

## WP Runs Draper For Councilman In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 27—Tonight marked the beginning of a well-planned campaign by the Workers Party of Los Angeles to roll up a big working class vote in the April 1 primary for Hal Draper, candidate for city councilman from the Seventh District.

The legal filing fee of \$144, a device to keep working class candidates off the ballot in this so-called non-partisan primary, was scrapped up and paid this morning. The first of a series of daily mobilizations to canvass house-to-house for nominating signatures took place this evening. Although 500 signatures are legally sufficient to put WP City Organizer Draper on the ballot, 1,000 will be collected as insurance against the whims of election officials where working class parties are concerned. Signatures must be in the city clerk's office by February 15.

Draper is running on an eight-point program explained in a four-page give-away with which the district will be saturated: 1. Against Jim Crow; 2. A \$100,000,000 city-county housing program and com-

plete shut-down of commercial construction; 3. A city ordinance to freeze rents at present levels; 4. End police strike-breaking; 5. Unification of the 17 transit lines under municipal ownership; 6. A nursery school program for children of working mothers, to be incorporated in the city school program; 7. Reduction of utility rates by city owned Bureau of Light and Power, now in possession of a huge surplus; 8. The socialist reorganization of society.

Groundwork for this first election campaign of the WP here began in the district last June. Subscription drives won many readers for LABOR ACTION among the Negroes, who are a large minority in the area; a number of contacts have been established which are expected to prove valuable in the work of the campaign. Wide distribution is planned for the illustrated pamphlet, "Jim Crow in Los Angeles," authored by Draper, now coming off the press. Weekly press releases will be offered to metropolitan and Negro papers. A downtown meeting in March to be addressed by Max Shachtman will be used to focus interest in Draper's candidacy, and an election eve rally in the district will bring the campaign to a climax.

## Reuther Takes Union Situation to Ranks

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Jan. 26—Isolated in the top leadership of the UAW-CIO, Walter P. Reuther, union president, finally has gone directly to the ranks for support in his serious situation.

At two well attended meetings on the west and east sides of Detroit, Reuther outlined the story of the bitter factional struggle raging on the international executive board, at which every important suggestion he has offered has been disapproved by the George Addes-R. J. Thomas-Richard T. Leonard-Stalinist bloc. Even when the majority bloc agreed on policy, they turned down his motions, and made their own, Reuther declared.

### PROPOSED CONFERENCE

The main charge he made was that this bloc put factional interests above the union interests, and Reuther gave a series of examples to prove his point. The reduction of important departments under the guise of economy at a time when heavy expenses were incurred in less essential work, was one example. One special example was the request of Reuther for another person in the important unemployed compensation department. Even though a majority of the Addes bloc agreed to the idea, it was vetoed because two members of that bloc were against it. "Anytime anyone in our caucus is against a proposition we are pledged to vote against it," Addes said, according to Reuther.

Reuther told his audiences of a special offer he made months ago to the anti-Reuther bloc. He proposed that both sides hold a joint national conference attended by rank and filers, and both sides debate their differences and a program for the union. He pledged in advance he would abide by what the majority of the rank and file advocated. This proposal was turned down.

### PROMISES AC STORY

Reuther also told of a bid made to him by the Stalinists. When he spoke for unity at a board meeting, an important Stalinist intermediary told him: "If you want to talk over unity, don't bother with them (IEB members) but see us."

This incident was part of the attack Reuther made against the Communist Party. He repeated his attack against "outside interference," "party guys," the CP stand during the

war for incentive pay and the speed-up, the flip flops before and after the Stalin-Hitler pact. He criticized "people who put political interests, before union interests." The ambiguity of his stand indicates that Reuther hasn't fully made up his mind what kind of tactics he is going to use in fighting the Stalinists. It is significant that he spoke of his bloc with Philip Murray, CIO president, in all his moves.

### AMBIGUOUS PROGRAM

Insofar as his own program is concerned, Reuther reiterated his fundamental idea of higher wages without price increases, and outlined as a must in the next period a national united labor conference of the CIO, AFL and independent unions, to adopt a basic labor legislative program, a united defense fund, and to solve jurisdictional disputes within labor.

At one of the meetings, in response to a question as to why he didn't support a labor party program, he repeated his time worn alibi of "the time is not ripe, etc., etc." Reuther was rather ambiguous on the matter of defining "honest trade union policy" vs. "politics," and he left doubt in the audiences mind just what he was talking about.

The enthusiasm of both audiences to his talk showed that his popularity among the rank and file remains high, for most of the audiences consisted of workers from the shops. Another significant indication was an incident in region 1-D where Kenneth Forbes, regional director, switched from Reuther's camp to the opposition. At a meeting of executive board members and officers of local unions in the Grand-Rapids-Muskegon area, Forbes' new policies were rejected by an overwhelming vote, with a few abstentions.

The coming local union elections next month and March in which Reuther and anti-Reuther slates will compete in most elections, will show the trend in the UAW-CIO. Reuther urged his followers to concentrate on that problem in the next couple of months.

# LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 3, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

## 'Control' Head Devises Rent-Lifting Scheme!

### UAW Local Wins Close Vote at A-C

**BULLETIN:** The UAW won the State Employment Relations Board election at Allis-Chalmers by a vote of 4122 against 4,015 for the independent, company-dominated union.

By KEN HILLERY

MILWAUKEE, Jan. 26—At the moment of writing, hundreds of workers of the Allis-Chalmers Company in West Allis, Wis., are filing into the Municipal Auditorium in downtown Milwaukee to vote whether or not there shall be a union at the AC company.

Volunteers to help Local 248, UAW-CIO, in its crucial battle have poured in from all centers of the state and Northern Illinois. A running cab service has been set up to taxi the AC workers to and from the polling booths.

The election, the first of its kind held during a strike in the state of Wisconsin, was ordered by the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board and upheld by Federal Judge F. Ryan Duffy. Duffy happens to be (only by accident, of course) the brother-in-law of Harold W. Storey,

(Continued on page 2)

### Demand Indo-China Freedom!



### Viet Nameese, WP and SWP Picket French Consulate

**NEW YORK**—Chanting slogans in behalf of freedom for Indo-China and against the use of American arms by French imperialism, several hundred people picketed the French consulate in this city on January 25. The protest demonstration was initiated by the Workers Party and conducted jointly with the Socialist Workers Party and a group of Viet Nameese living in New York.

The two latter groups responded to a call of the Workers Party for a united protest demonstration and all three groups marched in the picket line with banners declaring support to the Viet Nam, Indo-Chinese independence movement.

The picket line was held on a sunny Saturday afternoon and thousands of persons passing by Rockefeller Center, where the French consulate is located, saw the colorful, thickly-massed line winding around the street. It continued for one hour and concluded with the singing of the socialist hymn, The Internationale. Copies of the joint statement issued by the three sponsoring groups were distributed to passers-by, as were copies of LABOR ACTION by members of the Workers Party.

After the demonstration representatives of the three groups attempted to call upon the French consul but were informed by the police that only one representative would be received. Thereupon Mr. Din-Ba-Ngoan, representing the Viet Nameese

group, was received by a consular official.

The demonstration had been called by the Workers Party two weeks before and an appeal issued to the Socialist Workers Party, the Viet Nameese group and several other groups for joint action. This call was answered by the Viet Nameese and by the SWP. It was therefore possible to hold a demonstration in which the banners of the two Trotskyist organizations in America were side by side in support of the struggle for colonial freedom.

The statement sent to the French consulate said in part:

We, Vietnamese residents of New York City, together with members and friends of the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party, assembled in demonstration before the French consulate in New York City, wish to express our strongest protests against the imperialist aggression of your government against the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

We especially condemn the use of American arms and munitions to shoot down the people of Indo-China. We consider this a manifestation of the reactionary role of American capitalism which is being transformed into an arsenal of world imperialism in its drive to keep the colonial peoples in subjection.

We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all French troops in Indo-China territory.



## Eleven Die in Chicago Fires

Goldman Holds City, Landlords Responsible; Asks for Building Program

By M. SLATER

CHICAGO, Jan. 26—Fires in two more of Chicago's tenements this week brought to a total of four such fires during a two-week period. Eleven lives have been lost (eight of them children) and 100 families have been left homeless.

The fires have largely taken place in Negro tenements, where overcrowding and disrepair are the recognized programs of the landlords.

In one of the buildings, tenants reported that the owner, David Coleman (one of the most hated exploiters of Negro tenants in the city) had threatened them with eviction in order to convert the already small flats into still smaller units in order to increase his income from the building. It was Coleman against whom tenants organized several years ago to protest against the miserable conditions existing in the buildings he owned and operated.

Records show that in the case of one of the firetraps, complaints involving the property date back to 1929. Seven violations of safety rules were cited in the charges. As recently as last December 27, the owner, was served with a notice by fire inspectors to correct seven violations, including replacements and repairs to put the structure into habitable condition.

The fires point up the deplorable housing situation in the city—especially in the Negro "ghettos." With indignation running high, "investigations" into the fires are being planned, both by city officials and leaders of the city's Negro population. Irving Lang, Assistant State's Attorney, is the director of one such inquiry, with "full power in a search for criminal negligence on the part

of operators or owners of the buildings with a view to prosecuting them if possible."

Coroner A. L. Brodie, "indignant" over the situation, also offers as a remedy, putting the landlords behind bars.

In a statement issued the day after one of the tragic fires, Mayor Kelly declared:

"Why keep on kidding the public? The housing situation is a disgrace. In some of our areas the situation is a calamity. The immediate question is: Can people live like human beings, or must they live like animals?"

Such statements and "inquiries" usually follow on the heels of an atrocity like the recent fires. But the records show that the necessary action is never taken which would prevent a recurrence of the tragedies.

In a letter to the editor published in the Chicago Sun for Sunday, January 26, Albert Goldman, candidate of the Workers Party for Mayor of Chicago, says:

"No one man can minimize the responsibility of the landlords in these terrible fires. But those who are far more responsible than the landlords are they who could build decent homes for the people who are in desperate need of them and have failed to do so.

"The ones who must shoulder the greatest responsibility are those who control the federal, the state and city governments who have been talking about building and have done nothing for the poorer people.

"Let the coroner try to put the responsible officials behind the bars together with the greedy landlords." When interviewed by this reporter, Candidate Goldman said: "Not only the fire victims, but all tenement

### Ease Landlord 'Hardship' by Boosting Rent

By SUSAN GREEN

Major General Philip Fleming, director of the Office of Temporary Controls, has issued an order for easing rent ceilings in cases of landlords who "suffer economic hardship." At the same time, his own Office of Temporary Controls has completed a survey of landlord income for 1946 on a national scale, showing that the net take soared above 1945, to a record peak.

General Fleming is possibly haunted by the remark attributed to a philosopher of some note that "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." However, let us assume that he was not completely aware of the findings of his own office, and examine the "economic hardships" suffered by the real estate business:

In 1944 the now extinct OPA, investigating New York landlords, found that their net income had more than doubled since 1938—just a little wartime bonus for graciously renting at murderous rates every hole and hovel that the housing shortage made so precious. A "sample group" of landlords whose net income in 1938 had totaled \$900,000, reaped a \$2,000,000 wartime harvest in 1944. The 1945 income topped that of 1944.

Now General Fleming's own department gives the lie to his concern over the "economic hardships" of the landlords by revealing still mounting profits for 1946 throughout the nation. Though there is no philosophical consistency here, there is a definite class consistency. The more profits the capitalists pocket, the more they want, the greater their pressure on the government and the greater the willingness of capitalist politicians to play along.

### "REASONABLE DOUBT"

General Fleming assured reporters that his ruling is meant to benefit "small property owners." This is supposed to be (Continued on page 8)

## Portal Claims Face All-Sided Attack

Congressmen Act to Squeeze Through Broad Anti-Labor Legislation on Portal-to-Portal Issue

JANUARY 28—Portal-to-portal claims faced an all-sided attack as government-profiler representatives sought to make the issue the focus of their campaign against labor.

• The Justice Department last week, as "a friend of the court," asked that the claims be thrown out of the Supreme Court unless evidence were introduced that the claims are really substantial and not against the public interest. The legal brains of the Justice Department dusted off some legal mumbo-jumbo about "de minimis" in their plea to invalidate the verdict of Judge Picard, who, in 1943, in the United States District Court in Detroit, awarded an aggregate of \$2,400 in overtime claims to CIO-organized workers at the Mount Clemens Pottery Company.

• While the Justice Department asked the Supreme Court to rule against the workers in this test case because the claims were not substantial, Representative Knutson (R.,

Minn.), holding that the size of the claims constitute a menace to the economy, introduced a bill into Congress which would deny the courts jurisdiction in portal suits. His bill is based on the contention that a Treasury decision to allow tax rebates to employers who might have to shell out on back pay claims would mean a terrific loss in revenue to the government. He did not explain why employers should receive these tax rebates!

• House Republican leaders placed the portal-to-portal issue on top of the agenda, and the Senate Judiciary Committee reached what the press calls the "decisive" stage in considering legislation against portal suits.

• Senators Wiley (R., Wis.) and Capahart (R., Ind.) have introduced bills defining the work week as "only time during which an employee is engaged in productive work." Should this bill pass, a worker could be on the job all day waiting for "produc-

tive work" and not receive a cent in pay unless the union contract specified otherwise in advance.

• House bills concerning portal-to-portal include amendments to the wage-hour law.

In general the "green light" given the portal-to-portal bills is intended to sound out the possibility of broader anti-labor legislation. Various anti-labor bills, from "mild curbs" to out-and-out union-busting measures, such as that outlawing the closed shop, are scheduled to come before Congress.

As matters stand now, Congressmen are aware that the labor movement will not tolerate any serious inroads on its right to strike and to organize into unions. It is interesting, however, that most of the bills are being given a portal-to-portal twist in an attempt to squeeze through broader restrictions under the cover of portal suits and, as we said above, to test the ground for more violent

bills. (LABOR ACTION next week will review the anti-labor bills before Congress.)

Portal-to-portal claims are NOT the basic wage campaign of the unions today. In actuality the portal-to-portal claims are outside the present wage demands of the workers. These demands are designed to make it possible for labor to meet the inflationary price situation, to halt the depression of labor's living standards. The portal-to-portal claims are designed to recover for labor unpaid wages for time spent on the job.

Just as it is important that the labor movement assert its right to claim portal pay, so is it important for labor to stand guard against the attempt to push through anti-labor legislation in the guise of portal-to-portal legislation. The best way to do that is to act to defeat the portal-to-portal legislation coming before Congress, to resist the various non-legislative schemes against portal claims.

### CHICAGOANS!

ALBERT GOLDMAN will give the Second of a Series of RADIO ADDRESSES Sunday, Feb. 16, 1:45 P. M. Station WJJD 1160 on Your Dial

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Doubts UMW Will Win Ford Railmen

By DON SHANNON

DETROIT, Jan. 20—At a meeting today in Northwestern High School which was expected to develop fire-works as the result of a planned bolt of Ford Motor Co. railroad workers from Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, to the United Mine Workers, AFL, leaders of the UAW ignored the jurisdictional dispute, limiting their talk to a report on negotiations on behalf of the railmen.

The railroad workers attending the meeting did not mention the UMW's overtures, but concentrated on their troubles.

At the end, they sent their negotiating committee back to the plant with instructions to continue working on those problems. There are approximately 600 railroad employees.

Members of the Transportation Unit of Ford Local 600, the railmen have long been dissatisfied by the inability of the local union to negotiate a suitable working agreement for the railroad workers. Major grievance of the railmen is the lack of a satisfactory agreement on exercise of seniority and working conditions not covered in detail by the existing contract.

Capitalizing upon the discontent of the railroad workers and Lewis' reputation among a large section of the auto workers as a fighting labor leader, leaders of Lewis' Railroad Division, more than a month ago, saw the opportune moment for raiding the UAW.

At a closed meeting in Dearborn a week ago Glen Henney, top UMW rail official in Toledo, announced that he had 80 per cent of the Ford trainmen signed up.

Ford Local 600 officials and top UAW officers did not conceal their alarm at these developments. It is generally conceded that Lewis' inroads upon the Transportation Unit

of Local 600 are merely the beginning of an attempted drive to take over the local. Pro-Lewis agitation has now spread to the large Maintenance Unit and prospects of serious jurisdictional warfare are in the offing.

ROLE OF THE DETROIT NEWS

This dispute is aggravated by agents of the Ford Motor Co. and the Detroit newspapers. Local 600, the world's largest local union, with a membership of 70,000 and long under the control of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, is particularly vulnerable to attacks from these reactionary sources.

A vicious red-baiting editorial in a recent issue of the Detroit News, long-time mouthpiece of the Ford Motor Co., characterized the bolt of the railroad workers to the UMW as a revulsion against the policies of Stalinism or Stalinist leadership of the local being raised by the railroad workers. Chief hindrance to settling grievances is an inadequate grievance procedure operating within an equally inadequate contract.

Responsibility for the existing contract rests upon the former leadership of Local 600. As a result of ramming

the contract down the throats of the Ford workers, the workers voted it out of office. The workers, however, were left with the contract and the present Stalinist leadership of the local, most of whom distinguished themselves during contract negotiations by denouncing the proposed contract without taking concrete steps to prevent its ratification.

Because there is no left-wing anti-Stalinist caucus functioning in Local 600, some Ford workers look to the Stalinists for leadership because they mistakenly believe that the totalitarian Stalinists represent progressive unionism existing in the local union when compared to the reactionary, red-baiting ACTU elements.

HOW THEY VIEW LEWIS

Nor are the Ford workers unaware that the United Mine Workers now enjoy the highest wage-scale in American industry. The average auto worker credits this to the leadership of John L. Lewis, whom he regards as a militant labor leader because of the struggle Lewis waged for the miners during the war. Lewis' recent setback by the government only added to his laurels in so far as the average auto worker is concerned. To them Lewis is sharp and militant. That this is all untrue is beside the point. This is the way the average auto worker feels.

