

Famine Spreads, Starvation Diet Dooms Millions!

By IRVING HOWE

The greatest famine of modern times is killing millions in Europe and Asia. It is a famine—as we shall show later in this article—which is the result of the fantastically criminal and stupid policies of the nations which triumphed in the Second World War. It is a famine which reveals the nature of capitalist society in its most terrible and gruesome aspects.

In Germany, levels of food consumption have declined in some cities, such as Hamburg, to 800 calories a day. In Dueseldorf, people have been living for the past week on a food level of 650 calories a day—roughly the equivalent of three slices of bread.

In England, a sensation has been caused by a statement of Dr. Franklin Bicknell, a nutrition expert, that Britain is "slowly starving." Yet Britain, where the present food levels vary from 1,600 to 2,000, has a higher level than Germany and most countries of eastern Europe!

Poland last week announced another reduction in food. In Rumania there is outright famine.

And the situation is getting worse—not better.

"BEARABLE LIMIT REACHED"

So terrible has the starvation become that the workers of Hamburg (once the site of a highly militant and socialist working class) organized on May 9 a monster demonstration of 120,000 workers demanding bread. The desperation of these starving workers—whose food levels are only slightly above those of the victims of the Nazi concentration camp at Belsen who were deliberately starved—was expressed in the statement of Adolf Kummernuss, chairman of the

Hamburg Federation of Trade Unionists, who said at the meeting:

"We want to tell the world that a man with 800 calories cannot live—we want to give sincere warning that the bearable limit has been reached."

Another, unnamed, speaker is quoted by the New York Times as saying that "We are on a starvation diet, and if 70,000,000 Germans die, then others will follow. There will be general despair that will not confine itself to any boundaries. Our problem is the world's problem."

Not only is the food level in the major German cities abysmally low. Even the several hundred calories a day which the workers receive are not sufficiently balanced in food types; there are not enough fats and meats. That is why in the great Hamburg demonstration, some workers carried signs reading: "Food, not Calories!"

LIFE IN GERMANY

It is impossible for a man to carry on heavy labor on a diet of even twice as much as the German workers have recently been receiving. Officially, the Allied zones are supposed to be providing 1,500 calories worth of food a day; but that is universally recognized as a myth. Actually, a working man requires a minimum of 3,000 calories a day. So we see that the workers of the Ruhr are receiving less than one-third of the minimum required. No wonder many faint over their machines.

No wonder that the workers of the Blohm and Voss shipyards in Hamburg have staged a sit-down strike. Better to starve while resting than while vainly trying to work on empty stomachs.

Embarrassed by the disclosure of these horrible conditions in their German zones, British and U. S. officials have issued contradictory statements canceling each other out. On one hand they announce that conditions are not as bad as depicted in the German press and claimed by the demonstrating workers of Hamburg. On the other hand, they say the reason for the bad conditions—denied in previous statements—is that the German "government" is inefficient and unable to get the food which German farmers are hoarding.

The latter argument is a scandalous piece of fakery: Everyone knows

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LABOR ACTION

MAY 19, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Halt Anti-Labor Drive By Stop-Work Protest!

By EMANUEL GARRETT

Before this issue of LABOR ACTION is off the press the Senate will have passed the Taft anti-labor bills. With the House having already passed the Hartley bill, the two versions of the Congress' scheme to strangle the effectiveness of the union movement will go to conference. It is expected that the House and Senate conferees will rapidly agree on a common bill, which will then go to President Truman for signature.

The official leadership of the labor unions is putting its trust in a Truman veto. The CIO is conducting a petition campaign which asks for a veto. The AFL is spending some million and a half dollars in a publicity campaign designed to mobilize public sentiment against the anti-labor bills. In addition, the CIO is bringing to Washington several hundred union men every day whose job it is to collar Congressmen and voice labor's displeasure.

What's in The Bills?

Below we present the principal features of both the Hartley (House) and Taft (Senate) anti-labor bills. These bills are going to conference. By examining the proposals of the separate bills, we can foresee the nature of the joint bill:

• Both bills outlaw the CLOSED SHOP.

• The House bill outlaws the UNION SHOP if the employer objects; the Senate bill permits it if a majority of the employees approve.

• The House bill outlaws INDUSTRY-WIDE BARGAINING, except within a radius of 50 miles and where the employers hire less than 100 workers; under the Senate bill employers may refuse to engage in industry-wide bargaining.

• Both bills allow the government to seek INJUNCTIONS where "public safety or health" are involved.

• The House defines and outlaws various "unfair" UNION ACTIVITIES; the Senate bill does the same.

• The House bill makes unions liable to employer INJUNCTIONS, damage suits and prosecution for such "unlawful concerted activities" as jurisdictional, sympathy and sit-down strikes, mass picketing, etc.; the Senate bill makes unions liable to employer injunctions for violation of contract, jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts.

• The Senate bill outlaws certification of a SINGLE BARGAINING AGENT for professional and non-professional workers unless a majority of the professional workers approve. The House overlooked this one.

• Both bills ban unions of SUPERVISORY EMPLOYEES, that is, foremen.

• Both bills forbid the CHECK-OFF without written permission from each employee.

• The House bill abolishes the NLRB, and sets up some kind of conciliation service; the Senate bill enlarges NLRB by three members and entrusts conciliation to a new Federal Conciliation Service.

Truman wants only some of the above provisions for the present.

We say that these actions of the CIO and AFL, whatever their independent merit, are insufficient. The situation demands action on a far higher level of militancy and organization. It calls for the mobilization of the working class in such a way as will make it possible for the millions of organized workers to demonstrate their power in COM-MANDING Congress to cease its anti-labor activities.

As such a mobilization of labor's effective strength we have proposed: A MARCH ON WASHINGTON BACKED THROUGHOUT THE NATION BY A 24-HOUR GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE!

The Murrys and Greens of the labor movement are today pleading, cajoling, begging. But the labor movement should be THREATENING, ORDERING!

NO RELIANCE ON TRUMAN

The New York Times, as sensitive an observer of capitalist interests as any paper in the country, is unfortunately able in this situation to inform its readers that the labor movement is on the defensive. We must recognize the truth of its report. The labor movement IS on the defensive. And that is why the representatives of industrialists and their puppets in Congress feel emboldened to push their own offensive, to seize upon what they view as labor's dormancy to destroy labor's hard-won gains.

Only by reversing the relation by responding with an offensive of our own can the situation be turned to our real and permanent advantage.

As we have already said, the heads of the CIO and AFL are relying on Truman to veto the bill. And it appears likely at the moment that he will veto the bill. Both Republicans and Democrats are jockeying for position in 1948. The Republicans expect to campaign on their anti-labor record. The Democrats expect to campaign on their opposition to the Republican bills.

But for labor to leave it at that is the sheerest insanity. It is playing, as the leaders of the union movement have been for years, the game of the capitalist tweedledees and tweedledums in politics. In the end labor will face the need of struggling to REGAIN rights previously won in difficult battles.

Suppose Truman does veto the bill. Suppose the veto is not overridden in Congress. Does that save the situation for us? Not by any means!

That in certain labor circles, the rarefied circles of the upper bureaucracy, this possibility is viewed as vic-

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No, You Don't!



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Westinghouse Local Votes Militant Line

PHILADELPHIA, May 12—At a meeting of the Westinghouse UE Local 107, held on May 6, the following resolution was unanimously adopted after a great deal of discussion from the floor. The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLUTION ON THE ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE

Whereas, labor today is facing a dangerous threat to the rights which it secured for itself in the course of over 100 years of self-sacrificing political and economic struggle, and

Whereas, the destruction of these rights is being urged by various legislators in Washington, in the form of bills supported and sponsored by sections of both parties, and

Whereas, the only weapon labor has today to meet this reactionary offensive, in the absence of a political party of its own, is its tremendous economic strength,

Therefore be it Resolved, that UE Local 107 go on record and press for the adoption of the following two-point program, the aim of which is to defeat the proposed legislation and enter upon an offensive of our own, and that it urge this program on all sections of the labor movement by fighting for its adoption in the councils to which it is affiliated and by expressing its wishes to the UE and CIO General Executive Boards. The two-point program is:

1. A united 24-hour labor holiday to be called simultaneously by all unions.
2. On the same day a "March on Washington" of thousands and tens of thousands of delegates and members from every local union in the nation, where they will protest to Congress and the President against this legislation and offer labor's own program for the nation which is designed to extend democratic rights, prevent a depression and guarantee a better life for all.

Before this resolution was presented there had been reports and discussion of the "accomplishments" of the recent State Convention held in Harrisburg. All the delegates reported that nothing was being done to beat back the anti-labor drive. Immediately following that there was a report by the president of the UE District Council in which he predicted mass unemployment in the near future and a continuation of the reactionary offensive. The resolution was therefore seized upon by the members at the meeting as the sort of answer they were looking for.

They are determined to do all in their power to carry out that two-point program, but they need the help of every progressive union and class conscious worker. They want this resolution to reach every corner of the country.

Cadillac Square Demonstrators Are "Disciplined" by General Motors

By BEN HALL

DETROIT, May 11—A tiny ring of willful dictators, disposing of millions of dollars, is utilizing its control over jobs and food to coerce men who oppose their dictatorship to abandon political activity on behalf of the people. This use of hunger and unemployment as political weapons occurs not in Berlin, not in Moscow, but in the heart of "democratic" United States, in Detroit.

On Thursday, April 24, at 2:00 p.m., over half a million workers left their jobs. Two hundred thousand of them marched in a body to the center of town for a political meeting. Who were these people? They represented virtually the entire working population of the city. They were the men and women who create the automobiles, the trucks, the trailers, tires, steel and steel products, electrical products, building equipment... all the commodities and manufactures of modern industrial life.

They were the producers. And these producers decided to utilize the rights supposedly guaranteed them under the Constitution of the United States to assemble peaceably and make plain their desires to what they considered their own government. It was the PEOPLE attempting to influence "their own" representatives

in Washington. These people were demanding that the proposed anti-union laws pending in Congress be abandoned; they were attempting to influence the course of legislation that would vitally affect their entire social status and have repercussions on their families.

These are the same PEOPLE who vote on Election Day. But they knew that they could not afford to wait until next Election Day to express their demands. They concluded that they would express their sentiments not on little slips of paper dropped into slits in wooden boxes but on big placards carried in thousands of hands, in slogans shouted by tens of thousands of voices. And they were willing to lose half a day's work and half a day's wages to do so. This was their "special" Election Day and they took it far more seriously than the day in November when they have the uncertain privilege of casting their ballots for one or another representative of the boss class.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The whole WORKING population demonstrated its will but not the whole population. A little group of economic parasites remained in their offices; among them were the directors of one of the giants among eco-

nomie giants, tied to the powerful du Pont dynasty, holding many important levers of the life of the nation in its hands, the General Motors Corporation. And this little band of people, totally divorced from and opposed to the vast majority of the population, decided to express ITS political desires in an entirely different way. In a move deliberately calculated to disorganize and demoralize the unions and make future demonstrations of this kind impossible, the General Motors Corporation, responsible to no one, invoked the following disciplinary action affecting close to five hundred of its workers:

At Forge Local 262: Of the 2,300 members of the union, 401 were laid off for two days. The president of the local and the chairman of the bargaining committee were laid off for 30 days.

At Detroit Transmission Local 735: Five local officials and former officials were discharged, including the local president. All six day shift committeemen were laid off for from 30 to 60 days. On the afternoon of the demonstration the whole afternoon shift of 500 to 600 men was locked out for half a day.

At Chevrolet Gear Local 235: One man was fired.

At Fleetwood Local 15: The local president and other local officials were discharged. Others were laid off.

At Cadillac Local 22: The local president and most of the members of the plant bargaining committee were discharged. Many others were laid off for varying periods.

POLITICAL ACT

The GM bosses pretend to act under the authority given to them under the recently signed contract with the union. The work stoppage, they contend, was in violation of this contract. But not a single intelligent person will take this thin pretext seriously. The stoppage was not against GM as such; it was not a result of a dispute over working conditions in the plants; it did not aim at extracting a single concession from GM itself. The stoppage was for the exclusive purpose of putting pressure on the government. This has nothing to do with the contract; it is entirely outside of its jurisdiction.

The violent reaction by the GM management against the workers who demonstrated against the actions of the government proves that a direct and intimate tie links the government in Washington with the

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Traces UAW Bad Pay Settlement to Political Weakness

By WALTER JASCN

DETROIT, May 12—Nearly six months ago the Chrysler department of the UAW-CIO opened negotiations for a cost-of-living bonus with the Chrysler Corporation.

Last week, the UAW-CIO membership in Chrysler ratified a contract, settling for the wage pattern set by UE and Steel. It included 11½ cents hourly wage increase, plus six paid holidays and minor classification changes.

In various local union meetings, hot debates over the meaning of the contract, especially the six paid holidays, took place. Nothing was said of the six months' struggle for a cost-of-living bonus. It had been quietly dropped into the waste paper basket. No provision for retroactive wage increases was included.

The old contract, containing the notorious company-security clauses, was renewed. There was no debate on this subject.

NO STRIKE SENTIMENT

Some rank and filers advocated rejecting the contract. The so-called left wing criticized it. (Last year they hailed it as the best in the history of Chrysler. Last year they were in office and sold the contract to the membership over the vehement protests of most shop stewards and committeemen.)

But no one proposed going on strike to try to get a better contract! For the UAW-CIO was in a dilemma on this and other contracts, and everyone knew it, but very few people were willing to face the issues squarely.

In a word, the whole conclusion of the wage negotiations resulted from the conservative policies pursued by the CIO leadership, and these policies have reached a blind alley.

After Steel, and UE, settled for a "pattern," no one expected the UAW-CIO to be able to obtain anything more, with or without a strike struggle.

This is what the ranks in the shops understood, and that is why there was no strike sentiment.

The inflationary cost of living has wiped out all savings, and the workers live from week to week. This fact was hardly an inducement for strike action.

As if to confirm the judgment that a strike, now in Chrysler would be imprudent, thousands of Chrysler

workers are laid off for ten days, ostensibly over a steel shortage, which many people doubt.

Chrysler Corporation, time and again in negotiations, challenged the union leadership to call a strike. This provocative attitude was assumed because Chrysler knew, as well as the UAW-CIO, that steel, through Phil Murray, was going to decide everything, and that autonomy for the UAW-CIO in this policy question was more of a fiction than a fact. Chrysler also knew the condition of the worker's pocketbook, and thus squeezed as many advantages as possible without pressing for a make-or-break showdown with the UAW-CIO.

The corporation also referred to Congress and its probable actions on labor legislation. Chrysler knew that in Washington it was their govern-

ment that was in power, not a labor government.

What conclusions should be drawn from this? One of them is that the limitations of economic struggles, of trade unionism, must be understood! The UAW-CIO can't, through contract negotiations, solve the pressing problems the workers feel.

The instinctive turn of the workers to their union to solve problems reveals a splendid class spirit, but it must be developed properly if the labor movement is to advance.

Far too many unionists "blame the union" for the contract obtained. The primary responsibility is Chrysler's. As long as Wall Street owns and runs Chrysler, the factories will be run for its benefit, and not for the men who sweat inside them.

The fatal weakness of the UAW-CIO is not in its trade union policies. It is miles ahead of the rest of the labor movement in its militant tradition, spirit and determination. But the limitations of the "old ways" are demonstrated in the current contract negotiations.

The fatal weakness is the political program, the tying of the UAW-CIO to company unionism in politics. The failure of the leadership to drive forward by building a real weapon for labor in the political field, a labor party.

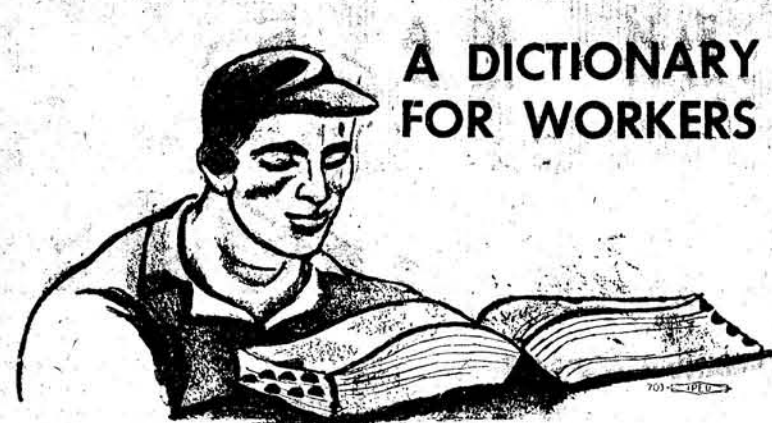
The UAW-CIO is not marking time in politics. It is marching backward, as each day to the 1948 elections comes closer, and the CIO leadership will offer a choice of Strike-breaker Truman versus Dewey or some other capitalist politician.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

GM Hits at Cadillac Sq. Protestors - -

(Continued from page 1) GM corporation in Detroit. That tie is easy to detect. The government protects GM from its workers; it helped whittle down the demands of the GM strikers in 1945-46; it returned millions of dollars in tax rebates to the company; in sum, it acts as the directing executive committee for the capitalist class, of which the GM bosses are a part. In return, the GM management protects ITS government from the attacks of the workers.

