers. The importance of keeping the decadent Ottoman Empire astride the Dardanelles lay in holding Russia bottled up in the Black Sea. The importance of keeping Trieste out of Russian hands today lies in keeping Russia out of the Adriatic. (The mountainous Yugoslavian and Albanian coasts on the Adriatic offer no good harbors and but poor connections with the interior.) Trieste remains the last possible Russian breakthrough to the sea before the changed power relations set in flux by the war definitely fell. If Anglo-American imperialism succeeds in keeping Trieste out of Russian hands, they will have contained Russia in its essentially land-locked sphere despite its tremendous territorial gains. Petsamo on the open Arctic serves Russia little better than its own Murmansk. Danzig and Stettin are east of the Danish peninsula and, in effect, leave Russia as distant from the Atlantic as its own Leningrad. The bloody British excursion into Greece to "restore order" headed off the Russian push toward Salonika. Compared to other possible outlets, Trieste was not only more strategically located, but it offered greater possibilities of a Russian success.

All factors, therefore, seemed to combine to make Trieste a pivotal question in determining the future of Southern Europe. Every form of military threat, political pressure and diplomatic stratagem was brought to focus upon this spot. Millions of words and tons of papers were expended in the arguments pro and con—none of which dealt with what was really at stake. Yet in the arguments of neither side appeared as much as a suggestion that perhaps the quarter-million inhabitants of the city and its immediate environs which compose the province of Venezia-Giulia, had a voice in determining what kind of government they desired to live under. The inhabitants interested the contending imperialist camps only insofar as they furnished material for inspired demonstrations in behalf of one side or the other, demonstrations which invariably ended with riots and bloody heads.

A revolutionary Marxist policy applied to this ques-

tion must make the desires of the population of the area the starting point. Not the Kremlin nor the State Department in Washington, but the people of the disputed territory must decide its fate. The first demand must therefore be for a plebiscite by which the people can determine their own future. In this, as in all other questions, Marxists remain not only consistent democrats but Marxists reveal themselves to be the only political tendency capable of a consistently democratic policy today.

The demand for a plebiscite, however, only indicates who should decide the question. There still remains the question of how it should be decided. To speak of self-determination for Poland or Indonesia today is to speak of independence for these nations. All we demand is that they be given a chance to decide, for the outcome is a foregone conclusion. In the case of Trieste, more is needed. No one can seriously propose statehood for Venezia-Giulia. Aside from the absence of any historic or economic basis for such a demand, the mere fact that not one per cent of its inhabitants could be rallied behind such a proposal reveals that it is not a serious political solution. Nor has it standing as a propagandist slogan. In the sphere of propaganda the Marxists call for a Socialist Italy and a Socialist Yugoslavia in a Socialist United States of Europe.

The proposed solution of a "Free Territory" under United Nations trusteeship means only one of two things: either continued Anglo-American military government, regardless of how it is enforced, or a temporary "solution" while each side conducts the struggle at only slightly reduced tempo aimed at lining up strength for a final showdown.

FOR ADHERENCE TO ITALY

The real choice is, therefore, between adherence to Yugoslavia or to Italy. Remaining consistent democrats, the Marxists favor adherence to Italy. Questions of ethnic majorities are not decisive in this instance. What is decisive is that Yugoslavia is a dictatorship that is rapidly becoming totalitarianized in the complete Russian pattern, while Italy is a bourgeois democracy, wretched and unstable, but a bourgeois democracy nevertheless. In Yugoslavia the new Stalinist hierarchy, with Tito at its head, rules through its own GPU and concentration camps, while in Italy a free labor movement lives and struggles and undergoes experiences which, we hope, will produce a mass revolutionary party adhering to the Fourth International. In Yugoslavia even clerical and conservative non-conformists are silenced, while in Italy even the Trotskyists have a legal party and press.