This writer doubts that Lewis will succeed in effecting a split in Local 600, though it is possible that his maneuvers may have the effect of stirring the Stalinist bureaucrats from their lethargy long enough to produce some militant action in behalf of the 70,000 Ford workers. The railroad workers of Ford have to work inside of their union, Local 600 of the UAW, to gain better working conditions and more effective union leadership to lead the fight for those conditions.

Textile and Other Industries Paralyzed As Strikes Lash Franco Regime in Spain

Several months ago some spontaneous slow-down strikes were reported taking place in Spain. A few weeks ago we printed the story of a strike involving several thousand workers in a Barcelona textile mill. Now word comes from Spain that the entire textile industry of that city, which employs tens of thousands of workers, was paralyzed a few weeks ago by a general strike that lasted for days. According to the reports, more than 90 per cent of the workers in the industry took part in the strike which was organized by the illegal UGT (Federation of Labor). As always, the armed police tried to intimidate the workers and break the strike by entering factories to arrest the leaders. The unshakable solidarity of the workers in the factories concerned, who all stepped forward as one to be arrested, defeated the strike-breaking tactics of the police.

The general strike was more than economic in character. It was deliberately planned to occur at a time when Franco had ordered his Falangist Party to hold meetings throughout Spain as proof that the Caudillo enjoys popular support. Franco's press described these meetings as a plebiscite. The textile workers of Barcelona voted by calling a general strike.

The success of the textile workers is having profound repercussions in the ranks of the working class. In Barcelona itself, the strikes are spreading to the gas, electric and metallurgical plants. Strikes involving every branch of industry are reported in every part of Spain. The struggle of the Spanish workers against Franco is definitely entering a new phase.

UAW Wins Close Allis-Chalmers Vote --

(Continued from page 1)

AC's vice-president and general attorney.

The vote is between the so-called "Independent Workers (?) of Allis-Chalmers" and UAW Local 248. The independent (read: company-dominated) union has received reams of publicity from Milwaukee's reactionary press and radio stations. Even the reactionary clergy, through Father Peter K. Flasch, pastor of St. Catherine's Church, has taken an active interest in supporting the company union.

STRIKE CONTINUES

The UAW and all union activists are concerned with the seriousness of the situation. Victory for the UAW will still pose the question of settling the strike, and the consolidation of the union after this long and bitter battle. The union has been out since April 30. At the present moment the company claims 2,000 scabs at work. The problem of rebuilding and consolidation is a serious and important one.

For a while last week it seemed as if a settlement was in the air. The papers talked of it. Rumors told that

the Board election was going to be called off, etc., etc.

This all came out of the secret negotiations held in the home of Rev. Ensworth Reiser, pastor of the First Methodist Church. Attending the sessions were Walter P. Reuther, George F. Addes, Richard Leonard and R. J. Thomas for the UAW, and John Brophy, personal representative for Philip Murray. The company was represented by E. F. Ohman, chairman of the company's negotiation committee, A. K. Brinnall, labor relations director, and John Waddeley of the legal division of the company.

At the meeting the company proposed the following: a 13 1/2-cent general increase, to be added to the five cents given during the GM strike, which would meet the national pattern of 18 1/2 cents; the Studebaker good will clause (advising new employees of the union contract, etc., etc.); pay for grievance time, if the areas of possible abuse were eliminated; the elimination of inequities that exist between the AC plant's non-production workers and the other durable goods plants under union contract in Milwaukee. (This would mean about five to eight-cent

increases for skilled trades and other non-piecework employees.) It also proposed that the question of a general wage increase be subject to negotiation in April of this year.

However, said the company, these terms are conditional on an agreement that the International Union supervise the coming local UAW plant election to ascertain whether the present local leadership truly represents the wishes of its membership. If the leadership is returned victoriously, the company pledged itself to bargain with it.

There is no doubt that this proposal was the company's plan and method of influencing the Board's election. How otherwise explain why it took them nine months to bring in a contract proposal? This infamous anti-labor company, headed by a Tom Girdler called Walter Geist, has used every anti-labor trick in the books: provocation, use of police, sheriff, courts and finally the State Labor Board. This is not the first time Allis-Chalmers Company has stood condemned before the entire union movement.

PRESS LIES ON UAW

After this meeting the newspapers had another field day. The Policy Committee of the UAW (consisting of all top officers and Board members residing in Detroit) was to discuss the question on Wednesday, January 22. Neither Addes, Thomas nor Leonard appeared. Addes stated that he was confused on the dates. The New York Times, Chicago Tribune and Milwaukee papers had front-page stories on the fight of the "right" versus the "left." However, the next day the Policy Committee did meet and unanimously rejected the company offer.

The basis for rejection was the same as the statement issued that day by Robert Buse, president of Local 248. They contended that the piece workers would not benefit from the additional fringe increases and that nothing new had been offered on the key issues in dispute.

One is forced to speculate on what happened at the Policy Committee's meeting. Knowing the internal situation in the UAW, one can say that Reuther took the position that the local has to decide the question by itself. If there had been a chance to lose the Sunday election, then the Policy Committee would have had to insist on the settlement in order to use this as a basis of winning. If victory is assured, maybe some additional concessions could be wrung out of the company. In any case the union local leadership had the decision to make. The decision of the Policy Committee was unanimous, the press' stories to the contrary notwithstanding.

To think that Reuther would have tried to ram a settlement down the local leadership's throat, as was mentioned frequently in the press earlier this week, shows a complete lack of understanding of the relationship of forces in the UAW. Especially as a crucial election is coming up in September of this year. To further prove this point, it is necessary to point out the presence of John Brophy's sitting in at the Milwaukee secret negotiations, and the way Walter Cappel,

leading Wisconsin Reutherite, was whipped into publicly supporting the AC strike.

On the surface, one would say that the company's proposal was not a bad one, considering the length of the strike. The major questions were settled and the company had retreated completely. On grievance procedure and union security, the union had won its points. On the elimination of intra-plant inequities, this was a victory. The greatest obstacle, therefore, was the question of the administration of the International Union in the local election.

The local leadership could have said: "The company has no right to meddle in the internal affairs of the union. However, if they want their answer, one similar to the answer they are going to get at the Board election, then we will take this challenge and hurl it right back in their face." At least it would have been better to do that than to make the main argument that the piece workers would not benefit. The complete elimination of piecework is necessary, but unfortunately is not a contractual demand. Given the miserable piecework system, the workers can only be benefited by a general wage increase and a better allowance system. And it is the opinion of this writer that this can be done because the company is now almost ready to do anything to get production started again.

There is reason to believe that the Buse-Christoffel leadership is afraid of being defeated by the rank and file or is unwilling to give Reuther credit for the settlement. In any case, the workers of Milwaukee and the whole union movement must continue the support to the strike. Once a proper settlement is reached, then and only then, must the question of local leadership be brought up. The Stalinists will be taken care of by Local 248's rank and file. That is the only effective and proper way.

CHICAGO CAMPAIGN DANCE Refreshments Entertainment Guests of Honor: ALBERT GOLDMAN Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of Chicago MAX SHACHTMAN National Chairman of the Workers Party Saturday, Feb. 15, 9 P. M. WORKERS PARTY HALL 1501 West Madison Street

DETROIT READERS: Max Shachtman National Chairman, Workers Party Will Speak on Socialism: The Only Road to Peace and Security at 12 Horsemen's Civic Center Red Room, Erskine and John Sunday, Feb. 9—8 P. M. Admission 35 Cents

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

FARMS GET BIGGER

Farms in the U. S. are getting fewer and bigger. The average farm today is 50 acres larger than the average of 25 years ago. The Wall Street Journal says the trend is contrary to a federal policy of encouraging small farms, but this is a willful misstatement. A monopolist's government can follow only a monopolist program. Government policy for years has been to aid the big farmer at the expense of the small one.

In 1920 the Census Bureau counted 6,448,343 farms. In 1945 the number had dropped more than half a million, to 5,859,169. Half the 1945 farms had more than 500 acres each. In 1920, only one-third were that big. Today, 40 per cent of the farms are over 1,000 acres each, compared to only 25 per cent of that size in 1920. Even in the midwest, the average farm is 30 acres larger than it was a quarter of a century ago.

The war was most profitable for the big farmers. Farm mortgage debt at the beginning of 1946 was \$5 billion, down 23 per cent from January 1, 1940. Total value of the nation's farm plant, including all assets held by farm owners, amounted to \$101.5 billion on January 1, 1946, up 12 per cent from a year earlier, and up 90 per cent since the beginning of 1940.

Only Big Business profited to a greater extent than did the Big Farmer during the recent war. Through its price support program, the federal government guaranteed huge profits to the farmers. (Imagine a federal government under capitalism, led by capitalist parties, setting aside billions of dollars to bolster up wages of industrial workers! But then the American workers, the majority of the population, have not one single representative in Congress nor in any state legislature. We haven't even got a labor party yet.)

Secretary of Agriculture Anderson estimated the other day that the government may put up more than \$2 billion more to support farm prices over the next two years. Some of the prices promised farmers by the government are so high as to encourage over-production—such as happened in 1946 in the case of potatoes, when a crop of nearly 100 million bushels more than could be used was produced. Mountains of potatoes rotted and are rotting in the open today.

SURPLUSES TO BE DUMPED

There'll be a hairpin turn in the road for the farmers, though. Food prices are still 130 per cent above mid-1939, but the butter market is a harbinger of what is ahead. The price of butter has tumbled 25 cents a pound in just a few weeks, and it is still going down. Just now, some of the inside facts about the meanness of the milk trust are coming to light—how they held the supply off the market in order to maintain an artificial scarcity, up to the point where the public had to cease buying the stuff.

For instance, did you know that the government cold storage report for January 1 showed there were 34 million pounds of 40 per cent cream in storage, AS AGAINST ONLY SEVEN MILLION POUNDS A YEAR AGO. This cream could have been converted to butter at any time, but was purposely held back. However, now the profiteers who held the cream are very jittery indeed, and are now putting it into butter. This is why butter prices will continue to slide.

In the north Atlantic states, butter output has jumped 325 per cent over a year ago. You'll see more and more of this stupendous cream surplus converted into butter. . . . However, the milk trust has an ace in the hole. When butter gets down to 53 cents a pound, the government will step in to support that price.

Another branch of capitalism that is in for a let-down from its enormous war profiteering is the canning industry. Canners of fruit juices, for instance, are so flooded with goods they are at wits' end. Orange juice that cost New York housewives 25 cents a can last fall, now sells three for 25 cents. Grapefruit juice that cost 15 cents a can in October now sells three for 25 cents. In Seattle oranges that sold for 43 cents a dozen six weeks ago have been knocked down to 19 cents. In Cleveland a retailer claims that a salesman offered

him the other day orange and grapefruit juice free, if he'd just pay for the cans and cartons. A Philadelphia store owner says he dumped a fifth of his fresh citrus fruit stock because of spoilage.

Silver prices smashed down 5 cents an ounce the other day, from 76 1/4 cents to 71 cents, the biggest one-day price decline in 26 years. Even then, silver buyers didn't rush in. (This is for foreign silver. U. S. silver producers, who own a chunk of the government, also have a nice racket. They got a bill through last July whereby the federal government buys their silver at 90 1/2 cents an ounce.)

Certain consumers' goods items are now so plentiful that it can be safely predicted that prices will drop somewhat from the abnormal levels. During the war, business got the habit of taking war-time super-profits on its operations. An automatic washer which sold for \$198 in 1940 now brings \$270. The Ford two-door sedan which sold for \$771 f.o.b. Detroit in 1939 now is priced at \$1,367 (without extras and before taxes). Consumers cannot pay those prices.

With prices of some food items and household appliances declining, the household gets a break.

But wait a minute. The landlord is going to take up the slack. Rents are going up, to leave us just about where we were before. The worker cannot win under capitalism. In the 1920s there was little unemployment but prices were too high. Then came the depression. Prices went down, but 15,000,000 of us were unemployed and millions of others took deep wage cuts. Then came the recent war. Most everyone working, but no consumers' goods. Now peace. Prices out of sight, many goods still scarce. The shortages will soon be over, but by then unemployment will be crashing into the picture. It's a wonderful system, isn't it?

Don't be taken in by stories that the reason prices are high is because material prices have gone up. (The bosses also say that prices are high because wages are high, but readers of LABOR ACTION know better than to swallow that one.) It is true that hide prices are about twice as high as in 1929. BUT THE "HIDE" IN A PAIR OF \$10 SHOES IS ONLY WORTH ABOUT 85 cents. Cotton has trebled in price since 1939. BUT THE COTTON IN THE \$1.50 SHIRT THAT THE STORE SELLS FOR \$5.00 TODAY IS ONLY WORTH 25 CENTS. Cotton in a bed sheet costs less than 75 cents. Wool in a man's suit, at present prices, is worth roughly \$5.

THE RECENT MEAT BLACK MARKET

Remember last year, when the Meat Trust in Chicago and elsewhere was crossing its heart that it wasn't getting any livestock and wasn't selling meat on the black market? The trust's earning statements are now coming to light. What a story of deceit and merciless profiteering they tell. Wilson & Co., one of the Big Four, has just reported "one of the most profitable years in its history." Net earnings rose to \$8,311,560, equal to \$3.43 a common share, from \$5,036,602 in 1945, or \$1.64 a share. In addition, RESERVES OF OVER \$8 MILLION WERE SET ASIDE.

"Our year-end financial position shows a large increase in working capital, a substantial reserve against inventory price declines, a permanent reduction in our preferred stock dividend requirements, and for the first time since 1939, no obligations on notes to banks," says president Edward Wilson. Incidentally, a Wilson director is Martin Kennelly, Democratic candidate for mayor of Chicago, and the white-haired boy with all the liberals. The black market was mighty good to Kennelly, the Wilson Company, and the packing trust.

The monthly bulletin of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago reports that the meat packing industry is in the strongest peacetime financial condition in history. Let's look at the earning reports of the three other major packers. Swift showed a 34 per cent increase in net profits. Armour's earnings rose 2.3 times after reserves, and Cudahy's 2.7 times, also after generous reserves. In brief, the business is wallowing in profits like a yard full of hogs. They had to sell SOMETHING to make such profits. They told the public they weren't selling meat, weren't buying cattle, had turned their back on the Black Market. What do YOU think, reader?

\$5,000 Fund Drive Lags As It Enters Final Week

One week left before the end of our \$5,000.00 LABOR ACTION stabilization drive. At this moment there is some question as to whether the quota will be fulfilled. We are counting on a last minute sprint to bring in the \$1,282.45 required to meet our goal. Only Stretator and Newark have oversubscribed their quotas to date. Five units, Baltimore, Hibbing, Louisville, St. Louis and Youngstown have not yet entered the drive. Look up, comrades! Only one week left.

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Contribution, Percentage. Lists various branches and their financial contributions to the fund drive.

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

Advertisement for 'MARTIN IN THE United States States' by LEON TROTSKY. Includes text 'NOW OFF THE PRESS!', 'First Complete Edition of Leon Trotsky's Brilliant Essay', and contact information for Workers Party Publications, 4 Court Square, Long Isl. City 1, New York. Also mentions 'Introduction by ALBERT GATES' and 'Admission 35 Cents'.



# An On-the-Spot Account From Inside Indo-China

By ARTHUR STEIN

THROUGH a reliable American source, just returned from an extensive stay in Saigon, we have come into possession of many intimate details regarding the resistance movement in French Indo-China. As far as we know, LABOR ACTION is the first and only paper in America to carry the following information:

In order more fully to understand the political background of the facts we are about to relate, it will be necessary to keep in mind that Saigon is the capital of Indo-China's southernmost province, the province of Cochinchina. This province, though inhabited by people of Viet Name nationality, was forcibly separated by the French from the rest of the Viet Nam republic in September 1945. French troops usurped all governmental functions, causing a full-scale war which lasted until November, when a temporary agreement was reached on the basis of what later turned out to be deceitful promises by the French.

In the summer of 1946, breaking all agreements they had previously made regarding a referendum in

Cochin China on the question of union with the rest of Viet Nam, the French established a puppet "republic" in Saigon. The president of this "republic," a Dr. Thinh, proceeded to tour the province in a bid for popular support. He found it necessary to travel in a French armored car, and to be accompanied by a convoy of heavily armed French soldiers.

Peasants throughout the province were forced to come to the villages to receive Dr. Thinh. They were first thoroughly searched for weapons, the presence of which, the French felt, would not be in keeping with the enthusiasm that is due to one who is so loyal to France.

The reception that greeted Dr. Thinh was very cool. But this did not bother the "president," apparently; he had a job to do for his French masters, and to prove his determination to go through with it regardless of what the people of Cochinchina might think, he made all of his speeches in French to people who, for the most part, understand nothing but Viet Namese.

Dr. Thinh is now dead. He committed suicide.

### THE NOTORIOUS "HEAD TAX"

One of the most hated features of the French régime had been the notorious head tax. Universal payment of this tax had been enforced by the French by issuing receipt cards, which also served as internal passports, and which had to be presented at any time upon the demand of the police. One of the first steps of the puppet government, again in a bid for popular support, was to abolish the head tax system. This concession to the people, however, was one in name only. For at the same time that the puppet republic abolished the head tax, a new "peace" tax was announced, which is now being collected in the same manner. Peace-tax-cards have taken the place of head-tax-cards. There is, however, one important difference: the "peace" tax is higher.

It is this régime against which the underground fights in Cochinchina; instead of the rule of foreigners and their stooges, the Viet Namese in Cochinchina wish to be part of the independent democratic republic whose capital is in Hanoi. The people of Cochinchina, being of Viet Nam nationality, have no interests apart from those of their brothers to the north. The slogan "Cochinchina to the Cochinchinese" is a phrase which is almost never uttered in a language other than French. It is a piece of demagogic imperialist pro-

vincialism, designed to reconcile the people with the real intentions of its authors: Indo-China to the French.

