

Work for a Workers World  
By Joining Workers Party

# LABOR ACTION

MARCH 24, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

## WP, SWP Open Negotiations on Uniting Parties

Negotiations for the purpose of uniting the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party have been resumed.

Readers who have followed the reports on this question in LABOR ACTION know that the question of uniting the Trotskyist movement in the United States, which split into two parties in 1940 over a dispute on the defense of Stalinist Russia in the war, was first raised a year and a half ago. Led by Albert Goldman and his friends, a group in the Socialist Workers Party proposed that the SWP take the initiative in uniting with the WP. It was pointed out by this group that the WP had proved during the course of the war that it remained true to the interests of the working class and the principles of revolutionary Socialism. In addition, it pointed out, the SWP had decided to put into the background the call for the "unconditional defense" of Russia, thus reducing the proportions of the difference of opinion which brought about the split in 1940.

The National Committee of the WP took a position in favor of unity with the SWP in spite of the many differences of opinion that separate the two organizations. This position was endorsed by the WP membership as a whole.

### PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS

The WP communicated its decision to the leadership of the SWP with the result that exploratory negotiations were opened up between the two parties late in 1945.

The representatives of the WP made a number of concrete proposals to serve as a basis for unity between the two organizations. They laid special stress upon the importance of genuine party democracy in the united organization, which would assure any

minority group or tendency adequate possibility of presenting and defending its own point of view inside the party while maintaining unity and discipline in action.

The representatives of the SWP refrained for a considerable period of time from committing themselves clearly on the question of unity until their party convention in Chicago, November, 1946, at which the delegates voted to reject the proposal for unity.

The documented details of the correspondence exchanged between the two parties on this question during the past period are available to interested readers of LABOR ACTION in the form of a pamphlet on "The Question of Unity" by Albert Goldman, published by the Workers Party.

### COLLABORATION SET

Recently, negotiations for unity were reopened between the two parties. The preliminary discussions show that prospects for a solid unification of the Trotskyist movement in this country are now very favorable. Readers of LABOR ACTION will be kept informed of developments as they occur.

Plans have already been agreed upon by both organizations providing for joint activities in a whole series of fields, about which further announcement will be made shortly. In addition, the discussions have progressed to the point where the National Committees of the two organizations have adopted a joint statement on unity. Discussions between the two parties are continuing with the aim of arriving at an agreement on those questions that must still be resolved.

The joint statement of the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party appears boxed below.

## Text of WP and SWP Statement on Unification

In 1940 an internal struggle in the Socialist Workers Party resulted in a split, the Minority forming the Workers Party as an independent organization. The split has continued up to the present time.

Attempts made in recent times to find a basis for the unification of the two parties satisfactory to both sides, given the existence of the recognized disagreements on a number of important questions, did not meet with success and the discussions of the project were discontinued.

### QUESTION OF UNIFICATION REOPENED

In recent days the question was opened again. New discussions between the leading committees of the two organizations have taken place. On February 10, the National Committee of the WP presented a written declaration in favor of unification. In this declaration the National Committee of the WP obligated itself to accept the decisions of an Extraordinary Party Convention projected for the coming fall. This obligation was undertaken with the understanding that the WP, like the SWP, would have the right to participate in the pre-convention discussion and to be represented at the EPC with full rights and in proportion to its numerical strength; and that fusion of the two organizations into a united party would be achieved. On this basis, the WP pledged itself to abide by the discipline of the united party, politically as well as organizationally, even if the EPC should adopt decisions which would place the members of the WP in the position of a minority.

The plenum of the National Committee of the SWP, meeting in New York, February 15-16, accepted this declaration as providing a realistic basis for unity and unanimously voted in favor of unification on this basis. In view of the WP declaration, the plenum of the SWP on its part agreed that the WP should have the right to participate in the preparatory discussion of the EPC in a special discussion bulletin which will be distributed to the members of both parties. This discussion is to be completed in the branches of the separate organizations before the formal unification.

### COMMITTEES RECOMMENDED UNITY OF PARTIES

As to the specific forms of the proposed unification, it has been agreed by both sides that the members of the WP and the SWP, as of February 10, 1947, as well as all those recruited by each party subsequent to that date, shall be admitted into the ranks of the united party as a body, without prejudice or discrimination. However, while the unity negotiations are in progress, neither party will admit into its ranks any individuals or groups who are now or who have formerly been members of the other party, except by agreement. During the same period it is agreed that no exclusive measures will be taken by either party against any members or groups in its ranks in disciplinary cases arising out of the discussion on unity without consultation with the other party.

On the basis of the agreements and conditions outlined above, the two National Committees are recommending the unification of the two parties. If this recommendation is approved by the members of the two parties, as preliminary consultation indicates is most probable, the formal unification will take place as soon as the discussion now proceeding in the ranks of the two organizations is concluded. In the meantime, a joint committee of the two organizations has been established, which is empowered to organize and arrange a program of cooperation and joint activities of the two parties in all possible fields of the class struggle, designed to lead up and prepare the way for the formal unification.

JAMES P. CANNON,  
For the National Committee of the  
Socialist Workers Party

MAX SHACHTMAN,  
For the National Committee of the  
Workers Party

New York, March 11, 1947.

# Truman Speech Is Step To a New World War!

President Truman's speech last week, announcing that the U. S. will send money, technical experts and arms to Greece and Turkey, marked another and decisive step in the worldwide imperialist struggle between the bloc of Anglo-American capitalism and the bloc of totalitarian Stalinist Russia.

If any doubt remained that U. S. imperialism—the mightiest in the world—is prepared to throw all its power into the struggle in Europe and Asia over which of these two competing blocs is to dominate the economic and political life of those continents, Truman's speech dispelled that doubt once and for all.

His speech drove the last nail into the coffin of isolationism; and it was a milestone in the preparations of U. S. imperialism for the next, the third, the atomic world war. Two mighty blocs of imperialist expansion, struggling over which shall squeeze dry the remaining wealth of Europe, were ranged against each other.

### IS NOT THIS PREPARATION FOR WAR?

Truman's speech came as a frank statement of the aims of U. S. imperialism. It was a declaration that the power and wealth of the U. S. were to be its main reliance, even though at the same time Secretary of State Marshall was going through the motions of negotiating at Moscow. And the ridiculous United Nations was forgotten, rotting in a dust-bin, which no one took seriously.

All this took place less than two years since the Second World War ended. It is hard to believe that so little time has passed, for already a new and more terrifying war is in preparation.

Everyone recognizes that now the conflict is out in the open, the holiday phrases are being taken seriously by no one. The press speaks openly of a division of interests. It speaks openly of the conflict of imperialist interests that can be resolved only by war.

And Truman's speech, the machinations at Moscow, the intrigue at United Nations—and the research at atomic plants—all these are preparations for war.

### HOW SOON WILL NEXT WAR COME?

Not that war will come tomorrow or the day after, in the literal sense of these words. To believe that would be terribly misleading and disorienting. But it would be infinitely more misleading not to perceive the relentless movement toward war, not to understand the pompous promises of eternal peace for what they are—the hypocritical cover under which armies prepare for action.

It takes time to prepare for war. The major powers are not yet ready for another one. In two years, three or five or even ten years they will be ready to decide who will rule the world.

Ten years! Do you breathe a sigh of relief? Do you think: Ten years, we have time. But have we? Ten years is, historically speaking, a mere ten minutes. It is an incredible commentary on the degeneration of capitalist and Stalinist society that ten years can be considered a "real" respite between wars, rather than the briefest interval.

This is an age of atomic speed. Airplanes traverse the world in a few hours where once it took months to circumnavigate it by ship. Generations once separated wars. The interval between the First World War and the Second was a matter of a scant twenty years. We shall not have two decades before the next one. And even if we do, the universally acknowledged certainty of another war stands as an utter condemnation of this insane system which subjects us periodically to the destruction of war, a destruction that mounts in intensity as the years see a refinement of scientific military knowledge.

### HOW CAN WE STOP THIS WAR?

So long as capitalism and Stalinist bureaucratic collectivism remain, war cannot be escaped. It is in the nature of both of these imperialist societies, imbedded deep in their marrows, to foment and provoke wars, each more devastating than the one before.

We are caught in the inevitable and incalculable tragedy of a Third World War UNLESS we match our anti-war preparations AGAINST the saber-rattling preparations of imperialism.

The drums are already rolling in the twists and turns of foreign policy. There will be retreats, maneuvers, temporary compromises. None of these will fool the imperialist masters of the world who will proceed to deal in their own way with the struggle for world domination. We must not, however, permit the peoples of the world to be fooled by the dummy doves of peace that are inflated with hot air by the imperialist powers.

There is no way, basically, to prevent this coming war except by going to the roots of the problem, the war-making system itself. By fighting to eliminate the capitalist system; by giving aid to the Russian people to free themselves from their own totalitarian rulers; by confronting the war makers with the specter of revolutionary action by the peoples of the world; by serving notice that the masses will not tolerate a new world slaughter—in this way, in this way alone, can the war be stopped.

To this end we must today, while there are still a few moments of time, organize our forces politically and industrially to create a movement of titanic proportions against war, a movement dedicated to the creation of a workers', a socialist society in which alone peace is possible.

## Seek Grand Jury Investigation of GPU

Delegation Cites Budenz Testimony on Trotsky Murder in Asking District Attorney to Investigate Stalinist Assassins

NEW YORK, March 17—A delegation composed of Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, James T. Farrell, novelist, City Councillman Louis F. Goldberg and Herman Singer, editor of The Call, today presented a petition, signed by forty-seven prominent individuals, to Assistant District Attorney Jacob Grumet asking the District Attorney's office to order a grand jury investigation of the activities of the Stalinist murder machine. Calling the attention of the District Attorney's office to the disclosures in the Louis Budenz book, This Is My Story, particularly as they relate to the murder in Mexico of Leon Trotsky, plotted in New York, and the disappearance of Julia Stuart Poyntz, the delegation proposed that Louis Budenz, Earl Browder, Jack Stachel and other past and present leaders of the Communist Party be summoned before a grand jury or John Doe hearing so that the connection of the GPU with various political murders can be subjected to thorough public inquiry.

Mr. Grumet, who is in charge of the homicide bureau, professed interest in the representations of the delegation and said that he would discuss the possibility of taking action in the matter with District At-

torney Hogan. Mr. Grumet further said that he was familiar with the revelations in the Budenz book, and affirmed the authority of his office to act in cases of murder committed or plotted in the County of New York. He offered as a difficulty in the way of investigation that the top GPU agents were "men of the mist," according to the description in the Budenz book, whose identity might

### "Daily Worker" Remains Silent

The Daily Worker has yet to say a word about the disclosures in the Budenz book exposing the involvement of Communist Party leaders in the assassination machine of the Stalinist GPU. Nor does it report the demand made by a delegation to Assistant District Attorney Grumet for a grand jury investigation of GPU activities. The GPU brains behind the Communist Party are probably in great consternation over how to meet this public challenge to their apparatus of terror and intimidation. It is possible that, as in the Poyntz case mentioned by Louis Budenz, ex-Stalinist leader, the order will come down to keep silence.

be hard to establish. However, the delegation contended that public investigation would shed further light on the activities of the GPU and would serve to protect opponents of Stalinism in the labor and socialist movement from victimization by the GPU.

### LONG LIST OF MURDERS

Speaking for the signers of the petition, the delegation cited the long list of murders in this and other countries which are directly attributable to Stalin's secret police. Mr. Thomas referred to knowledge of GPU terror gained by him while visiting Spain during the Spanish Civil War, notably the abduction and murder of Mark Rein, son of the internationally known socialist, Raphael Abramovich. Mr. Thomas also raised the question of the suspicious suicide in Washington of Walter Krivitsky after he had broken with the Stalinist government, and the unsolved murder of Carlo Tresca, famous anarchist leader who was shot on the streets of New York in 1943. Claiming that no line of investigation in the Tresca case must be left unturned and insisting the murder could have been committed only by Mussolini's or Stalin's agents, Mr.

## Big 4 Conference Bares Imperialist Rivalry of Powers

The Foreign Ministers of the Big Four have been gathered at Moscow for over a week. Although the Conference is still in its early stages, the sharpness of the conflicts and disputes between the rival powers is clear to all. The preliminary phase of the Conference was largely overshadowed by the already famous speech of Truman on the question of Greece and Turkey, but this interventionist speech must be considered as a definite part of the Conference, a part of the now obvious American offensive on a world scale against expanding Russian imperialism.

After the spokesmen had spent a few days thumping the propaganda

and ideologic kettledrums (can one imagine a more obscene spectacle than General Marshall and Foreign Minister Molotov disputing over definitions of democracy?), the Big Four got down to business and then things began to hum. Molotov started it off with what is, in all probability, the biggest and most cynical lie ever heard at an international conference.

### THE GERMAN PRISONERS

When challenged by Marshall to announce the number of German prisoners of war still being held as slave laborers in Russian territory, Molotov agreed to give the facts and figures. Pravda thereupon told the world that 1,000,000 had already been released and sent home, and that a mere 890,000 remained enjoying the benefits of life under Stalin. On the basis of Russian Army reports on prisoners taken, the figures ran to over 3,500,000. Conservative American reports (such as that of the Hoover commission) estimated 3,000,000.

## War Strategy Behind U. S. Greek Loan

By ARTHUR STEIN

"If the Communists (that is, Stalinists—Ed.) gain control of the governments in Greece and Turkey, they are going to okay a treaty giving away the Dardanelles. If we lose Greece and Turkey, we will lose the Suez Canal. Communists will then go into India and next into China, and then we are licked."

In these words Representative Sol Bloom of New York, the leading administration leader in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, summarized all that is involved for United States imperialism in the proposed loan to the Greek monarchy. American concern over Greece and Turkey is stripped here of the hypocrisy which Truman found necessary to employ in his speech.

What is involved is not democracy or "clean government" in Greece—the monarchy represents probably the most corrupt and undemocratic régime to be found anywhere outside of the Russian sphere of influence. What is involved is not help to the Greek people—for that they need neither American military personnel nor American supervisors. What is involved, also, is no attempt of any kind to rebuild the consumer economy of Greece—50 per cent of the proposed loan is already earmarked for military expenses, the rest for semi-military projects like

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Thus, 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 are unaccounted for! This does not include German civilians abducted, only soldiers. Either Molotov is the world's most monstrous liar (not hard to believe), or else this missing group of 1 to 1½ millions have died under the harsh Russian slave life. It is probably a combination of both factors. But the "democratic" imperialists have little to brag about on this question—they are still holding approximately 1,200,000 German prisoners in England, France, Belgium and North Africa.

After sharp clashes on the name-calling front, the attempt of Molotov to raise the issue of China and its civil war was tentatively abandoned by that gentleman. He was more interested in basic questions and, feeling he had made his propaganda point, proceeded to one of the real issues at the Conference—the question of German reparations.

### GERMAN REPARATIONS

In a speech denouncing Allied policy in Germany from stem to stern, and demanding the liquidation of the Anglo-American economic unification of their respective German zones, Molotov presented—in preliminary form—the essential demands of Stalinist Russia regarding the German people and their resources.

The bill presented astounded even the most cynical and hard-bitten of

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opponents. Failing a campaign of exposure, designed to shed light on the activities of the GPU and to bring its agents in murder to justice, we become, said Mr. Farrell, speaking as a socialist, the victims of cowardice and of the slavery imposed on the Russian people.

The petition and its signers is published below. Since this list was compiled, others have signed their names. LABOR ACTION, which last week devoted two pages to the Budenz disclosures and to a recitation of the facts surrounding the murder of Leon Trotsky and other socialist enemies of Stalin, is solidly behind this campaign. LABOR ACTION will weekly publish all new information about the campaign—new signers, the plans of the District Attorney's office and all other developments.

### Text of Statement On GPU Murders

In his book, "This Is My Story," published on March 20 by Whittlesey House, Louis F. Budenz, former Daily Worker editor and National Committee member of the Communist Party, reveals extremely important information regarding the terrorist system of murder and intimidation

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## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Results of UAW Elections in Chicago

By MIKE HOLMAN  
and KEN HILLYER

CHICAGO, March 16 — The local UAW election period in the Chicago area is, about over, and the picture remains essentially the same as last year. The Revere Copper & Brass Local 477, Electromotive GM Local 719, Pressed Steel, Illinois Malleable, Ford Hégewisch and Amalgamated 453 and 734 leaderships remain basically as they were. The International Harvester Local 6 and Amalgamated 281 are only slightly changed.

## RED-BAITING IN 719

In a crummy red-baiting campaign, the Rank and File Union Builders (conservatives) defeated the Communist Party-controlled faction, calling itself the "Committee to Unite the Union," for every post in the Local 719 elections. One post will have to be decided by a run-off. That is the relatively unimportant one of two-year trustee.

Two major factors contributed to the victory of the Rank and File group. First, they carried on a vicious red-baiting campaign in which they stooped to quoting from the speeches of reactionary Congressmen printed in the Congressional Record. The junk they printed included the usual pap about the "Communists" wanting to destroy the Christian family, uproot religion, and that they were immoral, etc., etc. They dug deeply into the most backward prejudices of the workers in the plant on this basis.

Secondly, the election points clearly to the fact that there is a general and widespread conservatism in the plant following the long and costly strike last year.

The "Committee to Unite the Union" was controlled by the Stalinists, though many members of this caucus were independent union militants—some even anti-Stalinists. The latter elements made the error of uniting with these people instead of striking out boldly for a third group which would attack the conservatism and reactionary policies of the Rank and File group and at the same time point the way to a healthy and constructive fight against the Stalinists.