But how are the GM bosses to support their government? They are few in number, they are a tiny minority. But they are powerful for one and only one reason: they own and control the machines that produce the goods of life; they own the means of production, without which it is impossible for the workers to earn their livelihood. With the billions of profits that it milks from workers and machines, the capitalist class is enabled to buy and sell political parties, to make or break politicians; to rule or ruin newspapers; to dictate the policies of universities, schools, movies, radio.



Compiled by JACK RANGER

Class, a social group in society distinguished by its relation to property, its type of social-income, its function in economic production, its social and political position.

Class collaboration, the theory that capital and labor should cooperate, as expressed in the U. S. Chamber of Commerce slogan, "If you work for business, you are in business. What is good for business is good for you." The top trade union leadership in the United States, from William Green and Dan Tobin to Philip Murray and John L. Lewis, believe in the theory of class collaboration.

Class struggle, the conflict between various classes; in modern times, the conflict between capital and labor; also, the theory that the interests of the worker and the employer are antagonistic to each other except on minor matters, and that cooperation is impossible because one class benefits only at the expense of the other class in general.

Clayton Act, an act of the U. S. Congress adopted in 1914 which states that "nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof, nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws."

Closed shop, an organized union shop where it is customary for the employer to hire new workers through the union, and where all workers must be members of the union to continue their employment.

Collective bargaining, a method of reaching agreement concerning wages and working conditions between a group of workers and their employer. Generally consists of the following steps: Union recognition, which signifies the willingness of the employer to recognize that the union representatives have the right to speak for the union members; negotiations between employer and union representatives over working conditions; and a written agreement which states the conditions agreed upon. In modern times, it is impossible for each worker to bargain individually with his real employer; he only sees the foreman or superintendent, who have no authority to grant demands for better conditions. Even in small shops, where the worker can still talk to his employer face to face, the individual worker has little bargaining power; where he is united with other workers, he has bargaining power. In much the same way that nations deal with one another through ambassadors, unions and corporations deal with one another through union business agents and personnel directors.

Commune, the government set up by the workers of Paris following the uprising of March 18, 1871, during the Franco-Prussian war. The Commune was crushed 72 days later by the combined military force of the Prussian and French armies. The French bourgeoisie showed during the course of that war that they preferred the victory of the German army to the victory of the French working class. Seventy years later that policy was repeated.

And when even this is not enough, when the workers begin to see through the fog of deceit, these arrogant kings and dictators say: "Abandon your political action. Cease your demonstrations. If not, we will starve your families, destroy your homes, cast you into destitution by taking away your means of life which we own, your job."

Two Day Strike Answers Dictator

In the first mass strike of Spanish workers to receive world-wide publicity since the start of the Franco regime, approximately 30,000 workers stayed home in Bilbao on May 6 and 7.

The strike was held in protest against a government order to fire all those workers who had stayed home on May 1, the international socialist holiday.

Bilbao, Spain's second most important industrial center, is in the heart of the Basque country near the French border. Most of the strike leaders, from what can be learned from the scanty reports in the daily press, and from what is known of the political history of the Basque, probably came from the ranks of the Basque nationalist opposition.

Reports as to the result of the strike, at the time of this writing, are contradictory. While some reports have indicated a complete victory of the workers' demands for reinstatement without prejudice for the May Day strikers, other reports claim that all strikers, including those of May 6 and 7, have been rehired only under the condition that they lose all seniority rights.

Stop-Work Protest Against Anti-Labor Drive - -

(Continued from page 1) tory, is merely proof that we are fighting on the enemy's terms and in the enemy's territory.

"MILD" AND BITTER Every newspaper, every commentator, every columnist who has predicted the Truman veto, has equally written that Truman would sign a "milder" bill. Truman months ago called for restrictions on the labor movement. Discussing Truman's proposals at the time, we said that labor must fight them tooth and nail, for their "mildness" is in itself an invasion of union rights, and conceals the viciousness of more stringent measures to come.

If the position of the labor movement is weak today, it would have been infinitely weaker if the Truman suggestions had passed as recommended. We have here a difference of opinion and ambition between capitalist politicians, not a dispute between representatives of capital and labor. Missouri's gift to liberalism is not one whit more concerned with preserving and extending the rights and victories of the labor movement than is Taft or Hartley.

At stake, for them, is the next presidential election. Involved is a difference in method as to how best chain labor. If you doubt this, consult any newspaper and read there how cynically and frankly the supporters of both sides relate the present situation to the coming presidential election. There is more to it than that, of course. There is a difference of opinion as to how labor can be hog-tied; will the knife stick deeper if behind it there is a smile or a scowl? And it is not necessarily a difference of opinion between Democrats and Republicans. Many Democrats (the McKellar, for example) vote with Taft; many Republicans (the Iveses, for example) oppose Taft.

A LESSON IN POLITICS Here we have an instructive lesson in the value of trusting to "friends of labor." A few short days ago Ives, Dewey's man, won for himself a little pro-labor publicity by defeating Taft on a proposition that would have incorporated a ban on industry-wide bargaining into the Taft bill. That done, and a big fuss made about the "rebels" in the Republican Party, it now seems as though Ives will vote for the amended Taft bill.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

WATCH THIS SMALL SHADOW

Fifty-six million persons were gainfully employed in March, 1947. That was even higher than the wartime peak of 54.6 million in July, 1943. The profits of Big Business are enormous. Wages, to be sure, are lagging far behind prices, yet the capitalists aren't particularly worried. After all, there is still a sizable foreign market, is there not, which accumulated dollar credits during the war and which is still anxious for American goods. If the lower-paid strata in this country are priced out of the market, well, it is too bad, but the goods can be sold in Latin America, South Africa and Europe. Then, the Truman policy of offering big foreign loans assures a big market abroad for some years to come. Indeed, the sun of capitalism shines brightly across the land.

Yes, if one looks steadily at the horizon, an unmistakable shadow can be seen. It is the shadow of unemployment, and it is advancing. Current unemployment is around 2.4 million—up 90,000 from January to February alone. Headlines like the following are beginning to appear in the financial papers: INDUSTRIAL LAYOFFS REPORTED IN WINSTON-SALEM AREA — OREGON WOOLEN MILLS CURTAIL OPERATIONS AS DEMAND FOR GOODS DROPS. In Winston-Salem a small hosiery firm has laid off half its total working force, another large hosiery firm is open part time, a candy maker has cut 20 workers from a force of 135, and a tobacco firm has most of its force on part time. In Portland, Ore., several mills have reduced operations and discontinued night shifts. A number of Los Angeles factories had recently cut back from six to five days. Some Pennsylvania textile mills are following a "one week on, one week off" policy of employment, and in Schuylkill County there are about 18,500 idle. The New York Central Railroad recently laid off 7,000 men. In Chicago there are truck drivers, watchmen, musicians, bartenders, salespeople and bookkeepers looking for work. In New York City there are about 250,000 drawing unemployment compensation—Macy's has laid off 600, and layoffs in the garment district run into the thousands.

The would-be Napoleons of business who were going to lick the system by getting rich are already dropping by the wayside. On one business block on Chicago's South Side, three of ten stores are vacant, while the drug store on the corner has changed hands twice because of distress. Out in Portland, the Oregon Construction & Sales Co., which was building "low-cost" homes for veterans, was recently forced into bankruptcy. In New York State the Veterans Administration reports defaults on 106 of about 5,000 loans it has guaranteed under the GI bill. A Los Angeles credit manager says that the rate of small business failures there is "appalling"—in the first two months this year, there were 45 business failures with claims of \$1.5 million, compared with 12 failures in the same period last year, with less than half a million in claims. Among the failures this year are eight small manufacturers, four restaurants, two shoe stores, two upholstery shops and a jewelry store, a hardware establishment, a men's store, a women's store, an electrical appliance shop, gift shop, grocery store, furniture store, etc. Cocktail bars and liquor stores all across the nation are up for sale.

The cigar business, which some economists in the Department of Agriculture consider a barometer of business conditions, is off more than ten per cent since the first of the year.

Technological developments that make for future unemployment are coming along fast—a whole new army of machines is advancing upon the employed. There is a machine that pops medicine chest drug items into cartons twice as fast as formerly. There's a machine that coughs up a complete wall for a pre-fab house in eight minutes... machinery which permits one labor shift to do the work of two in making giant oil derricks... electronic restaurant equipment to cook a steak in 60 seconds... an electronic press for the furniture industry by which a single workman can turn out 16,000 square feet of "core stock" a day whereas under the old method, three men could turn out only about 2,500 square feet a day... the increasing use of the fork-lift truck and pallet to cut loading and unloading time in freighthouses and warehouses by 40-80 per cent... a packaging and weighing machine in the California Packing raisin plant which does the work of five women... a spraying machine in the same company's orchards which replaces six men... a new machine for mechanically setting timbers in mines. Operated by two men, it does a job formerly requiring eight. Etc., etc.

Yes, jobs are still plentiful. But the shadow of unemployment is in sight. It is not going to disappear. It is going to grow. It is going to be with us until (a) we reorganize the economy on a socialist basis, or (b) the First Atom War destroys the unemployed and the jobs and the factories. Paste that in your hat.

NOTES ON THE ECONOMY

South African Iron & Steel Industrial Corporation has placed an order for a \$25 million steel plant in this country—a slabbing mill, and continuous hot and cold strip mill. Steel production in South Africa currently is around 500,000 tons, about 400,000 tons short of needs. In the next five years, industrialists in that nation plan to spend about \$60 million to expand steel production and ore and coal mining operations. South African ore is said to be among the richest in the world. Apparently, South Africa is one nation which is going to make the turn toward industrialization, thanks largely to its gold production, which considerably exceeds the value of imports from the U. S. That nation is not pressed for dollars as are England and Canada. American manufacturers of railroad equipment expect to get orders for over \$100,000,000 of locomotives, freight and passenger cars in the next few years from South Africa. American manufacturers of cottons, rayons, plastics, and automobiles and trucks, got a real toe-hold in the South African market during the war and they intend to keep and expand that market...

Jack Straus, president of Macy's store, is the guy who recently came out for lower prices. Macy's reports higher profits, and the absence of normal markdowns. The company reported net equal to \$2.60 a share for the six months ended February 1, 1947, compared with \$1.68 for the like period last year. For the 12 months, Macy's net equaled \$5.94 a share, more than twice the \$2.53 for the former year. We see what Straus does, we do not hear what he says...

A small group of Cuban cotton textile manufacturers are seeking to rear a tariff wall behind which they can exploit their home market at the expense of American exporters. Should the Cuban businessmen succeed, U. S. cotton interests are prepared to jump the tariff wall and build their own mills in Cuba. Cuba has always been one of the best-textile markets for U. S. mills, until the recent war.

for another way will have to come from the ranks. Sixteen million organized workers are a power that need fear nothing. Behind those sixteen million are the millions of unorganized workers, and the millions of professionals, poor farmers and such who can be rallied to join in struggle with the labor movement for a cause that gives promise of benefitting the people as a whole. With all the anti-labor fury in Congress, the Congressmen know that they can go so far, and no further, in trying to smash the union movement. They cannot break unions outright. Even the labor bureaucracy would be impelled to resort to more militant forms of action in that eventuality. It is rather their aim to undermine the power of the unions so that they can proceed at a later time to bolder attacks. Limit the power of the unions today—write the Wagner Act, passed as the result of decades of labor struggle, off the books—circumscribe the right to strike—and use all these measures to crack down more sharply on labor tomorrow. The scheme has already paid off in part. It has paid off in 11½ cent or 15 cent wage increases when labor needed and could have gotten almost twice as much. FEAR LABOR'S MIGHT These are ruthless men. They feed on weakness and signs of weakness. By the same token, they tremble before might. They are organized and well financed. We cannot meet their multi-million-dollar lobbying on their plane even if we wanted to. We cannot have the ear of Congress as can the industrial magnate, and we should NOT want to. This Congress is not ours; it is theirs. What they need to see is not several hundreds of CIO men scurrying around the corridors of Congress, but tens of thousands INVADING Congress. What they need, for all its general value, is not a radio program featuring prominent entertainers. The feature item on our bill must be our numbers and our willingness to employ those numbers in militant, offensive action in our behalf. A comprehensive, basic program requires that we take the road of political action, that we cease our reliance on our "friends," that we rely instead on ourselves by moving today toward the organization of a LABOR PARTY. Immediately, however, we have the problem of the anti-labor legislation, a problem which does NOT end with the Taft and Hartley bills. To meet this problem we must serve notice that we are not defeated, will not permit ourselves to be defeated, and intend in fact to advance toward new victories. Therefore, we propose that union men raise everywhere on their union floors the demand for a MARCH ON WASHINGTON BACKED BY A 24-HOUR GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE. Make the Congressmen and their masters tremble before labor's aroused wrath!

Debate on Palestine "A Hebrew Nation vs A Socialist Solution" (A Free, Democratic and Independent Palestine) Dr. N. Morton Fybish Representative of the American Supporters of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation will speak for: A HEBREW NATION Albert Gates Associate Editor, Labor Action will speak for: A SOCIALIST SOLUTION TUESDAY, MAY 20 8:15 P. M., Adm. 25c WORKERS PARTY CITY CENTER 114 West 14th Street New York City

WHICH WAY TO GO? So much for the Republican Party. The Democratic Party is no whit different. Its strategists have concluded that its best opportunities lie in pretending to safeguard the labor movement while maintaining "friendship" with the labor movement. This strategy is especially simple, because it fits in with the mentality of Murray, Green, Reuther and others. That these men not so long ago, just a few months ago, called Truman a strike-breaker, seems to be forgotten. That it was Truman, not Taft, who reintroduced GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION, is forgotten. He remains, you see, labor's friend. And we will send him our neatly bundled package of petitions, and we will meet with him in private and everything will be taken care of. In return he will veto one bill and sneak a "milder" one through and try to slap an injunction on labor when he thinks he can get away with it. We repeat: that way lies defeat. The top union officials will not offer another way. They are sunk deep in the mire of capitalist politics; they are ardent believers in the rotting system of "free enterprise." The push

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India Faces Grave Internal Upheaval

The sub-continent of India, now peopled by 410 millions of inhabitants, is facing what is unquestionably the greatest danger in its long history—the danger of a political and social disintegration that could lead to an unparalleled fratricidal warfare and eventual chaos. For reasons we shall examine, the situation in the country has encouraged the most disruptive, centrifugal and demoralizing forces that already exist within this nation to come to the surface with a completely unexpected force.

Muslim against Hindu; Pakistan against Hindustan—Indians in British India against Indians in Native India; Rajastan against both Pakistan and Hindustan—religious and high-caste Hindus against outcaste, "untouchable" Hindus—Congress Party against Muslim League—Tribal areas of Northern India against the Interim, Central Government—workers and peasants against capitalists and landlords. These are but the major internal conflicts tending to tear apart the country, and responsible for at least 25,000 deaths in the past six months. India appears on the edge of an unprecedented communal "civil war," with community pitted against community.

Above this conflict, and basically responsible for it, stands the supreme conflict of Indian against the two-century old invader, the foreign British occupant and exploiter, with his tens of thousands of troops. The fact that Britain, through its elaborate system of economic spoliation and exploitation of the land and its wealth, has brought its people to low levels of poverty familiar to all is the basic fact in creating conditions that are favorable to disunity and discord between various communities. Poverty and competition for division of the little that there is provides the main forces behind the Hindu and Moslem troubles. Starving peasants, hungry workers, keen job competitors; ambitious politicians and professional fanatics find a fruitful source of operation.

DIVISION OF INDIA

The British government has announced its intention to withdraw its officials and forces from India by June of 1948. Nothing has yet been said regarding the basic problem of Britain's economic holdings, investments, etc., in India, but the Viceroy will shortly announce the actual plan by which Britain intends to withdraw. The reactionary British officialdom, bloated with easy-living and high salaries, is, of course, opposed to withdrawal (The N. Y. Herald Tribune quotes an elderly army colonel who remarked, "Actually, I am delighted to see all these riotings and killings. This will show the world that we British are still needed in India.")