The Marxists of both Yugoslavia and Italy, opponents of both Italian and Yugoslavian chauvinism and of Russian and Anglo-American imperialism, need make no apologies for such a stand. The workers of Trieste are confronted with a choice between slow poison or the bullet through the head. Unfortunately, there is no realistic third alternative today. It is possible to resist the slow poison of bourgeois democracy and grow strong enough to conquer the poisoners. But to survive the bullet is another matter.

That the national composition of Venezia-Giulia is allegedly Slavic in its majority does not effect this demand. The democratic right to join their co-nationals in Yugoslavia is meaningless when this means placing their necks in the noose of Tito's police régime. Slavic nationality has not saved the thousands of inmates of the "concentration" camps. The appeal for adherence to Italy proceeds not from national or ethnic considerations but solely from the democratic needs of the workers, regardless of nationality. It offers the possibility of enjoying the freedom necessary to organize and struggle.

As with so many other living political questions, the question of Trieste permits no solution compatible with participation in political life for those who still cling to the position that Russia is a workers state, regardless of how badly degenerated. Proceeding from the latter concept, it is impossible to favor adherence of Trieste to Italy instead of the Russian outpost and prototype, Yugoslavia. We hesitate to demand that the "workers stagers" in the Fourth Internationalist movement break their silence on Trieste and give us their answer. The sight of these "Russian experts" prostrate on their backs as they desperately wrestle with the Polish question which we posed to them some months ago precludes such sportsmanlike conduct on our part. We therefore modestly suggest that they may prefer to call it quits on the Polish question for the time being and make a stab at the Trieste issue. Do you favor solution of the Trieste dispute by plebiscite? If so, how should the workers of Trieste vote?

Youth Notes...

By JULIUS FALK
(National Secretary, SYL)

There is a marked recession in the "youth consciousness" of the American people. In daily conversations, in the press, even in labor organizations, and strangely enough even on the campus, we no longer hear the "student and working class youth" discussed with any significant degree as a category with unique problems.

Primarily responsible for this apathy is the unquestionable improvement in the status of young people today. Whereas 15 years ago there were 5,000,000 unemployed youth, today the total number of unemployed workers is barely half that figure. Also the wage differential between young and adult workers has been pared down considerably.

When a high school grad did get a job during the depression he made 10 or 12 dollars a week. Today it is a commonplace for a 19 or 20-year-old, in terms of real wages, to get twice that. The result is that the young workers who feel that they have found a relatively safe and permanent niche for themselves identify their problems with those of the older workers in the shop.

In the high schools and colleges it is pretty much the same story. Students are lulled by a sense of security. They have jobs, careers and professions mapped out for themselves never doubting that their ambitions will be realized. The fact that the Stalinist American Youth For Democracy with its superficially progressive program has been unable to become a real force on the campus is indicative not only of the bad politics of that organization but reflects also an unhealthy lethargy among students.

PURPOSE OF COLUMN

The purpose of the subsequent articles in this column will be many fold: 1. To show that whatever validity there is to this sense of security, it is only a temporary phenomenon. That the depression is inevitable and that the first and hardest hit category will be the youth.

2. That despite the "prosperity" young workers and students are still living under considerable handicaps. Segregation in the school system, racial quotas in schools and industry, child labor, inadequate educational and trade facilities are still some of the chief characteristics of life for American youth; conscription will be another problem shortly.

3. That youth in foreign lands face even greater obstacles, giving us a telescopic view of what is in store for American youth under capitalism.

The overall purpose of these articles is to reawaken consciousness of the special needs of young people and they will be addressed, above all, to the young readers of LABOR ACTION, so that they may become acquainted with the program and activities of the Socialist Youth League, Youth Section of the Workers Party. The readers are encouraged to participate in this column through questions and discussion articles.

AVC Appoints Delegation to Call for Amnesty

The National Planning Committee of the American Veterans Committee has voted to appoint a delegation to call on Attorney General Tom Clark urging amnesty for jailed conscientious objectors. The AVC had gone on record at its Des Moines convention last summer in favor of release of all objectors from federal custody.