### HOW RESISTANCE IS ORGANIZED

The military organizations of the resistance in Cochinchina have, from the very beginning, been directed by the central Viet Nam government in Hanoi. This government, by the way, was elected by Viet Namese from all parts of the country; though the republic was recognized by the French only in the north, the Viet Namese in southern Annam and in Cochinchina found ways of participating in the elections, which were held in January 1945. Ballots were secretly printed and distributed by the underground, were collected and counted by the military formations of the resistance, and the results were then transmitted to Hanoi.

The federation of nationalist resistance groups in Indo-China is known as Viet Minh. Within this federation are the anti-imperialist political parties, a non-political youth organization known as TNTP ("Vanguard Youth"), and other independence groups of various kinds. The Stalinists, undoubtedly, have considerable influence in this federation, but it would be a gross mistake to assume that they control it; the memory of Ta Thu Thau, pre-war leader of the Viet Namese Fourth Internationalists, is still universally revered as a symbol of struggle against imperialism. Before the war, the Indo-Chinese Trotskyists were much stronger than the Stalinists, and the generation of young men which is now fighting the war against the French was brought up to look upon Ta Thu Thau as an outstanding example of Viet Namese heroism.

The political situation within Viet Minh is still extremely fluid. The main issue right now, the people feel, is the struggle against the foreign enemy. In this struggle, it is safe to assume, our comrades participate and lead in the front ranks. Once political lines within the liberation movement become definitive, we have every reason to be confident of a good showing on the part of the Viet Namese Fourth Internationalists. In contrast to countries like Germany and Japan, news from Indo-China indicates that an active Trotskyist group exists here at present, though we have been informed that its newspaper has been suppressed by the French. The shameful role of the French Stalinists in the Indo-Chinese affair, further, will be of assistance to our comrades in their task of widening their influence in Viet Minh.

For purposes of military operations, Cochinchina is divided into three operational zones. Each zone has a committee to direct the resistance; these are appointed by the Hanoi central government, and are each headed by a graduate of the Chinese military school at Wampoa. The soldiers of the underground, of course, wear civilian clothes. The grades in the underground army are identical with those used in the French army: private, corporal, sergeant, etc. The high degree of centralized co-ordination and efficiency of the Viet Namese army continues to amaze all observers.

The underground has made it a practice to infiltrate into every department of the puppet régime and of the French secret police. The recently organized military forces of the Cochinchina puppet government have proven to be of invaluable aid to the underground: Viet Namese soldiers, as soon as they feel themselves sufficiently trained, desert en masse to the forces of Viet Minh, taking with them their arms and as many supplies as possible.

In Saigon there are around 3,500 Viet Namese agents of the French secret police, and only the top underground leaders know how many of these actually work for France. The rest all work for Viet Minh and the independence of their country.

The Viet Namese term for Quisling is "V.G.," from Viet gian, a Viet Namese phrase meaning traitor. There are not too many of these, but one of the most prominent among them was a Viet Namese capitalist, the owner of the "Viet Nam Soap Works" in Saigon. His factory was burned down by soldiers of the resistance.

Since members of the resistance have neither the money nor the inclination to pay the puppet government's "peace" tax, the resistance maintains its own printing plant to provide the fighters of Viet Minh with the all-important identification cards. Resistance fighters who speak Chinese often disguise themselves as Chinese merchants, and thus pass in and out of Saigon with a minimum of molestation.

Despite the sell-out policies of their Stalinist and Socialist leaders, we are confident that the workers of France will yet echo the demands of the recent Paris demonstration of the Fourth Internationalists:

**Freedom for Viet Nam!  
Down with French Imperialism!  
Hands Off Indo-China!**

## Miners of Bolivian Plateau Choose Eight Trotskyists As Their Deputies

By LUIS H. VELASCO

THE Bolivian elections are very typical of South American countries. Out of three to four million inhabitants, only some 90,000 citizens voted, that is, about 2.5 per cent of the total population. These figures show in the best possible manner the feudal and aristocratic exclusiveness of the Bolivian bourgeoisie and the isolation of the native peasant and laboring masses from the political life of the country. These figures prove more than anything else the colonial and semi-feudal structure of Bolivia. While in other South American countries the number of electors increases in proportion to the total number of inhabitants, the low number of electors stands as a characteristic of "evroite democracy." In Bolivia, only the citizen who knows how to read and write has the right to vote. The overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants are illiterate and thus excluded from electoral participation.

Therefore, the eulogies of the bourgeois press of Bolivia, Chile and Argentina on the "victory of the plateau democracy" seem somewhat strained to us. The results did not give a decisive majority to any of the competing bourgeois factions. On one side, the three republican parties united in a Republican Socialist Union, with Enrique Hertzog heading its slate as candidate for the presidency. On the other side, a liberal-Stalinist bloc was formed, in the Chilean fashion, headed by the former Bolivian ambassador to Washington, Luis F. Guachalla. The Stalinists were defeated in their attempt to form a "left front" in order to deliver the workers to the mining bourgeoisie, and were expelled by the republicans from the FDA (Democratic Anti-Fascist Front). They succeeded in cooking up in the nick of time the bloc of "national conciliation." The main object of the latter is to stabilize the capitalist restoration, which came to power over the body of the popular revolution of July 21, and externally to form a South American bloc around Peron under the good auspices of the "little father," Stalin. The electoral results gave the republican Hertzog a small majority, but the Stalinist-liberal bloc does not want to recognize it and, hoping to get a majority in congress, demands that parliament resolve the presidential question definitively—of course, as in Chile, in favor of the Stalinist candidate.

### BACKGROUND TO ELECTIONS

Without pre-judging the final result, we consider that the elections, through their lack of a decisive majority for one or the other faction, demonstrate the division of the feudo-bourgeoisie into two factions, and therefore the incapacity of the bourgeoisie to govern the country and resolve the pressing problems. The division of the bourgeoisie into

two factions, republican and Stalinist-liberal, reflects the grave economic and social problems of the country, the misery and discontent of the exploited masses. Bolivian politics is determined by the annual production of 40,000 tons of tin, which is determined in turn by a single capitalist, the tin king, Simon Patino. On his decisions depend hundreds of thousands of working class families who live from mine labor, the national budget, and hence the struggle of the bourgeois factions, the fate of the middle class and the public servants.

The second characteristic of the Bolivian elections is the growth of the Stalinist PIR. The PIR will have a fraction in the congress as strong as the traditional right-wing, composed of about 31 deputies and five senators. The growth of the PIR reflects the political evolution of the formerly pro-Nazi, pro-Hitler and anti-Semitic middle class which is now disillusioned and in search of a new totalitarian master. It must be admitted that the plateau-Stalinists demonstrate great ability to conquer the middle class with their slogans of "national conciliation," fraudulent "democratic revolution," etc. They also know how to frighten the

bourgeoisie with the fantasy of a "miners' revolution," for which they offered their services as hangmen and condottiers. Simon Patino, the tin king, favored the "national conciliation" of the Stalinists in the hope that the new régime would have a sound social base and would also have the necessary forces at its disposal to defeat the mine workers and solve the crisis in tin at the expense of the blood and lungs of the native mine workers.

But the growth of the PIR brought to the fore other phenomena: the Stalinists lost out in the mining and industrial districts of the country like Oruro, Potosi and La Paz; on the other hand, they won in the rural districts of Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and Beni, where there are no industries and hence no industrial proletariat. The PIR herewith ceases to be a working class party as it was two years ago, and becomes a bourgeois party which operates among the middle classes and the backward proletariat. Therefore, there is a danger to the Stalinists that the bourgeoisie which works with them may give them the boot since the Stalinists no longer represent the working class masses and cannot "discipline" them in the interests of

the bourgeoisie.

The third most important consequence of the elections is the attitude of the industrial-proletariat. Of course the figures already cited at the beginning of this article demonstrate how narrow was the layer of the proletariat which intervened in the elections: only those workers who know how to read and write, which means the urban and mine workers who are already integrated in cultural and political life. In spite of this obstacle, the labor movement of the plateau region made important steps forward, steps which deserve analysis by politically awakened workers of the entire world.

### NEW LABOR CENTER

The miners' congress of Pulacayo, which offered a platform of class struggle, was the first stage in the rebirth of the Bolivian labor movement. The second stage was the new labor formation, THE LABOR CENTER, composed of miners, cereal workers, railway workers, chauffeurs and mechanics of Oruro. In spite of the rabid opposition of the Stalinists who headed the CSTB (Union Confederation of Bolivian Workers), affiliated to the CSTAL (Union Confederation of Latin American Workers), led in turn by the servant of Stalin, Lombardo Tolledano—the organization of a new revolutionary union center is already a fact.

The revolutionary workers and the revolutionary socialist organizations of both Americas ought to make an example of the valiant action of the Bolivian Trotskyists, who are opening new roads for the trade union movement and freeing it from the opportunist and traitorous Stalinist influence. The action of the plateau mine workers against the Stalinists is not isolated from the rest of the continent. From Chile comes the report that the Chilean socialists threaten to organize a new union movement if the Stalinists do not cease to monopolize the unions for the ends of their Muscovite high priest.

The miners' congress and the formation of the Workers' Center prepared the formation of the "Proletarian United Front," which presented its own candidates in the industrial and mining districts of Potosi, Oruro and La Paz, capturing thus far two senatorships and about six deputies. These deputies will be the first Trotskyist deputies in the entire world.

### WEAKNESSES OF MOVEMENT

Unfortunately, the workers' victory in Bolivia is not without its dark side. The plateau proletariat is very weak numerically, lacking genuine socialist traditions and without political experience. In past years it was divided between the democratic-PIR influence and the Nazi influence of the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement). The revolution therefore took it by surprise, without a clear understanding of the program and real aims of the proletarian

(Continued on page 6)

### A Chapter from U. S. History:

## Injunction a Traditional Means to Break Strikes

By JULIE FALK

In theory an injunction is a court order which prohibits individuals or groups from committing unlawful acts. This vague principle in itself sounds harmless enough. But in its concrete applications to labor, the injunction has proven to be the most effective tactic for breaking the back of many workers' struggles for better conditions. Put aside its innocuous dictionary definition, strip it of wordy, legal embellishments and we get a clearer focus on what a labor injunction really is: government sanctioned strike-breaking.

It is not only the effects of labor injunctions that are vicious. The quality of labor injunctions as a means—or a technique—is on a reactionary level, consistent with its aims. A brief examination of injunction procedure will bear this out.

Injunctions fall into three general categories: the temporary restraining order, the temporary injunction and the permanent injunction. Into the first class fall court orders recognizing the "validity" of an "urgent" of an employers' complaint, which prevents union activities without having notified the union first. The decree comes as a complete surprise to the union, and the workers must wait for a hearing before they can even hope to get the restraining order dismissed. In the meantime the union is paralyzed and morale begins

to sink. When the hearing finally takes place (often after delays granted to company lawyers) the court invariably lives up to its essential class character and grants a more definite and strangling writ against the workers—the "temporary injunction."

"Temporary injunction" is actually a misnomer. It may be months or even years before the issue can be argued in court. In the interim the workers are prevented from using all the normal means of fighting to win their grievances. Unless the union is willing to risk contempt proceedings, the workers cannot meet, picket, agitate or in any significant way advance their interests. The result is, almost always the same: a broken morale, depleted strike funds and finally another government court-broken strike. Or, in the not infrequent temporary injunction against unionization, the unorganized workers are intimidated, the union organizers are prohibited from discussing or recruiting to their union and the drive is stymied by the anti-labor conspiracy of the capitalist and his federal (or state) court.

Contempt proceedings are an integral part of the anti-labor injunction tactic. Without contempt proceedings or the threat of it, the injunction would be ineffective.

At the slightest display of resist-

(Continued on page 6)

## Colonial Rebellions Sweep Asia To Drive Out New Imperialism

By HENRY JUDD

SINCE the formal conclusion of World War II, movements on a vast scale have stirred the entire colonial world of Asia and Africa. The populations of these subjugated nations, victimized for centuries by European imperialism, refused to participate in any active sense throughout the seven years of war. Only as passive victims, did their work and energies have an indirect effect upon the outcome of the war.

But, almost as if by pre-arranged signal, the colonial masses of Asia and Africa began to fight back against their exploiters from the moment the war ended. In country after country, they utilized the collapse of the Japanese Empire and its brand of imperialism as a favorable moment for exerting themselves. They rushed into the vacuum created by the Japanese surrender and challenged the right of the former white masters to return to power and carry on as before.

Passivity and indifference passed over into activity and open revolt. Java and the Indonesian islands, Indo-China, Malaya, China, India, Ceylon, Palestine—the list includes, to one degree or another, all the colonial dominions and oppressed nations. One half the world, comprising 1,000,000,000 peoples, have been engaged for almost two years in a struggle with imperialism—and the story of this struggle is far from over. But certain conclusions can be drawn at this point about (a) the character and pattern this struggle has taken; and (b) its future and possibilities of arriving at the goal of freedom and a democratic régime for the colonial peoples.

The instant the war ended, the great colonial powers of yesterday (Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium) were determined to reconquer and reestablish their rule over those areas of the world they had lost to Japan and her satellites. These "mother" nations had suffered extensive losses during the war. The colonies, so they thought, were the source of economic recuperation; a super-exploitation was planned. Visions of revived sources of raw materials, of rubber, tea, sugar, etc., plantations back in operation, of renewed export markets and opportunities for profitable investments, these visions filled the minds of Europe's post-war governments and ruling classes. But things had changed considerably.

The motherlands were infinitely weakened by contrast with their pre-war status, particularly those nations (France, Belgium and Holland) that had suffered outright defeat and occupation at one stage of the war. Overwhelmed with home problems of reconstruction, they could not be so violently exacting as on prior occasions when their colonial slaves pressed them for concessions. Furthermore, the colonies had for the most part experienced a definite economic and industrial growth during the war. The factory proletariat of India had doubled, reaching the enormous figure (for that country) of 5,000,000 industrial workers in basic industries. India now has one of the world's greatest iron and steel works. And England had gotten into debt to the extent of \$1 billion to India, formerly its greatest debtor!

In a word, an entire new relationship of forces between the colonies and the motherlands now existed! This held true even for those colonial lands where no significant economic development had occurred. Whereas, before the relationship between the homeland and the colonial had been

clear and fixed (just as is the relationship between a prisoner and his jailer), this no longer held. A new relationship had to be established. What would it be? This was the basic problem, in imperialist terms, so far as the colonial world was concerned.

Other changes, to be sure, had taken place. Two great, hungry, grasping imperialist powers had emerged as undisputed victors during the war—America and Russia. Neither of these powers had previously held great colonial territories, but both now had ambitions. Neither proposed to create empires along the old style, but both had developed new techniques and methods.

America, with its economic weight and power and Russia with its political exploitation of oppressed peoples and its social demagoguery, immediately began to move in on the old colonial empires. The very existence of this competitive force compelled the old motherlands to reconsider their original plans and to revise their tactics. In the world of 1946 and 1947, the old methods could not work.

Finally, and from our standpoint most significant of all, a tremendous political, ideological and spiritual change had occurred in the mentality and thinking of the African and Asiatic peoples. They had seen the white man, the arrogant and lordly ruler, driven in utter humiliation from his former positions. They had seen his defeat, and secretly rejoiced in it. Now this same man sought to come back, to pick up the traces he had dropped as though nothing had happened! But hold on—not so quickly! The answer to this attempt on the part of yesterday's rulers to walk back into power was mass revolt in Java, in Indo-China, in Burma and the beginnings of revived popular movements in India, Ceylon and the colonies of the Near East and Africa.

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WORLD POLITICS

NICARAGUA:

U. S. Imperialism Runs A Banana Republic

By A. FERRARA

On February 2, 1947, a presidential election is scheduled to take place in the little Central American country of Nicaragua. As countries go, Nicaragua is hardly in the first or second rank. It is about as large as New York State, measuring some 57,000 square miles, and lays claim to a population numbering slightly more than a million. Possessing none of the natural resources which provide the foundation for industrialization, the Nicaraguan economy revolves around the export of her banana and coffee crops, as well as some gold. Clearly this nation will never take history by storm!

Yet it is no exaggeration to say that all of Latin America is watching the preparations and will observe the elections on February 2 with a passionate concern. What matters to the people of Latin America is not Nicaragua's size. What matters to the people of Latin America is that a "Polish" election will take place on that date. And as a result the hateful Somoza regime will continue to oppress this tiny country with the support, direct and indirect, of U. S. imperialism.

The peoples of Latin America surely sympathize with the workers and peasants of Poland, who are today the captives of the Kremlin and its Polish satellites. But the masses of the countries to the south of us surely regard the flood of protests directed by the American government to Warsaw and Moscow as so much hypocrisy. Strange that in its feverish concern for "democratic" elections, the American government has not looked a little closer to home and dispatched any notes to Somoza, protesting the fraudulent elections in Nicaragua.

SOMOZA PERMITS A PHONY OPPOSITION

As in Poland, where the Peasant Party was granted the theoretical right to run its candidates for office, so, too, Somoza is permitting the opposition, a coalition of all the other political parties, plus the trade unions, to run one candidate. And to create the fiction of a "free," "truly democratic" election, Somoza has brought into being another party besides his own. Surprisingly enough, this fake party, which goes by the name of the Conservative Nationalist Party, is supporting the 75-year-old candidate put up by Somoza's own party, the Liberal Nationalists.

But this is as far as the democratic inclinations of Somoza go. The election laws of Nicaragua (manufactured by Somoza) decree that only those parties can supervise the balloting and count the votes which took part in the last election. Since Somoza saw to it that only his own party and the fake Conservative Nationalists took part in the previous election (in which Somoza was the only candidate), the conclusions are not difficult to foresee. Somoza's candidate, Dr. Leonardo Arguello, will win.

Having nothing to learn from the Polish hirelings of the Kremlin, Somoza has also prepared the proper atmosphere for the elections. Some eight months ago, Somoza permitted the opposition to put out a weekly paper. But this interlude of freedom for the press was too much for Somoza. On December 10 the president-dictator of Nicaragua ordered the current issue of the paper confiscated and its editors arrested. To escape arrest at the hands of the brutal national guard, the editors sought asylum in the Guatemalan Legation, where they have had to remain ever since.