However, due to Britain's precarious world position, there is little doubt as to their desire to conclude an agreement with the Indian capitalist and ruling class and make a satisfactory withdrawal from the country, retaining economic and commercial ties. The British appear to be approaching increasingly a position of accepting the principle of division of India. They lean most heavily toward favoring the Congress Party of Gandhi, Nehru et al. If necessary, they might turn over the country to them, in the form of transferring power to Nehru's present interim government, as proposed by Patel, organizational boss of the Congress. But they would prefer not to do this.

The major political parties in India today are just as responsible for the current tendency toward falling apart. The Moslem League, playing upon the fears and justified suspicions of the Moslem people, have built their movement up to amazing proportions, apparently fanatically inspired. The League has not hesitated before the most violent tactics of mass murder and pillage of Hindu populations. The League's demand for an outright Moslem-majority state (Pakistan) has not been compromised; on the contrary, the demand is more adamant, as the flow of blood testifies.

Jinnah has worked overtime to make it clear he will stop at nothing to create a Moslem state, and that the interim government of Nehru and

the Congress must not be given power. At the same time, by insisting that the large Hindu and Sikh populations within his proposed Pakistan (in the provinces of Bengal and Punjab) cannot have the right of self-determination (the same right he demands for the Moslems!), but must be part of his country, he displays the hypocritical character of his whole movement. Jinnah does not want self-determination for the Moslems so much as he wants a powerful state for the Moslem ruling class; an area powerful enough to eventually dominate all of India. Jinnah, for example, demands the city of Calcutta, although it is 75 per cent a Hindu city.

The Congress Party, established in its interim government and having its fake Constituent Assembly, has neither power nor prestige. Its leadership itself is divided as to what to do—accept Jinnah's demands; compromise with Jinnah by insisting only that the Hindu and Sikh parts of Bengal and the Punjab provinces shall be left out of Pakistan; or hold tight to the original refusal to divide India? No policy has been announced yet, although the tendency is undoubtedly toward acceptance of division in principle, and making a deal with the Moslem League. The Congress, together with the Moslem League, refuses to raise the demand of giving the minority communities and peoples the right to vote; to practice self-determination.

Another disintegrating force in India is provided by the reactionary, semi-feudal Native Princes—the Rajahs and Gaekwars. Fearful of losing their autocratic rule over millions of people in various parts of the land, they are now uniting among themselves to demand creation of still another part of India "Rajastan." This would have even less of a social economic justification than the Moslem "Pakistan." The Sikhs, who exclusively inhabit part of Punjab, are likewise demanding separation; not to mention other races, tribes and groups.

UNITY ESSENTIAL

What can conceivably come out of such a situation? Clearly, even though the present contending parties and minorities may make a temporary arrangement—at the insistence of the British—they could construct only an India that would fly apart at the first provocation. These parties and groups are built not upon unifying principles, but upon class lines of economic and political domination, and desire to expand their rule. Their India would never hold together, but would lead to fratricidal war and communal strife on an unprecedented scale. Hindu vs. Moslem; Sikh vs. both; caste vs. caste.

The position of the Indian Trotskyist movement is, quite correctly, that only the working class of the country, basing itself upon the help and support of the peasant masses to whom it will give land and economic relief, can save the situation (Continued on page 6)

MAGAZINE ACTION

MAY 19, 1947

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

Events Behind Ramadier's Victory Over Stalinists in Cabinet Dispute

By HENRY JUDD

THE outstanding fact about the current political and social crisis in France is that it signifies the beginning of a new stage in that sorely-distressed country's history. For the first time since the defeat of France and the origin of the Resistance movement, the French Communist Party (Stalinists) are not in the government, despite their wish. By a series of ma-

neuvres and twists, the Stalinist leaders have been ousted from the government and replaced by right-wing socialists, supporters of Léon Blum; and still more conservative members of the Catholic Popular Republic Party (MRP). This is the net result of two weeks of intense parliamentary and governmental scheming—a moderate, center French cabinet of Blum socialists and Catholic bourgeois.

Was it accidental that, after the completion of the ousting of the Stalinists from the government (there is now a cabinet of twelve Socialists, six MRP supporters, five

Radical Socialists and two independents), the World Bank announced final signing of papers granting a loan to France of \$250,000,000 for long-term reconstruction? This World Bank loan is almost exclusively American dollars granted by the United States to help set up the bank. Was it accidental that America released 36,000 tons of wheat and flour for shipment to France during May? And, in addition, informed the French that 30,000 tons of corn will be sent during May and June, even though this will overstrain shipping facilities? The Truman Doctrine awards its friends in a not too subtle, but welcome fashion.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS FAR BEHIND ITS TURN

The international politics behind the crisis in France are clear enough for all to see. The turn of France definitely away from Russia and in the direction of American imperialism clearly began at the recently concluded Moscow Conference, where Stalin, in private session with Bidault, failed to win him over to support of Stalin's position regarding Germany.

France can no longer play the game of "neutral broker" between Russia and America—the aggressive policy of Marshall and Truman will not permit this. Support us by joining our drive against Russia and its Stalinist parties everywhere, or no credits, no food, no coal, no help. This is the essence of American policy. There is, likewise, a tacit encouragement by America for the return to politics and power of General de Gaulle and his efforts to build up an openly reactionary, semi-fascist organization. Bidault, France's Foreign Minister, is also head of the MRP and greatly fears that the energetic de Gaulle will split his party by his bolder anti-Communist activities.

Russian imperialism operates in France by means of its Stalinist agents and the enormous party they head. Time magazine has reported a sharp split among the top Stalinist leaders—some (Marty) urging the party to become an openly anti-government party, to vigorously support the unions and workers in strike action, etc. In a word, to make a sharp turn toward what appears to be the French people, a radical policy. Other leaders (Ducloux, Thorez, etc.) reject this, and seem bent on crawling back into the government, no matter how. They did little to actu-

ally support the Renault workers when they were on strike, and told their supporters to vote to return to work. They describe the French CP as still a "government party." These Stalinists undoubtedly feel they were outmaneuvered and ousted from the government in an unexpected and undesired trick. Ducloux ridiculed fears of a general strike and said his policy was a concern for "national interests and democracy." The party and, together with it, the organized labor movement which is controlled by Stalinism, evidently feel themselves on the defensive and obliged to retreat. They are unable to precipitate a decisive struggle at this time. It is knowledge of this that drove the timid Socialist Premier Ramadier and his fellow right-wing Socialists, to such sharp action.

INTERNAL FORCES CAUSING CRISIS

The general weakness of France in the post-war world is well known. The devastation of the war, the inability of the country to raise its economic production to even a pre-war level, plus the mass revolts of the colonies (Indo-China, Madagascar and, shortly, Algeria) have so weakened capitalist France that the nation has entirely lost its ability to act with initiative or independence on the international scene. Economically dependent upon the United States for its recovery, the nation is politically dependent to a great extent upon Russia, operating through the French Stalinists. The country is therefore torn between America and Russia, the two great rivals who wish to manipulate the country for their own aims. Its present government cannot break out of this circle.

There are, of course, profound internal aspects to the present crisis. It is more than a problem of international rivalry. The numerous and highly militant French working class has revived since the war ended. Its union movement is, next to England, the most powerful in Europe. The pressing economic difficulties have come to a head recently with a combination cut in bread rationing (a most important dietary item for French workers) and the failure of the Blum-Ramadier price-cutting program. The disproportion between the life and economic difficulties of the workers, as contrasted with the conditions of black market operators, American tourists,

French bourgeois, etc., is extremely galling to the class-conscious French worker. The 30,000 Renault strikers who moved for in advance of their union leaders, not to mention the Stalinists who at first opposed strike action, were the first to act. Even though they have now gone back to work (7,000 voted to continue the strike) they did not return as the result of any victory or agreement. They were temporarily forced to retreat, and the soil for future militant action on the economic front is as fertile as before. The Stalinist leaders, who warned about growing Trotskyist influence among the workers, understand this situation. An important aspect of their maneuver was to give the impression that they still marched at the head of the French proletariat.

The National Council of the Socialist Party was bludgeoned, by Ramadier and Blum, into acceptance of the action ousting the Stalinists. The vote was by a tiny majority, with over 2,000 delegates voting to reject the proposal and demanding that the Socialist Party also get out of the government. While many of these votes undoubtedly reflected the strong pro-Stalinist influence that exists among the Socialists (particularly in the Paris-Seine Federation area), there is no doubt that many of them are anti-Stalinist, and just as strongly against the right-wing, pro-American policies of their leaders. Their votes are in line with the Trotskyist demand that the Socialist Party get out of the government of French capitalism and break with the reactionary coalition it now has with the MRP and capitalist parties.

There appears to be a growing disinterest and disgust with politics in France; particularly among the workers who follow the Socialist and Stalinist parties. Not only have these parties failed them; but so has every shape, form and size of a coalition government. It is quite possible that the Stalinist influence among workers will tend to decline, although not enormously because of the demagogic skill with which that party operates. The French workers are apathetic toward politics, above all the crude parliamentary kind of politics their parties have engaged in for months. The next period in French affairs will probably be characterized by struggles of the workers on the union and economic front; struggles in which the French Trotskyists will be most active in helping the workers.

Workers Party Cables Protest in Arrest Of Madras Union Leaders by Government

MAY 9—Mr. Asaf Ali, Ambassador from India to the United States and delegate to the United Nations, today received the following protest against the arrest in Madras India, of C. S. S. Antony Pillai, president of the Madras Labor Union and member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, together with other labor leaders.

This protest was signed by George S. Schuyler, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier; Philip Rahv, editor of Partisan Review; Dwight Macdonald, editor of Politics; Farrell Dobbs, editor of The Militant; Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION; E. R. Frank, editor of Fourth International; Max Shachtman, editor of New Internationalist; and James T. Farrell, novelist.

Text of the statement follows:

"The undersigned have been informed of the following facts: "C. S. S. Antony Pillai, president of the Madras Labor Union, and member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, together with Colvin R. De Silva, Muttiah, and other members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India were arrested and imprisoned on April 16. These men have been persecuted for leading and supporting a strike by 14,500 workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mill in Madras. The union demanded that the workers be provided with decent housing, a cost-of-living bonus to meet inflated prices, and other necessary benefits.

"These just demands were met with violence and terror. Antony Pillai was arrested under the Public Safety Bill, a notorious anti-labor weapon recently passed by the Madras legislature.

"In reply to this arrest of their leader, 100,000 workers struck in a 24-hour protest on March 31. When, on April 8, a demonstration of women and children attempted to petition the Madras premier for the release of Antony Pillai, they were heavily tear-gassed, clubbed and whipped by the police. Meanwhile the textile strike continues.

"We, the undersigned, have consistently supported the fight of the Indian people for freedom from all imperialist oppression. We have no less consistently defended the rights of workers in all countries to organize and strike to better their conditions. We believe that no country can be free if unrestricted exercise of these elementary democratic rights are denied to labor organizations, or if their leaders are persecuted for their political beliefs. For these reasons, we urge the immediate release of the arrested trade union leaders and members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India and further ask that you transmit this request at once to your government.

Parisian Labor Takes the Lead in Fight for Higher Wages

Strike of Renault Workers Outlines Crisis in France

PARIS, May 5—The Parisian industrial suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt, where the giant nationalized Renault automobile works are located, is the scene of the most important strike that has occurred in France since the liberation. With dramatic spontaneity 32,000 workers downed tools in defiance of their union leaders and the government, determined not to return to work until they had been granted an increase of 10 francs an hour.

For months the Renault workers have seen their purchasing power shrivel under the impact of inflation and a continuous rise in the cost of living; the Stalinist controlled CGT (General Confederation of Labor) had forced the workers to accept the government wage-freeze policy and to expect salvation in a like price reduction campaign. The real sense of the betrayal of the workers' interests by the Socialist and Communist parties, both loyal participants in the government, can be measured by the following official statistics:

In 1938 44.7 per cent of the national income went to the wage earners while 27.4 per cent was received by the capitalists; in 1946 the wage-earners received 41.2 per cent against 39.4 per cent for the coupon clippers, and in 1947, 38.5 per cent for the workers and 44.1 per cent for the capitalists. Production in most basic industries now equals, and in some cases, is superior to production figures for 1938. Hitherto the Stalinists have been able to hold the workers in check. During the past year less strikes took place in France than in any of the western European countries despite the growing exasperation of the French working class, but today the Stalinist bubble of infallibility has been burst asunder by the Renault workers.

The history of the strike is a model lesson on the role of Stalinism in the labor movement. At Renault Stalinism has revealed its true face as the bitter enemy of independent labor action, its perfidy has been clearly revealed to thousands of workers who have hitherto been among its most loyal followers.

Last February the workers of shops 6 and 18 presented demands for an increase of 10 francs an hour, on February 27 these demands were presented to the management of the plant. The workers were told that the director was then away on a voyage to Morocco. Toward mid-March, once again the workers' representatives attempted to see the management, they were given a polite brushoff. Finally toward the end of March, the director informed them of his categorical refusal to meet their demands; a few days later the workers of these two shops held a mass meeting and discussed the eventuality of a strike.

Exasperation grew apace until April 25th when shops 6 and 18 finally went on strike; news of the strike action spread quickly throughout the vast plant, workers eagerly awaited word from their CGT union leaders to down tools. The Stalinist union leaders became concerned and on the same day that the two shops had struck, organized a mass meeting in the city square. Plaisance, Stalinist union leader at Renault, harangued the workers and told them not to join the strike. He belittled the strikers as fascist-Trotskyist hoodlum elements, hoping thereby to isolate the strikers—he was answered with indignant booing from the workers.

In the ensuing 24 hours the strike gained momentum as shop after shop downed tools. Once again the Stalinist union bureaucrats attempted to head off the strike movement by calling a mass meeting for that evening. Plaisance arrived surrounded by a heavy bodyguard to protect his strike-breaking self from the fury of the workers; when he tried to speak he was drowned out by the hissing and booing of the workers and was finally forced to beat a hasty retreat.

On Tuesday, Henaff, Stalinist generalissimo of the CGT in the Paris region and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, informed the workers at a mass meeting of the results of so-called negotiations that he and CGT offi-

cials held with the management. The strikers retorted that they no longer recognized these strike-breakers as their bargaining representatives and that only the strike committee was competent to discuss their demands.

By Wednesday the strike was general. The giant automotive works was shut down tighter than a drum, the workers occupied their shops, using them as meeting places and as headquarters for shop strike committees. One hour after the strike had become 100 per cent effective, the CGT Metal Workers Federation issued an official strike call. The Stalinists were scared stiff and a quick face-saving act was imperative.

On Friday Henaff assembled a band of 400 Communist Party slugs and attempted to hold a mass meeting near Renault. A delegation of 3,000 strikers escorted the strike committee to the meeting. Ooste, secretary-general of the Metal Workers Federation and Communist deputy representing the Renault workers in the Chamber of Deputies, denounced the rank and file strike committee and implored the workers to have confidence in the CGT bureaucrats. He was greeted with hostile cries and boos from the workers. This was too much for the Stalinist union leaders. Henaff directed his CP go-rillas to beat up the recalcitrant strikers, numerous worker militants were attacked and beaten. Most of the strikers, together with the strike committee, left the meeting in protest and marched through the plant shouting their slogans and demands.

STALINIST GANGSTERISM

Henaff and his plug-uglies settled down to serious work—systematically they went from shop to shop "supervising" the elections of strike committees. Where workers were found protesting against these brutal and totalitarian methods, they were mercilessly beaten up and thrown out of the shops; at a number of shops the strikers set up barricades and fiercely resisted the invasion of the Stalinist hoodlums.

Communist Party agents were sent throughout the plant for the purpose of obtaining the names of worker militants and reporting them to the management. Every filthy measure ever thought up by scabs were employed twofold by the Stalinist strike-breakers. But the workers of Renault stubbornly and courageously held their ground—they would not budge. The strikers, excepting the convinced Stalinists, were unanimous in their indignation against the Stalinist-fascist methods of Henaff.

By this time the Stalinist leaders felt that they could successfully end the strike by calling for a referendum on the continuance of the strike. The workers of Renault then gave them another lesson in militancy, despite ballot box stuffing and the fact that hundreds of workers were not notified in time to vote. The strikers voted 11,000 to 8,000 to continue the strike until their demands were met. At the same time the strike committee commenced circulating petitions asking the strikers whether they were satisfied with the present CGT leadership of Renault—the overwhelming majority of the workers responded in the negative.