This was done by a small section of workers calling themselves the Pioneer Group. They issued a statement analyzing the situation in the local and in the plant. The few independent candidates which this group supported received ten per cent of the vote.

## LABOR PARTY SLATE WINS

In Revere Local 477, Charles Chikulas, Sam Mazza and Chris Thulium led a pro-Labor Party slate to victory in 14 out of 15 posts. The opposition was of a personal nature led by Tony Audio. The program of the Audio group was unknown because they printed no campaign material. However, a whispering campaign of rumors, Labor Party baiting, Trotsky baiting circulated throughout the plant. It was a very unfortunate fight, because Audio in the past has been a healthy, progressive trade unionist. The personality conflict played into the hands of the Stalinists, who have been waging a campaign against Local 477 and the CIO Industrial Union Council for supporting three independent labor candidates for alderman. The Chicago Star, Stalinist mouthpiece in Chicago, devoted a whole column of their labor gossip column, "Pop" Dearborn, to the "shameful performance" of Local 477 and the poor showing they made in the aldermanic election. This cynical reporter can only picture labor in politics as a blackmail weapon to

get crumbs from the local Democratic politicians. The victory of the Chikulas slate on the Labor Party plank was a fitting answer to this slanderer.

At Pressed Steel, the pro-Reuther ticket won again. Sam Price was elected president and Pat Greathouse was elected financial secretary. Greathouse is the Reutherite who was removed by the regional director, Joe Mattson, during the retrenchment program. The local has been on strike for two weeks and the regional director has refused to sanction the strike on the ground that Greathouse is pulling the strike for factional reasons. The company has picked up this argument and refuses to negotiate until the matter is set aside. The matter of ratifying the strike will be up for discussion at the International Executive Board meeting now taking place in Louisville, Ky. The conduct of the regional director in this area must be condemned and support given immediately to the strike-bound workers of the Pressed Steel plant.

The Stalinists again retained all posts in Amalgamated Local 453. There was no opposition slate. A candidate ran against Hilliard Ellis for president but did not have a chance. The local is based upon the National Malleable and American Brake Shoe plants. It is common knowledge that no member of Joe Mattson's staff except Al Glenn can even come into the local for negotiating purposes. This week they face a crucial battle with American Brake Shoe, as their contract expires. After years of doing nothing, the leadership must now go into strike action and it will be an interesting experience to watch. A similar picture exists at Illinois Malleable, which two years ago broke from 453, but whose leading militants have since left the plant. It came into the Stalinists' hands last year. They repeated this year.

## BUILD-UNION TICKET

At International Harvester Local 6 (formerly Buick), the Star and the Sunday Worker made a big play on the fact that the new officers are pro-Mattson and anti-Reuther. This local, which played a heroic role in the battle against the no-strike pledge during the war, is being counted out a bit prematurely by the Stalinists. It is true that the better slate did not win, but the slate that did win is far from being pro-CP or pro-Mattson. The shop committee has a majority of Build the Union men and the executive board is led by Ed Thompson, president, and other capable union men.

The Build the Union ticket made many mistakes from which they will learn. On top of this, there was an unprincipled, anti-Semitic, anti-day shift, anti-incumbent whispering campaign that took advantage of a membership which had not a clear picture of the individuals who ran for office. The remnants of the FE, led by the Stalinists (there had been a jurisdictional dispute with Farm Equipment-CIO four months prior to the local election), withdrew candidates in order to back men who were "lesser evils" to them.

The local faces serious problems. The contract negotiations have been conducted under an incompetent international man, H. J. Mays. The membership is becoming more and more restless. The negotiations have been going on since December and there is no wage pattern in sight and no retroactive pay clause. It will be just a matter of weeks now before the whole question of "Where

is Local 6 going?" reaches a climax, and in that situation the responsible men will come to the fore.

## MINOR UPSET IN 281

In what was a minor upset, Neville Waldrup was defeated by Charlie Monroe in Local 281. This election will be hailed by the CP as a victory for the Unity forces of Joe Mattson, because they succeeded in defeating a strong opponent. However, the battle was another personality conflict without any real clear-cut issues.

At Ford's the incumbents swept back into office. At Local 734 two leading Negro Reutherites battled it out for president with Willoughby

Abner, who is also vice-president of the CIO City Council, and defeated Wesley Thompson, another recently dropped organizer from the regional office's staff.

The local elections reveal very little principled campaigning. Personality conflicts in most locals overshadowed the programmatic issues. In others, factional UAW politics dictated procedures for the campaigns. They are typical of a general apathy. In the next period, great issues will come to the fore. Questions that will overshadow personalities and factional politics. The local leaderships will then undergo their real trials.

## A Workers Dictionary

Compiled by JACK RANGER

**Adventurism**, an irresponsible policy of leadership, such as leading a union into an ill-advised strike with little chance of winning and a large chance of losing in the particular situation.

**Affiliated Union**, one which is attached to another union organization. Thus a local union may be affiliated to an international union, to a central labor union, to a building trades council, etc.

**Agent Provocateur**, one sent by a government into an organization with orders to provoke that organization or some of its members into rash actions which the government will then utilize as an excuse to persecute the organization; or a government agent who himself commits acts of violence which are then attributed to radicals.

**Agitator**, one who presents only one or a few ideas to a mass of people, usually orally, in order to arouse indignation against injustice and to enlighten others.

**Agreement, Union**, a contract between a union and one or more employers which usually covers the following matters: union recognition, scales of wages, hours, seniority, working conditions, machinery for settling grievances and disputes, and length of time agreement is to run.

**Amalgamated Union**, one formed by the merger of two or more unions which were formerly separate.

## Chicago Aldermanic Campaign Raises Labor Party Question

By ROBERT FERGUSON

CHICAGO — Although their three candidates for alderman in the local elections on February 25 went down to defeat at the polls, militant members of the UAW Local at Revere Copper & Brass Co. had their first taste of genuine participation in independent labor politics—and liked it.

Not only did they gain practical experience in combating the capitalist candidates, but they learned above all that success in building a Labor Party can come only as a result of prolonged struggle within the labor movement to win firm support in advance of elections for the idea of a Labor Party itself.

The three candidates of the Revere Local, Frank Wesolowski, Charles Chikulas and Sam Mazza, running in the 32nd, 35th and 36th Wards, respectively, gained only a few hundred votes each. They ran with the official backing of the CIO Council, but it was only the efforts of the Revere Local militant workers and their friends which gained the number of votes achieved. Lack of clarity as to the fact that labor could and should play an organized, independent role against ALL the capitalist candidates in the non-partisan aldermanic elections prevailed in the ranks of the rest of the labor movement, both CIO and AFL.

As it was, the Revere candidates permitted themselves to be advertised as "Labor" men, rather than as representatives of an independent Labor Party. The PAC, which is said to still exist in these parts, played no role whatever in the election, apparently not deeming it fit to "bother" with attempting to represent the workers in the City Council.

## DETROIT TENANTS WORK WITH CIO TO PLAN ACTION AGAINST RENT BOOSTS, EVICTIONS

DETROIT, March 13—Approximately 150 people attended a neighborhood meeting on rent control at Northern High School in this city last night. Sponsored jointly by the Brewster Project Tenants Committee, the Charles Project Tenants Committee and the Wayne County CIO Council, the tenants approved unanimously of Chairman Jack Lesnick's proposals to mass at City Hall to demand that the Common Council take action to freeze rents locally.

The main speaker of the evening was R. J. Thomas, vice-president of the UAW-CIO, who spoke as a "home owner" and condemned inflation in real estate and housing. The release of federal rent controls would merely put tenants at the mercies of landlords. The solution to the rent problem, he said, is low-cost federal housing projects.

The chairman of the Brewster Project Tenants' Committee, J. Dillard, presented the program adopted by the meeting of the Brewster tenants:

- 1) Refuse to pay any rents over OPA ceilings.
- 2) Resist evictions by all means.

## Chicago Readers:

Support the Goldman-for-Mayor Campaign!

Circulate petitions!  
Distribute socialist campaign material!  
Contribute financially to Radio Speech Fund!

WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
1501 W. Madison Chicago 7, Ill.  
CHESapeake 5798  
Office Hours: 2 to 5:30 p.m. daily

## WHO BUYS SURPLUS GOODS?

The industrialists, the same people who profited most from the war program, are getting most of the benefits from the sale of surplus war property by the War Assets Administration. In a recent three-month period, industrialists bought 59.1 per cent of the surplus capital goods sold, and 33 per cent (\$282 millions) of the total goods sold. Veterans (most of them businessmen) picked up 23 per cent of the total surplus capital and consumers goods sold, or \$201 millions. Wholesalers accounted for \$209 millions. The federal government accounted for \$52 millions, retailers for \$42 millions, state and local governments for \$22 millions, foreign governments for about \$13 millions, exporters and UNRRA and unclassified for about \$23 millions.

The National Association of Machine Tool Builders has had tough sledding since the end of the war. With the government offering billions of dollars of surplus machine tools for sale cheap, the tool builders' market has contracted sharply. So the association has been conviving with its friends in the Army and the War Assets Administration, and has drafted a bill which will shortly be presented to Congress. It's a lulu!

The bill calls upon the government to take 250,000 surplus machine tools in WAA stocks and place them into a proposed "defense reserve" for a five-year period. With these tools off the market, sales of the machine tool builders would mount. Naturally, the association has the highest patriotic motives for urging the government to spend billions in this way. "The industry does not want to be placed again in the position of building enormous quantities of tools at a high cost to the government within a short space of time," says A. G. Bryant, vice-president of the Machine Tool Builders Association.

In 1939 there were an estimated 1,000,000 machine tools in the United States. During the war years approximately 800,000 more were built; in 1942, the peak production year, tools amounting to \$1,300 millions were built. Today production in the industry is running at \$300 millions, compared with a pre-war average of \$100 millions.

## HIGHER PRICES, PROFITS

After a brief pause in January, commodity prices have again continued to climb, taking new bites out of workers' paychecks with each upward step. Since the end of OPA controls, the price of cotton piece goods has risen 40 per cent. Rayon crepes are up 30 per cent. Lead prices have reached an all-time high of 14 cents a pound. The price of silver has gone up 5 cents an ounce in recent days. Textiles are up. Hog prices in Kansas City and Chicago have reached \$30 a hundredweight, some \$9.25 over the December 19 price which was the post-OPA low. Pork products immediately went up six cents a pound at the retail stores.

Federal Housing Expediter Creedon has authorized higher rents for apartments to be built in Chicago and New York, setting maximum rents of \$30 to \$32 a room. "The higher rents might be extended to other areas later," he said.

Cotton prices, which plummeted last fall as a result of liquidation of the Jordan holdings, are scrambling upward for the fifth week in a row. . . . The full impact of these higher commodity prices hasn't reached the public yet. When it does, the pressure upon the unions to launch a fight for another round of wage increases will be irresistible.

The apologists for Big Business are hard put to justify such outrageous profiteering. They twist, and turn, and excuse, and lie. An example is a talk made by Dr. Jules Backman, professor of economics at New York University, delivered before a recent conference of the American Management Association in Chicago. The

## AFL, CIO Sea Unions Confer

Plan Check on Jurisdiction Struggle; Ouster of Coast Guard

The long awaited and long overdue conference of American maritime unions was held in Washington last week. Its purpose was to establish a basis for cooperation between the ten seamen's unions and, it is hoped, check the threat of jurisdictional war on the waterfront.

Represented were the following: National Maritime Union, Marine Cooks & Stewards, Marine Engineers, American Communications Association (all of which are CIO unions); Seafarers International Union, Sailors Union of the Pacific, Masters, Mates & Pilots, Staff Officers Union, Radio Officers Union (all AFL); Marine Firmers, Oilers & Water-tenders (independent).

Chairman of the confab was V. J. Malone, president of the MFOU, who originally issued the call for the conference. Also represented was the ITF, which has in its ranks practically all European marine and dock workers' unions.

Resolutions acted on favorably were:

1. Withdrawal of military (U. S. Coast Guard) control from the shipping industry.
2. The granting of citizenship to alien seamen who sailed American ships during the war.
3. Increased appropriation to the U. S. Public Health Service to hospitalize sick merchant seamen properly and investigation of poor conditions at U. S. marine hospitals.
4. Prompt passage of a merchant seamen's war service act (Seamen's Bill of Rights).
5. Revision of maritime laws so as to curb the "dictatorial powers of masters to log and fine at will."
6. Congress to act fast on the question of transferring American vessels to Panamanian and Honduran registry, to be followed, if necessary, by a nation-wide boycott on American companies seeking to utilize Panamanian and Honduran registry to avoid payment of American wage scales, ship inspection requirements as well as U. S. taxation.
7. For all unions to consider a joint termination date of collective bargaining agreements in the maritime industry.

In addition to the discussion and stand taken on the above-mentioned questions, the conference, with a few

professor had to admit that there are some sectors of the economy where profits are large enough to permit wage increases or price decreases. (Actually almost all industries could do both.) "Where such situations prevail," said the professor, "the national interest, as well as that of the company or industry affected, will best be served if the alternative of lower prices is adopted."

The businessmen snickered at that one, and the next day the Journal of Commerce weekly index of 110 commodity prices hit a new high. Backman of course attacked the CIO theory that a general 25 per cent wage increase can be paid without raising prices. In fact, he said, wage increases will mean higher prices—even though he had admitted earlier that industrialists could raise wages without raising prices.

The N. Y. Journal of Commerce, dropping all pretense that Big Business is going to be satisfied with present prices and profits, no matter how high, soothes us with the theory that "the country may be in for a final speculative whirl in commodity prices before supply and demand adjustments will cause prices to find a more 'normal' post-war level." This is the same paper that argued for the end of OPA on grounds that "supply and demand adjustments" would prevent price rises.

Never in history has business been so profitable as now for the Sixty Families. The du Pont de Nemours & Co. reports the largest per share earnings in its history for 1946, equal to \$9.44 a share compared with \$6.29 in 1945. American Tobacco Co. reports "a substantial increase" over the \$3.69 a share reported in 1945, with 1946 dividends estimated at around \$5.50. Profits of B. F. Goodrich Co. soared to a record high in 1946 and brought dividends of \$17.69 a share, compared with \$7.84 in 1945. United Fruit Co. reported consolidated net income of \$39 millions for 1946, compared with \$19 millions a year ago. Last year's dividends totaled \$6.46 a share on \$2,925,000 shares. There was a 3-for-1 split-up last May, and still each share earned \$4.51 in 1946, so fabulously high were the profits. Good-year Tire & Rubber reports earnings of \$16.07 a share in 1946, compared with \$5.87 in 1945. Here is a building materials firm, Celotex Corporation, of Chicago, with earnings up 400 per cent over a year ago. Here is National Distillers Corporation with a 239 per cent rise in net profits for 1946 over the previous year. And so it runs, through industry after industry.

The N. Y. Journal of Commerce realizes such profit reports don't sit well with industry's insistence on continuing to boost prices and to reject wage increases. "Special pains must be taken" to explain the situation to the public, the Journal editorializes. First the Journal points out that "the large profits are not excessive because they yield only a moderate rate of return on the capital invested." But this does not always clinch the argument, continues the Journal. Present high profits "grossly exaggerate the true earning power of many a business, because of the 80 per cent rise in the commodity price level," it states. Then, it is doubtful whether many industries can maintain present profits much longer "because competition is bound to increase." Then, "current profits are not nearly as large as unconventional accounting methods make them out to be."

The more the Journal tries to explain, the less it explains. Every argument they advance to justify the exorbitant profiteering of Big Business can be advanced by the workers to justify sharp increases in wages. But this is just what the Journal fears. "It is altogether unrealistic to base wage policies upon a level of earnings that is, at best, going to prove temporary," it concludes. What would truly be unrealistic would be for the unions to lay back and fail to retaliate against the profiteering. Big Business has shown conclusively that there are no limits to its appetite for profits.

## Jim Crow Veneer Ripped Off In Philadelphia 'Lucasta' Snub

PHILADELPHIA — The thin veneer that normally covers Jim Crow in this city was rudely torn away last week. An incident involving the entire cast of "Anna Lucasta," a play with an all-Negro cast, revealed that beneath the normal politeness lie many of the same bigotries and race-hating attitudes that are normal and open in the South.

On January 10, Rex Ingram, well known actor, went to the Bellocce Bar on Chancery Street, accompanied by his wife, who is white. Though his wife was served, Ingram himself was refused. Mrs. Ingram testified later in court that this is by no means unusual; on the contrary, in their many travels, this type of sharp and painful racial distinction is a frequent occurrence.

## NEGROES REFUSED SERVICE

On February the 22nd, symbolically appropriate, a number of members of the "Anna Lucasta" cast accompanied Ingram and his wife to the same bar. This time all the Negroes in the cast were turned down for service. Adding insult to injury, a specious lie was made upon the spur of the moment by the owner of the bar. He insulted his customers with the excuse that they "had already had too many," although all they were trying to buy were cokes.

The owner and bartender were arraigned before Magistrate Rainey, head of the NAACP, who held them in \$2,500 bail for violation of a state law which prohibits racial discrimination in public places.

This incident in itself is not at all unique. Every waking hour Philadelphia Negroes are made aware of race bigotry by sly and subtle attitudes which poison their lives and those of the whites as well, since it hinders true solidarity of action against the real oppressors and manufacturers of racialism, the capitalist class and its Bilbos and Talmadges. In this sense the entire working class, Negro and white, pays heavily for Jim Crow.

## RELATION TO FEPC INDICATED

This incident serves to uncover these hidden but no less powerful and ever-present attitudes on race. It also points the need for a wider state law, a state FEPC to use in fighting against job discrimination.