In deciding upon appointment of the delegation, the National Planning Committee pointed out that AVC "has consistently supported civil liberties, among which are those of religion and conscience" and expressed "support of full amnesty for conscientious objectors who have been convicted of violations of the Selective Service Act."

Notice to New York City Readers of THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST

THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST is now on sale on all leading newsstands in Manhattan and the Bronx. You may purchase your December issue from your favorite stand.

PRESS MANAGER'S

PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

LABOR ACTION CHRISTMAS FUND:

This week begins the \$5,000 Christmas Fund Drive for the purpose of sustaining the eight-page LABOR ACTION. We know that our readers will respond generously to this appeal on our part. We hope that all the agents and salesmen of LABOR ACTION will participate actively in this campaign. Let us hear from you on your work and successes in the drive to stabilize the eight-page LABOR ACTION.

CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION OFFERS:

In this week's issue, you will find some excellent offers by LABOR ACTION and the Labor Action Book Service, for Christmas and New Year's gifts to your friends (or yourself, if you insist). We urge our agents to look over these offers and to take advantage of them, at the same time spreading the good word around among our readers. The combination offer to LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist that we are offering (\$2.50 a year, for both publications) makes an excellent gift—not to mention the fine books we are listing in the advertisements. We assure those who make use of this offer that we shall take excellent care of any orders sent in, and shall forward them with gift Christmas cards.

Last week was an excellent—in fact, the best yet—week on LABOR ACTION subscriptions and renewals. It more than made up for the slowdown of the previous week. New York City did some work for subscriptions, but the highest credit of all goes to San Francisco which obtained 16 subs and renewals, thanks to the splendid work of LABOR ACTION agent Peter Marlow. Here's the list for the week:

NEW YORK CITY	18
San Francisco	16
San Pedro	11
Newark	9
Detroit	6
Los Angeles	2
Philadelphia	2
Boston	1
Buffalo	1
Chicago	1
Miscellaneous	7
TOTAL	74

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Is It Millions Or Billions?

Dear Editor:

Wouldn't you please make-up your mind whether you want a \$250,000,000 five-year building program, or a \$250,000,000,000 such program? Sometimes you say one and sometimes another. If this is a typographical error, then certainly your technical help should be cautioned about it.

Yours in friendly spirit,
M. RADOR.

(It's \$250 billion. The smaller figure is a typographical error.—Ed.)

Corrects Error In Rubber Article

Dear Editor:

The article in the November 18 issue of your paper, about the demands of the Rubber Workers as formulated in their recent Wage-Policy meeting, was enlightening in most respects. However, there was one glaring misrepresentation which I, as a worker at Goodrich, recognized immediately. It was the sentence which mentions that during the General Tire & Rubber Co. strike tires were allegedly turned out at Goodrich bearing the General label. The "allegedly" that your reporter used was no excuse for even mentioning such a rumor. Let me emphasize the fact that if such a maneuver had been attempted not a single tire would have left the plant completed. The other workers wouldn't stand for such a thing.

It might be true that General Tire & Rubber stores and dealers were kept supplied by the other large companies. But certainly no tires were turned out of the large factories during the General strike bearing a General label.

In fact a friend of mine whose tire blew out on a trip went into a General Tire & Rubber Co. dealer and was given a Goodyear tire. This, of course, would have the same effect almost as turning out tires bearing the labels of a company on strike. But just ask someone who works in the tire room at Goodrich if such a thing happened and they'll tell you they wouldn't let a mold into the factory designed to put out tires for a striking plant.

Yours sincerely,
GOODRICH WORKER.

Letter to Akron Beacon Journal

Below we print excerpts from a letter to the Akron Beacon Journal. There is no sign of the Beacon Journal printing the letter.

Editor Beacon Journal:
The Beacon Journal is fulfilling its responsibility as an organ of the "free press" of the capitalist class by smearing anti-labor editorials, cartoons and fake letters to the editor all over the editorial page in relation to the current battle between the United Mine Workers and the government.