The strike committee sent a number of strikers to the May Day demonstration in Paris to distribute leaflets explaining the position of the Renault strikers and urging metal workers in the Paris area to join the strike movement; the strikers were brutally beaten by Stalinist yeggs and their leaflets burned. Socialist youth and members of the Internationalist Communist Party who were distributing leaflets calling upon the workers to support the Renault strikers, were assaulted and in a number of cases, were saved from serious injury by the intervention of indignant workers.

The Renault strike, whether the workers will succeed in winning all their demands or not, represents an important turning point in the development of the French labor movement. Since 1936, Renault has been looked upon as the spearhead of militant working class action in

France; in 1936 the workers of Renault were the key factor in the success of the general strike. In 1938, the Renault workers forced the Stalinist leaders to declare a general strike throughout the metal industry in defense of their demands for the restitution of the 40-hour week. Later in the same year the Renault workers were the last to yield to the vicious anti-working class campaign of the Daladier government in a ferocious pitched battle waged between the workers who had occupied the plant, and the police and militia who had to employ the use of armored cars and tanks in order to subdue the workers. In 1944 the Renault workers led the insurrectionary general strike against the Nazi occupant and organized an armed workers militia.

The Metal Workers Federation, 900,000 strong, is the most powerful union in the CGT and is the one most completely controlled by the Communist Party. In the past, anti-Stalinist trade unionists would often despair of breaking the hold of the CP on the "metalloid." And of all sections of the metal industry the Stalinists had lavished their attention on the Renault works, members of the party controlled virtually every union post worth holding—Renault was their fief. Today the workers of Renault have seen Stalinism for what it really is—a precious political lesson is being learned the hard way.

Confident of its hold on the French working class the French Communist Party, in return for a large participation in the distribution of cabinet posts, has cynically and repeatedly violated the interests of French labor, for the past year, in common with the capitalist parties and the Socialist Party. They preached more production and no salary increases to the workers. This sort of business could continue as long as their left flank was protected, for to be outflanked on the left means permitting the workers to proceed on the high road of revolutionary socialism and Trotskyism. Terrified by the militant action of the Renault workers and the affirmative response

that the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyists) is finding for its ideas, the Stalinists have been forced to declare themselves for a 10 francs per hour increase for increased worker production.

So as to eliminate any doubt as to the reasons for this latest pseudo-left shift in the policy of the Communist Party, the following conversation between Socialist Premier Ramadier and Thorez, leader of the French Stalinists, at a recent cabinet meeting, is quoted from a report published in the May 3rd issue of "France-Soir," a leading Parisian daily:

Ramadier—This strike poses the entire question of the freezing of salaries and compromises the price reduction policy of the government. I ask you not to return to this policy.

Thorez—But the CGT, in this event, has been outstripped by the Trotskyists, who seem to have taken the lead for the workers demands. Therefore the CGT, in order not to permit itself to be overrun, has decided tonight to support these demands. And we of the Communist Party, we will equally support these demands.

The Renault strike has placed the Communist Party in the most delicate position that it has found itself in since the liberation. In order to keep intact its power over the CGT and the French working class it has been outwardly forced to make a pretence of breaking with the wage-freezing policy of the government even at the cost of being forced to precipitate a governmental crisis. That the governmental crisis is the handiwork of the Renault workers who have forced the Stalinists to this action is underlined by a statement from Florimond Bonte, member of the political bureau of the CP: "In any case the Communist Party, whether or not it participates in the government, will continue to consider itself as a part of the government. . . . No proposition will be made which we would not be able to apply were it at the head of the government."

NEXT WEEK:

THE 20TH CENTURY ECONOMIC REPORT

By ALBERT GATES

WORLD STARVATION

REPORT FROM EUROPE

MEETING THE ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Editorials

In Preparation For New Wars!

"Almost 19,000,000 men are under arms throughout the world," says Hanson W. Baldwin, on a New York Times survey of post-war military developments, "and about forty nations are spending at least \$27,400,000,000 a year on armaments."

No more graphic picture of the decay of capitalist society is presented than in the survey itself. Almost two years after the end of the most disastrous war in the history of mankind—the imperialist world feverishly preparing a new slaughter. But one need not wait for the misery of a third war to see what awaits this world. There is no end to the misery of mankind—no respite from the ravages of the conflict just ended.

In the midst of world-wide starvation, poverty, homelessness, the big powers and little ones—all former allies—are spending tremendous sums to turn out new cannon-fodder, new weapons of destruction, new and greater explosives. These nations, which cannot improve the living standards of their people, are spending more money now for war than they did on the eve of war in 1939. And these are the peace years!

Behind this tremendous "peacetime" military activity lies the new great imperialist rivalry between the United States and Russia. And behind the preparations being made by these two powers are the preparations of their satellite states. All of this, however, is only preliminary skirmishing in preparation for greater events

yet to come. Billions of dollars are being poured into the present irresponsible and wasteful military activities, as a sort of experimental stage for the larger conflict. Countries suffering from starvation, homelessness for millions, and dislocated economies, spend huge sums for training soldiers and preparing for war.

In this new mad rush to disaster, the United States and Russia, as the two main powers in the world, take the lead. Both spend more money for war purposes than any other country; both have more men under arms (excepting the pseudo-armies of China) and more weapons of warfare than any other nations in the world. Having set the pattern, the other must necessarily and inescapably follow their lead.

If there were not the facts of poverty, starvation, economic collapse, this new rise of militarism in the world would be enough to show the utter futility of the war just fought. It is the most severe indictment that could be made of the capitalist and Stalinist world. It hurls the lie into the teeth of the statesmen of the world, the imperialist spokesmen of capitalism and Stalinism, who called the last war a "war of liberation," "a war for democracy," "a war to bring peace" to a long-suffering world. There is no real and genuine liberation! There is no real and lasting peace! They are in limbo together with the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter!

Starvation Policy in Germany

"Wir Wollen Brot; Keine Kalorien!"
("We want bread; not calories!")—Banner of German workers in Hamburg hunger demonstrations.)

This week's LABOR ACTION features an article surveying the tragic food situation, leading to outright hunger conditions, that now prevails over the greater part of the European continent, particularly in Germany.

The responsibility for this situation cannot be exclusively traced to the results of the war, nor can it be blamed exclusively upon the severe conditions of last winter which led to much loss in crops and areas sown in spring.

The real responsibility falls upon the Great Powers—the Big Four now in occupation of Germany and large areas of Europe. It is their politics of division, exploitation and robbery that has prevented the recovery of European economy, industry and agricultural life. Instead of recovery,

rebuilding and rehabilitation, in the form of production of commodities, building of homes, manufacture of farm tools and machinery and fertilizer for the soil—instead of this there is a stagnation that has brought Europe to its lowest state in centuries. The victors, the "Allies," are responsible for Germany and Europe.

The American labor movement must become increasingly aware of the desperate situation that prevails in Europe today, right now. It is workers, poor people, farmers and middle class people who are threatened with starvation. The American labor movement must do something about helping out its class brothers in Europe. Only America has sufficient food to do anything about the situation—that is, shipment of huge supplies of food at once. The American labor movement must raise the demand for immediate aid, in the form of shipment of food surpluses without any political strings attached, to the hungry masses of Europe. American labor cannot afford to let down the European working class!

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

We regret to announce the cancelation of the May 25 Forum on "SPAIN TODAY." The Spring Series of Forums has ended. A new series will begin in the Fall. However, occasional lectures will be held in the intervening months. Watch Labor Action for announcements of coming lectures.

A BANG-UP SOCIAL

TO CLOSE THE LABOR ACTION FORUM AND SCHOOL

Entertainment — Dancing — Refreshments

Students

Instructors

Guest Lecturers

And All Others Will Attend

Time: SATURDAY NIGHT, MAY 24

Place: WORKERS PARTY CITY CENTER

114 West 14th Street

CHAPLIN'S LATEST PRODUCTION

By **SUSAN GREEN**

Charles Chaplin has turned his inimitable art as comic and actor to produce pictures of "social significance." Such are the themes he has handled in "The Big City," "The Great Dictator" and his most recent "Monsieur Verdoux," "The Big City," showing the little man enmeshed in the intricacies of machine production and modern living, was an excellent vehicle for Chaplin's cargo; "The Great Dictator," less so. In fact, many people reacted with resentment to "The Great Dictator," feeling that a subject of such sinister implications to humanity should not be related to slapstick and comedy.

In "Monsieur Verdoux" Chaplin seeks to comment on capitalist morality. His theme is that society electrocutes the individual murderer, the product of social insecurity, while society itself plunges into murderous wars and rewards the munition manufacturers with untold wealth. In the opinion of this reviewer, Chaplin's art does not do justice to this theme. Even with the refinements and modifications of his typical buffoonery, apparent in Monsieur Verdoux, what comes out on top is the comedy and not the lesson.

CHAPLIN'S STORY OUTLINED

The story, briefly, is this. A dapper, meticulous, almost dainty Frenchman—played of course by Chaplin but with different accoutrements than baggy pants, derby, turned out shoes and cane—is fired after thirty-five years of service as a bank clerk. His brains being no longer of use to business, he went into business for himself. With his masculine charms and a suitable "line," he pursued lonely elderly women possessed of bank accounts and property. He married them, liquidated them, and embezzled their money. This he did to provide security and luxury for his invalid wife whom he adored and for their son Peter. Between jobs he retired for a brief respite from the jungle of business to the sanctuary of his home, even as all good businessmen are wont to do. But the stock market crash wiped out his fortune; also justice finally caught up with our bluebeard. As society is preparing for the big kill of World War II and the munition manufacturers are beginning to coin bloodsoaked money, the little killer is condemned to death by this same society.

But detail determines where the emphasis lies, and the detail in "Monsieur Verdoux" is not concerned with developing the "social significance" of his theme but rather the comic aspects of each marriage and murder. The funny business of inducing wife Lydia to go to the bank before four o'clock so that husband bluebeard can kill her that night and deliver 50,000 francs to his stockbroker the next morning, is followed by the comic scenes with wife Annabel (Martha Raye) who evades husband's plans to liquidate her—for no other reason than to produce laughs. The motive to produce laughs is so great that all realism is thrown to the winds when the last hilarious courtship, terminates in an elaborate public wedding right in Paris—a slip an experienced liquidator of wives would hardly make—just to create another humorous situation in the appearance of unliquidated wife Annabel as an invited guest. The quantity and quality of the slapstick and fun plus the finesse of Chaplin's comic acting produce no sense of horrible crime—and murder is horrible—but rather a sense of a series of engaging peccadilloes. One is reminded of the dear old ladies in "Arsenic and Old Lace," which, however, was supposed to be nothing but high, wide and handsome fun—without any significance.

WHAT DID HE TRY TO SAY

The social message of "Monsieur Verdoux" is conveyed almost in the same way as was that in "The

Great Dictator," namely, by a propagandist speech at the end. In "Monsieur Verdoux," however, there are several shorter statements instead of one long one. At the trial, among other things, the condemned Verdoux says that the world encourages mass killing and that he is an amateur by comparison. Again, in the death cell, he talks to a reporter of robbery and murder being the business of big business, and, except in a small way, they don't pay. However, dramatic impact is lacking, and when Monsieur Verdoux goes off to the death chamber between the prison guards there is not the flow of sympathy and understanding that used to follow the little tramp of old as he disappeared on the road to nowhere.

How could Chaplin have induced more understanding for his hero-criminal and produced more dramatic impact for his message? The first could have been accomplished perhaps by showing how Verdoux got that way. Chaplin tells us that the bank clerk became the multiple killer because he lost his job. That's quite a jump—it needs more explaining from the depths of individual development or deterioration. Again, the indictment of capitalist mass slaughter should possibly have been woven like a thread throughout the film for cumulative dramatic effect, rather than saved up for the purely propagandist statements at the end. To do these two things, however, Chaplin would have had to abandon Chaplinism, that is, his tried and true comic method.

So much for Chaplin's purpose in "Monsieur Verdoux" and this reviewer's opinion that it falls short of fulfillment. However, there's another important angle. Even if Chaplin had accomplished his purpose—and some may think he has—we have a right to ask, "Did he go far enough?" To a Socialist, he certainly did not.

A REVIEWER'S OPINION

Many decades ago an expose of this kind might have been of importance. But in this day and decade of capitalism, simply to say "Look what we have here" without saying what we can do about it, is to be not a little backward in coming forward politically. The pro-capitalist producer would have given a tinhorn salute to the United Nations probably. Chaplin doesn't do this. If we conclude that Chaplin is against capitalism, what is he for? Is he for Stalinism? Is he for Socialism? Since he's an independent producer and has taken the unbeaten path, he can go the whole hog—which is the minimum distance one with a social message can go these days.

If reported interviews with Chaplin since his film came out are to be relied on, his political education is low grade. Asked if he is a Communist, he denied it. Asked something about dictatorship, he replied he doesn't believe in it for the country where he lives. Does he approve it in Russia? He seems to believe in some brave new world without political form, which we all know is impossible of accomplishment. So instead of giving a definite "out" from capitalism, Chaplin mouthed something vague about good and bad and sin, all equally meaningless.

If Chaplin is to employ his great comic art for works of social comment, it seems to this reviewer that he must find ways by which his art will enhance his theme rather than detract from it, as seems to be the case in "Monsieur Verdoux." And if his social comment is to be of any importance, he will have to do some fearless political thinking—and let us say without guidance from willing Stalinists.

OFF LIMITS

By **James M. Fenwick**

W. VA. U., ROTC, UMT, USA, USSR, ETC.

Thank God for existence! Look at it as you will, it's difficult to think of a reasonable substitute for it. For inevitably, whenever the "still, sad music of humanity" begins to depress a man, life, with its immense fecundity, soon restores the flagging spirit.

An instance of this recently occurred at West Virginia University. West Virginia University!—where the opening gambit in the conversation of two apparently virile male students can be: "Say, what did you think of the new preacher Sunday?" where Negroes are excluded from the undergraduate school; where the rustics of the English department dismiss the naturalistic novel by saying: "After all, it is something you would want to read out loud to your mother?"; where totalitarians on the faculty flourish happily and the mildest of liberals jump at their shadow; where professors of philosophy harangue their classes on the evil effects of nicotine upon the sperm cells; where the economics department should be stuffed, mounted and placed in a museum along with the Pilsman man, the spinet, the yellow dog contract, and other mementoes of the past; where a school which owes its existence to the exertions of generations of coal miners has a daily paper which, when it is not juvenile, is nobisshly anti-labor; where the AVC has difficulty in even finding a sponsor ("I'd really like to, but . . ."); where . . . where . . . where . . .

That under such conditions even a few rare spirits manage to maintain the semblance of a critical faculty should be encouraging to all professional disturbers of the intellectual peace. . . . *Montani semper liberi!*

THE BLOT ON THE 'SCUTCHEON'

A couple of weeks ago the campus ROTC unit held an inspection. It resulted, said the *Daily Athenaeum*, which humorously refers to itself as "The Student Newspaper of West Virginia University," "in a display of some of the most discourteous, distasteful, and base manners ever observed on this campus. The cat-calling, hooting and general attitude of the students observing the inspection was unbecoming for . . ."

This referred to the vocal footnotes added to the inspection by the veterans who were watching it. It began with a tense voice from the sidelines crying: "This is it, men! This is what you were trained for!" As the mounting triumph of successive rifle snatchings rolled forward the ovals and running commentary commensurately increased. The curtain was rung down by a stentorian voice from the wings sounding off with the classic paternalism of the field grade officer: "GOD DAMMIT, MAJOR! LET'S GET THOSE MEN OUT OF THE HOT SUN!" The local ROTC colonel was frantic. He ran around trying to shush the boys up, cursing, no doubt, the day the war ended.

It is heart-warming to know that, however intent the average veteran may be on squeezing out an education, however confused about the world of labor and international politics, and however unpoliticalized, when he is brought face to face with the military life his stomach turns.

CAPITAL'S LITTLE PROBLEM

Though this anti-militarism is latent, confused and, where manifested, is often dispersive, its presence among the veterans and in the general population is obvious to Congress. Because of it, Congress has had to impose restraints upon the extent and character of the current war preparations against Russia. From some points of view, a war of United States capitalism against Russia could most advantageously be prosecuted now, before Russia has acquired a stockpile of atomic weapons. Under conditions of atomic warfare, the United States, despite its tremendous industrial superiority, cannot afford to permit another Pearl Harbor for the propaganda advantage which might accrue.