There are many laws on the books that are meaningless. In the case of the "Lucasta" cast, they made the law operative by testing it. A state FEPC will not end job discrimination but it will give the labor movement and its Negro members a chance to defend themselves legally against the unwritten racial job code.

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By HENRY JUDD

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**World Imperialist Role Now Public Policy:**

**A Climax in U. S. Foreign Policy**

By IRVING HOWE

There is more than a touch of irony in the fact that the policy of decisive and unrestricted intervention by U. S. imperialism into worldwide and especially European affairs, has been enunciated by Harry Truman, provincial politician from Missouri; even though it was most consistently advocated by Franklin Roosevelt, the most far-seeing spokesman of U. S. capitalism in the 20th century.

Roosevelt, who did understand the need from the point of view of U. S. imperialism of active intervention into every corner of the globe, was yet restricted in his actions by, and had to heed the cautionings of, the isolationist groups. But Truman, who would like nothing better than to bury his head in Independence, Mo., is forced by inexorable social pressures to drive U. S. money, technique, arms and power into that very Europe of which Americans have traditionally been so suspicious.

We note this in connection with the proposed U. S. loans of \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey not merely to show how the Marxist conception of the limitations of the role of the individual in history is demonstrated in the behavior Roosevelt and Truman had to assume. More important, rather, is the fact that U. S. imperialism has now announced—not a new policy, for it did that when it intervened in Europe after the First World War, but rather—an open and frank declaration that it is the major power in the world and that it intends to utilize its superiority in dollars and atom bombs to decide the world's fate.

For how else can we interpret Truman's speech?—of which it can be said that seldom has a statement of such consequence been delivered by a figure of such inconsequence. . . .

Few have understood the implications of this declaration as well as the New York Times commentator, James Reston, who is also the unofficial "leak" of the State Department. As Reston wrote on March 11: ". . . we now are ready to demonstrate that, if the Soviet Union or its satellites . . . insist on expanding in the other key areas of the world, the United States will oppose them not

with stern and futile diplomatic notes as in the past, but with power." Reston continued, stating by implication that this open declaration of power must be backed up by arms: "There is perhaps still a suggestion in the new policy that we are 'buying security' by arming mercenaries. . . but most officials who approve the loans to Greece and Turkey are well aware of the fact that once we have started on this policy, we cannot fail to see it through."



And then, continued Reston, outlining the detailed intervention by the U. S. in the Middle East: "These loans are going to be carefully policed by the United States. Technical skill is going to be provided to help see that the loans are used effectively to attain their purposes, and if these loans and missions of ours need to be supported by the United States sea power, that, too, can be made available without difficulty."

Nothing could be more frank. The repercussions on the European continent have been tremendous. Those very nations—the second-rate declining imperialist powers—which need U. S. propping are yet the ones to be most suspicious about it. Reactions in Rome, Paris and England were, in diplomatic parlance, reserved; in plain English, worried. For they are now between two pressures; if the U. S. delivers them from the rampant Russian imperialism, they know quite well that in its own quiet but more efficient way, U. S. imperialism will squeeze them equally as much.

Little wonder then that the independent bourgeois newspaper in Rome, Il Messaggero, wrote: "The speech and the program it represents are important because behind respectable arguments of general policy lie the influence of colossal economic interests—industrial, banking and commercial—which . . . constitute that formidable mechanism of global expansion which is American imperialism."

**THE REPUBLICANS TAGGED ALONG MEEKLY WITH TRUMAN**

Equally significant was the domestic reaction in Washington. Some years back such a declaration by a President would have provoked a chorus of horrified isolationist screeches: the Republicans would have tried to utilize the situation to party advantage. Now, tempted though they must have been, they refrained from disagreement; their responsible leadership knew quite well that U. S. imperialism had taken a decisive step in sparring with its Russian rival and in its explicit intervention as the decisive power in non-Stalinist Europe. The Republicans couldn't say much in opposition, though they must have known that opposition would catch votes.

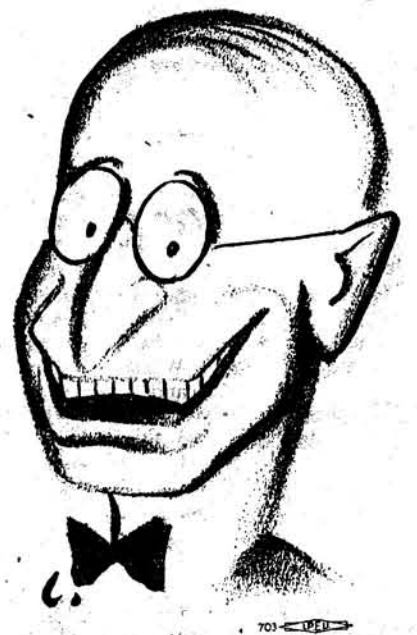
As if to rub it in, the perceptive James Reston wrote in the Times on March 12 that: "Considerable progress has been made in the last ten days in making Congress realize that what is at issue here is not merely loans to Greece and Turkey, but a question of establishing a world security system through the employment of American power."

And so the arc of U. S. foreign policy has been completed. From a nation traditionally suspicious of "foreign entanglements"—in which George Washington's conditional statement against such "entanglements" became a popular though seldom adhered-to shibboleth—the U. S. has become the arbiter of large sections of the world on whose decision, power and wealth the fate of governments depend. Let those myopic liberals who quixotically maintain that the idea of U. S. imperialism is a "myth" because "we have no colonies" examine the facts: U. S. imperialism is so powerful, the dollar and the bomb so omnipotent, that it doesn't need to "own" any colonies. It controls—and that is enough.

We have spoken of U. S. foreign policy as the unavoidable result of the nature of U. S. imperialism. It

may then be asked: are U. S. interests and investments in Greece and Turkey so large as to require this bold policy? Without even citing the statistics on this matter, we may readily answer: No. Most current investments in Greece and Turkey are not decisive. What is involved rather is the world position of U. S. imperialism in relation to the other major powers—primarily, Russia. The nature of these immediate struggles are detailed elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION. Here we wish to discuss, however briefly, U. S. imperialism itself.

U. S. imperialism is at present so wide-spread, so concerned with every corner of the globe because of the nature of its internal economy. A Marxist writer offers some interesting data on this point: ". . . the outstanding factor in the American industrial and financial system today is an overproduction of capital which has assumed terrific proportions. It is now in possession of a vastly expanded industrial productive capa-



city. Gross production was running during the first half of 1945 at an annual rate of \$206 billion. This is more than double the capacity of the peak year of the pre-depression boom. In 1929 total gross production amounted to only \$94.4 billion.

"Capital ready for investment is likewise available in the hands of the Wall Street corporations in prodigious amounts. National income during the war boom reached the stupendous sum of \$160 billion. Capitalist corporations received their more than generous share. From 1939 to 1945 net profits after taxes of U. S. corporations totalled \$42.7 billions. Their net working capital increased from \$24.6 billion in 1939 to \$45.5 billion in 1945, a jump of 85 per cent. Current assets from \$54.6 billion to \$98 billion in the same period." (William Simmons, in Fourth International Magazine, May 1946.)

This vast expansion of productive capacity, only a portion of which, under the workings of capitalist economy, can be absorbed by the domestic market, is the constant goading pressure for imperialist expansion. It is this process, now brought to a critical culmination as indicated in the figures cited above, which has gradually developed in this country since the turn of the century.

The U. S. became a creditor nation after the First World War. But it had already embarked on numerous imperialist ventures at the turn of the century: the Philippines, China, Latin America, etc. True, U. S. investments abroad at the turn of the century were quite small: \$500 million in 1900; slightly over \$2 billion in 1909; and slightly under \$2 billion in 1912. At the time of World War I, American investments were largely in Europe; it was this crucial fact which drove the House of Morgan to put the decisive pressure on Woodrow Wilson to enter the war.

**A DECISIVE TURN TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT**

In the decade from 1912-1922, U. S. foreign investments increased 300 per cent. This tendency continued from 1922 to 1931: an increase, estimated by the Department of Commerce, from about \$8 billion to about \$15 billion. These investments brought in an annual interest of over \$500 million a year.

But to look at the matter merely statistically would be insufficient. The specific gravity—the social-weight in terms of the functioning of U. S. capitalism—of these foreign investments held by American capitalists was far greater than a comparison between foreign and domestic investment might indicate. For a collapse of the foreign market, as happened in 1929-1931, could only result in internal crisis in the U. S.; this nation was now inextricably bound up with the world economy and was well on the way to



becoming the dominant force it is today.

Yet isolationist sentiment increased in between wars and reached a peak in the twenties and early thirties. Does this not seem in contradiction with the expansion of U. S. imperialism which one would expect would lead to an internationalist perspective for U. S. capitalism?

There is of course more than one reason for this situation. Here we wish only to cite two crucial reasons. There is no direct sequel from economics to politics. Though U. S. capitalism was becoming increasingly concerned with international investments and developments, the American people were repelled by the First World War and by their subsequent disillusionment about its causes; large sections of it succumbed to a policy of naive isolation: "keep out of European affairs." That such a policy was literally impossible did not deter them from clinging to it.

Much more decisive was the fact that during the interim between wars, U. S. investment underwent a sharp change in character. By 1929

the center of U. S. imperialism had shifted from Europe to the Western hemisphere; by 1939 the shift was even more emphatic, partly because of Nazi triumphs. (The Far East and Africa during this period remained relatively minor, though potentially of first importance.) The accompanying figures illustrate this point.

| Area                | Percentage of Total Investment |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Europe              | 31                             |
| Western Hemisphere  | 59                             |
| Far East and Africa | 10                             |

**THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MORGAN AND ROCKEFELLER**

Now the bulk of these investments in the Western Hemisphere were held roughly by the Rockefeller group. The bulk of investments in Europe were held roughly by the Morgan group. The word "roughly" is underlined in both the above sentences, since the original distinction between the Morgan group as finance capitalist and the Rockefeller group as industrial capitalist has gradually been obliterated as the two groups interpenetrated.

(Continued on page 5)

**A Stirring Book from Hitler's Buchenwald**

By HENRY JUDD

Our world has long since become hardened to the shock of catastrophe and cataclysm, be it man-made or caused by nature. Trotsky said that modern man lives on his nerves; to survive the endless series of disasters that occur about him, this man's nerves must be conditioned to ward off such blows. The facts of war, of hunger and disease, of concentration camps and brutalities; these facts by themselves no longer penetrate the modern consciousness.

A recital of piled-up horrors, the heaping up of tortured details: all this will, at best, produce a momentary effect upon the individual at whom it is directed. Those who, in the military drive through Germany, saw the Nazi concentration camps at first hand will recall how quickly their minds became adjusted to the sights. A five-minute talk with one of the released inmates had more meaning. Many articles, brochures and even books have already been produced by these prisoners.

For this experience of "the world of the concentration camp," like experience in general, means nothing to us by itself. A recital of the tragic story, a cataloguing of harrowing details, an indictment of those responsible for this, while it may inform the uninformed, will do little else. But who is uninformed? Men today, in their overwhelming numbers, know these experiences, if not at first hand, then at next hand from intimate friends and comrades. Much more than this is required. It is because it is so much more that we find this small book of David Rousset, *L'Univers Concentrationnaire*, a masterpiece of its kind, a brilliant if somewhat disordered work of art, a shattering experience to the reader.

\*L'Univers Concentrationnaire, by David Rousset. Editions du Pavois, Paris; 187 pages.

Out of the experience of Hitler's Germany, lived through by hundreds of thousands of slave laborers and concentration camp prisoners, has come a remarkable book, *L'Univers Concentrationnaire*, written by a French socialist. LABOR ACTION is happy to call the attention of its readers to this profound human document and work of art in this review. We hope that an American publisher will make the book available to a wide range of readers in this country.

David Rousset, a revolutionary socialist and, at one period, a leader of the French Trotskyist movement, had the essential prerequisite for the writing of such a book, and furthermore, had the talent and capacity to create the only work that could have any value or meaning for us. As a socialist, Rousset understood the relationship of this dark valley through which he was passing to the "outside" world that encompassed his camp. He knew that his new world, mad and fantastic though it be, was an organic part of that other, the outside world. And Rousset knew that, to succeed in his work, he must produce a living experience that would be a living experience for the reader as well. The world of Buchenwald must come to life, we must learn to feel and understand it and its entire mechanism; we must brood over its tragedy and historic meaning; we must witness the sordid deeds of its inmates; we must participate in its acts of courage and compassion.

In the grip of Rousset, a writer with a sense of drama and irony and a flair for the modernized adaptability of classic French, in the manner of Jean Malaguis, we live within his experience. We are in Buchenwald; we are in the camp.

"The great solitary city of Buchenwald; a small tourist city on the banks of the Weser, Porta Westphalica, with raised hillocks along the river's length and factories slowly

settled amidst a world of roots and trees." We meet men "of all peoples, of all convictions, at a time when wind and snow tumble on their shoulders, freezing windows to the rhythms of marches, as strident as a broken and mocking blasphemy, under blinding lights, on the Great Square of Buchenwald's frosty nights. Men without convictions, wan and violent, men bearing beliefs that have been destroyed, dignities that have been defeated; an entire people, naked, internally naked, stripped of all culture, of all civilization, armed with shovels and pick-axes, picks and hammers, fettered to rusted Lorens, diggers of salt, shovellers of snow, mixers of concrete. A people hardened by blows, obsessed by the paradise of forgotten foods, the intimate sting of their downfall—this people the length of time."

**"THE FIRST BORN OF THE DEATH"**

The lists of those to be shipped to the Polish extermination camps are once more opened. The SS doctor, his boots gleaming, is smoking a cigar. One by one, the "concentrationnaires" approach him. He opens each one's pants and feels the muscles of the abdomen. "With his hand he begins the gesture: next one. Outside, in the grey air, the smoke of the Crematorium."

"Every morning, before dawn, the slave market. The 'Rubber Men' (SS) rain blows on skulls, shoulders. Fists crash into faces. Boots stamp, stamp and loins are black and blue and yellow. . . . Work. crews. form. . . . Kapos (camp trustees) and foremen, the slave-dealers. Their morning alcohol: to strike, strike until appressed with fatigue. Shortly before six o'clock, the SS man will pass the work crews in review. He stands before the grey men, fist on hip, legs spread apart, whip, a long lanner of plaited leather in his other hand. His boots shine, clear, neat, without a trace of mud."

At night, "45,000 prisoners move toward the Great Square. The living, the sick and the dead. . . . the slow march of a haggard people. It is a universe apart, completely shut off, strange kingdom of a singular fatality. The deepness of the camps."

**"STRANGE FIXATIONS TROUBLE THEIR BODIES"**

"George has left. He counts ten years in the camp. Now he is in love with a woman prisoner, and clandestinely he slips her letters and sometimes a snack. He risks 25 blows on the buttocks, but he is in love. . . . We hear Poppenhauer's voice—the full-blown petty bourgeois type, out of Simplissimus. Alfred, the Kapo of Rollwagen. . . . He sold Franz to the SS. . . . That evening he had showered blows upon Rudolf, who had made dirty propositions to Heinz, the curé, his lover. Herbert Pfeiffer—Kamou—Delannay—the huge Tony and the Russians—Toni Brüncken, a sadistic brute, our block leader. One day he flogged all the women prisoners—400. The room nicknamed Judas—Emil Kunder—Kurt, 10 years in the camp—Otto, the foreman, afraid of everything, of the Kapos, the 'civilian' masters, the guards. Max the baker, a man of the Bible. With his dead hands he

showed us Hitler, image of the apocalyptic beast, doomed to destruction. Hermann, a Communist. . . . Félix, the Pole, claiming to be German. . . . bearing with him the odor of the Gestapo."

**"THERE ARE SEVERAL ROOMS WITHIN THE LORD'S HOUSE"**

"The world of the concentration camp is organized under different plans. Buchenwald is a chaotic city, a kind of incompletely built capital. . . . Neuengamme, by contrast, is strictly an industrial center. . . . Buchenwald, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, Dachau. . . constitute 'normal' types of camps, forming the essential armature of the world of the concentration camp." The reprisal camps against Jews and Aryans, such as Auschwitz and Neue-Bremm, are different. These have two fundamental orientations—"no work, 'sport', a mockery of food."

Greeks, professors, lawyers, soldiers, levantine bandits; the Dutch, slow and mournful workers and peasants; the Czechs, disciplined and cultivated men; the Luxembourgeois, "a closed free-masonry; at Buchenwald, the police"; the Danes; the French.

Lack of space makes it impossible to summarize this book, chapter by chapter. The systematization of the various social categories and the struggle between these ranks for power; the clandestine organization of political discussion life ("Slaves give only their bodies"); the corruption of the individual prisoner through the giving of power ("What serves it a man to conquer the world?"); the analysis of the SS and its inner structure ("The gods do not dwell upon the earth"); the psychic forces that drive the members of the SS ("The silent hours of the SS"); the working out of the camp's functioning through the hierarchy of the prisoners ("Theory of Powers"); the use of privilege as a weapon for internal strife and division ("Men live not only by politics"); the debasement of human feelings ("Desire itself is corrupted"); an estimation of the political and ideological groups within the camps ("A new outlook on the class struggle") and, finally, the scenes of liberation ("The waters of the sea draw back").

"The world of the concentration camp closes upon itself. It continues to live now in the world like a dead star, loaded down with corpses."