Wednesday's editorial derides the (1) "thinking processes" of the Labor Movement in supporting Lewis

and the Mine Workers (hardly surprising) (2) the endorsement of the Akron CIO Council, (3) lack of realization that this injunction is different from other union-smashing injunctions because it was issued by "the government of the United States—representing the great majority of the people," (4) failure of Lewis and the UMW to use the "peaceful, honorable means by which their requests could have been considered," (5) lack of democracy in the United Mine Workers, and (6) the harm that may be visited upon organized labor "here in Akron, as in other cities" as a result of the action of Lewis and the Mine Workers.

In relation to points one and two it is advisable to state what the Beacon Journal and all the paid reactionaries already know, namely that the Labor Movement does not support John L. Lewis as such. It supports the United Mine Workers and it supports them irrespective of who leads them in their fight against the latest union busting drive of the United States government...

Point three is so ridiculous that few union men can be depended upon to misunderstand it. This injunction, the Beacon Journal says, is different from other injunctions. Why? Is it because instead of the industrialists securing it through a local judge whom they have installed in office for that purpose, their paid representatives who comprise the federal government have secured it through a federal judge who has been installed in office for that same purpose? Is that the reason? Do these men represent the great "majority"

of the people as the Beacon Journal says? Preposterous...

Point 4. Just what would be honorable about handing over the right and duty of the Labor Movement to represent itself against Big Business to governmental bodies composed of Pendergast thugs, Hague and Kelly strong-arm men? Southern labor haters? ... The Labor Movement was not built by "impartial" and "honorable" government committees. It was built over a period of a hundred and fifty years and built from the blood of thousands of workers slaughtered by the industrialists in their attempt to prevent unionization. Now we are to hand over the decisions of the Labor Movement to "Honorable" committees composed of the paid stooges of these same industrialists. Doesn't that make good sense? ... Then when you finally establish the Union Movement these same tycoons invite, or rather demand and legislate that you submit your fight to their "impartial" and "honorable" committees and fact finding panels who will decide the issues in a respectable manner.

Point 5. Granted, democracy in the UMW is restricted as it is in many other unions. We deplore that. We fight against that in every union where it exists. That is the fight of the rank-and-file against the labor bureaucracy. But it would not be an exaggeration to say that there is more democracy in the men's room at a UMW meeting than there is in all the capitalist courts and "respectable" labor-smashing committees of the capitalist government.

Point 6. Lastly the Beacon Journal

fears for the harm that may accrue to all unionists including Akronites as a result of the UMW fight. This government we have been discussing has been preparing for a long time a real drive to smash the Labor Movement to its knees. They speak of anti-labor legislation with moist jowls. They pour money into the coffers of fascists like Gerald L. K. Smith to build American storm troops to assist in the job. It is exceedingly fortunate that the first blow should come against the Mine Workers who have demonstrated on more than one occasion that they know how to fight for themselves and for the rest of the Labor Movement.

GEORGE WHITNEY,
Organizer
Akron Branch Workers Party

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"Tool Owners Union" is Latest Thing In Well-Financed Anti-Labor Devices

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

Under the deceptive title of Tool Owners Union, a new anti-labor group is being sponsored by the capitalists of this country. A careful reading of the material it has published reveals that it has been set up by experts in the field of anti-labor propaganda. The material indicates that American capitalism is using a new approach in its efforts to get the support of the middle class.

The president of the organization is Allen W. Rucker, who is also president of the Eddy-Rucker-Nichols Company in Cambridge, Mass. This is a counseling company—management, sales and advertising counseling. Rucker's connection makes him a good front man, for he can pose as a typical middle class business man and not a big industrial tycoon. Nor is he exactly a newcomer in reactionary politics. He has written an anti-labor book called Labor's Road to Plenty. Rucker's anti-labor sentiments are therefore well enough established for him to lead this organization.