This contradiction between what is necessary and what is possible is most clearly seen in the wriggling of the war department in their efforts to create a mass army. The draft act having been allowed to lapse, attempts are being made to find reasonably acceptable substitutes.

The plan which is currently being worked over is UMT—universal military training. Under the plan as it is commonly proposed youths of eighteen would be given six months' military training with some of the more obnoxious features eliminated. (We're laughing, too.) In lieu of a further six months' of training the recruits would be permitted to join the regular army, enlist in the national guard, attend school, etc. Such persons would not serve outside the United States.

OPPOSITION TO UMT—AND

OPPOSITION TO UMT

This plan has met opposition from elements of the military for whom Hanson W. Baldwin is the spokesman. His objections, of course, are motivated not out of humanitarian considerations but out of a belief in the plan's military ineffectiveness. His main point is that UMT would give a false sense of security and thereby divert attention and money from the development of what constitutes our unique and chief advantage over Russia—our military-industrial potential.

The war department, of course, prefers half a loaf to none, and is anxious to establish the fact of compulsory military training as a national mind-set, believing thereby that future steps in the militarization of the country will be facilitated. It therefore is pushing the UMT program.

How far and how fast this militarization proceeds will depend in good part upon how quickly hockling by the veterans takes on a political—which is to say, a socialist—character.

While it is true that a good proportion of army officers and their owners are so stupid that they couldn't track a herd of elephants in four feet of snow, it is also true that they mean business.

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LABOR ACTION
and

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

International Socialist Notes

The revolutionary majority in the national leadership of the Socialist Youth of France won a smashing victory at the youth congress last month. The French Socialist Youth, re-founded only two years ago, today claims a membership of 40,000. This rapidly growing movement has recently been under fire by the leadership of the adult SP because of the propaganda it has been carrying on against the Indo-Chinese war and against the wage freeze, both projects dear to the heart of the Social Democratic bureaucrats. Two hundred delegates and 1,200 listeners participated in the sessions of the convention.

Before the opening of the convention, leaflets were circulated by right wing minorities attacking the leadership of the youth. Even these minorities, however, were not supporters of Blum & Co., but rather supporters of Marceau Pivert, of the Socialist Party "left." These minorities based their programs on an appeal for unity—meaning that the So-

cialist Youth should, in order to preserve its attachment to the party, obey party discipline. Thus the revolutionary program of the youth would become an empty shell, since in all public activity they would follow the disgraceful line of the adult party. The reception these ideas got can best be indicated by quoting from a report on the congress that appeared in *Vérité*, French Trotskyist paper.

"On the first day, when Comrade Courtois, of the Socialist Party 'left,' representing the party, declared: 'The Socialist Youth must be the eagle of the party,' the delegates applauded frantically for five minutes. When he corrected himself, but a fraternal eagle, the delegates howled with laughter. When he added: 'I fear that your applause is directed against the party,' the applause redoubled."

Concerning Indo-China, Courtois tried to prevent the congress from revolting against the colonialist decisions of the Socialist Party and

threatened expulsion. He was hissed. Rousseau, secretary of the Youth, answered him. The congress passed a resolution against the war by a three-quarters majority.

The most violent incident took place upon the reception of a delegation from the JCI (Trotskyist youth). Introduced with a display of honors, our comrades found themselves in the midst of a hostile demonstration by a minority. The chairman, Deschelles, asked our delegation to retire to let the congress decide on their reception. Twenty minutes later the JCI delegates returned, their reception approved. The JCI national secretary, Marc Paillet, addressed the Congress. The conclusion of his speech was marked by lively applause and the singing of the International.

In the final discussion session, the general revolutionary political orientation of the national youth leadership was approved by two-thirds of the congress.—S. B.



STALINISTS ON THE WATERFRONT by Art Preis. Published by Pioneer Publishers for the Socialist Workers Party, April, 1947; 31 pages, 10 cents.

Reviewed by **ARTHUR STEIN**

With the ripening of imperialist conflicts between the United States and Russia, a constantly increasing barrage of anti-Russian and "anti-Communist" propaganda is filling the daily press. What most of these outpourings have in common, however (aside from their usual anti-labor slant), is their identification of Stalinism with the ideas of Marxism and revolutionary socialism. As a result of this reactionary origin of most attacks on Stalinism, the reactionary nature of Stalinism itself has become blurred in the eyes of the public. For these reasons, it is good to see

a substantial, well documented pamphlet on Stalinism originate from a revolutionary socialist source. Preis' pamphlet also has the value of attacking Stalinism from the point of view from which it can be seen in its most profoundly insidious colors: its treacherous role in the labor movement, which arises (in our opinion) from its fundamentally anti-working class roots.

The pamphlet presents a detailed and documented exposure of the record of betrayal of the Communist Party bureaucratic machine in the National Maritime Union. It also tells, often in words quoted from the Stalinist press itself, a few vivid episodes of the story of CP strike-breaking elsewhere; the coal strike in 1943; the Montgomery Ward and San Francisco machinists' strikes in 1944.

The last part of the pamphlet deals with "a class struggle program for maritime workers." It is in this section that we note a painful omission: there is no mention of the very acute problem of discrimination against Negroes and other minorities in the unions of the maritime industry.

Our differences with the Socialist Workers Party on the question of Stalinism are too well known to be discussed here. But these differences—though they make a sentence here and there objectionable to us—will not keep us from properly judging the substantial contribution of this pamphlet on the maritime situation. "Stalinists on the Waterfront" should be read and used by everyone interested in building a strong and militant trade union movement.

Workers Party Program for American Labor

The Economic and Political Prospects of U. S. Capitalism - II

Transitional Program -- When and How We Use It

It is necessary to restate the point of view that the party holds of the transitional program, first, because there is not enough clarity on this question in the party and, second, because a polemical counterposition has been put forward inside the party and in the Fourth International. The transitional program differs fundamentally from the old social-democratic program of immediate demands, which had only the most formalistic connection with the ultimate goal of socialism but which was in reality not connected at all with the struggle for power. The revolutionary character of the transitional program is based upon the concept of the objective overripeness of capitalism for the socialist revolution and the lagging political consciousness and revolutionary immaturity of the proletariat.

The transitional program aims at closing the gap between the two. It is necessarily based upon both phenomena; that is, it aims to seize the workers at their present stage of political consciousness, to participate with them at their present level of struggle, and to move them as rapidly as possible on the road to socialist power. It is a revolutionary program both in that it connects every serious demand and movement of the working class with the question of workers' power (in the workers' government) and in that decaying, crisis-ridden capitalism itself creates the conditions in which every serious demand and movement of the working class raises the question of state power with increasing clarity and sharpness.

Precisely because the transitional program has both these aspects, it cannot be concrete without first estimating the stage of development and consciousness of the working class in a given country at a given time and estimating the stage of development of capitalist crisis in a given country at a given time. Without this, the transitional program ceases to be a ritualistic and sterile substitute for the purely propagandistic advocacy of the old "maximum program" of socialism or the proletarian dictatorship.

ADAPTING SLOGANS TO CLASS REALITY

The ideas of the socialist revolution must be presented in terms of the actual stage of development of the class struggle and in a way that gives them access to the consciousness of the masses. Otherwise, the masses cannot be approached where they actually are, they cannot be appealed to effectively, they cannot be set in motion as a class from the position they presently occupy to the position they should occupy as the ruling power—in a word, the program cannot serve the function of a transitional program. The program is universal only in that it seeks everywhere to facilitate the movement of the masses to the struggle for power. But inasmuch as the crisis of capitalism is neither as intensive nor extensive in one country as in others, and the stage of development of the working class differs from country to country, the concrete forms of the transitional program, the concrete slogans must necessarily be adapted to the changing conditions and class relations in every country. "In the very nature of a transitional program, of course," says the party thesis of 1938, "it cannot in advance be given final and finished form. With the changes in the mass movement and in the state of mind of the workers, the transitional program must correspondingly change to advance or on occasion to retreat, altering the emphasis and utilization of slogans and shifting tactics through which the program is presented." This is the guiding line which the party followed throughout its existence, that is, throughout the war.

Instead of a struggle under the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war," the party popularized the slogan, "Abolish the no-strike pledge," a concrete formulation of the concept that the class struggle should be pursued by the proletariat without regard to the interests of the ruling class in the imperialist war, a formulation accessible to the level of consciousness of the workers, especially the advanced workers, and capable of setting them into class motion. Instead of a struggle under the slogan, "Down with class collaboration," the party popularized the slogan, "Get off the War Labor Board," a concrete formulation of the concept that the working class movement should break its collaborationist bonds with the bourgeoisie and its government and act independently as a class.

Instead of a struggle under a slogan to break the existing unions or to form soviets or factory committees, the party popularized the idea of rank-and-file progressive committees in every union, a concrete formulation of the concept of militant, democratic, working class organizations and actions as against the bureaucratic subjugation of the union movement to the bourgeois war machine. Instead of a struggle under a mere slogan of workers' power, which can itself become an abstraction if there is no instrument with which to achieve this power, the party popularized the class slogan of breaking with bourgeois politics and bourgeois political parties by forming an independent labor party of its own by means of which it could establish a workers' government; and when the first halting, confused and ambiguous steps toward class political action were taken in the form of the CIO-PAC, the party further concretized its concept of the class political independence of the proletariat by popularizing the slogan "Convert the PAC into a Labor Party."

These are not revolutionary slogans in every country and at any time. They are objectively revolutionary slogans in the United States at a specific time, just as at a different stage of development such slogans can become mere reformism. While these implicitly revolutionary demands struck a responsive chord in the consciousness of wide sections of the working class whose militant aspirations were repressed and strangled by the bureaucratic labor lieutenants, and while other sections of the labor movement took up these slogans in one form or degree or other, it was no accident that only the revolutionary vanguard found it possible to conduct a militant and consistent struggle for them in the labor movement and to link them inseparably with the slogan of a workers' government as the capstone of the program and as the only sure and durable means of achieving most effectively the aspirations of the masses themselves.

The resolution of the Situation in the U. S., which was continued from last week, was adopted by the National Convention of the Workers Party held on May 30-June 2, 1946. The convention adopted the resolution in draft form and authorized the incoming National Committee to edit and elaborate it. The reason for its present publication lies in the nature of the current economic and political situation in the country, and conforms with our practice of making public the most important political resolutions and statements of the Workers Party.

The "boom" period, through which we are now living, reflected by almost total employment and a

high rate of production, also reveals sharp contradictions which prepare for a coming economic crisis of great severity which is bound to have a determining effect in intensifying the struggle of the workers in order to live. The present "boom" is also accompanied by an offensive of labor centered in the most reactionary Congress the country has ever seen.

We are certain that our readers will find this resolution of extreme interest; it will serve them as a guide to an understanding of the situation in the country and the problems which face the economic and political organizations of the working class.—Editors.

line. This cannot be done without rejecting the concept that the consciousness of the masses in the United States has already reached a high socialist level or that it is even approximately equivalent to the consciousness of the European workers, nor without rejecting the concept that the crisis of world capitalism rages with equal intensity in all capitalist countries or that the United States is today in a pre-revolutionary crisis, that is, a crisis directly preceding the revolutionary crisis in which the immediate struggle for state power is posed before the masses as a concrete possibility, nor without rejecting the concept of the inherent revolutionary character of certain slogans and the inherent reformist character of all others.

Those slogans are revolutionary which are capable of setting wide sections of the advanced workers into action as a class against the bourgeoisie and its state, along the road to the seizure of power. Those slogans are reformist which help reconcile the workers with the bourgeoisie and its state, which promote class collaboration instead of class struggle, which deepen the petty bourgeois illusions of the workers in the course of their own experience in fighting for even the most modest of progressive class demands.

Hence, it is not necessary at every stage of the struggle to put forward "more radical" demands than those initiated by the masses themselves. It is necessary at every stage to urge the masses to fight for their demands by the methods of the independent class struggle, by the most militant and aggressive means, to fight for them with the utmost consistency, and to emphasize at every stage that the effective realization of the aspirations of the masses requires a struggle which cannot but lead to a workers' government and socialism. Therein lies the special function of the revolutionary vanguard in the working class and the essentially revolutionary character of the transitional program.

REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

The concretization of the transitional program in the post-war period must follow the same guiding

GM Strike Program-- The Slogans Applied

It is false and self-sterilizing to try to impose upon the working class the programmatic formulations which the revolutionary party has arrived at in anticipation of the needs and demands of the workers, or to deal with the hesitations, errors and illusions of the workers by doctrinaire lectures; it is correct to seize upon even the most confused initiative of the workers when they are actually in struggle with the capitalist class and to give their demands the most revolutionary interpretations, the ones best calculated to heighten their class consciousness and to speed them on the road to workers' power.

The program and agitation developed by our party in connection with the demands of the General Motors workers is an excellent example of the way in which the revolutionists can connect the demands initiated by the workers themselves, with all their democratic and reformist illusion, with the transitional program of the party.

The GM program as developed by Reuther does not explicitly break with the traditional reformist, class collaborationist and bourgeois democratic ideology of the trade unions. However, implicit in this program are demands which, if fought for by class struggle methods, lead to a breach of traditional class relations under capitalism and the establishment of the first forms of workers' control of production. It was precisely the ability of our party to see through the reformist and trade unionist form of these demands and seize upon their essence, which is thoroughly revolutionary in its implications, that made of this such an excellent example of how to link up our transitional program with the objectively revolutionary demands which an unstable capitalism forces the workers to put forth.

The UAW demanded "Wage Increases Without Price Rises" and demanded that prices and profits be subject to collective bargaining along with wages. If Reuther intended this for more than a maneuver to expose the corporations as the source of price increases and there-

fore, our program called for workers' committees to control prices on a department, plant, industry, regional and national basis and to extend such controls from the source of raw materials, through the manufacturing and processing stages and down throughout the channels of distribution where it links up with our demand for neighborhood committees of housewives' and consumers' movements.

This program was further rounded out by the demand that wherever contracts are under negotiation workers demand an escalator clause (sliding scale of wages) as a safeguard against further price increases. The latter we raised, however, as a subsidiary, defensive and primary

point, our program called for workers' committees to control prices on a department, plant, industry, regional and national basis and to extend such controls from the source of raw materials, through the manufacturing and processing stages and down throughout the channels of distribution where it links up with our demand for neighborhood committees of housewives' and consumers' movements.

Every important issue before the present Congress has revealed a consistent line-up of Southern Democrats against the Congressmen from the industrial areas (mostly Democrats) who are under the direct pressure of their working class con-

stituents. Just what kind of political realignments this presages on the American scene cannot be predicted with certainty because of the many contradictory factors involved. The chief elements are (a) the social conservatism of the Middle Western and Western farmers in this period, based upon the relative prosperity of agriculture, which robs labor of one of its natural allies in the struggle against big capital, (b) the political effects of the trade union organization drive in the South upon the Southern Democratic Party, (c) the effect of a possible Republican victory in the Congressional elections of this year upon the growing split in the Democratic coalition and (d) the amount of liberal Republican support that develops for a merger with New Deal elements and labor in a third party.

MOBILIZING LABOR IN POLITICAL ACTION

The 1946 elections will take place without any of the questions involved in a realignment being resolved. Traditional party lines and traditional tactics will prevail, though it is likely, for the last time, that the PAC will make one last effort to elect a "pro-labor" Congress, an effort that is doomed to more certain failure than ever before. The prospects are for a more reactionary Congress than the present one and this development may prove the death blow to PACism.

Political Realignments And the Labor Party

This situation demands of our party not only the continuation of its forceful propaganda for a labor party independent of the bourgeoisie parties, but it demands more specific analysis of the political alignments taking shape and the specific intervention of our party in each development to spur on all tendencies toward class political independence and to oppose all tendencies toward some new bourgeois-labor coalition in the form of a third party. The situation also requires that our fight for the labor party be more actively pursued in the trade unions, where we must find ways to make specific proposals for action toward the actual organization of independent labor political bodies.

However, it is necessary that our party examine each new political alignment of labor by going beneath surface appearances and seeking the class essence of the movement. Above all it would be wrong to condemn out of hand any new political movement merely because it denies that it is a labor party and proclaims itself a "third party" or a "people's party." While fighting against the Wallaces and LaGuardias playing a role in a labor political movement, even as figureheads, the party must not be misled into sectarian errors merely because of their presence. A party that bases itself upon 15 million organized workers, represented by their trade unions, and is controlled by the labor movement and expresses its demands must be judged on the basis of this class content. No labor party will spring into existence pure and undefiled other than one we ourselves would create. If, however, labor enters into a new party with the Democratic "city machines" and liberal Republicans while the Southern Democrats unite with the conservative Republicans, the labor movement will once more emerge as the tail to the bourgeois-liberal kite. Its role would not differ in any essentials from that under the Roosevelt coalition.