The facts we have cited above about the election fraud being prepared in Nicaragua are common knowledge, and yet the American government continues to send notes to Poland! Can it be that Washington objects not so much to the lack of democracy in Poland as to the undeniable fact that the Polish quislings are totally subservient to Moscow and exclude the economic penetration of Poland by American capital?

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM PROFITS

The example of Nicaragua proves that this line of reasoning is correct. For ten years Somoza has fought against the democratic aspirations of the Nicaraguan people, but not against American capital. The reign of Somoza has been profitable for American investments in Nicaragua, modest though they be. And it is interesting to note that this capital is invested not only in the banana plantations and gold mines, but is also directly invested in bonds issued by the Somoza dictatorship to perpetuate itself. There are no moral categories when it comes to making a profit.

To the masses of Latin America, what Washington means by "Buenos Vecinos" the Good Neighbor policy, is strikingly illustrated by its attitude toward Somoza. When Somoza visited Washington in 1939 he was met at the Union Station by President Roosevelt and the cabinet, a military salute was fired, the military bands played the proper music, and thousands of government employees were given three hours' leave to welcome the dictator.

But the friendly attitude of American imperialism to this tyrant is not restricted to such platonic gestures. During the war, the Export-Import Bank extended a financial credit of four and a half million dollars to Somoza. Needless to say, the money has not been used to benefit the poverty-stricken masses of Nicaragua but is still in the process of finding its way into the pockets of Somoza and his friends, Nicaraguan and American.

Nicaragua is a small country, and Somoza a petty tyrant. But the situation in Nicaragua is a sharp reminder to the peoples of Latin America that the days of struggle against American oppression are far from over, even though Washington no longer dispatches warships to enforce its will. After all, a "friendly" loan is just as powerful a weapon as a detachment of marines. Both are different ways of doing the same thing, which is to keep a "good" government in power. And since American imperialism has not lost its appetite, it still defines a "good" government as one which grants American capital the unrestricted privilege of exploiting the wealth and health of a people for the sake of profit.

Read and Subscribe to The New International and Labor Action

A Letter from a Reader on Poland

To the Editor:

In his article in the January 20 issue of LABOR ACTION, Irving Howe proposes that critical support be given to the Opposition group in Poland. Such a position, although understandable, raises a number of questions.

Precisely because the Polish situation is so complicated, one wonders if it should or even can, be approached on a simple either-or basis. The Workers Party did not give even critical support to World War II because it knew that the Allied powers were not really concerned with the defeat of fascism or with the removal of its causes. Thus the position on the war was determined not by the desirability of Allied objectives (defeat of Hitler) but by an appraisal and understanding of the Allied powers themselves, their real intentions, what they represent, etc. More important than the question of whom they were fighting was the question of WHY they were fighting. Since similar questions arise in an examination of the Polish situation, why can't the same method of analysis be applied? The Polish situation is described as a NEW situation but the nature of this newness is not clearly defined. Does the situation merely present a new facade or does it contain really new basic elements? If so, what are they?

Howe states that those who do not accept his position must answer the question: When GPU men come to arrest a Peasant Party leader, do you aid them in the arrest or try to prevent it? But can the Polish situation be reduced to such an over-simplification? If so, then one can compose a number of variations, equally superficial, on the same question: thus, if Polish fascists, assuming they were in power, came to arrest a Stalinist leader, do you aid them in the arrest or try to prevent it?

Since the Mikolajczyk-led opposition is, as Howe recognizes, an agent of imperialism favoring restoration of property and providing leadership for the fascists and anti-Semites, then why is it assumed that this group represents the lesser of two evils? Further, since the strength, numerically as well as ideologically, of the fascist elements is not known, one must question the soundness of supporting such a movement, even critically. The importance of struggling against Stalinism is unquestioned, but does this call for the support of a movement which, while opposing the present Stalinist régime, may have as its primary goal the establishment of its own brand of totalitarianism?

I do not quite understand why a Socialist opposition necessarily could not maintain complete independence of the Mikolajczyk group. But even if such an alternative were not available, I fail to see how selecting an undesirable and potentially dangerous alternative represents a superior choice. Meanwhile, Socialists within the Mikolajczyk opposition give the group added numbers, strength and prestige. Howe states that the major need in Poland today is to drive out the Russian oppressors, once again to give the Polish people a chance to determine their own destinies. The need to drive out the Russian oppressors is obvious but there still remains the danger that the Mikolajczyk group could establish a fascist rule BEFORE the Polish people would have such a chance.

What is needed at this point is further clarification, for the problem involves more than an approach to the current Polish dilemma; it involves an approach to be taken to similar future dilemmas that are bound to arise in Stalinist-dominated countries.

Bess S.

democratic rights, we support THAT fight.

NATURE OF THE OPPOSITION

The crucial point is in the question asked by our correspondent: "Since the Mikolajczyk-led opposition is... an agent of imperialism... then why is it assumed that this group represents the lesser of two evils?" A distinction must be made here. Mikolajczyk is an agent of Anglo-American imperialism, but the opposition movement which he leads—and leads, incidentally, most inadequately, as is indicated by his willingness to participate in the Stalinist government—that opposition movement is NOT an agent of imperialism. We therefore urge support of the struggle of this opposition for democratic demands and the expulsion of the Russian oppressors, while conducting a bitter struggle to free the opposition from Mikolajczyk's politics.

Bess S. asks what is NEW in the situation. What is new is that the foreign oppressor is Stalinist imperialism and that we have to work out a tactical application to this new situation of our point of view on the national question in Europe—previously applied only to situations where capitalist powers were the imperialist oppressors. Socialists have in the past not hesitated to give critical support to and to work in movements for liberation against armies of occupation, while reserving political and organizational independence from the resistance movement. This resistance movement, since it involved great masses of the population, was a fertile arena for political activity. What complicates, though it does not basically change, the situation is that in Poland the occupying power is Stalinist totalitarianism and that fascist elements try to capitalize on the mass resistance.

DANGERS OF THE SITUATION

Is there a danger that a successful resistance movement against Stalinism might result in a victory for the fascist fringe of the opposition? (And it is merely a fringe; the masses involved in and supporting the opposition are not fascists.) Yes, of course there is such a danger; politics is full of dangers. But recall that in the French resistance there were also reactionary elements, notably those around de Gaulle. In that resistance there were also the French fascists headed by de La Rocque, with whom, of course, the French Socialists had nothing to do. But the vast mass movement generated by the resistance could not be controlled by de Gaulle, just as, in case of a similar victory in Poland, it would almost most certainly not be able to be controlled by Mikolajczyk.

Bess S. waves aside the simple example I offered: when a GPU man comes to arrest an opposition leader, do you support the arrest or try to prevent it? But that example is very important; it crystallizes one of the central issues involved in our position. As for the counter-question she poses, that is easy for us to answer. If a fascist government tried to arrest Stalinists involved in a movement of mass resistance against the fascist rule, then we would try to prevent the arrest of the Stalinists.

The reason why the above example is important was stated in my article in the following words: "Even if a socialist opposition to the Stalinist government were to declare itself equally against both the Stalinists and Mikolajczyk, it would be forced in practice to cooperate with the opposition in defense against Stalinist terror." We believe that Bess S. cannot evade this consideration and that her objections to our point of view are based on a misunderstanding of what we actually mean by critical opposition.

Further comment from readers is invited on this matter.

A Reply

By IRVING HOWE

I want to begin my reply by restating our point of view on the Polish situation, for I think our correspondent misunderstands the position.

Poland is today ruled by a Stalinist puppet régime buttressed by Russian army bayonets; it does not have mass support in Poland. It couldn't last a week were it not for the fact that Poland today is not an independent nation but rather a vassal dominated by the Kremlin. Opposed to this puppet government are the masses of Poles—of this there can be no doubt; all testimony points to it. A vast, scattered, heterogeneous opposition, which has the support of the vast masses of Poland, is forced to function as an underground movement. In this opposition there are various political strata including the petty bourgeois peasant movement led by Mikolajczyk and trade union and socialist elements. Attached to this opposition are also fascist and anti-Semitic elements trying to capture the opposition for their reactionary purposes.

SOCIALIST ATTITUDE

If we faced a situation in which there were a totalitarian Stalinist government and a fascist-dominated opposition, there would be no choice for Socialists but equally to condemn both. They would have no alternative but to attempt slowly to rebuild some small socialist circles. But today in Poland there is the possibility of Socialists becoming involved in a

mass movement, the major purpose of which is the expulsion of the oppressive Stalinist army. This purpose being progressive and desirable, Socialists, we believe, should give critical support to and participate as an independent force in the opposition.

What critical support means concretely is that we aid the attempts of the opposition to break the totalitarian terror, to restore democratic liberties and to expel the Russian army. Socialists should certainly retain their organizational independence, as our correspondent urges; they should also retain and vigorously exercise their right to criticize politically, and attempt to take over the leadership of, the opposition resistance movement, at it would be self-defeating for Socialists to abstain from giving this critical support and from participating in a mass movement of opposition to the Stalinist totalitarian government on the ground that the fascists also try to gain control of its opposition. (It should be emphasized that Mikolajczyk is NOT a fascist; he is a bourgeois democratic politician. We must not be deceived by Stalinist propaganda into believing that the entire Polish opposition is fascist.)

To abstain from participation in this mass movement, the primary purpose of which is thus far to regain national integrity for Poland, is in effect to surrender the field to the reactionaries and fascists. The program which we propose does not in any way involve political identification with Mikolajczyk; it means that when Mikolajczyk, for whatever reason, fights for the restoration of

Editorials

Indo-China and the Stalinists

After a long silence, the Stalinist paper, the Daily Worker, has finally said something about the Indo-Chinese situation. In its January 25 issue, James S. Allen attempts to gloss over the disgraceful role of the French Stalinists as supporters of French imperialism in Indo-China. He writes: "Democratic organs, ranging from the Communist L'Humanité (sic!) to newspapers of the liberal center, are sharply critical of the French Col. Blimps who have again precipitated an armed struggle against the Annamese Republicans."

And further says Allen: "... the Communists as the largest party in France demand the recall of the French Tories, de Gaulists and former Vichyites from Indo-China, an immediate end to hostilities and complete honoring of the agreement with Viet Nam."

This is all that Allen has to offer as a program for the Indo-Chinese problem. There is nowhere in his article the very simple but indispensable—indispensable, that is, to revolutionary socialists, though not to totalitarian Stalinists—slogan of "Immediate Independence for Indo-China." The reason for this "omission" is simply that the French Stalinists have not raised such a slogan and by their concrete actions have opposed it.

Even if we accept Allen's statement as literal truth (which we do not), then it is clear that what he espouses is not a fundamental socialist opposition to imperialism,

but rather an advocacy of a program of "liberal" imperialism—that is, what Allen calls "the recall of the French Tories" and "an immediate end to hostilities." (For by whom are the recalled Tories to be replaced?) These are demands which more farsighted advocates of capitalist imperialism can and do raise.

What is important about the Allen article is its omissions. He says not a word about the fact that L'Humanité, French Stalinist paper, wrote on December 22 that "Communists wanted France to remain in Indo-China but were opposed to a policy that would produce results like those in Syria and Lebanon" (the French had to withdraw from Syria and Lebanon).

Nor does Allen have a word to say about the Associated Press dispatch of December 27 which reported that "Communist members joined with other groups in the new Council of the Republic tonight in approving a resolution calling for maintenance of French power in Indo-China in accordance with agreements freely reached and for pursuance 'of the civilizing mission of France in respecting the legitimate liberties of native populations.'"

We challenge Allen to comment on this dispatch, to deny or explain it. For here is the proof of French Stalinist complicity in the crimes of French imperialism—and no amount of double talk in the Daily Worker can cover up the facts.

And Bill Green Fears Socialism!

While the top labor officialdom shows signs of bewilderment, not knowing exactly how to make a determined fight in behalf of the workers in this country, the anti-labor drive in Congress goes on unhindered.

President Green of the AFL speaks from the same platform as C. E. Wilson of General Motors. The head of one of the richest monopolies denounces the labor movement as a "monopoly," calls for the open shop and publicly rejects any wage demands of the workers unless simultaneous price increases are granted.

President Green of the AFL warns that the present demands of certain unions (he means the CIO) can lead, God forbid!, to a socialist development of American labor. And so this ancient labor leader pleads with the capitalist class to give the worker a little handout to prevent the labor movement from becoming militant.

President Murray of the CIO also pleads with big business to grant some wage increases. He promises in return to keep workers from striking; he will promote increased productivity because, like big business, he too believes in profits. He also warns the capitalists that the workers may get out of hand unless some concessions are granted.

In turn, U. S. Steel demands the open shop in exchange for a union contract. The auto barons are preparing to resist the wage demands of the workers. The coal situation remains unresolved.

Congress is organized to lend all assistance to big business. The most active of the senators is Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, who has taken on the job of establishing the open shop by legislation. In addition to his fight for the open shop, Senator Ball, joined by that great Jim

Crow statesman from Louisiana, Senator Allen J. Ellender, has introduced new legislation to give "more equal" status to the bosses. The most important aspect of the new bill which is part of the drive to emasculate the Wagner Act, is properly cited by the New York Times:

"The bill would redefine the term 'employee' so that a striker who refused a management offer to come back to 'substantial equivalent employment' would lose his employee status. This would have the effect, for one thing, of preventing the striker from voting in subsequent plant elections."

This is a piece of slick strike-breaking covered up by the usual legal language of lawyer-legislators. Under it, all a boss would have to do is make what he regarded as "a fair offer." If the workers reject it as unfair, they could, under this new bill, be classified as non-employees. The boss could cease negotiations with them and hire scabs by law. Or else, in a case where a majority of the workers in a shop should reject the company's offer, they could, under this law, be barred from voting in any plant election, thus permitting a minority of workers to control the fate of all the workers in a shop.

To fight against the "monopoly of labor" in a nation where the economy is completely dominated by the monopoly of a few banks and industrial concerns; to fight for an "equal status for employers" in a country where inequality reigns and where the wealth of the nation is concentrated in the hands of the Sixty Families; to fight for the rights of business in a nation where more than a third of the people live under substandard conditions, and where the living standards of the people at large are steadily declining while profits reach new heights, is the sheerest hypocrisy and venality.

Bearing the above in mind, it is a pity that the labor officialdom has not responded to the present anti-labor campaign with the most vigorous counter-offensive. What is needed is a little more audacity on the part of the union movement and the courage to speak out frankly and bluntly: labor will not take the present anti-labor offensive lying down!

International Socialist Notes

SP TURNS DOWN PCI PROPOSAL ON INDO-CHINA

The PCI, French section of the Fourth International, has opened up a barrage of united front proposals to the French Socialists in an attempt to draw them into action against the Indo-Chinese war of French imperialism. The campaign opened with a proposal by the Paris region of the PCI to the Socialist Federation of the Seine for a joint meeting of protest, demanding the withdrawal of French troops from Indo-China.

This proposal was turned down by the Executive Committee of the Seine Federation on the grounds that it was necessary to await the return of Marius Moutet, Socialist Colonial Minister, who had gone to Indo-China on a tour of "information." Of course, this was a transparent excuse, since Moutet immediately upon his arrival at Saigon, started to issue blasts against the Viet Nam Republic, and stated that France must fight it out to the end. As usual, the "left" leaders in the French Socialist Party (the "left" controls the Seine Federation) fall

back on any excuse rather than put real pressure on the right wingers like Moutet through public action.

Nevertheless, a large minority of the Seine Executive Committee voted in favor of organizing a joint meeting with the PCI, in spite of possible reprisals by the party. Heartened by this the PCI decided to appeal to the ranks. Every PCI cell and youth unit has been instructed to propose a joint meeting to the Socialist Party and youth sections in their neighborhood. Already several Socialist Youth sections have adopted resolutions protesting the suppression by the French government of the Trotskyist meeting on Indo-China of December 6, and demanding the release of Pierre Conte, a French comrade, who has been held incommunicado since the night of the meeting.

Accompanying Moutet on his trip to Indo-China was Leon Boutbien, member of the Seine Federation, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party. Boutbien in the past has been verbally one of the most radical of the left leaders in the SP. Yet on his return he distin-

guished himself from Moutet not by a forthright repudiation of French colonialism, but by a mealy mouthed plague on both your houses statement, in which he blamed both the French and the Viet Namese for the present hostilities.

This cowardly stand, which puts in the same class the Viet Namese fighting for their independence and the French imperialist troops, fighting thousands of miles from home, will undoubtedly have repercussions in the ranks of the Socialist Party left wing.

A Note on Australia

The November issue of the left magazine, Tomorrow, which we have just received from Melbourne, reprinted the entire program of the Workers Party which appears weekly in LABOR ACTION. It also reprinted a cartoon from Carlo's series "The Bosses' Dictionary," which it entitled "A Tory's Diary."

—S. Berg.

NEXT WEEK:

THE NEW COLONIALISM

by

HENRY JUDD

A Detailed and Damning Documentation:

# Stalinism's Dirty Record on the Jewish Question

By ALBERT FINDLEY

The Communist (Stalinist) Party has again changed its policy on Palestine and the Jewish question. Ignoring the suffering of hundreds of thousands of survivors of fascist terror, it is now once more opposed to Jewish immigration into Palestine.

This latest zig-zag in line recalls bitter memories of the Stalinist policy changes on the Jewish question.

As always, the Stalinists pretend to base themselves on the theoretical works of the founders of Marxism, but they distort and reduce these works to an absurdity.

Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks, for example, were opposed to Zionism. Like most Marxists at that time, they held that the Jews were not a nation or nationality, and they were therefore opposed to Zionism; they urged that the Jews of each country find a place in the internal socialist struggle. Yet their position was completely different from the later Stalinist attitudes.