ANTI-LABOR FIGURES

Surrounding Rucker in the Tool Owners Union are some better known anti-laborites. Among them is Raoul E. Desvergne, one of the leading figures in the notoriously reactionary and now defunct Liberty League. Another leading figure in the new set-up is Alfred P. Haake, whose name was connected with the Citizens USA Committee. This committee collaborated with the fascist, Lawrence Dennis, and the notorious Gerald L. K. Smith. Even after his link with Dennis and Smith was exposed, Haake still appeared publicly for the committee and spoke under its auspices.

He has also been associated for many years with the National Association of Manufacturers in its propaganda section which is known as the National Information Committee. Last year he was Midwest regional director of Spiritual Mobilization, a fascist outfit which has as one of its more prominent leaders the well-known labor-baiter and anti-Semite, Upton Close. Another leader of the Tool Owners Union is George K. Zopf, author of the anti-labor book, National Unity and Disunity.

The motivation for calling the new organization The Tool Owners Union is explained in a pamphlet written by President Rucker entitled, "Platform for Prosperity." He points out that for over a thousand years, the territory now known as the United States was only able to support less than half a million Indians in primitive poverty. The reasons why the United States can now support such a huge population, according to the author, is that it now has "production tools averaging 4.6 primary horsepower per worker, whereas the Indian had no tools except the forked stick." And who are the owners of these modern tools? Rucker says that they are the small business and professional men, holders of life insurance policies, retired workers with pensions or savings, and women dependent on annuities and insurance.

BOARD OF ELECTIONS TELLS SHACHTMAN VOTE IN 2 BROOKLYN ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS

NEW YORK—Returns from the 13th and 23rd Assembly Districts, Kings County, New York, give the Workers Party candidate for Congress, Max Shachtman, 165 votes. This is an increase of 142 votes over the Workers Party vote in those two Assembly Districts in the 1945 elections.

Kept off the ballot in five other Assembly Districts in New York City by the undemocratic action of the courts in collaboration with the Democratic machine politicians, despite the fact that the Workers Party obtained more than sufficient signatures to comply with the New York State election laws, the Workers Party was on the ballot in only a part of Brownsville and in a small section of South Brooklyn this year.

The Board of Elections has so far claimed its inability to divulge the write-in vote for Ernest Rice McKinney in the 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th and 16th Assembly Districts (Harlem), New York County, where the Workers Party candidate for Congress, Ernest Rice McKinney, was kept off the ballot by the Tammany politicians. The Board of Elections also claims its inability to divulge the write-in vote for Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party write-in candidate.

But the indication in the two As-

sembly Districts in Kings County is that if the same proportionate increase in the Workers Party vote would have occurred in New York City's more than one hundred Assembly Districts in which the Workers Party was on the ballot in 1945, the Workers Party would have received more than 5,000 votes in the 1946 elections. Combined with the vote for the Socialist Workers Party, this would have given the program of the Trotskyist movement between five and ten thousand votes, thus indicating an increase in the influence of revolutionary socialist ideas among the people of New York City.

Landlords Plot Rent Raise Under Cover of Coal Crisis

Due to the sudden influx of red-hot news about the coal strike, we have had to eliminate at the last minute material about the rent situation. However, despite the apparent lull in developments with regards to the 10 per cent raise in rents which is being considered by the OPA, a sharp eye should be kept on Washington for news on this burning matter.

It seems likely that the proposed rent increase will be postponed until the coal crisis has been ended, for the Truman administration fears the irritating effect on America's work-rate of both an open injunction-wielding strike-breaking attack on the miners and a direct cut in the payroll of the people by a rent increase. It may be expected therefore that the rent increase will be smuggled in after the coal strike is over, when—Washington bureaucrats hope—the vigilance of the workers will temporarily relax.