**"THE DEAD STARS PURSUE THEIR COURSE"**

"The existence of the camps is a warning. German society, both by reason of the strength of its economic structure and the sharpness of the crisis that defeated it, experienced a most exceptional decomposition in the present world conjuncture. But it would be easy to show that the most characteristic traits of the SS mentality. . . may be found in many other sectors of world society. . . . It would be a 'criminal deception to claim that it is impossible for other peoples to go through an analogous experience due to reasons of natural opposition. Germany has interpreted, with an originality due to its own history, the crisis that led it to the world of the concentration camp. But the existence and the mechanism of this crisis belong to the economic and social foundations of capitalism and imperialism. Under a new form, similar effects can appear tomorrow. . . . Consequently, a precise battle must be conducted. The balance of the concentration camp is, in this respect, a marvelous arsenal. The German anti-fascists, interned for more than 10 years, must be precious comrades in the struggle."

**A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR**

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**Editorials**

**Against Outlawing the CP!**

Even the most casual reader of LABOR ACTION, even the reader who merely glances at a headline, must know how deep and fundamental a hatred this paper and the Workers Party have for Stalinism. To us this reactionary and totalitarian movement, represented in this country by the so-called Communist Party, means the destruction of the first great working class revolution in history, the Russian Revolution; it means the GPU murder machine which killed Leon Trotsky; it means a movement which destroys and abuses the labor movement to further the ends of the Russian dictatorship.

Nonetheless we wish in the most forthright and unambiguous terms to denounce the proposal made by Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach, before the House Labor Committee, that the Communist Party be outlawed. We denounce the proposal to outlaw the American Stalinist party while emphasizing our political disagreement with it and our intention to drive it from the labor movement and destroy its influence among the workers of this and every other country.

Whether or not Schwellenbach spoke for the Truman administration is, at the time of writing, not known; the chances are that he was not speaking for it. From the point of view of the administration, Schwellenbach's remarks may even be regarded as a first-class boner, since they coincide with the Moscow Conference. It therefore seems likely that he was merely shooting his mouth off on his own.

But there is no question that Schwellenbach found a receptive audience in certain sections of Congress; Fred Hartley, chairman of the House Labor Committee, immediately agreed with him. And there is no question that his proposal will gain support from various sections of the reactionary press. Already there are several bills in Congress which would outlaw the Communist Party.

We must ask ourselves: why this sudden anti-CP fervor? Two reasons may be seen immediately. First, everyone understands that the CP in America is merely an agent of the Kremlin. It waltzes or jigs according to Stalin's tune. When, during the war years, it was in the forefront of those destroying labor's rights; when it was the staunchest advocate of the no-

strike pledge and the incentive pay speed-up—then there was no anti-CP hysteria. Quite the contrary! Earl Browder was freed by Roosevelt as a gesture of friendship. Now, however, that relations between the U. S. and Russia are strained, the old "anti-Red" hysteria is brought out of mothballs and applied to the CP. In this sense, the anti-CP drive is merely part of the maneuvers attendant upon the prolonged negotiations of the major imperialist powers.

But there is still another reason. Schwellenbach, who heads a governmental department supposedly dedicated to helping the American workers, was testifying before a Congressional committee considering anti-labor legislation. The proposal to outlaw the CP fits in neatly with the anti-labor drive. Not, mind you, because the Stalinists are really pro-labor or because there is any necessary connection between the labor movement and the Stalinists.

The Stalinists are being used as a pretext. They are being used as a wedge in the drive against the entire labor movement and against the various sections of the genuine socialist movement. A "clever" calculation is behind the plans of those who propose to outlaw the CP. They figure that they can begin with the CP, a vulnerable target because of its miserable record and its obvious subservience to the Kremlin. But, though they may begin with the CP, they plan to go ahead later to attacks on genuine radical groups and on the labor movement as a whole.

The outlawing of the Communist Party in this country would therefore be the first step against the rights of the labor movement and against the civil rights of the minority radical and socialist groups. Such a measure would be a long stride toward the totalitarianization of this country, toward the destruction of civil liberties.

Stalinism must be destroyed! But it must be destroyed politically by the working class, whose mortal enemy it is. It must be destroyed by being exposed for what it really is. Police measures against Stalinism would only enhance its prestige with many workers. It is therefore incumbent upon all workers and socialists to oppose the proposals to outlaw the Stalinist party, even though they despise it.

**Arab-Jewish Labor Unity**

By all odds the most encouraging piece of news to come from Palestine in a long time is the report that Arab and Jewish workers are presenting a common strike front in the city of Haifa against the Iraq Petroleum Company, which is 23 per cent American-owned.

The great majority of the workers in this plant are Arabs, a mere one per cent being Jews. Since the strike began on March 6, Arabs and Jews have been fighting their common enemy, the largely foreign-owned petroleum company, as firm allies despite the current bitter struggle in Palestine between large sections of the two peoples.

Some 1,700 workers are on strike, of whom 21 are Jews and the rest Arabs. Yet the Jewish labor unionists, disregarding the edicts of certain of their leaders against Arab-Jewish labor unity, have been working with the trade union which is running the strike. A dispatch by Clifton Daniel in the March 16 New York Times reports solidarity between both groups of workers and numerous contributions pouring in from both Arab and Jewish labor groups.

The lesson is of profound importance; despite the nationalistic barriers which reactionary leaders of both Arab and Jewish camps try to create, workers of both

nations have united, as once before in the railroad strike, in defense of their rights as workers and in joint struggle for better conditions. Such small but significant actions provide the basis for a solution to the tortured Palestinian situation: Arab-Jewish worker and peasant unity against imperialist exploiters and for an independent Palestine.

**NO COMMENT**

An all-white jury, sitting at Shreveport, La., has acquitted all five white defendants who were accused of beating one Negro to death and severely injuring another last August at Minden, La. Two deputy sheriffs were among the five defendants who were charged with having violated federal civil rights in connection with the lynching.

**NEXT WEEK:**

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE COAL INDUSTRY**

By James Dakota

**WORLD POLITICS**

Disappointed at the failure of their German puppet party, the "Socialist Unity Party," to gain much support in either the eastern or western zones, the Russian Stalinist occupation has started a new move to increase its power in Germany. Previously the German Stalinists had opposed the unification of the German zones, utilizing the same reactionary arguments as the Morgenthau-Dorothy Thompson group in the U. S.—namely, that unification of Germany would result in its industrial revival and therefore make of it a power once more. The reason for the then Stalinist line was very simple: the Russians were milking eastern Germany dry and didn't want any interference.

Now, however, the German Stalinists have begun to shout for German unification. One motive for this shift in line is that they wish to penetrate economically into rich Western Germany, especially the Ruhr, which the Anglo-Americans have kept shut to them. Another motive is that the German people eagerly desire unification of the zones in order to abolish the present social-political chaos; the previous Stalinist line was highly unpopular. To gain support the Stalinists have therefore come out in favor of national unification.

The puppet SED has sent emissaries into western Germany in order to cajole or traduce workers into supporting it. But it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in forcing non-Stalinist workers into their ranks in those areas where they do not have state power to back them up.

For the entire Russian invasion of Germany has been a cruel disillusionment for many German workers. What they have seen in practice of the Stalinist army

and of Stalinist methods has not been pleasant. Hence the present attempts of the Stalinists in Germany to refurbish their standing by coming out in favor of national unification.

**AN UPHEAVAL IN FORMOSA**

A colonial-nationalist revolt has broken out in the small but densely populated island of Formosa, lying south of Japan. Long under Japanese rule, the Formosan people were the victims of the special type of imperialism employed by the Japanese throughout their empire. Definitely not part of the Japanese nation, they resisted the efforts of their masters to integrate them in the Empire.

With Japan's defeat, a nationalist movement to establish an independent Formosan nation rapidly grew up, but the island was turned over to the corrupt government of Chiang Kai-shek. He placed a military governor in charge of the island and it is against his harsh rule that the widespread revolt has broken out. In characteristic fashion, the new Chinese masters instituted a system of corruption, black marketing, and milking of the riches of the island.

Not too much is known at present about the revolt, except the meager details that have been reported in the press. The nationalists hold power in large sections of the island, and the populations seem to be overwhelmingly behind the nationalists and against the Chinese. The general aims of the uprising are to force the withdrawal of Chinese rule and gain independence for the people of Formosa.

**International Socialist Notes**

**REVOLT IN FRENCH SP ON INDO-CHINA POLICY**

The first substantial revolt in the French Socialist Party against the Socialist leaders' imperialist policy on Indo-China has broken out. We translate below the resolution adopted unanimously by the Congress of the Socialist Federation of Seine-et-Marne, February 2:

"1. The Congress of the Socialist Federation of Seine-et-Marne protests energetically to the directing committee against the violation of the right of free assembly by a Socialist Minister.

"This motion is concerned with the suppression of protest meetings against the Indo-China war scheduled for Wagram, Hall and the Mutualite.

"We affirm our solidarity and sympathy for the victims of police brutality.

"2. The Congress of the Socialist Federation of Seine-et-Marne reaffirms the anti-colonial principles of

the party, and demands immediately of the directing committee that it obtain from the Socialist-led government:

"a—The immediate recall of the personnel of the High Commissioner, in particular D'Argenlieu and Lelercq;

"b—The sending of a parliamentary commission for an inquiry on the spot;

"c—The opening without delay of peace negotiations on the basis of mutual respect of the Hanoi agreement of March 6, 1946.

"And we demand the emergency convocation of a special national congress which will examine the Indo-China question with the aim of defining the present position of socialism with regard to the colonial problem in its entirety;

"The Indo-China affair being, whether one likes it or not, the touchstone of our relations with the other peoples in the French Union, it is necessary not to accept the present state of things and to rally around

the principles enunciated by the Atlantic Charter."

The above resolution is far from a forthright condemnation of French policy, in spite of the great improvement it represents over present French Socialist policy. An amendment was presented at the Congress which took a more definitely pro-Viet Nam stand, and was supported by a strong minority, being defeated by a vote of 1,248 to 500.

"We state that the Indo-China campaign is against the best established Socialist tradition, and we decide to awaken public opinion by aiding the formation in our department of a section of the France-Viet Nam Association, which will try to fix the responsibilities for this fratricidal war."

"Even though this amendment is not unequivocally on the side of the Viet Namese people, its significance lies in the proposal for PUBLIC action by Socialists along lines in conflict with the stand of the Socialists in the government.—S. Berg.

**Books You Should Know...**

**THE FINANCIER**, by Theodore Dreiser; World Publishing Co., \$3.00.

Reviewed by N. JOHNSTONE

In this, his third major work, Dreiser used the hectic career of Charles Tyson Yerkes, the famed swindler, as a model for his protagonist, Frank Cowperwood.

For the socially conscious, we find in Dreiser an artist or, if you wish, a sculptor, who, despite his shortcomings, managed to mold his work on a mammoth plane. To read his works is never to forget them. This would seem to be the true test of any art: in that the crudities and inadequacies are long forgotten while the substance of the subject never loses vividness in our memory.

**COWPERWOOD'S CAREER**

Frank Cowperwood, starting from his first experience in obtaining as many cartons of soap at wholesale prices as his neighborhood retailer would buy, comes home with his pockets bulging—a capitalist-to-be. He drops out of high school and goes to work as an office boy in a grain commission house at the age of fifteen; and at the age of twenty-two he has his own brokerage house. At twenty-five he is in the banking business, specializing in high-grade bonds. He never ceases in his climb upward in the city of Philadelphia. Having the backing of P. A. B. Widener and other tycoons from New York, he and they gobble up the traction interests of the blossoming city.

Married to a steady, socially unacceptable wife, he soon becomes enamored of Aileen Butler, whose father gave Cowperwood his start and aids him in his devious schemes of looting the city. His machinations in obtaining control of the street railways are interwoven with his affair with Aileen.

Having moved from his modest living quarters in the mill district of the city to more pretentious surroundings, he maintains a trying place for her. His wife is left to her own ends while he maneuvers with the powers in the local government in buying street railway bond issues with money from the public treasury. His affair with Aileen becomes more

frank, although it isn't until near the end of the story that her suspicious father hires Pinkerton detectives to catch them in a house of assignation. The father disowns her and shortly after this the catastrophe of the Chicago fire has its repercussions in the Philadelphia bond market. This forces Cowperwood's hand somewhat, as he has been too efficient in marketing Philadelphia bonds. He is convicted of embezzlement and sentenced to two years and nine months in the Moyamensing prison.

Aileen remains steadfast and he releases her regularly while in jail. Here Dreiser graphically sketches the sycophancy and abject respect with which he is treated during his short incarceration. His menu is specially prepared to his liking, and he is allowed other liberties. Apart from wearing prisoner's garb and complying with the routine, he is as much at liberty as though he were there of his own volition. His associates, the bankers, investment brokers and others with whom he had dealings bring their weight to bear and he is released after having served nine months of his lenient term.

**PICTURE OF AN ERA**

The close of the story finds him preparing to pull up stakes and move on to the West. He realizes that his halcyon days of brigandage in Philadelphia are finished. Dreiser points us toward his further adventures in Chicago, where his exploits are documented in The Titan.

It would be well to bear in mind that the leading financial geniuses who plod through Dreiser's story are people whose estates are landmarks, pointed to with pride by civic leaders as being representative of what "free enterprise" can accomplish. Some of these men have given their names to colleges, some have endowed special courses in the curricula of colleges all over the country. Others have gratuitously given back a small amount of their plunder to posterity in the form of conservatories and planetariums, and will live in immortality as the builders of America.

Their offspring will continue to flit from Newport to Miami and Califor-

nia and Europe; they will continue to breed and race their horses and do so many things that the capitalists would wish us to believe is inherent in a true democracy. The utter depravity of the system is witnessed in the fact that men like Dreiser, who chronicled the lives of these pirates, will continue to be ridiculed by the defenders of the capitalist system.

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**OFF LIMITS**

By James M. Fenwick

**The Wrangle Over China**

PART V

"On January 31," recounts Lawrence K. Rosinger, "after three weeks of deliberation, a Political Consultative Conference, representing the government, Communists, Democratic League and non-partisans, completed a series of far-reaching accords. A transitional coalition government was to be established and replaced later by a constitutional administration; China's political armies were to be reorganized and nationalized; and civil liberties were to be guaranteed. Plans for agrarian, educational and industrial reforms were announced, and other changes provided for democratic revision of the Kuomintang-proposed Draft Constitution." A month later an accord was reached unifying the armies on the basis of fifty Kuomintang and ten Stalinist divisions.

These agreements were undermined with dispatch. In March the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang proposed serious changes in the agreements, calling for the restoration of the old 1936 undemocratic draft constitution. "Right-wing" demonstrations were organized. A "liberal" mass meeting in Shungking celebrating the Political Consultative Conference was broken up. Sporadic warfare broke out again on the fronts. By August the farce had been played out.

"... after Chiang Kai-shek's six-point program of August 14," says Hugh Deane, writing in The Nation, "which was virtually a demand for surrender cloaked in the threadbare promise of 'constitutional' government, the Communist press and radio became more militant, saying that civil war was an actuality and demanding with new sharpness that the United States close its intervention."

Marshall's strictures against the Stalinists for their role in sabotaging a coalition régime were never very honest. His bias in favor of the Kuomintang has hardly been disguised. The constitution was heavily weighted in favor of the Kuomintang. The Stalinists had reason to be dubious of their career in a coalition. In addition, it is likewise in Stalin's interest to maintain a large peasant army in China.

**THE U. S. APPLIES THE SQUEEZE**

The policy of the Stalinists is based upon the hope of a Kuomintang economic and political débâcle. It tacks carefully in regard to the U. S. avoiding sharp diplomatic encounters, and hoping for a worsening economic situation in the United States and other international commitments by the United States to minimize the aid which the U. S. will extend the Kuomintang. In China the Stalinists are posing as the genuine anti-imperialists, a pose which it is possible to make seem credible because of Chiang Kai-shek's ties with the U. S. They also are the loudest proponents of peace, hoping thereby, of course, to impose their own particular imperialist peace upon China.

Russia herself is playing an extremely cagey game in China. She gives no overt support to the Stalinists. Even during the war, in fact, she did not send aid to them, though she did send considerable aid to Chiang Kai-shek via the Sinkiang road. Russia wants no real showdown with the U. S. on the China question. That she does furnish political and organizational guidance to the Chinese Stalinists goes without saying.

When Chiang Kai-shek refused to toe the mark, the United States immediately applied the economic squeeze. Credits and raw materials were withheld. A threat to permit UNRRA to lapse was made. U. S. troops were withdrawn. The Stalinists became more active. Along with the currency and commercial stability generally, confidence in the nationalist régime blew up. Economic controls were hastily imposed by the nationalist government but with nobody seriously believing in their efficacy.

At the same time Chiang Kai-shek improvised a few harmless concessions calculated to pacify the United States, the Chinese "liberals," and the peasant masses. Disaffection had been pronounced in the army. Composed of conscripts taken almost exclusively from the poorest peasant families, they live and die under the most pitiable conditions and have proved susceptible to Stalinist propaganda. In carefully measured doses room was made for the Social Democrats and the pro-Kuomintang Youth Party in the government. With the Democratic League and the Stalinists not in the government the Kuomintang will have slight difficulty in retaining control.

Further bureaucratically created constitutional reforms have been made, but all are so hobbled that if and when the amended constitution is installed at the end of this year the Kuomintang position will hardly be menaced. Chinese "liberals," that is to say, elements of the capitalist class, were placated by orders restoring certain nationalized enterprises to private ownership.

**THE WAR CONTINUES**

Simultaneously, arrests of all suspected Stalinists in the nationalist zone were made, as a prelude, it was widely interpreted, to a renewal of the war drive. Chiang Kai-shek is counting on the U. S. antagonism to Russia to bail him out if his internal situation gets out of control. This is obvious in his propaganda, whose fire is concentrated on the Stalinists.