After World War I, the Palestine section of the Communist International (Comintern), while absolutely opposed to Zionism (the Palestine CP was against the national boycott, against slogans for a Jewish majority and a Jewish state) declared that the Jewish population could not be indiscriminately identified with Zionism. It favored free and unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine. It also demanded from the British government material aid for the establishment of Jewish immigrants in the country. While acquiescing in the maintenance of an Arab majority, the Palestine Marxists pointed out that the legitimate objections of the Arab national movement against political Zionism did not include stoppage of Jewish immigration.

They declared that the struggle against Jewish immigration deflected the anti-imperialist struggle onto racial anti-Jewish rails and was therefore profitable only to England. That the Stalinist distortions actually did involve shifting the Arab struggle to anti-Jewish rails, we shall prove later.

Before 1926-27, the Palestine CP was for protection and recognition of the Arab tenant farmer in his right to the land. At the same time, however, it supported Jewish settlement

## AN EDITORIAL NOTE

In reading the following article, our readers should bear in mind the position of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION on the Jewish question as it relates to Palestine. We hold the right of Jewish immigration to Palestine to be unquestioned; and not only for Palestine, but for the whole world. For that reason we give high emphasis to a democratic slogan in this country: Open the Doors of the U. S. to Those who speak out in behalf of the Jews and other displaced persons in Europe and who are not ready to fight for their right to come to this country, are dishonest and hypocritical.

So far as the specific problem of Palestine is concerned, we are for Arab-Jewish unity against British imperialism. In that country, the grave, immediate problem of Arab-Jewish relations, for example, overcoming Arab resistance to Jewish immigration, can only be solved by an intelligent policy which is calculated to unify both peoples in a struggle for national independence of the country. That can best be done, in our opinion, by advocating the establishment of a constituent assembly, based upon universal suffrage and majority rule, guaranteeing at the same time full national and democratic rights for all the peoples who inhabit the country. Such a policy would defeat the reactionary activities of both the Arab feudal chieftains and the Jewish leaders and organizations. The former oppose further immigration as a threat to the Arab state, while the latter seek to set up a Jewish state at the expense of the Arabs. The propaganda of both sides is reactionary and against the best interests of the Jewish and Arab masses.

In the light of world position and power of Stalinism, the following article is an important contribution and a warning. While we do not necessarily endorse every crossed "X" or dotted "I" in this study, we believe it to be a well-merited indictment of the most dangerous force inside the working class movement. The documented material speaks for itself.

Comrade Findley, the writer of this article, is the co-author of a resolution on the Jewish Question which was presented to the last national convention of the Workers Party in May, 1946, and is at present under discussion. The resolution is at variance with the resolution of the National Committee of the W.P. in several important respects.

from the previous independent position to one of uncritical support of even the most reactionary elements of the Arab nationalist movement. As the Palestine Communist Party said, they considered "the Jews as an 'undifferentiated reactionary group,' as opposed to the Arabs who were considered an 'undifferentiated progressive group.'"

Even during the ultra-leftist "Third Period" during 1929-1935, they maintained this point of view. The official Stalinist slogan for all colonial and semi-colonial countries was "Workers and Peasants' Government," but with one exception—Palestine. Their explanation was that this slogan could have no meaning in Palestine other than the dictatorship of the Jewish proletariat over the peasant masses. This is the only case in Comintern history, where under Stalinist degeneration, even slogans were abandoned solely because of the national character of the proletariat involved. It is interesting to note that while fearing the domination of the Jewish proletariat in Palestine, the Stalinists persisted in denying the very existence of a

superficiality of the Stalinist approach to this movement. At the 7th Congress of the Comintern, Yussuf, their Arab leader, declared that "beginning from 1921, British-Zionist finance capital was able to settle in Palestine 250,000 Jewish immigrants."

The West European Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern International declared in 1929 "It is the duty of all our parties to fight against Jewish immigration to Palestine."

One of the main arguments used by the Stalinists against Jewish immigration is the legend, long since exploded, that the Jews have driven the fellahin (the Arab peasantry) off their land. This argument unfortunately still lingers in the minds of many radicals.

The facts are as follows: Sir John Hope Simpson was sent by the British Colonial Office to report on the land situation, following the recommendation by the Shaw Commission, which investigated the 1929 pogroms. He reported 30,000 Arabs landless. The Stalinists not only continued Simpson's exaggerated "conclusions" but even exaggerated his exaggerations. It was left to International Press Conference (a Stalinist world news service), to say: "In 1930 the number of peasants driven from their land by force and thus deprived of the right to work reached 30,000, according to the official report of Simpson. From 1939 to 1946 the number doubled."

The matter was later investigated by another official government commission, the French Commission (not sent to justify a political report, but sent to make an economic survey), which found the number of peasants landless as a result of Jewish agricultural settlement, to be no more than 600, instead of the falsified Stalinist figure of 60,000.

When questioned as to why Jewish immigrants in Palestine are needed by British imperialism and Jewish capital, the Stalinists have two stock answers: in order to enslave the Arab population and to build an army against Russia.

## A CP EXPERT WAXES PROFOUND

Paul Novick, American CP "expert" on Zionism (before the recent elevation of Morris Schappes to that position) wrote as follows in the introduction to the Russian edition of his book on the Jewish question:

"In Palestine Zionist fascist brigades are mobilized to support British imperialism in its struggle against the agrarian revolution and at the same time as part of the international armies against Soviet Caucasus, in order to seize the oil wells of Bolen and Grosni."

In an appeal of the Palestine Communist Party, issued as an anti-war proclamation on August 1st, 1934, we find:

"British imperialism... brings in, through legal and illegal channels, tens of thousands of Zionist-imperialist soldiers in order to strengthen with their aid the suppression of the liberty of the Arab masses and to prepare legions for the intervention in the Soviet Union."

With such an attitude—that the Jews are invaders, robbers, "anti-Soviet agents," imperialists—it was only logical for the Stalinists to oppose the entry of Jews into Palestine. The Communist parties all over the world have, until World War II, opposed Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Nor was it a passive opposition. For many years the Stalinists have been urging the Arabs to maintain active resistance against the Jewish "conquerors." In 1930, they appealed to the Arab populace to guard the harbors to prevent Jews from landing.

In 1936, THE CP of Palestine called upon the Jewish youth to aid the Arab

youth in the struggle against the entry of Jews. In the same year, Harry Pollitt, speaking in the name of the English Communist Party, declared that the justice of the demand for the "stoppage of any further Jewish immigration" cannot be disputed.

During the heyday of the Peoples Front, 1938-39, just prior to the Stalin-Hitler pact, we find a change in the Stalinist position on these questions. In the U. S., Palestine and Eastern Europe, the Jewish Stalinists dropped their flat and unequivocal opposition to all Jewish immigration and began to propose "political solutions" for the Arab-Jewish problems, which we will take up later. However, at no time did the Comintern itself give up its opposition to Jewish immigration. But of that later.

## THE STALINISTS ENTER THEIR POGROM PERIOD

According to the Stalinists before 1938 there were no Jews in Palestine—only Zionists. And who are the Zionists? British agents! Herein lies the key to the Stalinist interpretation of the pogroms on the Jews.

The Stalinist reasoning was simple: Where there are no Jews, there can be no pogroms. When an Arab kills a Jew, they maintained, he kills only a British agent and when many Arabs attack many Jews, it is a revolution against British imperialism. That is the reason for the Communist Party support and encouragement of the pogroms of 1929, 1933, 1936, 1939.

From August 20 to August 28, 1929, the American Communists, in the Freiheit, their American Jewish daily, denounced the attacks on the Jews as pogroms. On orders from the Comintern, they reversed their position, and on August 29, 1929, the pogroms became a "revolutionary uprising."

In conjunction with the riots of 1936, the Palestine Communist Party issued the following appeal (Imprecor, June 27, 1936):

"The ever-spreading imperialist-Zionist occupation of the country demands speedy and effective resistance, or Zionist robbery will deprive the Arab people of Palestine. The Arab liberation movement is endeavoring to make the continuation of Zionist colonization impossible by means of ridding the economy of the Zionist conquerors by acts of sabotage and partisan attacks."

The "partisan attacks" praised here were not attacks on British soldiers, but attacks on unarmed Jews, including a bomb thrown into a school in Tel-Aviv in which children between the ages of 6 and 11 were wounded.

## WHO ARE THE ROBBERS AND WHO THE ROBBED?

The fundamental line of the Stalinists concerning the relations between Jews and Arabs was remarkable for its simplicity: Jews are the robbers, Arabs are the robbed. Jews are the aggressors, Arabs the attacked. Jews are the invaders, Arabs the expelled. It is easy to explain, as did the Morning Freiheit, Yiddish daily organ of the American Communist Party, in relation to the pogroms of 1929:

"The war of the Jews against the Arabs has always been and still is an unjust one. The war of the Jews against the Arabs is a part of the imperialist suppression. The war of the Arabs against the Jews is, regardless of its religious appearances, a part of the world struggle for the liberation of the downtrodden masses."

This, then, was the Stalinist line, dressed up in pseudo-revolutionary phraseology. It called a pogrom a revolution, and developed its reactionary policy on this foundation.

(Our readers should not misunderstand our comments as support for Zionism or the Zionist movement. We are merely indicating that it is, and was, wrong to identify the Jewish population of Palestine with political Zionism. In describing the development of Stalinist policy we are showing its wholly opportunist anti-socialist character.)

Despite the betrayals of the working class by the Stalinists, they have in most places been able to pose as internationalists, bringing together people of different nationalities in common struggle. That such struggles emerge for the power and prestige of the Stalinist bureaucracy rather than for socialism, is quite another matter.

In Palestine, a country inhabited by two nationalities, and ruled over by a foreign imperialist power, the policy of the Stalinist CP has not been one of uniting the two nations into a common anti-imperialist struggle against the foreign yoke, but to defect this struggle, to an anti-Jewish pogrom policy. We have already demonstrated this in relation to Jewish immigration and the pogroms of 1929, 1933, 1936.

Did the Communists in Palestine advocate and struggle for Jewish-Arab unity within the trade unions, or even within the party itself? The answer is emphatically NO!

Since its 3rd Congress, when the Comintern raised the slogan of a united "Arabistan," the CP of Palestine began eliminating and purging so-called "Zionist" elements and adopted the slogan of "Toward the

Arabs"—which in effect meant complete acceptance of the Arabs as an undifferentiated progressive group, including their top, semi-feudal leaders.

Immediately after the pogroms of 1929, the executive committee of the Comintern issued orders that the Central Committee of the Palestine Party must contain an Arab majority. At the 7th Congress the Palestine delegate went one step further. He announced that Arabization would go on "while keeping the reliable and honest Jewish comrades in the party ranks." This language is familiarly like the favorite defense of anti-Semites—"Some of my best friends are Jews."

## RESULTS OF A SECTARIAN POLICY

As to the trade unions, the CP during the 3rd period of 1929-35 characterized the Histadruth—the Jewish trade union of Palestine with 80,000 members—as "social fascists," "racists," "robbers," and even "Hitlerites."

In 1935, Ben Gurion, leader of the Histadruth, signed a pact with Vladimir Jabotinsky, establishing working arrangements with the reactionary Revisionist wing of Zionism. The agreement also contained a "no strike pledge" as advocated by the Revisionists. This evoked a storm of protest from the rank and file of the Histadruth and was voted down by a huge majority in a referendum.

During the campaign preceding the referendum, the Stalinists issued this stupid and sectarian appeal: "Do not vote for or against the agreement. Instead of voting, protest against Zionism, against immigration," etc.

In the United States, the Stalinists had been demanding that the Histadruth admit Arab workers into its ranks. At the same time in Palestine they unceasingly warned the Arab workers against joining the Histadruth. They never supported those left-wing elements inside the Zionist movement which struggled to transform the Histadruth to one extent or another into a union of both Jewish and Arab workers.

Instead they have called upon the Arab workers to refrain from entering into any relations with Jewish labor. When the Arab workers of the Nesher cement plant went on strike, the Histadruth gathered funds for their support. The Communists demanded that the strikers not accept any help from the Jews.

When in November, 1935, an attempt was made by unknown persons to smuggle arms into Haifa, the CP did not wait to determine who was responsible, but without hesitation issued a fiery call to the Arabs: "the aim of these arms is only one—the hearts of the Arabs whom the Jews want to erase and eradicate from the earth."

This appeal was so openly a pogrom-call, that the Jewish section of the French CP was forced to repudiate the proclamation under pressure from the Paole-Lion who were part of the Jewish Peoples Front of France.

In the United States the Jewish Stalinists claimed at first that this leaflet was a lie—a forgery by red-baiters. Later they admitted that the Palestine CP did issue the statement but said that due to the inexperience of the leaders of the Palestine CP, an error in principle had been made which had been "speedily corrected," promising at the same time to publish a correction. Eleven years have passed and this correction has not seen print yet.

## THE PALESTINE CP ACCEPTS WHITE PAPER

During the entire thirties, the CP position on Palestine was entirely one-sided. The Jews had only duties to perform, the Arabs only rights. All demands for compromise and surrender were directed exclusively to the Jewish bourgeoisie; the equally reactionary Arab leaders were seldom attacked. In the words of William Gallagher, Communist member of British Parliament, the "ONLY right of the Jews in Palestine is to cooperate with the Arabs in building a prosperous Arab State."

The Freiheit in 1939 stated that "perhaps it may be worth while to accept formally the temporary stoppage of immigration to Palestine in order to start a larger immigration to all Arab countries..."

Later in 1939, the British imperialist government followed this advice and issued the White Paper, the most severe blow it ever directed against the Jews in Palestine.

The White Paper, in the face of the unprecedented need of refugees fleeing from Hitler, prohibiting Jewish immigration after a period of five years or after 75,000 immigrants were admitted, was promulgated by the British government with the consent of the "great humanitarian" Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The "theory" behind the White Paper was to limit immigration to such amounts as would bring the Jewish population up to 1/3 and no more of the total population of the country. Here the Stalinists were even more stringent than the British imperialists. The Communist Party of Palestine submitted a memorandum to the Woodhead Commission (which prepared the White Paper) demanding that the then

existing population ratio of 30 to 70 not be disturbed under any conditions.

The Stalinists had for years demanded that Jewish acquisition of land be stopped. The White Paper did so and set up racial criteria for the purchase of land by forbidding Jews to buy land in the main fertile sections of Palestine. No attempt was made to protect tenants—the prohibition was entirely on a racist basis.

## OPENLY AGREE WITH BRITISH OPPRESSORS

The Stalinists themselves recognized the parallel of their own demands with those of the White Paper. The Hammer, organ of the Palestine CP, urged the Arabs to accept the White Paper and cease their anti-British acts in the following veiled words:

"Not to further the uprising movement because the partial concessions and promises of the English government to put through gradual reforms in the country are at present a limited achievement, which, given

American CP even came out in favor of a national home in Palestine.

Alex Bittleman, then Jewish "expert" of the CP, in his pamphlet "The Jewish People Will Live On" made a remarkable about-face from the previously quoted Stalinist position:

"The Jewish workers in the U. S. are in full agreement with the Jewish workers of the Palestine Yishuv on the national tasks of upbuilding of the Yishuv as a free national composition of the Jewish people of America and all Jewish communities."

"It becomes necessary to insist that the thing to concentrate on at present is the task of aiding the Yishuv in the fight for the abolition of the White Paper, for the free economic, industrial and agricultural development of the Jewish community."

In 1944, the Jewish Stalinists of Palestine gave up their opposition to the Histadruth and joined that trade union. On re-entering they declared that they had purged the party of

## From the Stalinist Press

די מאסקע הינטער וועלכע ער שיסט



The above cartoon by William Gropper appeared in the Morning Freiheit, Stalinist Yiddish Daily, on September 4, 1929. It shows an old Jew (identified in typically anti-Semitic fashion by his sack of money with a dollar-signed Jewish star) being used as a front by the British imperialist. The caption reads: "The Mask Behind Which He Shoots." The cartoon was printed at the time of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Palestine, which the Stalinists characterized as a "revolution."

the proper political vigilance, can bring more fundamental rights..."

But the American Communist Party, too, attempting to build its own imitation of a popular front amongst the Jews, urged the Jews to reject the White Paper! This is but one of the more illustrative acts of the cynical and hypocritical double-dealing which the Stalinists practice in relation to the Jewish question.

The rise of Hitler in 1933 added 500,000 Jews to the desperate number who wished to immigrate to save their lives. This was in addition to millions in Poland, Rumania and Hungary, who were seeking a place to live. The doors of all nations were closed, and remain so to this day:

The two largest countries of the world, Russia and the United States, could have, with the greatest of ease, absorbed these people, but they did not do so—with the result that 6,000,000 died via crematoriums, gas chambers, starvation, etc.

After the Hitler-Stalin pact, which divided Poland between Germany and Russia according to a pre-arranged agreement, 1,000,000 Jews fled eastward from the German armies. These Jews crowded into the Russian occupied portions of Poland, where they were not welcomed and every difficulty was placed in the way of their entrance. In September, 1940, 10,000 GPU agents descended on these people and in two days and two nights transported 500,000 people in tightly packed cattle-cars to Siberia. Little or no food was given for the trip that took four to six weeks. The Jewish press still prints letters from refugees who are now beginning to contact the outside world, describing the horrors of those days.

During the early part of the war, following the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinists continued their opposition to Jewish immigration. It was only in later years of the war that only Stalinist party came out directly in favor of Jewish immigration. The those "who considered the Jews as

an undifferentiated reactionary mass opposed to the Arabs as an undifferentiated progressive force."

While the Stalinist parties the world over almost always have the same line and use the identical phrases and arguments, on the question of Jewish immigration there has been a rather sharp division.

While the Jewish Stalinists changed their position to fit Jewish popular opinion, the Stalinist propaganda to the Arabs always maintained a consistent line of opposition to Jewish immigration.