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stituents. Just what kind of political realignments this presages on the American scene cannot be predicted with certainty because of the many contradictory factors involved. The chief elements are (a) the social conservatism of the Middle Western and Western farmers in this period, based upon the relative prosperity of agriculture, which robs labor of one of its natural allies in the struggle against big capital, (b) the political effects of the trade union organization drive in the South upon the Southern Democratic Party, (c) the effect of a possible Republican victory in the Congressional elections of this year upon the growing split in the Democratic coalition and (d) the amount of liberal Republican support that develops for a merger with New Deal elements and labor in a third party.

MOBILIZING LABOR IN POLITICAL ACTION

The 1946 elections will take place without any of the questions involved in a realignment being resolved. Traditional party lines and traditional tactics will prevail, though it is likely, for the last time, that the PAC will make one last effort to elect a "pro-labor" Congress, an effort that is doomed to more certain failure than ever before. The prospects are for a more reactionary Congress than the present one and this development may prove the death blow to PACism.

The Stalinist Party In the U. S. and Its Role

We reject the theory that the Stalinist party is a reformist party in the traditional sense of the word, namely, a party devoted to the maintenance of capitalist democracy or aiming at its "gradual reform" into a socialist society. This applies not only to the Stalinist party in Russia but, with the necessary changes, to the Stalinist parties in the capitalist countries. The Stalinist parties are totalitarian parties, anti-democratic, anti-working class, anti-socialist. This has already been set forth in the resolution on the international situation. Nevertheless, neither are

talism, the party of struggle for socialism. This is a monstrous illusion in no way warranted by the reality of Stalinism, but it is an illusion that is of vital importance to the revolutionary Marxists who have the problem of combatting Stalinism and of winning to their side the workers duped by it. How vitally important this is, is demonstrated by the objective results of the various political turns made by the Stalinist party.

turns motivated by KREMLIN INTERESTS

The Stalinist turns, to the "right" as well as their turns to the "left," cannot be judged by conventional standards. They are not determined, in the first place, by class relations in the given capitalist countries or by the pressure of the masses. They are determined primarily and essentially by the changing political needs of the Russian ruling class. The clearest example of this was the so-called "left turn" of the Stalinist parties in the capitalist countries following the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact. This "left turn" did not correspond to a leftward turn of the masses in the democratic capitalist countries or to the leftward pressure of the masses, but solely and simply to the reactionary interests of the Kremlin.

However, although these are the interests which determine the turns of the Stalinist parties and their politics in general, the objective consequences of these turns, especially in the working class movement, have an independent significance of their own. Thus, a "rightward turn" of the Stalinists facilitates the struggle against Stalinism conducted by the revolutionary Marxists in the ranks of the working class; a "leftward turn," such as the Stalinists in this country have recently made in accordance with the Kremlin's foreign political needs, usually renders more difficult or at least complicates the tasks of the revolutionists in the labor movement, among which is the task of distinguishing ourselves from Stalinism and combatting its influence and its demagogy. This is due simply to the fact that a "more radical" line of the Stalinists makes it easier for them to win, or win back, workers to their banner.

It is important to note that the limits within which these "leftward turns" of the Stalinists are effective in influencing advanced working class elements are being constantly narrowed down by virtue of the growing realization among all sections of the population that the "radicalism," as well as the "opportunism," of the Stalinists has nothing to do with the interests of the working class but is dictated solely by the interests of the Kremlin. In spite of this, the fact remains that the Stalinists have not yet exhausted their possibilities of maneuvering in the labor movement and of deceiving working class militants. The party takes the general position of uncompromising opposition to the totalitarian Stalinist party in the United States. This means that, as a general rule, the party calls upon all workers to fight in every union contest against the Stalinist faction and its attempts to capture the labor movement or any section of it. Save in exceptional cases, as, for example, where the opposition to Stalinism is composed of reactionary, fascist, anti-Semitic or racketeering elements, the party follows the policy of joining with all genuine working class elements, primarily with the progressives and militants, against Stalinist leadership or Stalinist bids for leadership.

APPROACH TO CP RANK AND FILE

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(Continued on page 6)

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(Continued on page 6)

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Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

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

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

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

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

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

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

Resolution of the Workers Party on the United States --

(Continued from page 5)

party follows the policy of opposing candidates running for office on the Stalinist ticket. In both the trade union and political fields, we base our opposition to support of the Stalinists on the ground of our opposition to a totalitarian, anti-democratic and anti-working class agency of a reactionary, despotic foreign power.

For the same reason, as well as for the practical reason of its utter impracticability, the party does not make proposals to the Stalinist party leadership for united front activities, even though it favors participation in genuine united fronts of the working class and its organizations in which the Stalinist party may be a part. However, this attitude toward the Stalinist party cannot simply be duplicated in the contact and relations into which we enter, and must seek to enter, with rank and file Stalinist workers. It is not only permissible but in many cases necessary not only to approach these workers with the most friendly and sympathetic attitude but also to propose joint actions with them on a shop or local union scale on concrete issues of the day. Such joint actions can be proposed especially under

these conditions, and in such a way, as is calculated to deepen the latent conflict between the working class and socialist aspirations of the Stalinist workers and the anti-working class, anti-socialist aims and policies of their party, and to accelerate their break with Stalinism in the direction of revolutionary socialism. In the case of joint actions with rank and file Stalinist workers or with groups of Stalinist workers or Stalinist sympathizers, the principles, methods and tactics of the united front retain all their validity and remain in full force. Our struggle against Stalinism in the labor movement, of which joint actions with rank and file Stalinist workers wherever possible is one part, can be effectively carried on by counterposing to the Stalinist defense of Russian imperialism our demands for democratic rights and national freedom, by counterposing to Stalinist bureaucraticism in the unions the demand for workers democracy, by counterposing to the Stalinist policy of maneuvering, intrigue and collaboration with bourgeois politicians and bourgeois policies our program of independent, democratically organized and controlled working class political action, etc.

and massive political intervention by labor in the South can only widen and nationalize the future basis of an independent labor party. The significance of the drive is, however, greater even than this.

It is absolutely impossible to think of organizing the South into the labor movement without organizing hundreds of thousands of Negro proletarians and semi-proletarians. The CIO in particular has demonstrated that the type of organization it carries on and the type of industries which it seeks to organize make it impossible to maintain the traditional Jim Crow barriers in the union movement which the AFL has so long maintained in the South. The destruction of the Jim Crow barrier inside the labor movement, once it is established in the South—and it can be established only in the course of the most savage and violent struggles there—is the beginning of the explosion of Jim Crow throughout Southern society.

By the same token the organization of the Negroes in the South into the CIO cannot but have the most revolutionary consequences for the development of the Negro people and their struggle. At the present time the Negro people in the United States is politically more or less homogeneous. Unlike the population as a whole, it is not divided into class organizations. This is not a sign of the political advancement of the Negro people but of its political and social backwardness. The unity of the Negro people as a whole, a people which is overwhelmingly plebeian in social composition, is absolutely justified in the struggle against white imperialist oppression. The unity that exists today is, however, an expression of the backwardness of the Negro people.

HISTORIC IMPORTANCE FOR CLASS STRUGGLE

The indispensable prerequisite to a fighting unity of the Negro people on a progressive and effective basis is the political and "organizational"

differentiation of the Negro people into class organizations, tendencies and movements. In the course of this differentiation the Negro proletarians, allied with the white proletarians, will be in a position to take the leadership of the whole Negro people, a leadership without which the struggle of the Negroes for equality is doomed to petty-bourgeois ineffectualness, capitulation, or outright sterility. The unity of the Negro people, in other words, can and must be established first by the separation of the Negro people into class movements and then by its realliance under the leadership of the proletariat.

From the standpoint of this perspective and this necessity, the CIO drive into the South is of the most vital and even of historic importance for the development of the class struggle in the United States and for the development of the struggle of the Negro people for equality.

For the same fundamental reasons the party, while supporting the struggle, no matter how limited, of the Negro people today in the direction of social equality and against white oppression, seeks at all times to separate out of the Negro people the Negro proletarians and to help organize them into their own class organizations or into organizations in which their class leadership is firmly established. Only by proceeding with this fundamental conception is it possible for revolutionists to join and participate in the work of the present-day bourgeois or petty bourgeois Negro organizations.

Any other analysis or approach to the Negro question in the United States leads to opportunism and helps delay the crystallization of the Negro proletarian leadership which, allied with the proletarian movement in general, is alone capable of fructifying the democratic struggle of the Negro people as a whole against white oppression and for full, unrestricted social equality.

"Operation Dixie" and Its Political Meaning

The campaign of organized labor to organize the South cannot be considered as a routine recruitment drive or as an accidental, temporary and inconsequential phenomenon. There are deep and powerful driving forces behind it, and correspondingly it will have deep and powerful effects upon American politics and American social development, as well as upon the development of the struggle of the Negro people in the United States for full social equality. The labor movement, its officialdom included, have had their attention forcefully called, in recent times, to the inseparable connection between economics and politics, between trade union struggle for wages and the political struggle for influencing and controlling the government. The so-called shield of the labor movement, the New Deal section of the Democratic Party, has been repeatedly pierced and shattered by the reactionary Bourbon section of the Democratic Party in the South, which exercises an in-

creasing influence not only in the party but in the national legislative bodies. This Bourbon wing joining or joined by the Northern Republican reactionaries systematically cancels out or threatens to cancel out in Congress all the gains that labor makes or tries to make in the economic field.

Hence, the organizing drive of the CIO (and, to an extent, of the AFL) in the South.

It is of symptomatic significance that this has not been and is not conceived of as a simple recruiting drive. The CIO organizers are either at the same time organizers for the PAC or act as trail-blazers for PAC organizers. Although for the time being, in its political aspects, the CIO-PAC drive in the South may be considered as a last desperate effort to keep the Democratic Party "on the side of labor" and thus avoid the organization of an independent political party by the workers, the fundamental hopelessness of this reactionary aim signifies that this new

Our Political Line In the Coming Period

Though the presentation of our line in the mass movement, general party agitation and Marxist propaganda interrelate and overlap, it is necessary that the party clearly understand the points of emphasis in these three general spheres.

The political line, as translated into Marxist politics in the mass movement, revolves around two key concepts—the party's elaboration of the GM strike program and the slogan of "Turn the PAC into a Labor Party."

These two concepts are put forward under these slogans:

FOR THE GM STRIKE PROGRAM!

Wage Increases Without Price Rises!

Open the Books! For Workers' Inspection and Control!

For Workers' Control of Prices at Point of Production!

For Price Control Committees of Housewives and Consumers!

FOR AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

Against Government Strikebreaking!

Against the Anti-Labor Offensive in Congress!

These two concepts can serve as our most effective vehicles in approaching the masses. Because in our understanding and use of them, they are imbued with a solid revolutionary socialist content, they become intimately related with the general agitation of the party.

The key questions on which this

The Crisis In India --

(Continued from page 5)

and hold India together. This unity must take place regardless of race, community or religion; and must be based on the fight for national freedom.

But unity of India has become a difficult, an increasingly difficult proposition to work out. The Trotskyists recognize that a future India must be a federated India, with the differing national tendencies in the land having the right to self-determination, as well as the right to federate freely to a free India. This correct idea must be now coupled with the championing of the idea that all minority communities within India (Muslims, Sikhs, etc.) also have the right of self-determination; the right to form their own state within India; the right to vote and express themselves on this issue. The workers and their revolutionary leadership can hold the country together only on the basis of advocacy of genuine, full and unqualified democracy—a democracy guaranteed to all the heterogeneous communities and groups within the country.

Only the workers can hold India together and prevent a disastrous communal warfare—this is absolutely true, but only if understood in the sense we have outlined above. Democratic self-determination for all communities, races, national groups, etc., that desire it—this can lead to a unity based upon free will and voluntary agreement between those involved. The Trotskyists of India must champion such a program if they are to exert any influence in preventing further disintegration.

Workers' Control of Production, Nationalization of Industry, For a Workers Government

and such specific issues as housing, peacetime conscription and militarization, the atom bomb and the war danger, the fight for Negro rights, the veterans, the native fascists.

In promoting its agitation and energetically pursuing a course of putting its political line before the working class, the party remains vitally conscious of the requirements of revolutionary propaganda and education from the point of view of Marxist theory. In seeking to build the revolutionary party of the American proletariat, the party establishes the indispensability of an educated vanguard. The field of Marxist education and propaganda is vast, and the party proposes to ignore no section of it. However, given the special needs of the party at this stage,

and the fact that these needs have been neglected in the past for a variety of reasons, special attention must be specifically given to the following, particularly in the expanded LABOR ACTION and in *The New Internationalist*:

- The Truth about Russia (wages, terror, trials, etc.).
- WP Position on Russia (theory of bureaucratic collectivism).
- Stalinism as a World Movement (nature, methods, aims, etc.).
- Anti-Semitism and the Jewish Question.
- Political Events in Washington, Statification of Economy, Basic Sociological Trends in U. S. (shifts of population, industries, income groups, education, regional studies, etc.).
- Changes in American Economy (effects of New Deal, war economy, relations of banking to industrial capital).

ry, class warfare and international discontent are easily discernible.

Along among the capitalist nations, the United States is today capable of continuing the wartime economic revival into a period of peacetime boom. But the economic energies that were released by the war's termination are paralleled by the class energy of the American proletariat. Vigorous economic action, as characteristic of the American working class as its political backwardness, will be particularly characteristic of the period ahead. To translate this class vigor into political independence is at once the great need of the American working class and the particular responsibility of revolutionists. Linked with this responsibility are opportunities of genuine dimension. The party proved its revolutionary measure and its distinctive ability to convey the transitional program into the specific context of the American life during the war years. With a membership deeply rooted in the factories and unions, and armed with the transitional program, the party has every reason to face the period ahead with confidence in its growth and the reception of its program.

The coming period will be one of great preparation for the future. The party must learn how to apply its transitional program in the light of the coming class battles and learn how to link them to the immediate needs of the masses as well as to our ultimate goal which is the establishment of a socialist United States.

Some Conclusions and A Summary Statement

Just as in its international relations the course of victorious United States imperialism will be wracked by crises and conflicts no less serious in their sum than those that produced World War II, so will the sparks of class conflict and economic cycle in the United States itself ex-

pose the inner core of capitalist instability. American capitalism may achieve a surface stability, certainly in comparison with the rest of the world over a great part of which it stands as master. Beneath that surface, however, the explosive elements of capitalist chaos, imperialist rival-

How the Parisian Strike Wave Spread

By S. BERG

In the past few days a strike wave in the factories of the Paris region has brought about a full scale cabinet crisis, with the Communist Party actually ousted from the Cabinet for the first time since it entered in 1945. At the present time the usual sordid jockeying is going on among the various major parties, looking toward the formation of a new coalition cabinet. The item of major significance in the whole crisis, however, is the fact that the Communist Party found itself forced to back the strikers' demands, and that the "left wing" of the Socialists, which controls about fifty per cent of the party's National Council, is afraid to back any cabinet without CP participation. The result is a complete absence of stability in the parliamentary regime, with every solution temporary and leading quickly to a new crisis.

It will be most instructive if we review quickly the wage situation during the past period. To sum up the CP's attitude during the past period, we can say simply that both the Stalinists and the Socialists preached an economic policy similar to that of the Republicans in the United States—namely, a wage freeze to avoid inflation, accompanied by industrial peace and production, and more production, which would eventually bring home the bacon to the average worker. In the conservative United States, the ordinary non-political labor leaders had to reject such an orientation, and in their own inadequate way follow a more radical policy, demanding raises and calling nationwide strikes. It is clear, in the condition of French capitalism, that any policy of determined struggle for improvement of the workers' conditions would lead to a struggle for power.

RESULTS OF CP POLICY

The French Socialists and Stalinists lived, of course, in deadly fear of such struggle, and the result was that from 1945 to the present day, the number of strikes in France was infinitesimal. Furthermore, those large strikes, few in number, that took place, did not occur in heavy industry, where the Stalinists have a heavy majority, but among the communications workers and the printers. The constantly rising prices, the curse of the black market, combined with the lid clamped down on the workers from above by the Stalinist union leadership, led to partial demoralization of the workers, and a falling away from union activity. In some trades the conservative Christian unions began to grow at the expense of the CGT.