In the exhausting civil war which is in prospect, the U. S. is hoping for reverses to the Kuomintang which will force it to accede to U. S. demands. This has its dangers in terms of an increase in Stalinist strength. But total occupation by the U. S. being ruled out, it is inevitable that at some point the U. S. will give Chiang Kai-shek all that he needs.

Thus today the Chinese worker and peasant is concretely confronted with the choice of two evils: a repressive Chiang Kai-shek régime, dominated by the landlords, bankers, and merchants and backed by U. S. capital, which meets none of the needs of the Chinese masses and is prepared to sacrifice them in a war against Russia, or a Stalinist régime, which, despite whatever minor land reforms it is prepared to make, cannot solve the problems of the Chinese people, but prepares for them the bureaucratic collectivist yoke and their subordination to the economic, political, and military necessities of Russia.

Next to India, China is the largest agrarian country in the world. Its key problem—land reform—can be resolved only under the leadership of the urban proletariat, in whose direct interest lies the expropriation of the landlord class by the peasantry. Given the imperialist structure of the world today, this action must be supplemented by the revolutionary, socialist activity of the world proletariat, and of the United States working class in particular.

A Reply to the Current Drive Against the Closed Shop

# The Closed Shop Is a Step Towards Real Workers Democracy

By ERNEST ERBER

In a previous article on the closed shop, we pointed out that the arguments of the capitalists and their politicians about the "undemocratic nature" of the closed shop illustrated a point which Marxists have always made about democracy; namely, that the concepts of democracy held by capitalists and those held by workers are quite different.

The capitalist views the closed shop from his belief in, what he calls, "freedom of enterprise." What he means by this high-flown phrase is simply that he wants freedom to run his plant as he sees fit. Several hundred years ago the philosophers of the rising capitalist class made a fetish of the right of a capitalist to do as he pleased with his capital. Their concepts of philosophy, law and the role of the state were based upon this view. They spoke of the "inviolability of property" and the "sanctity of contract." The "Founding Fathers" considered this "right of property" to be above those human rights for which the common people had fought in the Revolutionary War.

That is why the authors of the Constitution carefully provided for the "rights of property" in the basic law of the land without mentioning the democratic rights of the ordinary citizen. It was only after a fierce political struggle that the mass of the people succeeded in forcing Congress to adopt the series of amendments guaranteeing such rights as freedom of speech, of press, etc., known as "The Bill of Rights."

However, in the course of the historical development of capitalism, the right of the capitalist to run his enterprise as he wishes has been considerably modified. This has been the result of two pressures. The first has been the pressure exercised by the capitalist state upon the rights of the individual capitalist. This pressure has been exerted in order to save capitalism as a system from the individual actions of separate capitalists. The growing complexity of capitalist production and the increasing size of corporations has made it impossible to give each capitalist enterprise a completely free hand without inviting recurring economic chaos and political instability. The economic role of the fascist and Nazi states was an expression of this trend toward state controls in its extreme form. The New Deal was an expression of this same trend in a different form.

**LABOR PRESSURE**

The second pressure upon the right of the capitalist to "run the plant as I see fit" has come from the organized labor movement. It is with this latter development that this article is primarily concerned. The organized strength of the workers has forced the capitalist to recognize the right of workers to combine to bargain collectively over the terms and conditions of their employment. The history of labor organization shows that, beginning with the most elementary demands set forth by unstable shop committees, the workers have continually expanded the scope of their demands and made their organization ever more stable. As soon as a trade union had established its right to bargain over wages and hours and sign a written agreement,

it made as its next objective gaining some voice in the matter of hiring and firing.

Usually, a voice in the matter of firing came first, since this was directly related to the preservation of the union. Either by contractual agreement or by practice, the union sought to force the employer to establish valid reasons before he was permitted to discharge an employee. Without the latter, the active core of the organization would be completely at the mercy of the boss. This interference of organized labor with the capitalist's right to fire was the first "despotic" inroad upon the then prevailing concept of "free enterprise."

**A VOICE IN HIRING**

But just as it was important that the union not be weakened by the dismissal of good union men, so was it also important that the union not be weakened by the hiring of workers who would refuse to join the union and, thereby, reduce its strength as a bargaining agency. The union, therefore, fought for some voice in hiring. The first means of exercising its authority in this direction was to submit the new employee to persuasion and, finally, to pressure to join the union. However, workers being influenced by the capitalist environment, many of them sought to enjoy all the benefits of union conditions without joining. Those who refused to join were given all possible aid and comfort from the employer. Often they were favored with better jobs and other advantages over the union men who had sacrificed to introduce better wages and conditions.

The free exercise of the employer's right to hire undermined the free exercise of the workers' right to improve his conditions through collective bargaining.

But, it is argued by the opponents of the closed shop, is not the individual worker who is opposed to joining the union entitled to his rights too? If he thinks he can get ahead faster by stouping for the boss, is that not his right?

The answer to this oft-heard argument comes under two heads. The first is that democracy does not only consist of the rights of minorities, but also of the rights of majorities. Democracy could never work unless it provided for the right of the majority to decide.

The second argument is that the worker who wants to get ahead by staying out of the union is actually getting ahead because of the union. Such a worker is cashing in on the existence of the union, which makes it possible for him to occupy the special status of a non-union man. In other words, if there were no union, everyone would be a non-union man and there could not be any special favors on that account. But it is precisely because a union exists that the "free rider" can live off the efforts and sacrifices of the majority by establishing his special value to the boss as a non-union man. The "rights" of the non-union man in a union shop are the "rights" of a Judas Iscariot to betray his fellow workers. If the other eleven disciples of Jesus had offered their services to the Romans, Judas would have received much less than his thirty

pieces of silver. It is the solidarity of the others that places a premium upon the treachery of the one.

**MEANING OF CLOSED SHOP**

The principle of the closed shop is that the capitalist has the right to run his shop as he sees fit in regard to production but the supply of labor power is controlled by the union. In the best organized closed shops, the employer is not permitted to hire from the street or through advertisement unless there are no available union men seeking work. The system of "hiring through the union" extends the principle of seniority from the individual shop to the industry as a whole in a given area. The union man has priority over the non-union man and the union man who has been unemployed longest has priority over the others.

It means that the hiring of workers is no longer at the whim of an economic autocrat, the man who happens to have money enough to run a business, but is now controlled by an organization of the workers themselves. Is this not a great step forward in introducing the principles of democracy into economic life? From the standpoint of the workers, it most certainly is. Just compare the system used in an honestly-run union hiring hall with the "shape-up" in vogue in many industries, that is, the system by which the workers present themselves for work in the morning and the foreman walks down the line pointing his finger at those he will hire, much as if he were buying cattle. Is not the union hiring system far more dignified and human than the degrading shape-up system or its more refined counter-

parts as practiced by officious personnel directors?

The argument that the closed shop has often been abused by union bureaucrats and that union job-control is often a source of graft for crooked business agents cannot be seriously considered as an argument against the institution of the closed shop any more than it can against the organization of unions. It is suicidal to seek to weaken union bureaucrats by weakening the union. In this case one merely weakens the bureaucrats by strengthening the employer. It is always possible to wage a struggle against a bad leadership in the union but it is not always possible to restore the position of the union once it has been undermined.

Space does not permit an examination here of the actual working out of the closed shop in the life of the union movement, why it is easier to establish and maintain in some industries, like printing, and very difficult in other industries, like steel or auto. Suffice it to say that with the growth of trade union power and the increase in class consciousness of the workers, the tendency everywhere in an industry is toward a greater and greater measure of union control over hiring and firing.

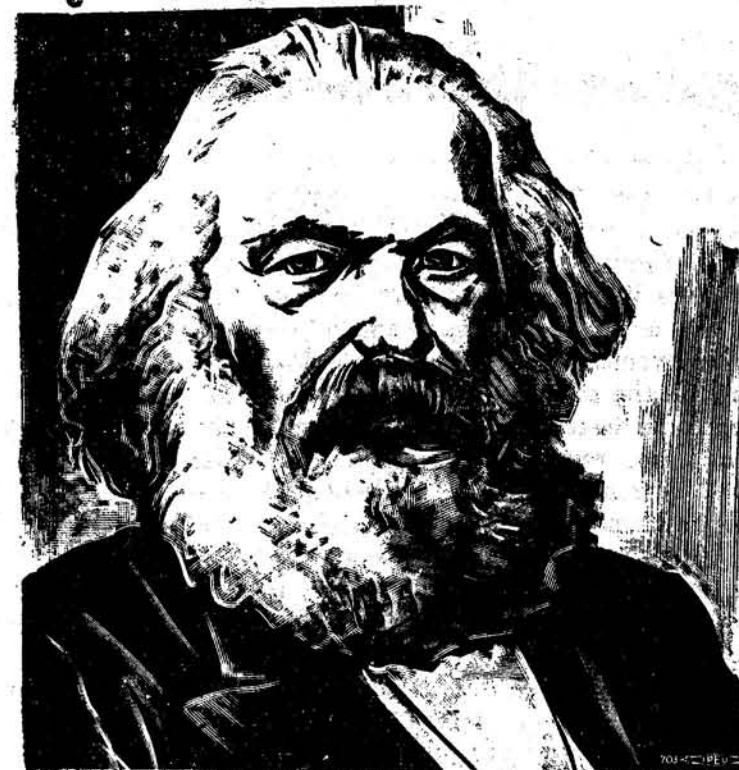
The closed shop cannot resolve any of the basic problems that confront the workers as long as they remain wage workers. Unemployment, rising prices, economic instability, and other factors that continually drain off the hard-earned gains of labor can only be tackled by going beyond the measure of job-control and intruding upon the remaining (and

fundamental) domain of capitalists "rights"—control of production.

The closed shop, with its workers' control over jobs, is the invasion of workers' democracy in the realm of economy. However, as long as the capitalist maintains his right to control production all forms of democracy remain restricted by and subordinated to the bourgeois system of economy, that is, remain within the

limited forms of bourgeois democracy. It is necessary, as Trotsky wrote, "to break the husk of bourgeois democracy and free from it the kernel of workers' democracy." With the achievement of workers' control of production and a workers' government, the kernel of workers' democracy will achieve full flower and encompass all of economic and political life.

## Karl Marx - Socialist Titan



Frederick Engels on the Death of Karl Marx:

# His Name Will Live Through the Ages

On March 14, 1883, 64 years ago, Karl Marx—the great founder of the socialist movement—died in London. On this anniversary of his death LABOR ACTION is reprinting the famous speech made by his lifelong friend and associate, Frederick Engels, on March 17, 1883, at the grave of Marx in Highgate Cemetery. In the words of Lenin, "Ancient legends give us various touching examples of friendship. The European working class may say that its science was created by two thinkers and warriors whose relations surpass all the most touching tales of the ancients concerning human friendship. . . . The love Engels felt for Marx when the latter was alive and his reverence for Marx's memory after the latter's death, were infinite. The stern fighter and strict thinker possessed a deeply loving soul."

therefore the production of the immediate material means of life and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the forms of government, the legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist method of production and the bourgeois society that this method of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem in trying to solve which all previous investigators, both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark. Two such discoveries would be enough for one life-time. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field in which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

This was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite other kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in the general course of history. For example, he followed closely the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionary. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the forms of government which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first Rheinische Zeitung (1842), the Paris Vorwärts (1844), the Brussels Deutsche Zeitung (1847), the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49), the New York Tribune (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in revolutionary clubs in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the International Workingmen's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which Marx might well have been proud, even if he had done nothing else.

And consequently Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his times. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extreme democrat, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring them, answering only when necessity compelled him. And now he has died—loved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have many opponents he has hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his work will endure through the ages!

## Foreign Policy --

(Continued from page 3)

But still in the decades between wars the isolationist point of view within U. S. capitalism was based on the fact that U. S. investments were predominantly in the Western Hemisphere; the power of isolationism was based on the preponderance of such investments. Isolationism accordingly advocated that the U. S. restrict its interests and activities to the Western hemisphere.

Yet isolationism was doomed. It was doomed because, as capitalism developed and declined, as the internationalization of world economy proceeded at increasing velocity, the arena of world imperialist investment became a unity, "one world," as Wendell Willkie so well understood. What happened in one area of the globe intimately affected another area. For the U. S. to have been indifferent to imperialist developments in Europe would have ultimately meant to face a severe challenge in South America.

It was this conception—which now seems rather simple, but which the divided interests of the U. S. capitalist class and its obtuseness to its general class interests as opposed to its sectional interests, made difficult for the class as a whole to adopt—it was this conception which Roosevelt and Willkie as the most intelligent spokesmen for their class understood best and pushed through.

**THE REASONS WHY ISOLATIONISM IS DEAD**

For by now the defense of U. S. imperialism in Latin America really does begin in Greece; and the defense of U. S. imperialist investment in China really does begin in Turkey. Hence, the U. S. capitalist class is today more united than ever before on the need for it to pursue the

course Truman outlined in his speech. And that is why isolationism is dead; that is why the Republicans support Truman.

The old conflicts in policy within the U. S. capitalist class based on different areas of investment or interest can no longer be maintained. Today U. S. imperialism, faced with the most gigantic struggle in its history—the struggle for world hegemony against the imperialism of Stalinist Russia—acts on a united, world-wide scale. No doubt, the scope of U. S. investments abroad will increase; the proportion of investment in Europe will probably and the mass of investment will certainly increase.

There, then, is the shaping factor in U. S. foreign policy. It will sink deeper and deeper into the arenas of world struggle; it will be forced to act on a world-wide scale regardless of temporary hesitations or inhibitions; for it is fighting to rule the world. That the passing executor of this policy is the puny Truman is only an accident.

Would that the working class of the world were as united and determined to oppose this terrible impending conflict as are those who prepare for it!

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  - For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.
  - For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.
- IV. Tax the Profiteers**  
For a 100 per cent on all wartime profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.
- V. Nationalize Big Business**  
For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.
- VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People**  
For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.
- VII. Open the Doors to the Jews**  
For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
  - For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.
- VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans**
  - Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
  - For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.
- IX. For Peace and Freedom**
  - For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
  - For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.
- X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government**  
For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.  
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## RUTH FISCHER COMMENTS ON EISLER CASE

We publish below a letter sent by Ruth Fischer to the Militant, with a copy to LABOR ACTION for publication. The letter refers to an editorial which appeared recently in the Militant denouncing Ruth Fischer's appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Affairs to testify against Gerhart Eisler, agent of the Stalinist murder machine. LABOR ACTION last week published a letter by Jack Weber on the same subject. As readers who read our editorials on the Eisler investigation know, the opinion of LABOR ACTION is substantially identical with the views set forward in the letter of Comrade Weber. We reject the view that Ruth Fischer, by utilizing the forum of the House Committee, which any revolutionary socialist would have done in the fight against the murder machine of Stalinism and its instruments, is thereby an "informant" or a "tool of American imperialism." Whatever differences we may have with Ruth Fischer, we know her as an honest and courageous working class fighter against the plague of Stalinism and the attack made upon her is a defamation.—Ed.

To: James P. Cannon, National Secretary  
The Socialist Workers Party  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y.

My attention has been called to your editorial in the February 15 issue of *The Militant* entitled "Not Trotskyist." I do not intend to discuss the precise meaning of the term Trotskyist, for it seems to me a rather silly and dogmatic approach to an important problem. The fight against Stalinist terror is not the private property of the group organized under James P. Cannon but a vital issue to the millions of Europeans, Russians included, suffering under the lash of the GPU. It is an honor to the memory of Leon Trotsky that these fighters, differing in everything but their will to crush the GPU machine, are termed Trotskyists.

No more do I wish to answer your personal attack on me, for this kind of vicious smear is outside rational polemic. Your Central Committee knows better than most Americans the details of my fight against Stalin for the last twenty years—knows, in particular, that Maslow and I were the only German socialists accused in the Moscow GPU frame-ups of plotting with Trotsky the assassination of Stalin, and that I am the last survivor of those "trials."

What I consider worse than your attack on me is your utter indifference to instructing your readers on the facts about Gerhart Eisler. Eisler, you say, has been "charged by the FBI with being an undercover agent of the Kremlin," and that is all you have to say on his case. You do not indicate by so much as an innuendo whether you consider this charge to be based on the truth or merely the result of my "serving as a tool of American imperialism." For the benefit of your members and readers, I ask therefore that you print the bare facts of his GPU career.

### EISLER'S RECORD AS GPU AGENT

Eisler became a GPU-man in 1926, when he entered the information service of the Soviet Embassy in Berlin. Uninterruptedly from 1928 on, he served the Comintern branch of the Moscow Politburo in various assignments. Note particularly his performance in 1929-30 in China, where

he was sent to liquidate in blood the Trotskyist opposition in the Chinese party. Having thus regained the good graces of Stalin, he maintained his position in the GPU by an uncountable number of crimes, of which his role in the murder of Bukharin and his comrades of his German caucus is the most dastardly. I must explain, it seems, to the simon-pure Trotskyists of the United States that a man like Eisler did not survive the Moscow frame-ups by luck.

In 1933, during the negotiations concerning the American recognition of the Soviet Union, Litvinov stated that no Comintern agents would be sent to this country; and in part Eisler got his assignment to the United States because he is not a Russian, because his cover as an anti-fascist Austrian refugee has a certain plausibility. The assassination of Leon Trotsky, carried out in Mexico, was prepared in New York, and the men who worked on this assignment had been under Eisler's surveillance.