The Arab League for National Liberation, the name of the Palestine Arab Stalinists, has consistently opposed Jewish immigration. In October, 1945, a conference of the Near East Communist Parties took place in Damascus at which representatives of Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq and Syria participated. This conference adopted resolutions against Zionism and Jewish immigration. Mustafa Alarais of Lebanon, just returned from Russia reported, "the best friends of the Arabs in Palestine and other countries, are the Russians, and Moscow considers the Zionists as tools of British and American imperialism." He appealed for the workers to join in a united national front to combat Jewish immigration.

Since the "dissolution" of the Comintern, the Stalinists in Palestine have separated into two distinct organizations. The so-called PKP is 100 per cent Jewish. The Arab Stalinists are organized into the Arab League for National Liberation.

According to the Herald Tribune of December 30, 1946, the Arab Stalinists in Palestine "have doubled their membership during the last years. They have tightened their hold on the Arab Federation of Trade Unions. They claim a membership of 20,000 for the Federation."

"Meanwhile, the Jewish Communists have gained only a few hundred members and remain almost as weak as they were in the election of August, 1945, when they won 3 of (Continued on page 6)

## From the Stalinist Press



The above cartoon by William Gropper appeared in the Morning Freiheit, Stalinist Yiddish Daily, on October 3, 1929. It shows Jews (identified in typically anti-Semitic fashion by the facial distortions and the dollar-signed stars) chasing an Arab and shouting: "He isn't a cripple—he only makes believe—he is an Arab—Jews, beat him up!" The cartoon was printed at the time of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Palestine, which the Stalinists characterized as a "revolution."

on uncultivated land. It repeatedly declared that there were still large areas of land in the hands of the government and the Arab effendis, cultivated but uncultivated, which should be given to Jewish settlers.

Such was the position of the Bolshevik movement on the Jewish national and Zionist movements. It took a position independent of both the Arab feudal lords and the Zionists. Any attempt to make an amalgam between this position and latter day Stalinist pogrom-like attitude is a deliberate attempt to smear Bolshevism with the taint of Stalinism.

With the Stalinization of the Comintern in 1926-27, there was a complete shift to the right in its colonial policy: the adoption of a policy in colonial countries of subordination of the proletariat to the native bourgeois nationalist movements. In Palestine, this meant a change

Jewish proletariat in the country. "The Jewish proletariat does not emigrate," pontificated the Stalinist theoreticians.

The official position of the Stalinists on Jewish immigration into Palestine is stated in the Communist International, Vol. VI, page 865:

"The Zionist movement is a counter-revolutionary movement of the Jewish big bourgeoisie which has succeeded in attracting large contingents of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie." It adds, "These colonizing tendencies were controlled by the Zionist movement, at whose head were the financial magnates of Germany, France, Britain and in recent years, America."

The truth is, however, that Jewish "financial magnates and bankers" have usually been anti-Zionists. That they figure in Stalinist literature as the leaders of Zionism, shows the

Excerpts from a Forthcoming Workers Party Pamphlet:

# Jim Crow in Los Angeles - I

## Foreword

### FREEDOM BEGINS AT HOME.

Today, in the South, men are hunted and lynched by mobs, a man is beaten into blindness, helpless women are shot down in cold blood—all because their skin is dark—

Today, the second "war for democracy" has left less democracy than before in a terrorized Europe—

Today, everyone must be told of the crimes being committed against the Negro people under our very noses, in the city of Los Angeles. That is the job of this pamphlet.

Its author, Hal Draper, has been in the forefront of the fight against race hatred in this city, in words and action. His pamphlet, "The Truth About Gerald Smith," is still the only full-length exposé of America's No. 1 fascist. As Los Angeles organizer of the Workers Party, he led the first mass-picket demonstration against Fascist Smith in June, 1945.

Jim Crow is not a local Los Angeles question but a national evil that splashes the entire country. But the fight for freedom begins at home. This pamphlet will make better fighters against Jim Crow. When we understand the roots of the evil, we will be able to tear it out of the soil that nourishes it.

Over a hundred thousand people in Los Angeles live in a concentration camp.

Not the kind you read about over in Europe. No barbed wire, no gas chambers. That isn't the only thing that makes a concentration camp.

Racial segregation, restriction of liberty, brutality in uniform, vigilante storm-troopers on the loose—these make the concentration camps that exist in American cities, and in Los Angeles.

They are the Jim Crow ghettos. Behind them is the shadow of barbed wire and totalitarianism.

That's pretty strong language. Is it justified? After all, John Smith, white American, was brought up to think that it's only right for colored people to live with their own and not to mix with white folks.

That's not prejudice, says John Smith, that's just the way things ought to be.

We'll get around to talking about the way things ought to be. Let's start by seeing how things ARE.

## Home, Sweet Home

First of all, did you ever try living in a chicken coop—you and your family?

Things are tough all over, and maybe you don't have an extra bedroom for Junior. But—

"Spot surveys in some sections indicated nearly all available garages, sheds, and in some cases even chicken coops were occupied for living quarters."

That's the City Health Department reporting on the south-central Negro district for 1944-45. People are living there like prisoners in a concentration camp, not because they want to, but because they are chained there by racial segregation.

### Here's the whole picture:

During the war years, the demand for labor brought a quarter million newcomers to Los Angeles. Seventy thousand Negro people came along with the rest. Without them, the city could not have boomed into the major industrial area it is now.

The Negro population of Los Angeles more than doubled from 1940 to 1946—from about 63,000 to over 133,000.

Their labor was welcomed, the fat war contracts and free government plants could now grind out the profits for industry. But were they given a chance to live decently?

Even back in 1940 more than 84 per cent of the Negro population were living in the area of poorest housing in the city. Then when the influx started—

Of the quarter-million arrivals, three-fourths had the whole city to settle in because their complexions were whitish. Even so, we all know what the squeeze was like.

The other fourth, the Negro workers, had to squash into the limited number of sections open to non-whites—the very sections that were already the most crowded in the city!

A Negro population that had doubled, as the result of the appeal to keep the war industries going, was jack-knifed into the overflowing ghetto by the Jim Crow system of "restrictive covenants."

If you want it in official language, here's the City Housing Authority reporting to the Mayor on September 17, 1945: "We therefore have approximately 125,000 people living, for the most part, in shelter facilities which were primarily substandard and seriously overcrowded when they housed only 67,000 people before the war."

That sounds impossible. Just try to imagine how it was done! The "secret" is explained by such things as a public health nurse's report which gives typical cases like the following: A family of eleven, including eight children and a new infant, live in a garage, sleeping two and three together in bunk beds, with no running water, bath or toilet except in the front house.

There is not an inch of space to which they can escape from this inhuman existence without crossing the magic line of the Jim Crow ghetto.

## Jim Crow Over the Housing Projects

The family in the above case was waiting for a vacancy in the Aliso Village housing project. So are thousands of others—5,465 of them. This is the number of eligible applicants that were waiting as of September 1, 1945, and actually 59 per cent of them were Negro families.

Public housing projects provided homes for only about 9,000 Negroes. Private housing developments accounted for possibly 2,000 more. That is why around 50,000 were condemned to live in garages, chicken coops and crowded quarters.

Are the city housing projects open to Negroes? At least three are deliberately kept lily-white, at the demand of the real estate boards and banks. That does not mean that the others are "open."

### There is a racial quota.

This system was legal and official up to about 1941. Now it is just "understood" practice. If a Negro family moves out, another moves in—no more. The quota may vary from 2 to 15 per cent or it may be only a token family or two. But there is no room for the expansion of the Negro population in such projects. In the already congested Negro communities with the resultant overtaxing of already inadequate transportation and public facilities, as in the Watts area.

The overwhelming majority of Negro families which are settled in projects are to be found in the temporary units—jerry-built houses which unavoidably degenerate into near-slums a year after erection. As the Los Angeles Sentinel reported: "It is estimated that members of the Negro race are some 300 per cent worse off than members of the white race in regard to housing. This has reflected in a growth of crime and illness figures in the crowded Negro districts which has caused a staggering financial loss to the entire community."

Anybody who talks nice words about "interracial understanding" is talking up a spout as long as the Jim Crow practices which bring such conditions about, are winked at.

## Behind the Restrictive Covenants

The heart of this vicious system is the instrument known as the restrictive covenant.

This is a "private" agreement by householders in a particular area. It binds them and their successors to refuse to rent or sell to non-whites. The courts enforce these Jim Crow contracts. A present owner cannot rent or sell to a Negro even if he wants to, because of a covenant made 25 years ago by somebody else. Even if a Negro owns the property, he cannot use or occupy it.

The United States, "home of the free," according to the song, is the ONLY nation in the world where a citizen can be deprived, solely for his race and color, of the right to live in his own home. That is the fact—the rest is only a song.

# Stalinists on Jewish Question

(Continued from page 5)

171 seats in Asefata Hamivchorim, the Jewish Parliament of Palestine."

"Moscow always has evidenced sympathy for the Arab aspirations toward independence. Since the Palestine Communist press unanimously opposes partition and the creation of a Jewish state, the Communists stand to gain if the British turn to partition as the solution of the Palestine problem...."

"The Arab paper 'Al Itha' (Stalinist) opposes further immigration."

The Jewish Day of New York reports that publicly the Stalinists make no attempt at crossing national lines in Palestine. In fact, the Arab Stalinists did not even send greetings to the latest conference of PKP, the Jewish Palestine Communist Party!

Emil Tuma, editor of Al Itha' declared that the present Arab Higher Committee is the symbol of Arab unity and that the Stalinists are prepared for further collaboration with the Hussein (Muffi) Party. The Stalinists have declared that they will not organize any organization (trade union) in those sections where there are rightist Arab organizations. As to Jewish-Arab cooperation, the Stalinists have said "they are opposed to official united actions of Jewish and Arab workers through the Hisfadruth because of political purposes." Complete support and unity with the Muffi is all right with these so-called communists, but any attempt to cross national lines for working class cooperation is opposed by the Stalinists.

That the Stalinists are returning to their old position of viewing all classes of the Arabs as progressive, is indicated by Bulah Poroch, another CP leader who disclosed that "all Arabs, regardless of class, have suffered from Zionism." (my emphasis —A.F.)

Despite the weakness of the Stalinist party amongst the Jews, they have influenced the left wing parties of Palestine—the Hashomer Hatzair and the Achduth Avodah Party. Both of these groups support Stalinism in every phase, except on the Jewish question. The Left Paole-Zion, who make up the main core of the Achduth Avodah, have been pro-Stalinist for many years. They have no criticism to make of Russia; they

regard that anti-working class police state, as Socialist, and they supported the Moscow trials, etc.

Unfortunately for the Achduth Avodah, this plea for a pro-Russian orientation came on the heels of the world change in the Stalinist position, which is now against the rights of the Jews to enter Palestine. The Hashomer Hatzair in Palestine, which advocates a variety of bi-nationalism based on political parity, also is pro-Russian.

## POST-WAR LINE OF AMERICAN STALINISTS

With the end of World War II thousands of Jews began a desperate attempt to find a permanent place of refuge. They filled the displaced persons camps as a temporary resting place in their search for a permanent haven. Most of them were survivors of concentration camps, who miraculously escaped the gas chambers. Others were new arrivals who were driven there by the growing post-war wave of anti-Semitism which a chaotic capitalist Europe was developing.

The Stalinists joined in the campaign to admit 100,000 Jews to Palestine. The Morning Freiheit printed dozens of articles on this subject, and attacked the British Labor Party for not permitting the refugees to enter Palestine.

In the meantime, the Russian press had begun a campaign of denouncing Zionism, while the Russian government undertook a tentative rapprochement with the governments of the Arab states in its efforts to acquire an imperialist foothold in the Near East. The Russians, and their satellites at the UN, voted for Arab League proposals to prevent Jewish immigration into Palestine.

As a result, the American Stalinists changed their line. On November 4, the Morning Freiheit published a resolution on "Communist work among the American Jewish masses," the net result of which is to make the line of the American CP conform to the interests of Stalin's foreign policy in the Near East.

The demand for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has disappeared from their press, and while declaring that "the concept of a Jewish world nation" is "reactionary utopianism," they do not completely

give up their slogan of a Jewish Nation Home, but declare that "our use of the slogan 'Jewish National Home' was characterized by distortion and one-sidedness."

The resolution calls for the United Nations to take the responsibility of re-settling Jewish displaced persons. It demands "greater possibilities for Jewish refugees to immigrate and settle in the United States." Toward the rulers of the country with which they have the closest ties—Russia—they dare make no demands.

The resolution is purposely vague regarding a solution for the problem of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine. It proposes an "independent Palestine state under supervision of the United Nations," with "national rights" for the Jewish inhabitants, but not as a "homeland for the Jews of all countries."

The resolution is left purposely vague to allow for varied interpretations, to be made in accordance with the requirements of Russian policy in the Near East.

Principles mean nothing to the cynics in the leadership of the Communist Party. Their words mean less than nothing. In practice, however, one thing is certain—they have dropped the demand for Jewish immigration to Palestine.

Without offering a positive presentation of our own on the Jewish question (available in the November issue of *The New Internationalist*) we have charted here in some detail the zig-zags in line of Stalinism on the Jewish question. One thing should be clear: the Stalinist position on this, as on all other problems, is based not on any consideration of the needs of either the Jewish or Arab masses, but rather exclusively on the transient needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy. To understand this simple fact is to begin to understand the reactionary nature of Stalinism—and that has been the purpose of this compilation.

(Author's Note: Much of the factual material in this article has been taken from an excellently-documented pamphlet now unfortunately out of print: *The Communists in Palestine (1939)* by Bezalet Sherman. Other material has been taken from articles by L. Rock in *The New Internationalist*. The use of this material, however, is my own.)

# Injunctions in U. S. History - -

(Continued from page 3)

ance to court imposed restrictions the union is charged with contempt of court. The workers are fined, the strike leaders are put in jail, and the government noose around union activities is drawn tighter. Often the attributed violations of the injunction are fantastically far-fetched or purely fictitious, made up for the purpose of enabling the court to bring down the full force of its judicial power on the head of the union.

Another important problem relative to injunction procedure, is the absence of jury trials in such cases. When an application for a labor injunction is made, the judge is also the jury. The union, denied trial by jury, must plead its case to a capitalist judge who seldom is interested in the legal rights of the union, and even less concerned with their needs and demands. This is also true of contempt proceedings. The union has to prove, not to a jury but to the judge who issued the injunction, that it was not in contempt. Under such adverse conditions the union's

chances for exercising any legal rights is obviously negligible.

Several weeks ago, we discussed the most important of the early injunction cases: The Debs' case. We saw how eagerly and effectively the government courts responded to the railroad magnates' plea for help, with an injunction and subsequent contempt proceedings which finally crushed the strike. We cannot describe minutely, or even give the background of any of the thousands of injunctions which followed the Debs case in one article. However, it is important to note the following facts: Between 1901-1927 there were 118 reported applications to Federal Courts for injunctive "relief" against union drives and strikes. Of this number, one hundred were granted! But this is only the figure for reported cases. There are innumerable unreported injunctions. Also, we must remember that the 118 reported cases were applications to Federal Courts. The number of injunctions granted by state and local courts are almost too many to count. In New York State alone, from 1923 to 1927, there were 48 reported applications for labor injunctions of which 35 were granted. This figure too refers only to reported cases.

A few quotations from injunction texts in important precedent-setting

cases, should help us to understand the reactionary sweep and vindictiveness of labor injunctions.

From a restraining order issued by Judge Wilkerson during the 1922 railroad strike: Striking workers were enjoined from "in any manner conspiring, combining, confederating, agreeing and arranging with each other or with any person or persons, organizations or associations to injure, interfere with or hinder said railway companies...." In another part the order prevented the workers from "aiding, abetting, directing or encouraging any persons or persons, organizations or associations by letter, telegram, telephone, or word of mouth, or otherwise (1) to do any of the acts aforesaid." (Emphasis mine—J.F.)

An "improvement" on previous injunctions was made by Federal Judge Benson W. Hough, in a startling order during an important and bitter coal strike in 1927, which made it mandatory that "each picket should be a citizen of the United States and shall be able to speak the English language." Testifying before a Senate committee, AFL President Green pointed out that "... More than 90 per cent of the workers in these mines in Eastern Ohio are foreign speaking men...."

State injunctions have been no less rabid than those issued by Federal courts. Just one quote from a typical state court injunction should indicate this. In the 1926 injunction against the Interborough Rapid Transit workers of New York City, we read that the defendant, individuals and union, "and each of their agents, servants, attorneys, confederates and any other persons acting in aid or concert with them" were enjoined from "holding or causing to be held meetings of the employees of the plaintiff for the purpose of using persuasion or exhorting them to absent themselves from their places of duty or to leave the service of the plaintiff." Furthermore, the workers were forbidden "to make demands upon the plaintiff for increased wages...." And further down the text declares that the workers cannot "... congregate, picket or loiter in or on the neighborhood of the plaintiff's cars... or other premises for the purpose of inducing or persuading plaintiff's employees to desist from their duties."

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# Bolivia Election - -

(Continued from page 3)

ariat. Now, in a brief post-revolutionary period the proletariat, led by the miners, overcame its backwardness and went on to great victories. But we do not know if these electoral victories have class-consistency or if they will be lasting.

Even the POR, section of the Fourth International, has neither ideological nor programmatic consistency, as we have analyzed before. It is the exponent of a semi-Stalinist program of bourgeois-democratic revolution, realizable under the proletarian dictatorship. Furthermore, in spite of the miners' congress and the creation of the Workers' Center and the "Workers' Front," habits and traces of Nazi-fascism still exist in the mining districts. In Lalagua, where the Trotskyist deputies come from, thousands of votes went to the Nazi candidate for president, Victor Paz Estenssoro, the old "theoretician" of the "régime of Villaroel, who was hung. The candidate for senate of the Proletarian Front, Juan Lechin, is an ex-member of the movement who also received votes for the vice-presidency from the defeated MNR.