In the meantime, landlords have started a counter-offensive in many parts of the country. Aside from the usual chiselling devices by which rent ceilings are evaded—selling furniture when an apartment is leased; "selling" an apartment instead of leasing it; under the counter bribes, etc.—the landlords have declared "lockouts" by refusing to lease apartments until rents are raised. The president of the Nation-

Knitgoods Workers Seek Escalator Clause Wage Rise

NEW YORK—Knitgoods Workers' Union, Local No. 155, ILGWU, has placed a demand before the associations in contractual relations with Local 155, for an increase in wages under an escalator clause in the agreement.

Manager-Secretary Louis Nelson stated: "In view of the increase in the cost of living, the workers in the knitted outerwear industry must receive increases in their wages commensurate with the increase in the cost of living."

of the coal miners. Campaigns of this type run into hundreds of thousands of dollars. Rucker does not reveal to the press or his own membership who supplies the real money!

The TOU believes that the Wagner Act should be amended, but it is very careful not to say how it should be amended, fearing to show its anti-labor bias too soon. It says very cleverly that it wants everybody's bargaining rights protected. By this it means that it is against the closed shop and that it is for "agreements" between the boss and the individual workers. Its leaders are against mini-

mum wage laws because these laws eliminate "free bargaining." It is for changing income tax laws to favor those in the higher brackets.

The five-man National Council of TOU is not elected by the membership but is hand picked by a board of "founders." The National Council handles the headquarters activity of the organization and controls the local units throughout the country with an iron hand. The Council can revoke charters of the local units and expel members without filing charges or holding trials.

The TOU is by far the most subtle sort of set-up that American capitalism has produced for winning over the lower and middle class groups. It will carry on some clever propaganda through the press and through other means. It plans to put pressure on the political parties through local action and by occasional invasions of Washington. In this it will try to imitate and counteract the activity of the Political Action Committee of the CIO.

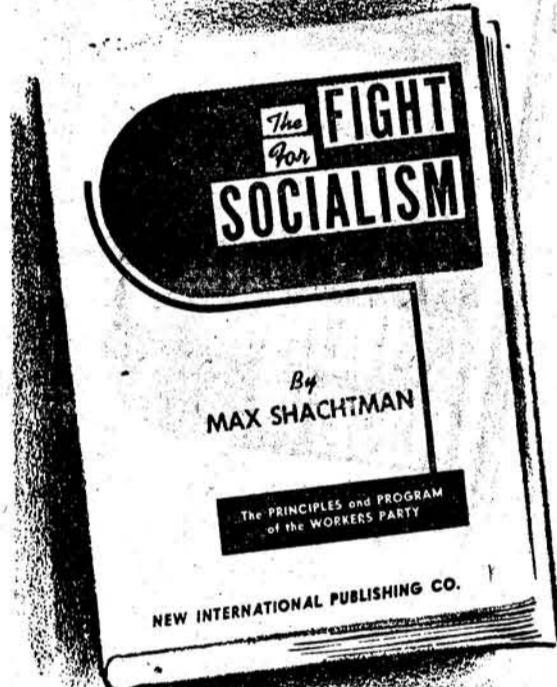
Whenever PAC tries to put pressure on politicians and on political parties, the TOU will be right there doing the same thing in much the same manner. Naturally, the politicians will "yield" to TOU pressure more often and on more important issues than they will yield to pressure from the PAC. That will make TOU look like a powerful organization and by contrast will make PAC appear weak.

This will be the price the working class will have to pay for the stupid policy of PAC, which bases itself on "pressuring" representatives of the capitalist parties rather than on independent political working class action. The only way to fight the TOU and the illusions it will sow is for the trade unions to take the initiative in organizing an independent Labor Party.

al Apartment Owners Association declared on November 18 that "I think I am conservative in estimating that 300,000 dwellings are now being withheld from renters because of this growing move against OPA controls."

Attacked on all sides—by the anti-miners injunction which threatens all of labor; by the proposed Truman and Republican anti-labor legislation; by the rising price level—the workers of this country face the need to move into immediate action against rent increases.

What should be done is very simple: organize block committees to hold the line on prices NO MATTER WHAT OPA DOES. Just because OPA may authorize an increase in rent, is no reason why that increase should be granted by the workers in any given dwelling. Not one more penny in tribute to the real-estate interests already bloated to the gills with wartime profits! Keep the rents down!