At this point the Trotskyists and

other revolutionary trade unionists, grouped together in the revolutionary caucus called "Friends of the Workers Front," began to popularize two demands—(1) the formation of rank and file committees of struggle to unite in action in the plants not only the CGT members but all those whose disgust with the CGT's passivity had led them to fall away from the union and (2) an immediate five franc an hour increase.

Several months ago, the Unice factory in Paris went on strike for such an increase and was successful in a few hours in gaining its demand. This factory has a strong Trotskyist group. In the ensuing weeks several small metal plants in the region won similar struggles, in no case lasting more than a few days. Meanwhile the great industrial giants of the area remained quiescent.

STRIKES IN RENAULT

At last, in the middle of February, quickie strikes began to take place in the various departments of the huge Renault auto plant with its 30,000 workers. The largest of these strikes took place from February 21 to 28, and covered 1,000 workers. These stoppages, however, were isolated, and thereby comparatively ineffective; winning increases of one to two francs an hour. Realizing this inadequacy the revolutionary elements in the plant felt themselves at last ready to organize for action. In March, a group of young militants of varying political opinions organized a "committee of struggle" around a two-point program:

1. Ten francs per hour wage increase.
2. Coordination of action between all the departments.

The papers of the last few days tell us the final result—the entire Renault plant was shut down last week with this demand. The CGT, led by the Stalinists, opposed the strike when it was called. Furthermore the Renault plant is nationalized, and the strikers' immediate bosses are therefore the Ministers of Production and Labor, both Stalinists. When the strikers showed they meant business, the Communist Party proceeded to repudiate the actions of its own CGT leaders, and endorsed the strike. The CGT, in turn, reversed its position.

Already 23,000 workers in other shops of the Paris region have joined the strike. The about face of the CGT leaders demonstrates how desperately they feared a loosening of their grip on the unions. The coming period will demonstrate to what extent the committees of struggle can spread and the revolutionary militants gain the leadership of the French workers.

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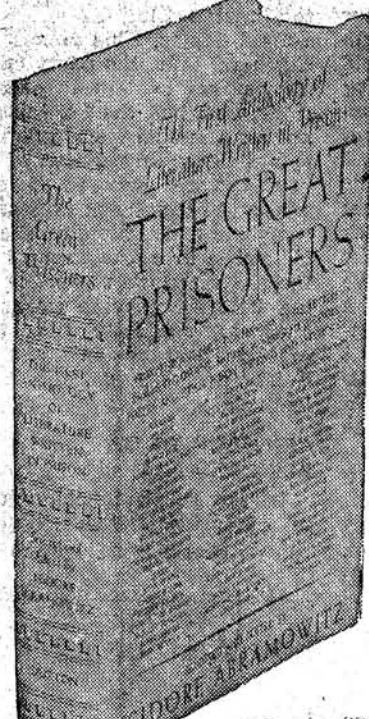
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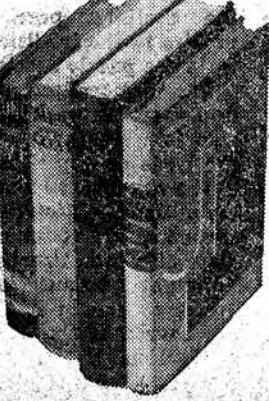
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TEL.: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067).

Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday.

LOUISVILLE

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

NEWARK

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

Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.: May 23, Saul Berg—"The National Question in Eastern Europe."

NEW YORK CITY

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

Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.

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

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

HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.), room 106.

CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

CHelsea BRANCH: Meets every Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

Industrial Branch meets Thursday at 8:30 p.m. at City Center, 114 W. 14th St.

Brooklyn Downtown Branch meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at 276 Fulton Street, second floor.

BROOKLYN-BROOKLYN BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 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.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Germantown Avenue (3rd floor).

Workers Party Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Coming events at Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Avenue:

Sunday, May 25—A symposium, "Marxism and Science: Invited speakers from the scientific professions: 'The Scientific Method,' P. E. Carmichael; 'The Dialectical Approach,' Isadore Dintzis; 'Social Backgrounds of Science,' Walter Grey. Questions and discussion.

Sunday, June 14—Workers Party picnic.

ST. LOUIS

Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbett Avenue, University City 14.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 205, Oakland 7, Calif.

SEATTLE

Write to P. O. Box 29, University Post Office, for information.

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

Text of Resolution Adopted By Philly Anti-Smith Rally

PHILADELPHIA, May 3—The following resolution was adopted at the rally held after the picketing of the

Smith meeting which was reported in last week's LABOR ACTION.

A NEW WORLD CAN BE BUILT BY THE PEOPLE

PHILADELPHIA, May 2—"On this May Day of 1947 the revolutionary socialists have a duty and a responsibility to inform and to show the workingmen that the socialists are not tired and are not cynical but remain unwavering in the faith that a new world can be built by the common people," said E. R. McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, to a May Day audience at Labor Action Hall.

"May Day is a day of commemoration for labor and not a day for goading the workers into greater effort to produce more munitions and wage more wars." The speaker summarized the past year's history and drew up a tally sheet of labor's gains and losses. The greatest gain lies in the fact that the union organizations remain strong and intact while the anti-union legislation have been substantial but not critical.

Comrade McKinney postulated that it may be possible for American big business to stabilize itself temporarily on the basis of foreign exploitation. He warned that American labor must not permit itself to succumb to this false security which would be based on the sweat and blood of their brothers abroad.

The role of the labor unions in the coming year was further amplified by John McBride, an invited speaker prominent in CIO activity in Philadelphia. McBride stated that the coming crises arising from low wages, high prices, inadequate housing, etc., will force the development of new rank and file leaders in the unions if the present leadership continues its inactivity and blundering. The formation of an independent labor party was advocated and pending the achievement of such political action more direct action, such as a March on Washington, was suggested.

Both speakers were introduced by Jack Brad, organizer of the Philadelphia local of the Workers Party, who extended to all those present the socialist greetings of the comrades in the local organization.

More than 100 anti-fascists, assembled at a rally at 1303 West Girard Avenue, May 1, following a protest demonstration of over 250 persons at Town Hall in protest against the appearance of Gerald L. K. Smith, notorious labor hater, anti-Semite, Negro-baiter and fascist, do hereby resolve:

Whereas Fascist Smith's meeting could not have occurred without the prior knowledge of the city administration and its police organization; and

Whereas no public information or warning was released by the administration or the police, thus aiding and abetting the conspiracy of silence under which Smith attempted to sneak into Philadelphia unchallenged; and

Whereas under the seriousness of the circumstances this is tantamount to collusion with the policy so carefully arranged by G. L. K. Smith; therefore

Be It Resolved that this meeting does unanimously protest the conduct of Mayor Samuel and the city administration; and

Be It Further Resolved to make known to the entire labor movement of Philadelphia the part played by Mayor Samuel and his administration in connection with Fascist Smith's entry into this city, making this the first city in the United States where he has so brazenly and provocatively dared to hold a major meeting in the center of a major American municipality; and

Be It Further Resolved to condemn the city administration for offering police protection to this fascist meeting; and

Finally, to send copies of these resolves to Mayor Samuel, the newspapers and all the labor organizations of the Greater Philadelphia area.

Whereas the management of Town Hall, including the real estate organization of Albert M. Greenfield, has given shelter to the fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith; and

Whereas the success of G. L. K. Smith in holding his meeting at Town Hall faces all of Philadelphia, and especially its labor movement of CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and the independent unions, with the threat that Smith may attempt to make Philadelphia the center of his operations;

Be It Resolved to inform the labor movement of Greater Philadelphia of these facts and to urge the labor movement consideration of a boycott of the use of all Albert M. Greenfield properties, including Town Hall, if any such facilities are again rented to Fascist Smith or any of his cohorts; and

Be It Further Resolved to inform the management of Town Hall and the office of Albert M. Greenfield of these resolves, and that copies be sent to all newspapers and all organizations concerned.

Resolutions unanimously adopted by the Anti-Fascist Rally sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, 1303 West Girard Avenue, and the Workers Party, 1139 West Girard Avenue, May 1, 1947.

To the Editors Of the "Nation"

Editors, The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York, N. Y.

I read with mingled feelings not easily described the review of the Budenz book by James T. Farrell in your issue of March 29. My mind went back to the shabby performance of the editors of The Nation after the second Moscow Trial at the

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beginning of 1937. It was just after that, if recollection serves me correctly, that James T. Farrell became persona non grata to The Nation because of his known sympathies and antipathies. What made The Nation turn to him now for a review of the book by Budenz which uncovers one small part of the dastardly plot against the life of Leon Trotsky??

Trotsky himself in January, 1937, did his best from his newly found place of exile in Mexico to unmask the bloody frame-ups being perpetrated by Stalin in Moscow. The second trial tried in the crude fashion of the GPU to transfer part of the supposed terrorist plot to Norwegian soil. The Russian revolutionist thereupon propounded a series of questions which he demanded be put to Pyatakov by the chief prosecutor, Vyshinsky, to explode the fakery of the trials. Trotsky asked the press everywhere, in the interests of truth and justice, to appeal to Moscow not to carry out the execution of Pyatakov until such questions could be put to him. These questions and an accompanying article were at once submitted to The Nation. Please bear in mind that Trotsky had been a distinguished contributor of The Nation up to the Moscow Trials, in which he was now being accused of having committed the most vile deeds. The editors declined to publish so urgently and timely an article, thus closing their columns at such a moment to any possible defense on the part of a previous Nation writer. The Nation was already turning in the direction of "totalitarian liberalism." The action of the Editors in this and other instances lowered the standards and prestige of the previously courageous magazine enormously. I venture to say that it has never since recovered its former place of respect.

Do the editors think that they make some vicarious atonement at this late date by having Farrell review the Budenz book? Doesn't that book itself call for a searching of souls among the editors of The Nation themselves? From where I stand, without some real mental and moral purgation the situation of those editors can only become worse rather than better with the passing of time. Yours truly, Jack Weber.

New York, April 3, 1947.

P.S.—The last item from the pen of Trotsky to appear in The Nation was a copy of a letter sent by him to Trygve Lie. It could very well be republished right now.

(The letter above was sent to The Nation. It is here published in view of the fact that it has not appeared in The Nation, though five weeks have elapsed. The Trotsky article, referred to in the postscript, will appear in a coming issue of LABOR ACTION.)

Copies are still available of the March and April NEW INTERNATIONAL

which contain

"Nature of the Stalinist Parties" and "Nature of the Russian State" By MAX SHACHTMAN

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

"Life Is Always Hard Here..."

Dear Comrade:
Your letter gave me great pleasure. Yes, dear friend, it is already eight months since I arrived in Germany and I have readjusted myself with great difficulty, for life is always very hard here. I am acquainted with all the three zones (except the Russian)—we have friends in all the zones—and it must be said that one can live better in the American zone than in the others. The Ruhr is the worst off in all Germany from the point of view of the food, etc.

You wanted to know what I need. In the first instance we need food. In eight months, for example, I have received four packages, two containing food and two clothing. The coming months, especially, are going to be difficult until the new harvest. If it is possible, get one or two pairs of pants for me, one or two shirts, leather for resoling shoes, and food—especially fats and food full of vitamins—cocoa, etc., but also cigarettes and coffee, for coffee and cigarettes can be exchanged for bread, potatoes, meat, etc.

The comrades who do work rarely receive food packages, while Nazi families and others do not do badly with CARE packages. I have before me a clipping from a paper in the Russian zone which states that CARE supports former German nobles like the Duchess of Habendorf, the Duchess of Schweinitz, Baron Wrangel and others, among them also one of the parents of von Krupp and Bohlen Halbach—the German armaments king. It is not astonishing that German workers doubt the effectiveness of our relief organization.

Dear comrade, I shake your hand very cordially and extend my best fraternal greetings.
Yours,
O. H., Germany, March 27.

In the Park We Met a Cop

The following letter has been turned over to LABOR ACTION from the Socialist Youth League:

It was a beautiful day and sixteen of us started out to the Maryland State Forest Reserve. After unpacking our food and proceeding to enjoy ourselves in the sun, a policeman strode up angrily and shouted: "You'll all have to leave within fifteen minutes. Some of the other campers have been complaining of the inter-racial character of your group." All of us were completely stunned. One Negro boy suggested that we stay anyway and so we did—until along came a mounted policeman who was even more angry than the first one and exclaimed at the top of his voice that if we didn't leave we'd all be taken to the police station. Well, we had the choice of making this a test case or continuing with our hike; we decided to continue with our hike. So sadly we packed up our belongings while the spirited Negro group sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee."

May the rocks and soil of the Maryland State Forest Reserve ever remain free to the "pure whites" in our great democracy.

Comradely,
Rose.

G. L. K. Smith's Speech in Philly

Editor:
May Day received an unexpected surprise. G. L. K. Smith decided to make his appearance at Town Hall. His presence was what is called a secret session, except to his followers and financial supporters, who received private invitations. Smith reminded his select audience of 300 that his tour throughout the nation was always one foot ahead of the "Communist mob."

Members of the unions, armed forces, WP and SWP were on the alert with pickets demonstrating in front of the building. These groups Smith branded as crucifers, hoodlums. The AYD was first to receive attention. "An organization of young gangster communists, with a respectable title to cover their true identity." The Zionists are a terrorist group. True Zionists are in mortal fear of life and limb. In speaking, they must whisper or they will be silenced by the organization.

Smith is devoting his life to Christian Nationalism, a front for his fascist activities by which this so-called crusader can create fear and prejudices among all peoples. Smith brands everything that has or will

happen as communistic—Whitney, railroad strike, telephone strike, etc. "President Roosevelt was a Communist. He gave the atom bomb secret to a Russian agent but it was retrieved by a government agent and placed in the hands of the military authorities."

"Henry Wallace, Communist, would not object to have run for President—in the USSR.
"The housing shortage is due to foreign aliens (not naturalized citizens), who are using available space, thus depriving our veterans of shelter."
Smith, confident that humanity can be saved, expressed his desire in uniting all religious faiths and leading all mankind to a heavenly paradise where communism would not exist. Smith concluded on May Day in Philadelphia by reciting the "Lord's Prayer," with audience participation, and promised to return at some future date to relate his experiences, his hatreds, prejudices and creation of a new fascist dictatorship.

W. M., Philadelphia, May 6.

A Better World In Which to Live

Dear Editor:
To make this a better world in which to live is the duty that every man owes himself, his wife and his children. In order to gain better things in life, he has realized that it is to his advantage to be a member of a union and he has realized this fact long ago. To be a union man protects him to a degree.

From ancient times up to the present time there have been two classes—one the so-called aristocrats and the other the slaves. All nations have been under the control of the powers that be, known as imperial governments, which from the historical standpoint have been haughty, arrogant, commanding and tyrannical to their subjects, or slaves. Millions upon millions have been murdered in war in order to eliminate the overproduction of slaves so the aristocrats or parasites might live in luxury upon the spilled blood of the slaves. In all nations, no matter if they are professors of a college, lawyers, clergymen, business men, teachers, laborers or farmers, remember one thing, all are victims of that same structural system, that destroys humanity. Yes, Mr. Union Man, your union brings a few better things in

life and those are blessings from the human standpoint, but the whip is held against you by the powers that be. When the union went on a strike to try to better this condition, your union did not send the militia against you but the powers that be did.

You, Mr. Union Man, and other un-informed, have sold your political power in the past to the imperial powers because many union men and the masses as a whole have not come into the light of reason. They have sold their birthright. They have sold their political power and because they did reduced themselves to beggary. Yes, you have sold your political power to imperialism only to reduce yourself to beggary so that you might beg of imperialism that imperialism might give you the privilege to live.

The system of imperialism has brought on panics, foreclosures, evictions, breadlines, starvation and wars and that which brings on horrors and misery is that which is ungodly. Imperialism can find a way to spend millions of dollars for implements of war, can take your boy to die upon the field of battle, but can never restore the life it has taken.

It can evict you from home and fireside, can bring on pangs of hunger, tears of sorrow, misery and degradation. It can bring us to destruction and this to all of us is free. It can destroy the food before our eyes while we are hungry. The history of imperialism cannot light the way to make this a better world, a godly world in which to live.

Horse and buggy days are forever gone—wise men found a better way. The automobile has made it obsolete. Since this is true it is also true that imperialism is obsolete and a people's government must take its place. People of all nations must unite for the common good of all.