In La Paz, the POR formed a bloc with the PSOB, also a Trotskyist party, and accepted the candidates of the latter as a common slate. But at the last minute the POR arbitrarily imposed the doubtful candidacy of Lechin for senator of La Paz. The militants of the PSOB complain of the lack of loyalty of the Poristas and their Stalinist opportunism for the purpose of achieving electoral successes. The

POR contends that it dominates the mines; nevertheless, it cannot eliminate the thousands of pro-Nazi votes and has to accept Lechin as head candidate of the Proletarian Front. All of this obscures the great Trotskyist victory in Bolivia. Time will tell if our reflections are justified. Let us hope not.

In any event, Trotskyism in Bolivia is leading a movement of proletarian masses and will undoubtedly have some genuine labor deputies with a Marxist doctrine and program. (January 1, 1947, La Paz.)

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For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Station B, Cleveland, Ohio.

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Public Meeting, Hear Max Shachtman, National Chairman, Workers Party, on "Socialism—the Only Road to Peace and Security," Sunday, Feb. 9, 8 p.m.; Twelve Horsemen's Civic Center, Red Room; Erskine and John R. Admission 35 cents.

Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

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In Peace as in War - - They Are the Victims of Capitalism

By A BRITISH SOLDIER

Most people in England see the German food situation only through the medium of figures. The ration calories per day; and cuts in the ration scale publicized in the same manner. In an effort to show what the Control Commission is doing, the British ration is compared with the German, but again in terms of caloric content—a comparison which demonstrates precisely nothing. What is a calory? Or fifteen hundred calories? The figures register in the mind, but the imagination is untouched. Nobody who has not tried to live on it can possibly visualize what the present ration in Germany means, in terms of human want and human suffering.

TEA WITH FRAU F—

The other evening I went to tea with Frau F—. I took my own rations, of course, which made me a criminal in the eyes of the Army. (One can do anything with Army food, eat it, throw it away, or feed it to pigs. But you must never, under any circumstances, give it to Germans. Even the giving away of haversack rations at railway stations is forbidden.)

Frau F— prepared tea and told me what the simple snack we ate together represented in German rations. For purposes of comparison she ignored the difference in quality between the roughest Army food and the best foodstuffs the Germans can buy. But no British housewife, faced with hard black bread, tasteless ersatz tea and coffee, and watery-milk, would ignore it.

I ate two slices of bread, lightly spread with margarine and cream cheese. To Frau F— this represented a day's ration of bread (the Army loaf is bigger than the German one, of course), a month's ration of cheese, and one week's total fat ration. We had tea with sugar and milk, an almost forgotten delicacy in Germany today, and Frau F— told me she couldn't remember when she had tea last. Nor could she remember the last time she was able to put sugar in tea. But she did know that we used the equivalent of a day's ration of milk in two big cups of tea, and the milk WAS milk and not the watery fluid she gets. When I opened up a can of corned beef and started to lash it out I was reminded, and I must confess it shook me, that the little can I held in my hand was only about a hundred grams less than Frau F—'s monthly ration of meat.

Frau F— gets about eight pounds of potatoes a month, but she has to stand in long queues to get them and she never knows from day to day whether the food on her ration card will be available or not. Sometimes it is. More often, particularly during the last few weeks, what she has been able to get has been far below what her card entitled her to.

THE QUEUES

And even when they get the food, it is doubtful whether they themselves eat more than a half of it. German working class women are the same as our wives and mothers: their children come first. It is the working class housewife who suffers the most, of course. The people with the cash, who are still around in spite of "de-nazification," can live on the black market. Herr K—, for instance, ex-officer and pillar of one of the local Military Government detachments, told me that he spends about five thousand marks a month getting food for himself on the black market. He is typical of thousands, who find it good for business to work with Military Government. It is easy to spot them. They walk around arrogantly, smoking English cigarettes. (Only one of

LABOR ACTION is continuing its campaign to aid working class, socialist families in Europe and our efforts have begun to have results. Next week's LABOR ACTION will give a report of the results obtained to date. Meanwhile, we are reprinting from the English Socialist Appeal the following graphic description of conditions in Germany today, the country at present most affected by hunger and cold. We urge our readers to reflect on this description by an English soldier, and to help us immediately in our work to bring some help by filling in the form below.

LABOR ACTION EUROPEAN RELIEF SERVICE

these cigarettes would cost a worker a day's pay to buy.) But they have the "connections." And in Germany today, those who have the "connections" have the power. Frau F— has no "connections," no rings or watches to sell, and little or nothing in the

bank. She and the other German working-class housewives have to carry on a well-nigh hopeless fight to exist. In peace, as in war, they are the most helpless victims of capitalism.—From the British Socialist Appeal.

SP CLIQUE IN LABOR PARTY COMMITTEE BUREAUCRATICALLY OUSTS SEATTLE WPerS

SEATTLE—Loading the January session of the Committee for a Labor Party here with its own followers, a little clique in control of the organization's official positions drove through a motion to expel members of the Workers Party.

Without presenting one shred of evidence to support the charges, without holding even the semblance of a hearing, this little set, most of whom are members of the Socialist Party, based the expulsion on grounds that the Seattle branch of the Workers Party has used the committee list to recruit persons to the WP and obtain subscriptions to LABOR ACTION.

Asserting that this "victimizing" of CLP members is causing them to withdraw from activity, Bernard L. Pearce, organizer of the committee, moved that the members of the Workers Party be asked to resign. WP members denied the charges, called on Pearce to prove his statements and refused to resign. This motion passed and was followed by approval of a subsequent one expelling the WP members.

WP AND THE CLP

Although it contains but a handful of active members at the present time and is limited in influence, the Washington State Committee for a Labor Party was organized over a year ago in Seattle to lay the ground work in this state for a genuine labor-based political instrument by conducting educational work in the unions. Its function is to spread the reasons why the workers must "ditch the company politicians" and build their own party.

Members of the Workers Party helped to organize the CLP, formulate its procedure, write its literature and secured adoption of a program that calls for demonstrating concretely the need for a labor party by showing how the "Company Parties"—Republicans and Democrats—have consistently ignored the needs of the workers and written all major pieces of legislation to favor profit-taking of the "boss." Instead of implementing this perspective, committee officials have been content to measure CLP influence by the number of workers who sign membership cards.

Behind this unprincipled, stab-in-the-back attack lies a conflict between insistence of the Workers Party that the committee be anchored firmly to a union rank-and-file base and inclination of the "Socialist Party leadership to orient itself toward the "third" or "new" party milieu. WP members have pointed out time and again that if this tendency creeps into the CLP, it will become ripe for plucking by the political opportunists who support the

Henry A. Wallace interpretations of the Roosevelt program.

But what is perhaps more serious, certain CLP leaders are reported to be seeking "good will" for the committee from certain labor leaders. Workers Party members hold it is right to seek the "good will" of the local labor bureaucracy provided they are not permitted to dictate policy which is in conflict with the aims of the CLP. But there is reason to believe that union tops have had something to do with the expulsion of the WP.

NO ADVANCE NOTED

The SP clique was able to ram through the expulsion because few persons attended the meeting. But many committeemen who are friends of the Workers Party have promised that they will attend the February session and demand that the action be withdrawn.

In their defense WP members point out that the committee is a temporary association of those, regardless of personal beliefs, who want to build a labor party. The CLP has no constitution, by-laws or qualifications for membership. There does not exist, furthermore, a single rule or verbal commitment prohibiting any group of members from selling literature to other members or recruiting them to any organization.

The accused were not put on notice before the meeting that they would be asked to resign or that their expulsion would be considered. Consequently, members of the WP were given no opportunity to prepare their defense.

After the first WP member replied to the accusations, the rest were allowed only three minutes to defend themselves. Even then, they were heckled and interrupted constantly during a period of shocking parliamentary laxity. The only element lacking to make the expulsion a genuine bureaucratic maneuver was a good gong squad.

At no time have Workers Party members attempted to gain control of the CLP. No person belonging to the WP is an officer of the committee. The party demands nothing more than the right to put forth its ideas. Its members would accept official positions only on condition that the committeemen understand and support the WP program for independent political action.

UAW VETS MEET IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Nearly 150 veteran delegates from UAW-CIO local unions were to convene here on January 30 for a two-day conference on veterans' affairs and a federal legislative program.

The conference was called by Emil Mazey, director of the veterans' department of the UAW-CIO, upon the authority of the International Executive Board.

The IEB voted unanimously to leave the choice of delegates, proportioned on a regional strength basis, to the regional directors, thus opening the way to the bureaucratic hand-picking of the delegates. However, in some local unions the delegates were chosen by election.

Before the conference will come some major problems like the question of the role and functioning of veterans' committee and the veterans' department itself. Experience has shown that active veterans' committees tend to assume more and more the role of the leadership of a veterans' organization. In fact, they seem to be the first logical step in the formation of a new veterans' organization based on the union movement.

The emasculatation of the UAW veterans' department last summer by the anti-Reuther majority bloc on the IEB should come in for some attention.

The most important veteran problem will be the program of action on housing. Of course the veterans' conference will endorse the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill, but that is just one aspect of the problem. Likewise, endorsement of "cash for terminal pay bonds" legislation is expected, and the beginning of a campaign for a federal bonus is also likely.

Youth Corner...

EDUCATION IN AMERICA

By JULIE FALK National Secretary, SYL

The speeches and articles of politicians discussing America's educational accomplishments have been long and bombastic. From ward-healers to Senators we have heard an infinite number of times stock phrases such as "our finest educational system in the world" and "millions spent for education."

Let us examine the meaning of the first platitude: "finest educational system in the world." Viewed relatively, there is more than a grain of truth to it. Compared to devastated Europe or barbaric Stalinist Russia, educational opportunities in America appear good. But a comparison of this nature is misleading. An educational system, superior by comparison with other countries cannot be equated to an educational system superior in itself.

The relative worth of our educational system has some significance, but it is not valid as a measure of actual educational achievement in America. The fact that other countries are extremely deficient in providing adequate and progressive educational facilities for their youth does not in any way justify what we will see to be the appalling failure of America's educational opportunities.

SOME FACTS ON EDUCATION

The National Educational Association (NEA) has just published an annual report to the public titled, "Our Children." Though the NEA is a conservative, semi-official group, its report is factual and objective. The facts published are startling. I am sure that even the wisest of us would sit back and re-read with incredulity some of the facts concerning the status of America's educational level and school facilities.

Space allows for only a few of the more important facts uncovered in this study, with a minimum of editorial comments.

1. In the 1940 census it was discovered that there were twice as many adults who had never gone to school as all as there were students in our institutions of higher learning.

2. The same census showed that these "average citizens of twenty years of age had attended school for only nine years." That means that

the average American does not pass the high school freshman stage.

3. The census also revealed that there were ten million in America who are "functionally illiterate." In four states, Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia, more than 30 per cent of adults over twenty-five years did not have more than four years grammar school to their credit. The national percentage for this category of semi-literate adults is amazingly high, 13.57 per cent—more than one out of every eight!

4. Indicative of the low educational levels is the fact that 676,000 were rejected by the Selective Service for mental and educational backwardness. And those who were in the army, perhaps know best, from personal observation, that the Selective Service standards could not have been very high.

5. In 1940 "there were more inmates of prisons, mental institutions, and alms houses, than there were students in universities."

Our capitalist society is evidently more conducive to developing paupers, delinquents and neurotics than to the growth of well-educated and adjusted adults.

6. Despite child labor laws and compulsory school laws there are five million young people of school age who are not in school.

(To be continued)

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH VOLUMES ON HAND

We have on hand twenty bound volumes of the Challenge of Youth. This includes the complete file of the Fourth International YPSL paper from October 1937 to the time of its dissolution in September 15, 1941. The Socialist Youth League has decided that rather than keep the bound volumes for posterity it will send a volume to any individual or group donating a minimum of \$5.00 toward our pamphlet fund.

The appeal for contributions to this fund has not met with an adequate response. It is urgent that comrades and friends send in whatever contribution they can possibly muster up.

SYL units should make special appeals to members and arrange socials, the proceeds of which should be for this fund.



Workers Party Publications has two new pamphlets in stock now, Leon Trotsky's "Marxism in the United States," and Albert Goldman's "The Question of Unity between the WP and SWP." Orders for both these publications are now being accepted at the usual discount rate of one-third, and will immediately be mailed to those requesting them.

Both of these pamphlets should prove of interest and value to readers and supporters of LABOR ACTION. We urge all LABOR ACTION literature agents to place orders as quickly as possible, and we guarantee quick shipment.

BILLS, BILLS, BILLS: Full up-to-date statements of accounts with LABOR ACTION, The New International, and Workers Party Publications are now in the mails and should shortly be received. Many agents are continuing to lag behind in their payments, and we urge immediate action on this score to settle up.

LABOR ACTION SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN:

In next week's issue of LABOR ACTION we shall list full details (quotas, prizes, introductory subscription offer, etc.) of the forthcoming LABOR ACTION subscription campaign (the month of March, 1947) for 2,000 new readers and subscribers. Watch this column for full details.

LABOR ACTION subscriptions and renewal subs picked up considerably this past week and set an excellent record for the New Year which we hope to sustain. Particular credit goes to Local New York, which finally began to turn in some subs, and to Comrade Esther Griffin of Los Angeles, who sent in the largest batch of subs we've received in a long time, collected by herself and her friends. Here's the record for the week:

Table with 2 columns: Location and Subscriptions. Includes Los Angeles (23), New York City (20), Philadelphia (19), West Virginia (9), Detroit (3), San Francisco (2), Boston (1), Newark (1), Streator, Ill. (1), Miscellaneous (3), TOTAL (73).

Particularly worthy of mention is Comrade Frank Harper of Philadelphia who has really put literature in that city on a going basis. Hardly a day passes without our receiving an order from him for more LABOR ACTIONS, more New Internationals and books from our Book Service—not to mention new subscriptions in a steady flow!

I Want to Subscribe to THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION. 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Includes form for Name, Address, City, Zone, State and pricing: 50 Cents for Six Months, \$1.00 for a Year.

# 'Control' Director Sheds Tears for Landlords, Works on Formula to Allow Rent Ceiling Boost

(Continued from page 1)  
posed to arouse the sympathy of the tenant whose wages in 1946 lost about 25 per cent of purchasing power, so he will take a rent squeeze of 15 or 20 per cent. And, offhand, we would take a bet that our definition of "small property owner" and his disagree.

Fleming also swears that his ruling does not break the line of rent control. At the same time reporters are told that any cases of "reasonable doubt" will be settled in favor of the landlords. Since there are about a dozen grounds on which landlords can apply for a rent boost, there is plenty of room for at least one "reasonable doubt." Even before Major Fleming's latest gratuity to the profit-mad realtors, 20,000 to 30,000 cases of rent boosts were already being allowed each month.

While the Democratic administration is taking an official stand in favor of rent controls but at the same time underhandedly breaking rent ceilings, the Republicans in Congress are for an open rent boost of 15 or 20 per cent and for the end of all rent control by the end of 1947 or the first quarter of 1948. Republican Senators Hawkes (N. J.), Cain (Wash.), Malone (Nev.) and McCarthy (Wis.) are to introduce a bill to this effect any day now. Senator Taft (Ohio), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, favors rent increases, and his influence is great.

Senator Malone—the cautious man—is not sure he wants his name attached to the bill he will help draw, but he's sure he wants to set a date for ending rent control so that investors and real estate interests can be aided in their planning. Mr. Malone also thinks that by the end of the year rents will probably be "back on competitive controls." Does Mr. Malone know the real extent of the housing crisis? The 1940 Housing Census reported almost seven million houses in need of major repairs; 4,300,000 without central heating or stoves; over 30,000,000 people living in houses below minimum standards of health, safety, decency or convenience. The war years deepened the crisis. The trickle of building since V-J day will not restore "competitive controls" so soon. The shortage is still too tremendous. But Mr. Malone worries little about 30,000,000 people; he has the investors and real estate interests on his mind.

### NEW WRINKLE

The landlord lobby in Congress has a new wrinkle in its tissue of lies. It points to the fact that

### BRAD ANALYZES GOVERNMENT ROLE IN MINE SITUATION

PHILADELPHIA—The real issue which is at stake as the Supreme Court deliberates the United Mine Workers injunction case is not merely whether government by injunction is legal, but whether the ruling class feels secure enough to deal a telling blow to labor. This was the theme at the Philadelphia Labor Action Forum at which Jack Brad of the Workers Party spoke.

Control of unions by injunctions, he said, was an old tactic of big business and its government. And it is precisely this current offensive against labor through a court action which dictates the necessity of independent political action by labor.

Watch for announcements on next forums.

in the middle income brackets only 16.4 per cent of the consumer's dollar goes for rent, whereas in 1939 the percentage was 19.6. This is supposed to prove that the landlords are being robbed. What it actually shows is that the cost of other items in the consumer's budget has skyrocketed. At this point the landlords "wing their hands and protest that for them too the cost of everything has gone up—even those services which they no longer give their tenants. The tenants

are supposed to forget that in spite of percentages and costs and what-have-you, landlord profits are today over twice pre-war levels.

Drew Pearson predicted in his broadcast on Sunday that President Truman will veto the rent boosting bill being prepared by the Republican senators. Whether or not Congress can pass such a bill over the presidential veto is problematic. This does not mean that the prospects for the continuation of present rent ceil-

ings are good or sufficient

On the contrary, just as OPA collapsed under the pressure of big business and the black market, long before its official expiration, so rent controls will be broken all along the line—while officially they will still be on the books. Major Fleming's ruling opens the door to just such an unofficial collapse.

The situation cries out for direct action by the tenants. Tenant resistance to rent boosts must be organ-

ized house by house, block by block and neighborhood by neighborhood. The profits of landlords are not the only figure on the rise. According to the January 31 issue of United States News, "living costs are still rising slowly." Wage demands to make up for the tremendous drop in the purchasing power of the dollar are the next order of business, along with unyielding resistance to a rent squeeze. Unions and tenant organizations together have a job to do.