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Nine Newsmen and the Mine Crisis

They Earned the Brass Check!

It took a group of Washington newspapermen, some of them with carefully self-built reputations as great liberals, to perform in one of the most disgraceful exhibitions in the current mine crisis. We use the word disgraceful advisedly, precisely because at least some of the nine who issued a statement supporting the government's injunction procedure make a public point of their pro-labor liberalism. The nine are Kenneth G. Crawford, Dorothy Rockwell, Nathan Robertson, Tris Coffin, Jerry Klutz, Marquis Childs, Alan Barth, Mary Spargo and Albert Friendly. And in their statement they seek in their first sentence to establish themselves as good union men by referring to themselves as "we, all officers, former officers or members of the American Newspaper Guild, CIO."

They start with an "if"—"if John L. Lewis has broken his contract with the government or is breaking the law, we are opposed to him on that ground even though the law in this case—the Smith-Connelly Act—is a despicable law." Having referred to the "if," they thereupon disregard it, continue their statement on the assumption that there is no "if," and "denounce the action by the CIO convention and the statement by William Green, president of the AFL, which by opposing the government's action against Lewis have given the impression that labor countenances the breaking of contracts and the violation of law."

Note these few quotes. Right off, they disregard 400,000 miners who feel strongly enough about their rights and needs to take strike action, by speaking only of John L. Lewis. They then refer to a "despicable law" and protest its violation—first as an "if," then as a certainty—though Attorney General Clark himself, not very long ago, held that the miners were acting within the terms of their contract. More important, however, than the legality of the issue is the question of the miners' needs. Do the nine honorable newsmen propose that the miners strangle themselves for a "despicable law" whose application to the mine situation is AT BEST dubious? They do!

But, let us continue. The nine liberal newsmen say they "are concerned over the use of an injunction.... We believe the Norris-La Guardia Act, outlawing labor injunctions, is one of the basic and most important laws for the maintenance of economic justice." However, "at the same time we see a clear distinction between this exercise by the government of its sovereign powers to force observance of a contract... and the use of injunctions by private employers."

There you have it. These nine, who dare to record their membership in a union, insist upon observance of a "despicable law" of questionable validity, and

toss out of the window "one of the basic and most important laws." There is logic for you. Logic to satisfy the soul of every union-buster and labor-hater in the country.

In the first place, the Norris-La Guardia Act says nothing about the government being exempt from its provisions. If it did, there would be only one thing left for the labor movement—to violate its provisions. For it would then be the most convenient device ever conceived for breaking strikes. A strike is called, the government seizes the plant, leaving profits for the owners intact, and labor is back where it started many decades ago. It took labor bloody decades to break Government by Injunction. To submit to it now would be the greatest idiocy imaginable.

By what reasoning have government employees less rights than private employees? As an editorial writer for PM, who was shocked by his colleagues' statement, asks: "Should a miner or a street car conductor have fewer rights because the company he is working for happens to be operated by the government?"

In the history of the labor movement the injunction secured by the government against Debs and the Pullman strikers stands out as an event of prime importance. As in the miners' case, the government placed its marshals and deputies on the railroads and enjoined Debs and the Pullman strikers because they were interfering with the "exercise by the government of its sovereign powers." It was the fight against the injunction procedure unleashed in the Debs case that led to the Norris-La Guardia Act and the vanquishing of Government by Injunction.

We do not think that the labor movement will permit the reintroduction of Government by Injunction. The labor movement responded unitedly in Pittsburgh when a court ordered an injunction against the Duquesne Power strikers. The labor movement protested unanimously when Truman asked Congress months ago for a law permitting the use of the injunction. And the solidarity with which the responsible leaders of the labor movement have rallied to the miners, despite their individual opinions of Lewis, in opposing the government's injunction action, is a deeply encouraging sign.