America, the most wonderful country of all, produces three times more than is consumed yet poverty and misery follow man o'er hill and o'er dale to all corners of this great land. Some years ago when the U. S. spent \$33,000,000 for military construction in Puerto Rico, we found people reduced to skin and bones, due to starvation, as reported by T. Roosevelt, Jr.

In days gone by, when Finnish workers wanted to organize so they might have better things in life in the so-called country of democracy, Mannerheim and his imperial soldiers butchered nearly 30,000 workers. The workers of Finland have named him

Mannerheim the Butcher. Events of this horrible slaughter may be found in Encyclopedia Britannica. These are the imperialistic horrors that confront mankind and they call it Christian civilization.
In our country the blind are leading the blind because the people have not come into the light of reason. False prophets have preyed upon the minds of the ignorant. Our institutions are filled with criminals and demented due to a demented system. The dilemma that is facing our country is due to the illiteracy of our American voter—call it voter ignorance. The very system that the average voter supports is the very system that the Carpenter of Nazareth condemned over 1900 years ago.

Yes, brother, in these lines you read what all honest people love to read, to hear—the noble truth.

May the hand of heaven help to lead the masses—the uninformed—out of that demon slumber of ignorance into the light of reason—that we may lead from horrors, misery and wars to social transformation. To make this for one and all a better world in which to live.
Dr. Charles Calvin, Newburg, Mo.

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PRESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

CHICAGO WP BRANCH CONTINUES MASS LABOR ACTION SALES:

The Chicago Workers Party branch is continuing its excellent public sale of LABOR ACTION at mass meetings and union gatherings. Sara Brooks, who has over-all charge of literature work in Chicago, writes us about the fine work being done: "This has been an unusual week for the sales of LABOR ACTION." Comrades Shirley Waller and Pat are doing an excellent job.

"At the CIO rally we covered last week, 240 LABOR ACTIONs were sold. Fifty more were sold at the Revere local and 28 at Roosevelt College and the telephone picket line. This makes a total of 318 papers sold in one week. The enthusiasm for selling the paper is still very great and Shirley has planned a number of sales for next week. (Six hundred and twenty-five papers were ordered by Chicago last week, for sale at the Wallace gathering.)
"The reason for the good sales is due to the timeliness of the issues and the technique the comrades are using for selling." And to prove that sales are really what they are claimed to be, a payment of \$33 on the Chicago bundle order account was enclosed!

The following subscriptions were received during the past week:

| | |
|----------------------|----|
| CHICAGO | 8 |
| New York | 7 |
| San Francisco | 6 |
| Morgantown, West Va. | 3 |
| Missouri | 1 |
| Los Angeles | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| TOTAL | 27 |

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Starvation Diet Imposed by Powers Spreads Famine in Europe and Asia --

(Continued from page 1)
that the German zonal governments haven't the slightest bit of REAL power; they are merely puppets of the occupying powers. The actual power rests in the hands of the occupying nations. It is they which are responsible for the mismanagement, if such there be.

ALLIED RESPONSIBILITY

But more important: it is they, the occupying powers—Britain, U. S. and Russia—which are responsible for the entire economic set-up in Germany which can result only in starvation and economic chaos. How can a country feed itself if, after having been wrecked in the war, it still has to exist under the following conditions:

- Several million of its young men in slave labor camps in western and eastern Europe, most of them in Russia. The exact number of German prisoners in slave labor camps is unknown but the most reliable estimates place the number at over four million.
- Whatever production is taking place in Germany is largely being siphoned off by reparations to the occupying powers. This is especially true in the Russian zone.
- Industrial reorganization and reconstruction is deliberately forbidden in Germany. Without such industrial reconstruction, the food problem cannot be solved. For instance: 600,000 tons of fertilizer is at present required in Germany to restore agricultural production to pre-war levels. With currently available productive facilities, 700,000 tons could be produced. But the Potsdam agreement permits the production of only 200,000 tons. Is it any wonder we declare the occupying powers to be directly responsible for the starvation of 70,000,000 people in Germany?
- The carving up of Germany into separately occupied zones with distinct regulations and policies has created economic chaos and contributed further to the present famine.
- Apologists for the occupying powers claim the famine is due to the bad harvest in Europe. The bad harvest is a contributing factor, but the fact is that on the basis of the economic framework established by the Potsdam agreement there would have been starvation even with the best possible crops.
- The results of this persistent starvation are terrible to behold. It is no exaggeration to say that the entire German nation today stands in danger of extinction by starvation.

Private reports arriving at the office of this paper declare that in many German cities the rate of infant mortality is at an appalling high, in some instances as much as 65 per cent. Of mothers who breast-feed their babies, 15 per cent can feed them only up to eight weeks, 25 per cent are unable to feed their babies altogether and 41 per cent have to give them bottles immediately after birth.

On November 5 and 6 of last year, when the food ration was higher than it is today, the mothers of Freiburg, a town in the French zone, went to the officials, demanding bread. When none was to be had, they declared that they could no longer assume responsibility for feeding their children and tried to leave them at the office where they demonstrated. Such

is the degradation to which humanity in Europe has been brought

BRITAIN AND EAST EUROPE

In Britain a great stir has been created by the statement of Dr. Franklin Bicknell that its people are "dying of starvation." Government spokesmen tried to lessen the effect of this statement, but their attempts were unsuccessful. Each person in Britain knew from his own experience the truth of the doctor's statement. The British have been living on a sub-standard diet for almost ten years now; their present diet of 1,600 to 2,000 calories is about the highest for the recent period but is still woefully insufficient for a people worn out by so many years of deprivation.

What is the food situation in eastern Europe, in those countries dominated by Stalinist Russia?

No reliable figures are available. A few indications of the trend, however: The Russians have persistently refused to allow representatives of various international food and relief organizations to enter their areas in order to examine food conditions. We may be certain that if food conditions were at all satisfactory the Russians would not hesitate to admit observers.

In Poland a reduction in rations was announced last week.

In Rumania outright famine was recently averted by a shipment of wheat from the U. S., though previously there had been outright famine in some provinces around Moldavia. The political factors in the famine are brought out most clearly, however, by a report that the Russian occupation confiscated a good part of the emergency wheat shipment from the Rumanians to use for its own purposes. How can a country feed itself when it has a rapacious thief on its back taking everything from it in the name of "reparations"?

POLICY OF STARVATION

The situation is getting worse, as is indicated by a report from Charles Egan, New York Times correspondent, on May 10:

"According to the forecasts of world food authorities in recent weeks, there is scarcely a nation on the Continent where the daily ration for the coming two or three months will not decline substantially because of the severities of the previous winter."

This, then, is the brave new world—the world of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms—for which millions fought and died. Remember that it is now two years since the end of hostilities in Europe, and still the food situation is worse than it has ever been. Europe is today further away from economic reorganization than at any time since the war's end. It is cut up into zones of occupation which serve as economic buffers, making impossible the most rudimentary reconstruction of its economy.

We may say without the slightest hesitation: so long as the various occupations remain, living like blood-suckers on the prostrate continent, Europe will not be able to feed itself. So long as the venomous imperialist powers grab everything in sight, there will be no economic rehabilitation. So long as occupying troops live on a diet of 3,900 calories

while European children have to live on less than one-fourth of that, there can be no real peace or reconstruction.

This is the face of Europe, of capitalist and Stalinist totalitarian society at its most horrible and total failure. This is what capitalism and Stalinist totalitarianism are doing to Europe—this is the hell to which they have brought the once proud continent. Let those who apologize for capitalism or Stalinism try to explain this, let them tell German mothers why their babies must shrivel up with hunger—while Russia loots the industrial plant upon which European economy might be rebuilt and while the U. S. insists upon limitations on production in Germany which make impossible either industrial or agricultural reconstruction.

So unbearable has the situation become that the workers of the Ruhr, though weakened from prolonged hunger, have taken to the streets demanding bread.

Good! Every worker, every socialist, every decent human being stands on the side of the Hamburg workers demanding the right to live.

What is a primary requisite in the U. S. is that some sign of international solidarity from the American workers—or at the least, from American socialists—be sent to our German brothers. Let them not think they have been abandoned!

The relief which has been organized for them, inadequate and insufficient as it is, is one such sign. But it is not enough. The voices of all socialists, in or out of organizations,

must be banded together in demonstrative demand for aid to the German people, for the removal of the idiotic restrictions on peaceful production in Germany which is the cause of starvation, and for the immediate granting of full civil liberties to all occupied countries. That is the minimum which American friends of the German workers can pay.

It is time that such words were said promptly and loudly!

END THE OCCUPATION

But there is more. The events in Europe today reaffirm time and time again the analysis of the Workers Party: the first, major tasks of the European workers is to fight against the imperialist occupation. The struggles for national liberation which must be waged against the Allied and Russian imperialist occupations can alone make possible a genuine expression of the popular will and a preliminary effort at economic reconstruction.

In the current demonstrations the Hamburg workers carried placards objecting to reparations and the dismantling of German factories. That is good, too, for it shows an understanding of the relationship of the food crisis to the general political situation of imperialist occupation.

A vast mighty popular struggle to drive out the imperialist leeches, to reestablish the national sovereignty of the European peoples is the burning need of the day. It is the prerequisite to bread and to freedom. It is the path along which the masses of Europe can move to a total socialist reconstruction of society.

A First-Hand Report from Germany

And a Bomber Squadron Drowned Out Speech

By MICHAEL DRUM

The following letter was sent to us by an American friend who has just returned to France after a visit to Germany.

You will get some idea of the wage conditions and relative values when I tell you that workers earn about 180 marks a month and that this represents the price of two and a half packages of American cigarettes. With cigarettes it is possible to get anything. No German is too proud to trail American GIs in the hope of salvaging the meagre butts that the new master discards. I even saw a very elegantly dressed gentleman sporting a cane and brand new leather gloves stalking a group of American soldiers for their cigarette leavings. The big question is: who ultimately consumes the new cigarette currency? It seems that fully half of it goes to the farms where it is exchanged by the farmers for food. The latter distrust the German mark, as there is really not much that one can buy with them when they are unaccompanied by ration coupons. The farmer is after goods which the cities cannot furnish. Durable goods have been replaced by cigarettes. Who would have thought that the Germany of steel, coal and machinery, the heart and center of pre-war European industry, would some day be reduced to a cigarette economy?

The new American rulers measure their wealth by the amount of cigarettes they possess. What temptation there must be as one watches the Americans emerge from their PXs, hauling whole cartons of cigarettes, chocolates, cookies, coffee and other prizes! An American officer will whisper that he knows a colonel who has all of 300 cartons of cigarettes stored away in his trunk. Another will say that for eight cigarettes he and his family were able to eat a blackmarket meal in the country ranging from the proverbial soup to nuts, with liquors included.

MAY 1ST IN GERMANY

May 1 was a holiday in Frankfurt as it was throughout Germany, much to the annoyance of the Americans, who remained at their office jobs. The trade union organizations held a May Day meeting in the morning in the large courtyard outside of the central headquarters of the trade unions. The flattened rubble served as an elevated stage upon which were ranged the inevitable band, a large chorus, and the speakers podium. Below, ringed by wrecked buildings, a patient audience of some 5,000 workers stood listening to the proceedings. A large red streamer was strung across the outside wall of the union building and every worker wore in his lapel a small red paper carnation.

Everything seemed so orderly in that macabre setting. A worker poet read a moving poem dedicated to those who died in the struggle against Nazism. The chorus sang beautifully on the same theme and set the stage for the first speaker—a young and apparently good-willed American, representing the manpower section of the occupation forces who brought greetings and encouragement from the benevolent Americans. The crowd seemed to receive his speech without any hostility but in the course of it a squadron

of bombers roared directly overhead so that no one could hear what he was saying. The attention of the audience was thus diverted to real force before which the soothing voice became less than a whisper. Worker-eyed worker with knowing glance. Here indeed was the true symbol of their situation.

The main speaker was a distinguished looking gentleman with white hair who was introduced as the Minister President of Hesse. The content of his speech—the tragic disaster of nationalism, the need for international solidarity, the denial of the charge that all Germans were Nazis, a general plea for socialism, and nothing more concrete than the need for a unified Germany and the nationalization of big industry—revealed that he was a Social Democrat. He spoke for almost an hour and the workers listened in silence. They must have heard most of it a long time ago and then they sang the Internationale, soberly, without enthusiasm, as if they had done that too a long time ago. What remained with me most after that meeting was the almost total absence of the youth. Not only youth, there was hardly a man there who was less than fifty. I asked myself: where is the German youth and German manhood? True enough, there were four to five millions dead and a couple of more million prisoners of war not yet returned to Germany but we must remember that before the war Germany had a population of 70 millions.

That same afternoon I went to a meeting at the Frankfurt Tiergarten which was under the auspices of the Communist Party and which was devoted mainly to making propaganda for the establishment of a so-called united party of the Communist and the Social Democracy, such as now exists in the Russian zone. When I saw so many young people pouring out of the trams to get into the Tiergarten I thought for a while that the youth had come under the influence of the Communists. Actually it was not so at all. In the area of the Zoo reserved for the meeting, the audience, which was almost as large as that of the morning meeting, showed very little variation in age from that of the earlier meeting. The young people came to the zoo only to amuse themselves watching the animals, to take in the circus and the rides.

GERMAN YOUTH

The German youth knows only two periods: the Hitler era before the war and the post-war period of defeat, hunger and destruction. He spoke to a young man who was acting as a chauffeur to the Americans. He was 27 years old and had spent four years in the Wehrmacht on the Russian front. Though in a favored position compared to most Germans, his situation was bitter enough. He had lived in the Russian zone before the occupation, was married and had two children. His family life was in ruins—his wife was still in the Russian zone living with a Russian officer, and his children were living in the country with his parents. He spoke intelligently enough about politics, the bankruptcy of capitalism, the fake communism in Russia, the capitalist support of Hitler, the difference between Stalin, the dictator-exploiter of the Russian masses, and Lenin and Trotsky, the authen-



Comrade Rudzienski Corrects An Error in the Translation

Dear Editor:

Comrade Stone reproaches me for a false analysis of the political character of NSZ (nationalist armed forces), a reactionary and anti-Semitic formation in the Polish underground. Unfortunately, Comrade Stone did not notice the incongruity of the sentence he attacked in the context of the entire content of my work.

It is a question of a lamentable error in translation, since I do not write in English and the translator's knowledge of the language in which my work is written was deficient. The original says correctly "NSZ (armed nationalist forces), of right and anti-Semitic character, HAVE minor importance" (sic), meaning that NSZ, REACTIONARY AND ANTI-SEMITIC, IS LESS important in the Polish underground than other groups such as the WIN (Liberty and Independence) and the AK (home army). And this is exact.

Derek Selby, British correspondent, says that NSZ had hardly 2,000-3,000 armed men, while the secret armed detachments in Poland are today calculated to be about 100,000 strong. Besides, a part of this force passed into the North American zone of Germany, according to Stalinist sources. Another principal fraction came to an agreement with the Stalinists. According to information from anti-Stalinist social democratic sources, the secret police (Polish GPU) used the NSZ in various anti-Semitic pogroms, especially in Kielce, where the nationalist detachments walked about the streets of the city in broad daylight without being attacked by the police or by the army stationed there.

The Stalinist officers handed over the Jewish victims to the populace, which was freely gathered together all day in front of the Jewish community. NSZ played the role of Stalinist agent-provocateur, organizing the pogroms and military actions in order to compromise the democratic and social-democratic opposition. This information is fully confirmed by the fact that the highest chief of the NSZ, Piasecki, a barefaced fascist, known as the organizer of the pogroms in the universities before the war, together with his companion, Dziarmaga, came to an agreement with the GPU. In virtue of which they not only go freely about the streets of Warsaw but have even founded a "Catholic" organ (denied by the Catholics) with an abundant quantity of official paper, sub-administered by the government, in which they openly proclaim collaboration with the Stalinist government, certifying their paper as "progressive" and "national."

My intention was precisely to underline the reactionary and anti-Semitic character of NSZ, which for this reason has less importance in the underground, controlled in its left wing by the PPS (social democrats). The editors, on the other hand, ask explanations of me before taking up my defense. In spite of the excellent quality of the translations, which keep the color of the originals very well, mistakes occur due to deficiency in the knowledge of my language. I have no possibility of correcting these errors in time. Comrade Stone did good work in criticizing the error, but he should not have drawn such hasty conclusions. I beg the readers to excuse these errors, which are inevitable under our working conditions. And with this I think the business has been made clear. Thanking you in advance for this rectification, I remain, yours and the cause's,

A. Rudzienski.

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