# In 12 Years Private Capital Cleared Only 6 of Chicago's 15,000 Slum Acres

By TOD WILKINSON

CHICAGO, Jan. 26—Take today's issue of the Chicago Tribune. Turn to the "Wanted to Rent" columns of the want ad section. Run your eyes down the many hundreds of tiny ads. Seldom has so much human misery been illuminated in such tiny space. Here is a random selection:

WILL MEET YOUR TERMS—3, 4, 5 or 6 rm. apt.; eviction Feb. 19.

HELP! Help! Help! We're desperate. 3, 4 or 5 rm. furn. or unfurn. north or n.w., for vet and wife, both empl.

VET AND BRIDE-TO-BE urgently need 1 to 5 rooms, to get married. Furn. or unfurn., South. After 7 p.m.

EX-PRISONER OF WAR, wife and baby—living with 3 families; urgently need furn. or unfurn. apt. Chicago anywhere.

VET, wife and expected child desperately need 4, 5 or 6 rms. Unfurn.

SAVE US FROM OUR IN-LAWS. Vet and bride desire 2-4 rm., furn. or unfurn.

BEING evicted for vet. Nonvet, wife, 3 yr. old son, seek 4-5-6 rm. apt. or house, N., N.W.

This is the way it is in Chicago, every day. This is the way it has been, last month, last year. This is the way it will be, UNTIL A HOUSING PLAN THAT IS DESIGNED TO MEET THE HUMAN NEEDS OF THIS CITY IS ADOPTED.

Above, in the typical want-ad shorthand, you can discern situations that next week will be on the front pages of the city's newspapers—in the form of broken homes, suicides, horrible fires that take human lives, crime.

Yet the city, state and federal officials do not lift a hand before this festering social sore. The very issue of the Chicago Tribune from which the want ads are quoted contains an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, informing us that

"Four Republican senators joined tonight in a proposal to boost rent ceilings 15 per cent, on the heels of OPA action that relaxed controls but apparently ruled out such an across-the-board boost by that agency. Simultaneously, the government gave notice that it has shifted to private industry the main responsibility for meeting the housing shortage."

The people of Chicago, like the people of this nation, need housing desperately. The government prepares to boost rent ceilings and gives up all pretense that it is or will assume responsibility to house the people. What is to be done?

### THE LOW-DOWN ON CHICAGO HOUSING

Chicago wasn't even a target for air-borne bombs in the recent war. Yet this city has 15,000 ACRES OF BLIGHTED AND NEAR-BLIGHTED LAND, according to Dr. Henry T. Heald, president of the Illinois Institute of Technology. The city is "rotting to its core with blight."

Of the 15,000 acres of blight in Chicago, public housing cleared just over 150 acres in the past ten years. At this rate, it will take 100 years to reclaim Chicago—and by that time it will be doubly blighted again. PUBLIC HOUSING at the rate developed under Roosevelt, Mayor Kelly and Governor Green has failed.

Has private housing done any better? "Only six acres of slum has been redeveloped by private enterprise in twelve years," states the Metropolitan Housing Council of Chicago. At this rate, it will take thousands of years to reclaim Chicago!

A year ago, there were already 32,500 servicemen and their families without a place to live in Chi-

cago, according to the Chicago Housing Authority. The number has doubtless increased by now, for thousands more have been demobilized and little new housing has been erected. In August, 1946, for instance, only 389 building permits were issued for the city of Chicago. Few buildings have been completed here in the past year.

The people seek and they find not. The Ida B. Wells public housing project in the city has 1,600 dwelling units. The manager stopped accepting applications some time ago, after there was a waiting list of 20,000.

No one will ever be able to estimate what Chicago's blighted housing costs the city and the people. The Illinois Supreme Court in a recent decision upholding a slum clearance program in Chicago referred to the cost of blight in Chicago. The study indicated a general mortality rate 6 per cent above the city average; infant mortality 25 per cent above the city average; juvenile delinquency 8 per cent above the city average.

Hardest hit of all are Chicago Negroes. Fenced behind restrictive covenants in less than five square miles on the South Side of Chicago live over 300,000 colored men, women and children, crowded into dwellings that should normally house half that number. An article in an adjoining column tells of the almost daily tragedies of Chicago's colored population, pent up in its ghettos.

### NOTHING IS BEING DONE

The city is rotting to death, but the politicians do nothing but issue attractively-printed reports of the Chicago Housing Authority, full of empty boasts, concealing concern for the real estate operators, the banks and insurance companies, and the building materials monopolies.

Housing is the city's No. 1 problem, and the chief issue in the coming election. How do Chicago's mayoralty candidates face the housing issue?

The Republican candidate, Russell Root, looks to Governor Green and the Chicago Tribune for his housing program to a joint session of the mick candidate. Governor Green on January 8 gave his housing platform to a point session of the state's general assembly.

"It is clear to almost every one that the only real solution of our housing needs lies in the construction of new homes and apartments by private capital," stated Green. "Any legislation which will invite and encourage building by private capital will be most beneficial."

Yet private capital in twelve years has cleared exactly six acres of Chicago's 15,000 acres of slums and blighted territory. Obviously, the Republican program offers not a shred of hope for decent housing to the people.

The Democratic candidate, Martin Kennelly, wealthy warehouseman and director of the Wilson & Co. packing plant, has no more to offer the people than has Root, or the present Democratic Mayor, Kelly. Big Businessman Kennelly is firmly committed to turning housing over to private capital.

In 1945 under Kelly the city of Chicago appropriated \$5,000,000 for slum clearance. From the state slum clearance fund, Chicago received \$4,300,000. The need is for billions of dollars and the old boss parties—Democratic and Republican alike—grudgingly give a few millions.

The only mayoralty candidate in the 1947 Chicago election who squarely and fairly meets the housing issue is Albert Goldman, candidate of the Workers Party.

To meet the immediate needs of the city's homeless, the Workers Party proposes that "the city's commercial hotels be requisitioned by the city and converted to homes for the homeless, at low rentals, for the duration of the housing crisis. Requisition all homes and apartments that are vacant for more than sixty days and make them available at low rentals to those in need of housing."

The Workers Party answer to the Republican threat to boost federal rent ceilings, and to the Truman administration's partial lifting of such ceilings, is the demand for a city ordinance barring any rent increases.

To enforce the ordinance and to insist that the landlords cease abusing tenants, the Workers Party proposes the organization of neighborhood tenants' committees.

The Metropolitan Housing Council in November issued a report, based on a six-month study of the License Court with respect to housing violations, that indicates the pressing need for tenants' committees.

Of 287 cases terminated during the study, 268 were non-suited, 40 cases dismissed and 79 resulted in small fines. This means that a landlord who breaks the law has four chances in five of escaping punishment when brought into the landlord-dominated court.

The Department of Buildings is just as lax. When a violation is reported—a dangerous stairway, failure to supply heat or water, unsanitary conditions, a leaky roof, faulty wiring—the Department of Buildings inspects. If it deigns to verify the report, the department then gives the landlord FIVE MONTHS in which to act, and resorts to the court only as a last resort. The court, as we have seen, almost always lets the landlord go scot-free. When the authorities fail to protect, the people themselves must act.

### A PROGRAM FOR NEW HOUSING

As to new housing, the Workers Party and its candidate, Albert Goldman, propose to "divert all housing materials to the construction of low-cost homes and apartments. Allocate immediately \$200,000,000 from the state's surplus funds for construction of low-cost housing. Place a rental ceiling on new housing not to exceed \$7.50 a room a month."

Both private housing and the inadequate public housing doled out have, up to now, miserably failed to meet the housing needs of Chicago. Only a vast public housing program can give our citizens the homes they need.

Both the city, the state and the federal government must contribute to a solution of the housing crisis. Housing should take precedence over all other expenses. Once the funds are assured, the city of Chicago should exert its powers of eminent domain, undertake a large-scale program of land assembly, squeeze the water out of the inflated land values, and proceed to build, according to an over-all, long-range program.

During the next generation an estimated 500,000 new homes will have to be built in Chicago. They will never be built by private capital, nor by public housing funds so long as the Democratic and Republican Parties control the government.

If you agree with the Workers Party solution to the housing program, vote for Albert Goldman.

Your vote for Albert Goldman for Mayor of Chicago will signify your agreement with the Workers Party's socialist solution to the housing program.

# End the Fire Massacres Demands Chicago WP

11 LIVES LOST IN SLUM FIRE-TRAPS IN 8 DAYS! 100 FAMILIES MADE HOMELESS! WHEN WILL THIS MISERY STOP?

The slums, horribly overcrowded, disease-breeding fire-traps, are unfit to be lived in. They have long-since passed the stage in which they could be patched.

No one can minimize the responsibility of the greedy landlords for their present miserable condition—resulting in these terrible fires.

Yet those who must shoulder the greatest responsibility are the federal, state and city governments—who only TALK and TALK but fail to do anything about building decent homes for poor people.

Not only the families victimized by the fires, but all slum dwellers—potential fire victims—must have decent homes IMMEDIATELY. While such homes are being built by the government, EMERGENCY MEASURES must be taken to house the people.

### WHAT CAN BE DONE?

1. Requisition the city's commercial hotels and convert them to homes, at low rentals, for the duration of the housing crisis. The government could do it in wartime for the soldiers—it can do it today!
2. Requisition all homes and apartments that are vacant for more than 60 days and make them available at low rentals.
3. Immediately end Jim Crow segregation and restrictive covenants.
4. Allocate at once the \$200 million surplus in the state treasury for home building. For a national \$250 billion five-year home-building program.
5. For a city ordinance barring any rent increase. Form tenants' Committees to stop rent gouging and landlord chiseling.

THIS IS THE PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS PARTY IN THIS CRISIS, ADVOCATED BY SOCIALISM'S CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF CHICAGO, ALBERT GOLDMAN.

WORKERS PARTY  
1501 West Madison Street  
CHE 5798

(The above is the text of a leaflet distributed by the Chicago local of the Workers Party.)

# Shachtman Coast-to-Coast Tour Starts in Buffalo

The national speaking tour which will take Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, from coast to coast starts this week in Buffalo. Comrade Shachtman, who is well known to workers in the leading cities of the United States as speaker and writer, will present the position of the Workers Party on the political problems facing the American and world working class.

In addition, he will be available for speaking engagements before other groups during the time that he is in each city. The tour is intended to be the most thorough taken by a party representative in some time and Comrade Shachtman will be available for informal discussions with party members and friends in addition to his speaking engagements.

Comrade Shachtman's itinerary follows:

Buffalo	January 30, 31, February 1
Cleveland	February 2, 3
Youngstown	February 5
Akron	February 6, 7
Detroit	February 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Chicago	February 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19
Streator	February 18
Hibbing	February 20, 21
Minneapolis	February 22, 23
Seattle	February 27, 28, March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
San Francisco	March 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Los Angeles	March 12, 13, 14, 15, 16
Denver	April 2, 3
Omaha	April 4, 5
St. Louis	April 6, 7
Louisville	April 9, 10
West Virginia	April 12, 13
Baltimore	April 14, 15
Philadelphia	April 16
Reading	April 17
Newark	April 18
Boston	April 23, 24



Max Shachtman

# Three-Way Division Reflects Imperialist Pressures on Italian Political Life:

## A Full Report on the Recent Split in the Italian Socialist Party

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Jan. 15—The Italian Socialist Party split into three groups at its 25th congress of Jan. 9-13. While Italy's third largest party moved another step on the road to its second liquidation in a generation, fascist students, as if symbolizing Italy's polarization around neo-fascist Qualunquists and Stalinists, staged hate-filled demonstrations outside the congress hall at Rome University. Inside, backed by 85 per cent of the 686,000 members, Foreign Minister and Party Secretary, Pietro Nenni's faction for support of Russia against the U. S., and for close collaboration and even unity with the Communist Party, came out on top.

Votes of 686,514 party members were split thus on the decisive policy motion:

Nenni "Left"	542,887
Unification	37,680
Socialist Initiative	5,313
Abstentions	69,403

Some 34,000 votes were unaccounted for.

Before the congress opened, Nenni by gaining a 2-to-1 majority in provincial conventions, had secured control over his right wing "Socialist Critic" opponents led by Giuseppe Saragat, head of the Italian Constituent Assembly. The "unification"

group had demanded that former party leaders step down so as to preserve party unity. "Socialist initiative," called "Trotskyists" by Nenni, but very close to Saragat, was led by Matteo Matteotti, 25-year-old son of Giacomo Matteotti, Socialist martyr of two decades ago.

Saragat and the writer, Ignazio Silone, headed the right wing which after much misgiving decided to boycott the congress, though thousands of its delegates sat through the session. While Nenni said they represented 10-15 per cent of the delegates, Saragat claimed 16 per cent. Joined shortly by Matteotti's group, Silone and Saragat hastily prepared a 98-page memorandum for a separate convention that declared the Nenni congress "invalid" and attacked it as not respecting "rights of minorities." They set up their own party called the "Italian SP, International Section of Socialist Workers."

### THE OPPOSITION

Declaring that the "ISP has been submitted to a cold and methodical process of subjugation to the principles of foreign forces" which raise up "the specter of civil war and international war," Saragat opposed Nenni's direction of the fascist purge and subsequent August amnesty. He

wanted a "democratic" and not "totalitarian" revolution. To him Italy's problem is the pact of unity with the CP which he says is run by a dictatorship on Italy. However, Saragat is willing to collaborate with the CP without giving up SP independence that would mean liquidation of the party again as in 1919-1922: "We want unity, but... on the plane of full democracy."

Seconding Saragat was Angelica Balabanoff, just returned from the U. S. and 30 years of exile. Onetime secretary of the Third (Communist) International, Balabanoff refused to support Nenni, stating: "I have known thousands and thousands of Socialists who have made pacts with the Communists and who have made a mistake. I do not need to be in Italy very long to know that the aim of Communism is to destroy Socialism."

If ever an SP congress reflected international entanglements this 25th congress did. Observers noted that Italy was caught fast in its unfortunate geographical position between the U. S. giant and the Russian steamroller. They recalled that this is not the first—or last split in the SP.

In 1912 a first split led to the exclusion of the "right reformists" led by I. Bonomi, later president of the council in 1944, who favored the imperialist expedition to Libya. At that

time Nenni and the then Socialist Mussolini, did also. In 1947 the entire Italian SP, including Nenni, Saragat, Matteotti, Silone and others, all favor retention of the Italian colonies. "Right reformism" of 1912 has become "Socialism" in 1947.

After the 1914-18 war when the pro-Third International group split to set up the CP, still another split developed led by the former "left Socialists" of 1912, Turati, Treves and Modigliani who participated with Lenin in the 1915 Zimmerwald conference. In 1947 Modigliani supports Saragat.

### NENNI, CP STOOGES

During the years of exile Nenni had brought the party together again in the early 1930's. In the Second World War's resistance movement, left and right wings joined forces under Nenni and Socialists received more votes than Stalinists in the first elections to the Constituent Assembly. Since that time Socialist influence has steadily declined before the advancing neo-fascist movement on the right and the powerful CP monster on the left.

The struggle over relations with the CP has a long history. Nenni, one-time fascist and lifelong advocate of broad unification, was almost read

out of the party in 1939 for refusing to denounce the Hitler-Stalin pacts. But from 1941 on, as the U. S. and Russia worked together to defeat Germany, the chief Socialist leaders worked closely with the CP. Once the war was over and U. S.-Russian rivalry opened up again in every field and particularly in the Mediterranean, the old divisions in the ISP reasserted themselves under pressure from abroad and from the seething masses of Italy.

As recently as its April, 1946, congress at Florence, the SP had almost split apart over work with the CP, with Nenni's motion obtaining 338,346 votes and the rightwing obtaining 300,062 votes under Silone's leadership. By January, 1947, right wing strength had dwindled appreciably. Saragat, then ambassador to Paris, returned hastily to take over rightwing leadership. A split was avoided by a motion of Pertini recommending unity of action with the CP, rejecting fusion and retaining SP autonomy.

Nenni was named president of the SP, Silone editor-in-chief of Avanti! Shortly afterward Silone, known as a "pure" intellectual, resigned his editorship but continued a campaign of criticizing party "bureaucracy," defending full democracy and opposing any idea of a party of the masses

which he claimed implied strong centralization that would lead to oligarchical control. In September Saragat denounced relations with the CP as profiting only the Stalinists.

On Oct. 27 by a majority vote Nenni succeeded in forging an even closer pact of unity, setting up with CP leader, Palmiro Togliatti, a new "Bloc of People" which won many Italian elections that saw the center Christian Democratic Party pushed from its leading position and the right neo-fascist Qualunquists rise to the fore.

At the end of November Saragat denounced Nenni in Avanti as a "potential dictator" and the unity of action pact as breaking the Florence congress decision and tending toward liquidating the SP.

### WORLD INFLUENCES

Behind the struggle is a profound difference in approach to international problems, but on a surprising level of agreement. Both groups favor restoration of Italy's colonies, working with the CP, reconstruction of capitalist Italy and opposing internal strikes not linked to these ends.

But Nenni's group believes that American imperialism has acquired such power and influence that it is impossible to accomplish a socialist

and economic "transformation" in Western Europe without close work with Russian, "slav" countries and CPs.

Saragat's wing denounces American imperialism but considers Russia a "totalitarian" state and the CPs as champions of "totalitarianism." He calls Christian Democrats and the CP "the two clerical parties," taking orders from the Popes of Rome and Moscow. His desire for a "popular" party serving as a "real bridge" between the U. S. and Russia shows the considerable British Labor Party influence on him.

Saragat represents the movement of Western European Socialists away from close working with the CP as in France and Germany. He is close to the left wing of the Christian Democrats whom he may join or work with closely since Christian Democrats are also crumbling under pressure from right and left, from abroad and below, with the left swinging toward Saragat and the right toward the Qualunquists. Crushed between fascists and Stalinists and between the ruble and the dollar, center parties having little room on which to stand in geographically and economically "centrist" Italy, are disintegrating, their component parts polarizing to left and right.