During the Stalin-Hitler pact, Eisler was interned in a camp at Vernet, France, as a Russian agent. In 1941 he climbed over a pile of corpses of his former comrades into the United States, given a helping hand by the fellow-travelers in Federal agencies. The Communist cell organized in the camp, linked to committees in this country, blocked American visas to all inmates, even party members, who were suspected of insufficient loyalty to Stalin. Among those handed over to, or later seized by, the Gestapo and killed in Auschwitz were former intimate friends and comrades of Eisler.

As your Central Committee knows, I reached the United States only after a terrible fight with the Stalinist apparatus, which, free from your dogmatic prejudices, regarded and regards me as a dangerous opponent to its manipulations in the United States.

This control of the visa machine by the fellow-travelers did not reflect on me alone; Franz and Anya Pfemfert (she was the translator of Trotsky's books into German), for example, got to the United States only with great difficulty and were not able to remain but had to go to Mexico. There were others: for example, Victor Serge, Babette Groz (Willi Muenzenberg's widow). On the other hand, not only Eisler but hundreds of GPU agents, literally, entered the United States safely and were allowed to remain. To name a few: Jakob Walcher, Albert H. Schreiner, Alfred Kantorowicz.

When I first learned that Eisler was in this country, I found it hard to believe, for I felt sure that the State Department must have a complete file on him. Eisler's activities here during the war, however, were not inhibited by any legal stricture. Trotsky's book on Stalin could not be printed, and Joseph E. Davies' book was written on order. During these years I undertook, virtually single-handed, the fight against the GPU by publishing a monthly bulletin concerning it, *The Russian State Party*, and preparing a study on Stalin's disastrous policy toward German labor and his contribution to the rise of the Nazis, a book to be published this spring. In the course of this work, I exposed Eisler's status incessantly, but because of the Soviet-American war alliance got no hearing. This task became even more urgent with the end of the war, when Eisler, confident of his position in this country, was busy promoting a pro-

gram of terrorist extermination of the German people.

### WE MUST FIGHT STALINIST TERRORISM

As your Central Committee knows, thousands of anti-Nazi, anti-Stalinist Germans have been either murdered or kidnapped by the GPU. Deported German workers and prisoners of war serve today to build up the resources in the far reaches of the "workers' state." The Socialist Unity Party is preparing the same terrorist dictatorship for Germany that the Russian people have been suffering under for two decades, and if this plan is completed in Germany and in Europe, American workers will be isolated in a hostile totalitarian world. At the moment the main task in the interest of the world working class is to fight this GPU-ization of Germany and Europe with all the means at our disposal. As Trotsky put it in 1932, Germany is again the key to the international situation. The exposure of Eisler in this country, branding him as Stalin's paid agent before he returns to Germany, is a not unimportant aspect of this battle, in which all who fight Stalinism should join.

As your Central Committee knows, Leon Trotsky wanted to accept the invitation (later withdrawn) of the Dies Committee to appear before it. If Trotsky had been able to do as he wished in this respect, would he also have been an "informant," as I am termed in your editorial? Trotsky, unlike certain Trotskyists, recognized that in fighting the GPU apparatus one uses whatever forum is available to shine the light on it. After the unsuccessful attempt on his life, he did all that he could to have Siqueiros and the others brought before the courts of bourgeois Mexico. Before that, he had insisted that the French Trotskyists demand an investigation of Sedov's murder by the French courts. I hear, in fact, that your Central Committee joined in a demand, based on the revelations in Budenz's book, for a grand jury hearing.

When Eisler returns to Germany, he will carry your editorial in his pocket, to give his GPU cronies a good laugh too. Let your Central Committee rather discuss two principled issues than defend Gerhart Eisler: Is Stalin's Comintern and its GPU avant-garde a workers' organization, to which we owe solidarity? Shall we use the tribunes of the United States to publicize the agents and acts of the GPU, remembering always that this is almost the last country with enough political freedom left to make such an above-ground fight possible?

I have lived through two decades of fighting Stalin, and over and over through these two decades I have watched such immature stupidities as your editorial assist the victory of the GPU. One oppositionist group after another, inside Russia and out, were crushed by the manipulations of the GPU, which needs only the kind of smear you have issued against me as a backdrop to its repeated encroaches. Your Central Committee would indicate that it has begun to unlearn its dangerous illusion if it prints in the same *Militant* that smeared me, a correction. I have not given up hope that with experience it will overcome its present sopheromeric behavior.

From Moscow's point of view, any attack on Russia or its institutions or its agents can be made only to be a "tool" of American imperialism.

RUTH FISCHER.

March 10, 1947.

## An Exchange on the Socialist Attitude to the Bilbo Problem

### A Reply for The Editors

By J. R. JOHNSON

Comrade Goldman's criticism of the editorial on Bilbo in the LABOR ACTION of January 13 loses sight of the function of the revolutionary party which is to organize and to educate the working class on the issues of the day. He claims that the editorial did not point out clearly enough the undemocratic character of Bilbo's election. The editorial states clearly enough: "Suppose Bilbo didn't have cancer, what would they have done? And if they're interested in barring Senators who prevent Negroes from voting, we can provide them with a long list of Southern Senators who, if not as personally nauseating as Bilbo, are equally determined to keep the Negro in chains."

But the editorial goes further. Far from neglecting the point, it states: "A democratic procedure would have been first to seat him and then to bring him up on trial for expulsion on the ground that he violated democratic rights of Negroes."

Therefore we cannot agree with Comrade Goldman that the editorial is weak on this particular point. We do not mean to say that it might not have been stated more vigorously but inasmuch as the whole editorial was based upon the refusal of the Republicans to face an exposure of Jim Crow in the South and Bilbo's participation in it, we fail to see that an excessive emphasis on this particular point would have altered the basic political analysis which the editorial tried, and in our opinion, succeeded in bringing forward.

The editorial, for us, is not at all to be considered as an isolated statement, despite its title of "Balance Sheet." There are few political questions of the day before the public on which LABOR ACTION has been so consistent, so vigorous and so comprehensive as in its mobilization of working class opinion and action against Bilbo and everything that he stands for. Nor was our propaganda and agitation of a general kind. We aimed in all parts of the paper at the driving of Bilbo out of Congress by the organized action of the working class and the masses of the Negro people.

### GOLDMAN'S MAIN POINT

The main point of Comrade Goldman's criticism is of the indication of our opposition to the particular means whereby Bilbo was kept out of Congress. Comrade Goldman urges that Senate rules require only a majority to keep Bilbo out of the Senate whereas to expel him after he has been seated required a two-thirds vote. Inasmuch as a two-thirds majority could not be mustered, to ensure his expulsion, therefore we should have joined those who supported the Senate in keeping Bilbo from taking his seat.

First of all, if Bilbo had taken his seat and then been tried, the resulting exposure of Bilbo and the whole Senate would have been of first class political importance. In our opinion it is a valid contention that this would have transcended the mere keeping of Bilbo from taking his seat. Others besides Bilbo might have lost their seats or have been indelibly smeared. This is precisely what the Republicans wanted to avoid. The exposure that they tried to avoid is the particular exposure that we as revolutionaries should have tried to achieve. From start to finish our main concern is not the punishment of this or that particular political scoundrel of bourgeois society but the revolutionary education of the masses by the exposure of the entire system. And when this exposure can take place by means of mutual recriminations of contending parties

### A Letter from Albert Goldman

February 24, 1947.

Dear Comrades:

Your editorial, "The Balance Sheet on Bilbo," in the January 13 issue of LABOR ACTION correctly presents most of the important points involved in the hypocritical fight of the Republicans in the Senate against seating Bilbo. In my opinion, however, it is weak on one point and altogether wrong on another.

The failure to point out more clearly that the Republicans ducked the question of the undemocratic character of Bilbo's election is the weak point. The Senate committee brought out an unfavorable report only on Bilbo's dealings with the war contractors. It took no position on the fact that Bilbo's election was the result of barring Negroes from the polls. More important is the wrong position of the editorial in advocating that Bilbo should have first been seated and then expelled. The Senate rules are such that to keep Bilbo out requires only a majority vote of the Senate, whereas to expel him, after his being seated, would require a two-thirds vote. Under the circumstances, therefore, to advocate that Bilbo first be seated is in effect to help Bilbo keep his seat. For no two-thirds majority could be mustered to expel him.

### BILBO'S ELECTION A VIOLATION OF DEMOCRACY

It is not our business to do anything or to advocate anything which would practically assure Bilbo a seat in the Senate.

It is not our business to insist on such refined democratic procedure as to help a man like Bilbo get into office. And even if we should pay attention to the refinements of democratic procedure, the fact that Bilbo's election was a gross violation of elementary democratic procedure far outweighs the questionable violation of democracy in refusing Bilbo a seat before expelling him.

The two arguments which you present in favor of your position do not appear to me to be very weighty. You want Bilbo to be given the right to be present in the Senate to have the opportunity to present his defense. He had all the opportunity in the world to present his defense to the press before getting into the Senate. His friends in the Senate would have ably defended him.

### OTHER CONSIDERATIONS OVERWEIGH ARGUMENTS

Second, you are afraid that refusing Bilbo the right to have his seat would set a precedent for barring radicals or socialists in the future. The editorial should of course warn the workers of that possible danger, but it can easily be pointed out that a socialist or radical will be barred for totally different reasons.

Even if your two arguments have some validity, they are outweighed by far by the fact that we should do everything in our power to keep Bilbo from getting a seat in the Senate.

Comradely,  
Albert Goldman.

on so conspicuous an arena as the legislative councils of the country, then this opportunity is not to be lightly dismissed as Comrade Goldman dismisses it under the heading that we should do nothing which would "practically assure" Bilbo a seat in the Senate.

Furthermore, we cannot accept Comrade Goldman's confidence that under such conditions Bilbo was certain to keep his seat. This seems to us to be placing much too great a reliance upon the mere counting of votes. It seems to us to pay too little to what was undoubtedly the fact, that the Senate had come to the conclusion that in its own defense and its own reputation it was impossible to continue to keep Bilbo in face of the rising wrath of a large proportion of the population.

### ISSUE OF THE PRECEDENT

The second point is in regard to the precedent set for barring radicals or socialists in the future by the same methods which were used in the case of Bilbo. Comrade Goldman says correctly that socialists or radicals would be barred for totally different reasons. Obviously, but that would not alter the fact that they would be barred. And a socialist would be barred precisely to prevent him being able to state in the Senate the reasons that the bourgeoisie had trumped up to prevent him taking his seat. Goldman seems to think that a statement to the press is sufficient presentation of a defense. We would not place much reliance on a presentation of the defense of a radical or a socialist in the bourgeois press.

The editorial was warning the workers of a counter-revolutionary trick of the bourgeoisie well known to our movement. Whenever public opinion or its own maneuvers compel the bourgeois to take steps against obvious reactionary encroachments on

bourgeois democracy, it always does so in a manner that gives it a weapon to strike against its real enemy, the militant working class. The revolutionary movement, therefore, from long experience has learned that while mobilizing the proletariat to use parliamentary procedures, as far as convenient, against the enemy, never to join in the hue and cry to such an extent as to lose sight of the weapons which, while being forged against a particular individual or organization, may ultimately be used against the proletariat. It is precisely this that the editorial tried to do and in our opinion rightly.

We did our share in the organization of the general campaign against Bilbo. But is our special function, ours and ours alone, to warn the working class against the bourgeois method of misusing the steps which public opinion has forced upon it. Against all this Comrade Goldman, while admitting some possible validity, insists that we should have done everything in our power to keep Bilbo from getting a seat in the Senate.

### REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

We think we can sum up the whole by stating that while we should do everything in our power to keep Bilbo from getting a seat in the Senate, in this as in every other political struggle, we are responsible not only for the immediate but the ultimate aims of the working class and its allies, in this case, the masses of the Negroes.

Our whole record shows that we were in the vanguard of the struggle to get Bilbo out of the Senate. But we could not subordinate our conceptions, and in our opinion, our valid conceptions, of revolutionary policy, to an immediate aim, however urgent and however possible. To do that in our opinion would have been an abdication of our function, which as we have said above, we alone can perform.

We are confident that although they might not agree with us, the Negroes and the radicals who follow our position and activities on the Negro question and particularly on Bilboism would not for one moment look upon this as anything else but what we intended it to be, a warning not to lose sight of the general interests of the struggle in the heat of a particular goal.

## WHAT IS "WORKERS CONTROL OF INDUSTRY?"

By STANLEY GREY

What is the meaning of "workers' control of production"? Conceptions of its meaning vary from the notion that the individual worker at his machine will have the power to decide the quantity and type of his production to the accusation that it means the tyrannical rule of the unions over all of society. It means neither the first, which could lead only to chaos in production, nor does it mean the second, which would destroy the freedom of planning and discussion, which is the essence of socialism. What then does it mean?

Under capitalism, there sometimes already exists a small measure of workers' control of production. As a result of the growth of powerful trade unions, the workers are no longer merely inert objects completely at the mercy of the bosses. In matters of wages, hours and conditions of work in the plant, although they have far from complete control, the workers, through their unions, do have a significant voice in their determination. The contract in a plant binds both the workers and the bosses to certain conditions.

Thus the capitalist management cannot move men around in a plant according to its whim. It cannot violate the clauses on job classifications in the contract. It cannot pay the men what it would like to, but must pay them what it is forced to by the contract. The contract, which limits the capitalists' prerogatives in certain spheres, is the legal expression of this partial workers' control. The strength of the unions to negotiate and protect the contract is expression of this partial workers' control.

Up to now, the spheres which were "legitimate" for unions to intervene in were the questions of wages, hours and working conditions. This was not, of course, the product of capitalist generosity but of workers' struggle. The workers fought for these particular rights because they had the most immediate impact on their standard of living. As capitalism is increasingly incapable of solving the problem of inflation, unemployment and war, it becomes increasingly clear that other aspects of production also have as immediate an effect on their standard of living.

### WORKERS SEEK INCREASING CONTROL

Today, for example, every worker knows that it is no longer enough to fight for wage increases; prices too must be controlled to give wages real meaning. Also, the experience of past depressions and the certainty of future ones has made the working class concern itself with how much production is organized, how much is produced and ways and means of guaranteeing full employment.

However, while the problem is to expand the limited and partial control which already exists over wages and conditions of work into a FULL control over prices and the planning of production, this cannot be accomplished by the negotiation of clauses into contracts. Although certain limited control is possible under capitalism, full workers' control over all aspects of production cannot be realized within the framework of capitalist

Printed here is another article which discusses the crucial problem of workers control, nationalization of industry and socialism. These articles by Stanley Grey have had as their purpose an attempt to discuss such theoretical problems of the socialist movement in terms of concrete daily experiences of workers. In previous articles, he has shown why there is no socialism in England and Russia, why there can be no workers' state or socialism without workers' control even if in certain instances industries are nationalized.

In this article the interesting problem of exactly how workers' control would function under a workers' state is discussed by Comrade Grey. The author does not claim that his is the last word on the matter. For though we may agree on the indispensability of workers' control of production in a workers' state, there still remains the question of how that control is to be exerted. LABOR ACTION invites readers to discuss this matter in its columns.—Ed.

rule. The transition from this very limited workers' control to full workers' control is not a simple quantitative change in which new spheres are added to old ones, but is a basic, qualitative social change.

Consider: The capitalists plan production for the sake of their profits. The workers would plan production for the benefit of the people. The history of depressions and war demonstrates that these two aims of production are irreconcilable. The capitalists will therefore not yield their right to plan production as a result of simple negotiation. It must be taken away from them. But the capitalist's control over his production is based on his ownership of the means of production and his control over the state which uses the law and police powers to protect this ownership. The transition to workers' control of production is therefore not a trade union question, pure and simple, but the social question of who is to rule the state. For the institution of workers' control it is necessary to institute a workers' state. Workers' control is therefore primarily the political and social question of establishing a workers' government.

### WORKERS' CONTROL AND THE STATE

The establishment of a workers' state is necessary not only to wrest control away from the capitalists but as a practical instrument for carrying out workers' control. It is only through a state which they own and control that the workers can actually plan production for the benefit of society.

But state planning in and of itself is not workers' control. Only where the state which does the planning is a workers' state can one speak of workers' control. And for the state to be a workers' state it must allow the fullest freedom of discussion, criticism and participation of the people in its decisions.

The people as a whole, through their democratically-elected bodies, would create the plan and carry it out. The workers will exercise their

control of production by their democratic control over those organs of the state which plan production.

### ROLE OF UNIONS IN WORKERS' STATE

What then of the unions in this set-up after capitalist exploitation and anarchy have been eliminated? What functions will they play? The union will still defend the interests of the workers, not against the boss, but against the mistakes and abuses of the state and its plans. Let us say, for example, that plant X is assigned to produce a certain number of motors to fill its quota of the plan. The workers will be paid a definite wage, which will be part of the plan. The assigned quota will be based on the recommendation of an elected committee of qualified technicians in that plant as to plant capacity and possibilities of production.

It is possible that this committee will overestimate capacity, that it will ignore some interests of the workers in the process. Or perhaps the central body will increase the estimate of the local body without giving any reasons for it. In such a case, the workers will have their unions in which to criticize the plan, suggest changes and, if necessary, resist its enforcement if not satisfied with the explanations. The unions, under workers' control, will be the elected body of the working class to defend it against mistakes and abuses of state agencies.

There is something similar WITHIN the unions under capitalism. The workers elect various committees to carry on specific functions: a negotiating committee, an educational committee, steward bodies, etc. An executive board is the body elected to direct all these committees in the period between membership meetings, but the membership meetings serve as the final corrective and forum for criticism of the functioning of all the committees. Thus within the union there is a division of labor between various elected bodies of the workers.