There is an obvious pattern on the part of government and employer to resort to the injunction. This is as good a time as any to halt it, the nine venerable newsmen notwithstanding. As the coal crisis develops, we look forward TO MORE AND MORE SOLID demonstrations of solidarity from all sections of the union movement to support the miners and TO BREAK THE GOVERNMENT INJUNCTION!

Ky CIO Meet is Uninspiring

Delegates Treated to Bucketfuls of Oratory, and Little Else

LOUISVILLE, Dec. 2 — The Kentucky State CIO Council convention was held here on November 30 and December 1. One hundred and eight delegates and seventy-five visitors attended.

The convention was similar to that held by District 30 of the United Steelworkers of America here some few weeks ago. A report on that convention was carried in the October 21 LABOR ACTION. It stated: "The conference was typical of the Southern union movement. It was completely dominated by the leaders, the rank and file playing a passive role." The same can be said, with equal emphasis, for this convention.

NO CHARITY IN PROFITS

One of the convention speakers was Father Leo Dreckman, a Catholic priest, and part-time arbitrator of labor disputes. Father Dreckman suggested to those who were interested in the church's position on labor, that they read the encyclicals of Pope Pius XI, and Pope Leo XIII. He went on to say that we "must have justice, and charity in labor relations, demonstrated by both sides." Also that "there are many employers who try to be fair to their

people." He said that it would be ideal if there would be no necessity for unions, and that this would result if there would be justice, and charity practiced by both capital and labor. He also mentioned that "strikes are economically wasteful."

It is difficult to know what the delegates thought of Father Dreckman's talk. But when they go back into the shops and are confronted with concrete union activity, it will be easy for them to refute the idea of common justice and charity, as it has been in the past. Capitalism with its dog eat dog social relationships, simply has no room for justice, charity, and the golden rule thrown in for good measure! Maybe there are "good bosses," but even this type makes a profit, and to the worker profit is just so much unnecessary sweat!

BUSINESS TALK

Harry Schacter, president of Kaufman-Strauss (a large Louisville department store), and president of the Committee of Kentucky, also spoke. He referred to himself as a "liberal," and said that his main quarrel with liberals is that they are unwilling to do anything. He mentioned that two-thirds of the Kentucky schools do not have pure drinking water. That the state ranks forty-seventh in literacy. That one out of every four people born in Kentucky leave because of the poor living conditions. He said that the work of the committee had attracted attention in such far away places as England, Czechoslovakia, and New Zealand.

He pointed out that the Committee of Kentucky was an organization made up of people from all walks of life; labor, management, agriculture, teaching profession, etc., and that the purpose of the committee was to establish democracy at the "grass roots" level. In other words, to build up the economy of Kentucky so that

it would rank high among the states in education, sanitation, wages, profits, etc.

It wasn't until one of his final statements that he gave the tip-off as to the real purpose of the committee. He said: "If we make Kentucky a great state, the economic well being of the state will grow steadily." Now Harry Schacter is a business man, and he is using all these organizations in his committee (which cuts across class lines) for "the economic well being of the state." And the economic well being of the state means LABOR ACTION, the well being of those who control state political power, i.e., the boss class. It is probable that the working people might benefit to some little degree from this project, but it is designed primarily for the "well being" of Harry Schacter, and his business colleagues.

Many other people (union leaders) spoke at this convention. But to give an account of their remarks would tend to make for tedious reading.

A resolution favoring wage increases without price increases, and the escalator clause was presented to the resolutions committee, after being passed by the Louisville Industrial Union Council, and USA Local 1693. The resolution was "killed" in committee. It never reached the floor. No reason was given. It apparently didn't jibe exactly with national CIO policy.

Following the lead of the national CIO convention held in Atlantic City a short time ago, the Communist (spelled Stalinist) issue was soft pedaled. Some general remarks about Stalinist interference in union activities were made, but that was all.

The convention ended with the ranks not heard from on the grave issues that confront Southern labor. Altogether, the convention accomplished nothing of value.

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