When the workers control all of society, this division of labor will extend to all of society. Thus, they will elect their planning commissions just as they elect their union leaders. And their unions will be one agency through which they will democratically control the functioning of the planning commissions.

To sum up: Workers' control is not simply a matter of getting more influence in the shops under capitalism. For full workers' control, less than which nothing can eradicate the insecurity of capitalism, it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist state and establish a workers' state. Such a state must allow the widest democratic rights in order to allow workers' control to function at all and not degenerate into bureaucratic control. And if we can expect initial mistakes and abuses of plans which will be democratically resisted by the unions, even these will disappear with the speedy evolution of the workers' state with its difficulties of transition to the society of socialism and genuine democracy.

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**BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE EAST NEW YORK BRANCH:** Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luce Palace, 555 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).

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

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

**PHILADELPHIA**  
HEADQUARTERS: 1133 West Girard Avenue (3rd floor).  
WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m.

**LABOR ACTION FORUMS** each Sunday at 8:15 p.m. LABOR ACTION HALL, 1139 West Girard Ave., N. E. corner of 12th and Girard.  
Saturday, March 29, 8 p.m.—Dance and social.  
Friday evening lectures in "Social Forces in American History," beginning Friday, March 28, at 8 p.m. Subscription, 25 cents per lecture, \$1.00 per series of six.

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# Aims Behind Greek Loan --

(Continued from page 1)  
highways and railroads. What is really involved—to the exclusion of everything else—is the strategic position of Anglo-American imperialism in relation to the advances of Russian imperialism. Washington finds it necessary to uphold the Greek monarchy because only in that manner can Greece be guaranteed to stay within the Anglo-American "sphere of influence."

If the monarchy and the officials of the present government are the tools of Anglo-American imperialism, however, the guerrilla opposition to the government—the Stalinist ELAS—is as completely the tool of Russian imperialism. In this lies the tragedy of the present plight of Greece—there is no group (outside of the small Trotskyist group) whose program corresponds to the needs of the people, as opposed to the interests of the rival imperialists.

## FAST CORRUPTION

The Greek government, first of all, in addition to its role as the representative of Anglo-American imperialism, is incapable of satisfying any of the most immediate and pressing needs of the people. War profiteers, generals who look for a military dictatorship, and former collaborators of the Germans all find shelter in the ministerial corridors of Athens. There are 180,000 government employees in this country of seven million, a parasitic bureaucracy which, by Greek law, is guaranteed lifetime jobs. The corruption and inefficiency of this bureaucracy was probably equalled only by that of Czarist Russia.

When the Minister of Finance in 1945 proposed to increase taxes on industrialists in proportion to the rise of profits, the monarchist ruling group ousted him as a "dangerous radical"; when the textile interests violated the agreement under which 80 per cent of the material they spun out of UNRRA raw material was to be made into cheap utility cloth, no action against them was taken by the government. The pitiful 15 per cent tax the government intends to place on the operation of the 100 Liberty ships which the United States turned over to Greek capitalists will not apply to any profits over \$100,000 and according to estimates of the U. S. Maritime Commission, these ships will net at least \$200,000 each per year for the operators.

The police terror of the Athens government against all oppositionists, moreover, though it may not be as exclusive as the brutal terror in the Stalinist-dominated neighboring countries of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, has occasioned universal indignation of even the liberals. Within 24 hours after the original statement from Washington announcing the American intention of pouring U. S. dollars into the monarchy's treasury, Athens announced that it

had arrested, sentenced and deported to island prisons nearly 600 oppositionists.

What type of opposition is it, we must now ask, which fights this corrupt Athens government?

## NATURE OF OPPOSITION

Substantially, we have already answered that question when we talked of the ELAS as being dominated by the Stalinists. However, it cannot be overlooked that the ELAS undoubtedly attracts many non-Stalinist workers who see in the monarchy the greatest threat to their trade unions, their political organizations and their economic interests.

These people recognize the fact that ELAS is controlled by the Stalinists. The real nature of Stalinism, however, escapes them; the demagoguery of the Stalinist press and the "anti-red" propaganda of Anglo-American imperialism have given rise to the tragic error of associating the Stalinist Communist Party and the ELAS with the tradition of the October Revolution. The clarification

of this error is one of the main tasks of revolutionary socialists.

Testimony to the special UN committee investigating the Greek-Yugoslav border incidents has indicated, in addition to all the other proof we have had for a long time, that the Greek Stalinist partisans are financed and dominated by the international agents of the Kremlin, working mainly from Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Should the ELAS leaders ever succeed the monarchy to state power, it would mean no more than the transfer of Greece from Anglo-American to Russian domination.

Under Russian domination, Greece would become another annex to the vast workers' prison which already extends to over one-sixth of the world. Similarly, under Anglo-American domination Greece is merely the tool of Anglo-American imperialism. The Greek people can gain nothing by choosing either of these. We must stand with them in opposing the imposition of any foreign rule and in fighting the terrorist régime of the Greek monarchy.

# Big 4 Parley --

(Continued from page 1)  
the delegates, according to preliminary reports. Over the next 20 years, Germany is to pay off in reparations the sum of \$10,000,000,000! This is exclusive of what has already been removed, stolen, pillaged and taken out of the country, primarily by the Russians. An economic and administrative unification, under a central German government, is to carry out this unprecedented reparations scheme, according to whose terms Russia will be the primary beneficiary.

This scheme, which we can here outline only in its broadest form, is at complete loggerheads with American and British proposals. Insofar as it opposes French designs and plans for the Ruhr and the Saar, it is also anti-French. The British, Americans and French—despite divergencies among themselves—are all opposed to a strong central German government because of their prime fear that the Stalinist Party in Germany will thus become an all-German movement and be in a more effective position for pursuing the bidding of its Russian boss.

They likewise oppose the Russians getting any finger into the Ruhr and Western German production fields—something that would inevitably happen if such a reparations burden were placed upon Germany. The Allies will fight and resist this Russian plan—a plan we must consider as the maximum proposal of Stalin—to the end.

Now begins the endless discussions, bargaining and disputations. There is little likelihood at any agreement being reached at this particular Conference.

The 66,000,000 Germans who have survived the war and who are totally unrepresented at this Conference, where their fate for decades is being discussed, will require little insight to grasp what is happening at Moscow. The meaning of both sets of proposals is patent.

## OTHER ISSUES

Other issues, of a less basic nature, rose at the Conference and will continue. The Austrian Treaty is being blocked by violent disputes over the question of what constitutes legitimate reparations; that is, legitimate even from an imperialist standpoint. The Russians are anxious to retain what they've already seized.

On the question of denazification, both sides did an excellent and convincing job in proving that the other had failed to do any real purging. A Nazi's safest bed in the Russian zone is in the Socialist Unity Party; his safest bed in the American-British-French zone is in the military government or in having been rich. Better still, a capitalist! Finally, M. Bidault came out with the brilliant idea of mass emigration of the German population. We say brilliant because, unless we've been dreaming, the Russians and Allies just have about completed the job of transferring about 7,000,000 Germans into a SMALLER territory than ever before. Now M. Bidault wants to start them going in the opposite direction!

For those interested in watching imperialist leaders exhibit themselves, without benefit of disguise or subterfuge, watch the Moscow Conference.

# Youth Corner...

## ON THE AUSTIN-MAHONEY BILL

Socialist organizations have traditionally looked upon an individual's religious views as essentially a matter of personal taste. Religious people who join our organization are never harangued about their faith, as it does not necessarily mean a serious conflict with the ideas and activities of our movement. There have been the semblance of the revolutionary movement with religious views who have been able to reconcile these views with their activity. Atheism has never been a requirement for membership.

When organized religion, however, uses its religious views and prestige as a reactionary political weapon, then we are open and severe in our criticism of it; not as a religious power but as a political force.

The Catholic hierarchy is a religious institution which illustrates the worst aspects of such political interference. In its earliest days it dominated political and economic life. This domination over the state was broken centuries ago, but the Catholic hierarchy has never ceased in its efforts to direct the ideological thinking of individuals and to influence, as decisively as it can, the social patterns of the state.

## AUSTIN-MAHONEY BILL

A bitter example of how this hierarchy can make itself felt as a reactionary social force is the story of the Austin-Mahoney anti-bias bill.

New York State Senators Austin and Mahoney introduced a bill in the State Senate which purported to end discrimination in New York State educational institutions where racial discrimination in schools has assumed startling proportions. Were this bill passed it would have dealt a serious blow to many of the universities which bar Negroes and have quota systems directed against Catholics and Jews.

The bill had almost universal support and its passage seemed assured. No less than 400 representatives of 75 organizations made their way to lobby for the Austin-Mahoney bill. Passage of the bill seemed certain until the Catholic Church decided to take a hand in the situation.

A number of important church leaders denounced it as an infringement on the freedom of the individual and for its "communist" ideas. Then they came out with the medi-

val idea that educating young people should not be in the province of society as a whole but is rather a parental problem.

## BILL APPEARS DOOMED

How illegalizing educational policies which ban students because of their color and religion is an infringement on freedom was not made clear. Actually, the only freedom the church defended was the freedom of school authorities to continue in their discriminatory practices.

The drive to crush the bill gained momentum. Catholic ecclesiastics made public speeches denouncing the bill and the Catholic Welfare Conference intensified its lobbying against it. The bill which appeared assured of victory is now almost doomed by the pressure exerted by the Catholic Church. Senator Mahoney, co-sponsor of the bill, under direct pressure of his church walked out on his own bill by proposing to put it off for a year.

If the bill is defeated "credit" can be taken by the Catholic Church, acting as a political force, for crushing one of the few intelligent and progressive bills with wide initial support, sponsored under the Dewey administration.

## ELECTION RALLY IN LOS ANGELES!

### HEAR:

### HAROLD DRAPER

WP CANDIDATE FOR COUNCILMAN

### Speak on

## The Socialist Program to Smash Jim Crow

SUNDAY, MARCH 30, 8 P. M.

Elks Temple, 40th and Central

**PRESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION**  
BY HENRY JUDD

In the second week of the national LABOR ACTION subscription drive for 2,000 new readers during March, we are able to report considerable progress over the previous week, but the drive has still to enter into its highpowered phase. We are approaching a total of 300 subs now, but that leaves us still a long ways to go to reach the goal. We expect to show great improvement next week, as branches of the Workers Party are only just beginning to swing into action.

Here is the score at the end of the second week. We are listing the accepted quotas of the various branches, together with the total number of subs that have been sent to us, up until now. During the past week, we received subscriptions from New York (a grand total of 89); Philadelphia (14); San Francisco (24); and other small batches.

| Branch         | Quota | Sent in |
|----------------|-------|---------|
| NEW YORK       | 400   | 92      |
| Los Angeles    | 200   | 40      |
| Philadelphia   | 150   | 24      |
| Detroit        | 120   | 24      |
| San Francisco  | 100   | 24      |
| Newark         | 100   | 13      |
| Streator, Ill. | 70    | 6       |
| Buffalo        | 100   | 4       |
| Akron          | 50    | 2       |
| Cleveland      | 50    | 1       |
| West Virginia  | —     | 1       |
| Boston         | 10    | 1       |
| Miscellaneous  | 15    | 9       |
| TOTAL          |       | 241     |

We have received, as yet, nothing from Chicago, Seattle, Reading, Baltimore, Minnesota and St. Louis. We hope to be able to include these in our list of next week. There is still several weeks in which to complete this campaign and we urge all to get busy on filling their quotas. Ray O'Neill, crack LABOR ACTION agent in Cleveland, writes us as to what he and his friends are doing:

"We are making four distributions in a housing project. Two issues going to each of the 150 residents living there. Next week, the first 75 people will be canvassed, and the following week, the remaining 75. We are making a sales distribution at one point, and will attempt to get subs here. We have made two free distributions at a union meeting and next week will try to sell and get subs. In addition to this, we are covering a list of 80 to 85 names for renewal subscriptions. We'll be working up to the final bell."

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# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## Corrects Error In His Article

Dear Editor:  
An unfortunate error crept into my Indo-China piece of March 10, 1947. I stated that the pre-war strength of the Fourth International was greater than that of the Stalinists in Indo-China. This is incorrect. It was only in the southern province of Cochinchina where we obtained more votes than the CP. In the other important provinces—Tongking and Annam—the Stalinists were stronger.

ARTHUR STEIN.

## Socialist Attitude Toward Unions

Dear Comrade:  
Your editorial in the issue of March 3, referring to the strike of teachers in Buffalo, notes with pleasure that teachers are recognizing that their place is "by the side of the labor movement," and, learning the lessons previously learned by the Newspaper Guild and other white collar groups, are turning to the "methods of unionism and its most powerful weapon—the strike."

I should like, however, to point out some facts which are not so gratifying. First, the Buffalo strike, and other teachers' strikes, actual and threatened, have been called by non-union teachers' organizations. This is not because the teachers are necessarily unsympathetic to a labor organization, but because the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the AFL, has a no-strike policy, so that those teachers who realize the need for militant methods are forced to exercise them OUTSIDE the official labor movement.

Allow me to quote from an AFT leaflet entitled "Can Teachers' Unions Be Called Out on Strike?":

"Do AFT locals make use of the strike weapon?"

"The American Federation of Teachers maintains a no-strike policy."

"But has the very fact of organiza-

tion never induced a local of the AFT to use the strike?"

"No local has ever used the strike. Far from being a strike producer, organization of teachers with the American Federation of Labor is a strike preventative. Teachers' grievances are usually listened to with respect when presented through a union, and can be conveniently and justly settled in frank conferences between representatives of the school authorities and officers of the teachers' unions."

"Have, then, unorganized teachers used the strike in recent years?"  
"Yes. Non-union teachers of Memphis, Tenn., employed the strike in securing the promise of a 10 per cent salary increase. Teachers in the vicinity of Bellwood, Pa., won a salary increase through the strike. So also did the teachers of Grainwood, Ill. Among other places may be quoted Duquoin, Ill., and Victoria, B. C."

"In 1942, non-union teachers of Yellow Springs, Ohio, went on strike because the Board of Education of the school district refused to support the teachers in their decision regarding a discipline case in the high school."

"In February, 1943, non-union teachers of Rankin, Pa., went on a sit-down strike to compel the Board of Education to grant a salary increase."

From the above statements, it would seem that the AFT has presented sound evidence on the efficacy of strikes carried out by non-union teachers, yet they continue to defend the no-strike policy in a following question and answer:

"Why, then, does not the American Federation of Teachers use the strike weapon?"

"The American Federation of Teachers was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor with the understanding that union teachers would not employ the strike weapon to close the public schools. The American Federation of Labor throughout its entire history has jealously guarded public education as the fundamental basis of American democracy. For this reason as the AFL discouraged the use of the strike by teachers in order to avoid any possible injury to the education-

al facilities of children. . . . Thus teachers' unions have tremendous support and influence without the strike weapon. Non-union teachers' associations, on the other hand, have comparatively little power in solving the problems of class-room teachers."

It would seem that the last sentence contradicts the previously given facts describing how non-union teachers DID solve some of the teachers' problems by striking. In Chicago, on the other hand, which has the largest teachers' union in the country, exists one of the lowest salary schedules for cities of comparable size. As for possible injury to the educational facilities of children, if teachers should strike, nothing is said about the injury caused by relying upon the slow generosity of light-fisted boards of education.

However, I wish to do more than criticize the union. I wish to point out to LABOR ACTION that it sometimes over-indulges in praising the union movement. Actually, certain unions often are a brake upon militancy, and the most militant actions are forced into non-union auspices. This does not conform, of course, to the pattern of class struggle which we expect unions to follow. I think it would be more enlightening if we stopped talking as if a union, just because it is a union, is therefore a spearhead of the class struggle, and devote more attention to some of the rottenness, the conservatism, the pursuit of respectability, and the corruption which some unions exhibit, with a view to finding ways to correct these deficiencies. In the field of education, at least, the union, which should be the most advanced, lags behind with its pitiful policy of trying to remain respectable, and also, ineffective.

Fraternally,  
Virgil J. Vogel.

The facts which correspondent Vogel presents are interesting, though they do not warrant the criticism which he makes of LABOR ACTION. We do not understand what Vogel means when he accuses us of over-praising the union movement. We praise the union movement as the basic means for American workers

to improve their economic conditions; at the same time we point out the limitations of the union movement, its inability to transcend capitalist limitations and the need for independent political action by the workers. We are critical of the leadership and policies of many unions, of their conservatism or bureaucratism or corruption where such exist. But, and this is the crux of the matter, we always make our criticisms from within the arena of the working class, from the standpoint of the interests of the workers themselves.

## Harper Discusses Labor's Problems At Philly Forum

PHILADELPHIA, March 2—Speaking at the Labor Action Hall this evening, Frank Harper characterized the present period as one in which is almost but not always quite possible to "make ends meet." The speaker elaborated by pointing out that despite almost full production and employment the American workers are once again finding it very difficult to house, feed, clothe

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## Fights Incentive Pay Scheme in His Union

Dear Editor:  
Please rush the following order of the pamphlet "Incentive Pay" by Albert Gates. Enclosed find \$1.00 for 33 copies of this pamphlet.

The labor fakery of our union are trying to sell the workers on a piece-work proposal disguised as incentive pay which is really a pay cut.

A year and a half ago I came near to being expelled from the union (then dominated by Stalin's henchmen) for exposing the anti-working class character of the union bureaucracy. Three months later on the way home from work I was assaulted by a renegade member of the local Communist Party (Stalinist).

I have of course made a study of Marxist philosophy first hand, and the defeat of the capitalist system cannot come too soon.

Please send me a couple of sample copies of the paper LABOR ACTION.

Are there any active members of the Workers Party in Duluth. If so, I would like to make contact with them.

Very truly yours,  
A. G. A. Duluth.

# NLRB Jumps Ahead of Congress in "Amending" Wagner Act Regulations on Employers' Behalf

By SUSAN GREEN

Among the anti-labor bills in Congressional hoppers since the 1946 election are several amendments to the Wagner Act, amendments to "liberalize" the law in favor of the employers. On these amendments Congress has yet to take action. However, the National Labor Relations Board, which is supposed to be carrying out the tenets of the Wagner Act, has already amended it in favor of the poor, abused employer.

"Employers are being given new rights by the NLRB. Changes are being made in the Board's attitude on issues that affect employers, and policies of long standing are being reversed. These changes are being interpreted by some as moves to forestall amendments to the Wagner Act."

The above quote is from the businessman's magazine, United States News. The last sentence has a reminiscent ring. Long before price control was abolished, the then OPA granted business price increases "where warranted"—also to forestall Congressional action against price control. But the weakening of price control only paved the way for its complete end. Similarly with rent control. OPA began allowing rent boosts in landlord "hardship cases" and sanctioning certain evictions—again to check Congressional action. But the astute real estate lobby saw its advantage in OPA's backsliding, with the result that OPA is being forced to fold up entirely and rent control is definitely on the skids.

## "RIGHTS" OF EMPLOYERS

So with the Wagner Act. The yielding of the NLRB to the pressure of the reactionaries who pretend they got "a mandate from the people" to destroy labor's hard-won rights, plays into the hands of the reactionaries. Not only does the NLRB's granting employers "new rights" under a law unquestionably

passed to assure labor certain minimum rights, make a laughing stock of that law. The confusion created by NLRB's new interpretations of the law also gives the reactionaries an excellent argument for "clarifying" the act by amendments, or doing away with it altogether.

On the point of "a mandate from the people" to cripple labor, Fortune magazine, after one of its typical surveys, drew the following conclusion:

"The Republican landslide in 1946 has been characterized by some as a swing to the right, but an examination of the popular trend of thought does not bear this out. There is no wish to do away with many of the social reforms instituted by the Democrats; more specifically there is no demand even to abolish the basic tenet of the Wagner Act."

Of course, the working class population doesn't need a Fortune survey to tell it that it does not want "the social reforms instituted by the Democrats" during the last depression abolished out of fear of what the aroused working people might do if not "appeased" with social reforms. What is important to note in all this blather about "a mandate from the people" to cut labor's throat is not that the known reactionaries of both parties have sought to wrap their anti-labor bias in it; but that the Democratic administration under President Truman feels it can, at a time when labor's militancy is not so much in evidence, emasculate social reforms forced from the Democrats by labor's militant discontent of former years.

It is exactly this kind of emasculation that the NLRB is performing on the Wagner Act by some of its decisions in the last few months. Actually the NLRB has strengthened the hands of the employers in firing strikers and breaking strikes, interfering with union organization, in vitiating collective bargaining.

First, let us see how the NLRB is giving the employer a weapon against strikes. In recent decisions the NLRB has not required the reinstatement of workers who go on an "economic" strike in disputes over wages and working conditions, but where there have been "no unfair labor practices on the part of the employer." Since, in union shops, wages and working conditions are set by contract, this ruling by the NLRB is a direct blow at unorganized workers who would have no recourse against the employer unless they could prove his "unfair labor practices." Again, in jurisdictional disputes when employees strike to get recognition for a union where another union has already been certified by the NLRB, the employer is upheld in discharging such employees. This interferes with workers changing their union affiliation when it is beneficial for them to do so.

Further militating against the workers' right to strike, the NLRB has ruled in many cases that strikers can be fired when there is a no-strike clause in an agreement. Of course, NLRB specifies that the strike must not have been caused by "unfair labor practices" by the employer. However, here is another opening for the employers to fire militant unionists and to break strikes by placing on the workers the onus of proving "unfair labor practices" by the employer. As to firing militant unionists, employers have been up-

held by the NLRB in firing strike leaders.

Taken together, all these "new rights" that the NLRB has granted the bosses amount to a stealthy stab in the back of labor's right to strike.

## "FREE SPEECH" FOR BOSSES

Employer interference in labor's right to organize is now called "free speech for employers." Up to recently the interpretation of the Wagner Act was that it was illegal for employers to use economic or other intimidation against workers seeking to organize. The Board is now beginning to reverse this interpretation and is expanding the employer's right to intervene. The NLRB is permitting the employer to propagandize workers with anti-union letters, circulars and statements which, in the words of the United States News, "would have been considered by the NLRB as unfair labor practices and interference with the organizing rights of the workers" in the past.

As to collective bargaining, the meaning of the Wagner Act was to compel employers to negotiate in good faith with the workers on the basis of the latter's demands. In other words, the act was intended to implement the case of the unions against the employers. Heretofore, the union was not considered as not bargaining in good faith by NLRB interpretations, and the union had the right to level at the employer charges of failing to bargain in good faith.

Now, however, the NLRB tends to hold that a union cannot sustain charges that the employer is violating the law compelling him to bargain in good faith, unless the union has bargained in good faith. The intent of the law to compel the bosses to bargain with the unions will be completely vitiated. Arguments about who broke the good faith first will be as fruitful as the one about the chicken and the egg.

What is happening to the Wagner Act proves that the capitalist government does not regard labor's rights as inalienable. When that government thinks the best interests of the capitalist class are served by making concessions to labor, as happened in the first part of the Roosevelt administration, labor is thrown a few bones. When the capitalist outlook is based on making labor retreat, as is the case with American imperialism today, rights are no longer rights.

While the workers should oppose, tooth and nail, the NLRB's emasculation of the Wagner Act and the bills before Congress to amend the act, their sights must be raised to a higher aim. The aim has to be for rights that cannot be taken away. That can be only when workers withdraw support from all capitalist politicians, form an independent labor party for all the exploited and oppressed, and go forward to control their own destinies through a workers' government.

# Labor Is Target in Michigan Crusade on "Red Menace"

By BEN HALL

DETROIT, March 3—The crusade against "communism" launched by Kim Sigler, Governor of Michigan, found its first victim when the Marxist Study Club in Detroit was banned at Wayne University by the college officials. To destroy the "red menace," Sigler will call or had called upon the FBI, Dun and Bradstreet, the state police and other snoops that infest the community. They will investigate the schools. They will investigate the colleges. They will investigate the unions. And they will investigate...

Sigler has even been obliging enough to offer his services, absolutely free, to the union movement to help it free itself of "its communists."

What is behind this campaign? Sigler's main attack on the Communist Party is that it is "subversive." This seems like a very frightening word. But if it means that the Communist Party desires to get rid of the capitalist system which we now live under and replace it by a workers' government, then Sigler's anti-"red" campaign must be denounced for two very good reasons:

In the first place, it should be the right of anybody to advocate that the present capitalist system be replaced by another. (It certainly has been doing badly enough these last years.) In the second place, the Communist Party, which we call "Stalinist," does not stand for the socialist system of society and has long ago ceased to be "red."

## WHY THE DRIVE NOW?

Why the anti-"red" drive now? During the war, when the Communist Party, for reasons of its own, was doing the dirty work for the capitalist class by ramming the no-strike pledge down the throats of the workers and by calling for speed-up and incentive pay plans, we heard very little from the capitalist politicians like Sigler about any anti-Communist Party crusade. Then it was "Our brave Allies, the great defenders of Stalingrad." Now, however, that the capitalists of this country and the bureaucrats in Russia have had a falling out, these same politicians quite suddenly discover the dangers of "communism."

The employers, through their two parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, are at present engaged in a campaign to shackle the labor movement and deprive it of its rights. They want to institute government control over the unions; to abolish the closed shops; to restrict the right to strike. Sigler's campaign against the "communists" is really a device for getting a grip on the unions. He aims his attacks against the Stalinists to pick off later the real union militants and thereby to undermine the whole union. That is why he is so eager to "investigate" the unions. And an inseparable part of this objective is to intimidate all liberal and progressive forces (in the schools as well as in the unions) into silence.

Thus far, the organized labor movement in Michigan has kept silent on this affair. This is unfortunate. But the people who are really responsible for this silence are the Stalinists. They have so discredited themselves in the unions among progressive unionists that these unionists fear to denounce Sigler lest it be interpreted as an endorsement of Stalinism. This is probably just what Sigler is counting upon in his flank-

ing attack on the unions camouflaged as an attack on the "Communist Party."

But if we are for defending the democratic rights of the Stalinists, this does not mean for a moment that we are for Stalinism or for the Communist Party. We know, for example, that Stalinism itself is a totalitarian force inside the labor movement which stifles the free expression of workers wherever it can. Every union, controlled by the Stalinists is run dictatorially. Only last week the Daily Worker denounced the Reutherites in Local 155 because they got hundreds of workers to go out and vote in the local elections.

We will defend the right of the Stalinists to propagate their views, however reactionary and harmful they may be, because we want to be sure to protect the rights of the labor movement and above all to protect the rights of militant, class-conscious workers to denounce the Stalinists for what they are and by discussion and debate in the democratic arena of the working class movement to defeat the anti-labor ideas of Stalinism. But this job must be done BY THE WORKERS. If we turn that job over to the bosses, we endanger ourselves and our unions.

Ironically enough, Sigler is helping the Communist Party to retain its influence among the workers. The Stalinists have been in retreat in Michigan, particularly in the UAW. Class-conscious worker militants who have learned to detect the true nature of Stalinism beneath its radical-sounding demagoguery, have delivered many effective blows against the CP, not because of but DESPITE Sigler. The latest success in the struggle against the CP has been the defeat of Nat Ganley, member of the National Committee of the CP, in Local 155, UAW. The CP is trying to utilize the Sigler campaign in order to parry these blows. It is trying to identify ALL attacks upon itself with the reactionary attacks of the Governor. It hopes to mislead the workers into the false belief that if they vote against the CP in their local unions they are somehow giving assistance to Sigler. But that is not true.

## WHY WE OPPOSE THE CP

We will not be misled by Sigler but we will not be misled by the CP either. We have nothing in common with Sigler in our opposition to the Stalinists. He attacks the CP because he seeks a cover for interference in the labor movement. We denounce the CP because it undermines, confuses and disorients the labor movement and thereby weakens the fight against the very capitalist class which Sigler represents.

Sigler attacks the CP because it has what he calls "foreign" alle-

giances... that is, because it has ties the REAL crime of the CP is not mentioned by Sigler because he is guilty of the same offense. The crime of the CP is not simply that it has "foreign" connections but that it serves the interests of a reactionary, bureaucratic, anti-labor CLASS in Russia which is "foreign" and "alien" to the working class of all countries, including the United States and Russia.

From the point of view of the working class of this country, Sigler also has "foreign" allegiances because he too serves a class which is "foreign" and "alien" to the working class. For he serves the interests of the capitalist class. He is a capitalist politician.

To serve the interests of anti-labor exploiting classes in the United States or in Russia is to have allegiances which are "foreign" to the labor movement. In this respect, Sigler and the Communist Party are identical!

# Seek GPU Investigation - -

(Continued from page 1)

rorist activities of the Russian secret police in the United States.

The most sensational is his detailed account of the preparations made here for the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City in 1940. Budenz testifies from personal knowledge that the initial moves in the conspiracy leading to Trotsky's murder were taken in New York City by GPU agents with the assistance of such Communist Party leaders as Earl Browder and Jack Stachel.

He tells how he himself collaborated with Russian secret police agents, named "Richards" and "Roberts," to weave their web around Sylvia Ageloff. Through Ruby Weil, a woman member of the American Communist Party, selected for this purpose, Sylvia Ageloff was introduced in Paris to "Frank Jackson," Trotsky's assassin. Jackson used Sylvia Ageloff, a friend of the family, to gain access to Trotsky's household and commit the crime.

Thus Budenz adds new and hitherto missing links to the chain of evidence presented during Jackson's trial in Mexico which showed him to be an agent of the Russian secret police. Budenz's disclosures confirm the conviction held by the most advanced sections of world public opinion that Trotsky's murder was carried out by the GPU murder machines at the instigation of Stalin.

This is not the only act of political murder prepared or executed in recent years on American soil by the Russian secret police network. Budenz also refers to the case of Julia Stuart Poyntz, the former Communist Party leader who disappeared from her home in New York City some time after May 1937 under mysterious circumstances. He states that a "member of the (Communist Party) Political Committee, whom we will call Comrade H., advised me, almost in so many words, that she (Miss Poyntz) had been 'liquidated' by the Soviet secret police." (Page 263.)

This tends to confirm the charges made to a New York Grand Jury by the Anarchist leader, Carlo Tresca, that Julia Poyntz was abducted and slain by the GPU. Carlo Tresca himself was later shot by unknown assassins in New York City on January 11, 1943. Budenz substantiates the fact that the terrorist operations of Stalin's secret police have been ex-

## To the Working People of Los Angeles' Seventh District from the Los Angeles Branch of the Workers Party

For two months we have been visiting you in your homes, talking with you on the street, addressing you from the columns of LABOR ACTION, selling you our pamphlet, "Jim Crow in Los Angeles," to further the candidacy of Harold Draper for city councilman. You have learned that



this campaign is different. Unlike other candidates in this or any other election in your district, Draper has not been seeking votes as votes; he has been trying to enlist your interest in a PROGRAM, and he has asked you to vote for him if you believe in it.

Draper's program in its fundamentals is simple: a fight to the finish by all workers of all racial groups against the owners of industry and the politicians who serve them—the working class against the capitalist class. The long-term fight is for SOCIALISM, a new world order in which the dignifying of human life supersedes the crushing exploitation and the horrible wars of the profit makers; in which sterile POLITICAL democracy gives way to INDUSTRIAL democracy—ownership and control by the workers through their government of the mines, mills and factories which produce the things they need to live.

The short-term fight is the struggle for the widest possible freedom NOW: freedom of the unions from police strike-breaking; freedom of the Negro from the frustration and deprivation of Jim Crow. The short-term fight includes campaigns for fixed ceilings on rents; unification under city ownership of the patchwork, inefficient transit systems and their control by the workers who operate and maintain the buses and street cars; a permanent city-wide day nursery program for children of working mothers. Draper has taken his stand upon this platform boldly and outspokenly. Invited as a "white candidate" to speak for restrictive covenants before the Crenshaw Chamber of Commerce, he shocked that group of smug race haters with an anti-covenant speech they'll long remember.

Draper is not "everybody's candidate." Far from seeking or accepting the support of union busters and restrictive covenanters, he actively fights them. He is the candidate of the working people.

END POLICE STRIKE-BREAKING!

DESTROY JIM CROW!

BUILD HOMES NOW!

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

VOTE FOR HAROLD DRAPER FOR COUNCILMAN

FROM THE SEVENTH DISTRICT!

Election April 1.

(You are in the Seventh District if: (1) You live between Vernon and 23rd on the East Side; or (2) you live between Vernon and Jefferson on the West Side.)

# "Need and Poorness Are in All Corners"

We are publishing below a letter received from one of the many German working class families, a Ruhr miner in this case, now being assisted by the American Committee for European Workers Relief. This letter is of interest as revealing the kind of workers and socialist families whom the ACEVWR is most anxious to help.

Germany, British Zone  
January 29, 1947.

Dear Friend: (Letter written in English)

Today I received your letter of January 13, 1947. Therefore I thank you. I am obliged to thank you for your kindness to help me. In Germany, need and poorness are in all corners. This has done the unlucky war. The beginners of this war were criminal subjects of the Nazis. Today the German people has to suffer. But, the hope of a better future we want to have.

Therefore, our greatest problem is to prevent war. Never again the humanity shall get into another war, which brings still more misery. Dear friend, we will fight for freedom and peace. There we do the greatest service to our nation.

You want to know something about my family. My wife died 1945. Two boys returned back from captivity last year. Also two sisters of my wife who are emigrants from the eastern part of Germany, are living with me. They have lost their home and property. Now, they are keeping my house and are working in it. Receiving your package through CARE, I will write again at once.

My first writing to you, I am finishing with the best wishes for you and all friends and remains yours gratefully,

J. G.

# Aid European Hungry Workers

Will you undertake to help us send food and clothing regularly to a European working class family?

Will you support the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF in its campaign to bring help in the form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-Nazi and labor fighters?

If you can give us this support, please send all contributions (in the form of food, clothing and money donations) to us at the address given below. We will take care of seeing to it that these contributions of yours reach those who need them most of all.

## AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF

197 Second Avenue  
New York 3, N. Y.

Remember! \$10 will enable us to send a 21-pound CARE Food Package to a European Working Class Family.

ACEVWR  
197 Second Avenue  
New York 3, N. Y.

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months. I am sending the following contribution: \$.....

\_\_\_\_\_food packages \_\_\_\_\_clothing packages

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone..... State.....

New York City  
CHELSEA BRANCH  
FORUM  
THURSDAY, MARCH 27  
8:30 P. M.

THE NEGRO AND THE  
TRADE UNIONS

Speaker:  
E. R. MCKINNEY  
Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party

ADMISSION FREE

## CELEBRATE THE WORKERS PARTY SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

THE LITTLE INN  
SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1947 at 10 East 16th Street  
(off Union Square)

GALA DINNER at 7 P. M. Sharp

reservations for dinner, \$1.75  
after 9 P. M., 75¢

Auspices: Workers Party, Local New York