

UE District 1 Council Raps Strikebreaking By ALL Governments

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, July 7—The Council of District 1 of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO, voted tonight, by a decisive margin, to condemn the Russian government's attempt to break the recent strike of the Berlin transit workers. The same resolution also voiced disapproval of the British government's intervention in the strike of the dock workers, MacArthur's strike-breaking in Japan and other examples of strike-breaking by the Western powers.

Delegates of the large Westinghouse and RCA locals voted with the locals dominated by the Carey-Block forces in passing the resolution against the opposition led by Stalinist adherents.

NO STRIKEBREAKING!

The resolution on government intervention in strikes as originally presented by Local 105 at the International Resistor Company, dealt only with the Berlin situation. However, the resolution committee reported the motion on the floor with a recommended amendment condemning the strikebreaking role of the capitalist government as well as that of the Russians. The amendment became then an integral part of the motion.

District Organizer Abe Ruzansky spoke first in support of the motion, pointing out that even though the Berlin strike was part of the cold war, there was no reason to excuse the actions of the rulers of one nation in smashing unions just because, in opposing countries, the workers were being treated in a similar manner. Demands for an increase in living standards are valid on all parts of the globe.

Harry Block, spoke in favor of the motion condemning all the various governments for their action. Block correctly pointed out that there would be no inconsistency in voting for the motion on the floor and in voting for the original motion by Local 105.

John Schaefer, president of Local 107, and John Lito, president of Local 103, spoke in favor of the motion. Schaefer remarked that the great virtue of the motion was that it clearly showed that here was an opportunity for one section of the labor leadership to show that it does not intend to be simply a puppet for one imperialist government or another.

Opposition to the resolution was led by Dave Davis, business agent of Local 155, Phil Saba and Phil Van Gelder of the national UE staff. A motion to table was conceded lost when a roll call vote was demanded. Davis claimed that the Berlin affair was in no sense a strike but a mutiny instigated and financed by the American government. Other Stalinist arguments branded the resolution as a move to sow dissension in the council, pleaded that union action

be confined to the injustices here at home and stated that it is impossible for Russia to play a strike-breaking role. In support of the latter claim, Saba read at great length from the James Carey report on the visit of the CIO delegation to Russia in 1947. The voice vote taken showed that the opposition had about one-third of the votes.

ASK SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Other resolutions passed called for a special session of the Pennsylvania State Legislature to consider needed social legislation sidetracked in the regular session. President Harry Boyer of the State CIO Industrial Union Council was asked to organize the demand for the special legislative session.

Another resolution voted a \$2.00 strike fund assessment on all members of affiliated locals, subject to the approval of the local union memberships.

District President James Price (Local 107) and Tom Delaney of Camden Local, 134 were elected to be the district delegates to the coming national convention of the UE in Cleveland.

Russia Reported Deporting Jewish Masses to Siberia

By AL FINDLEY

The Stalinist anti-Semitic campaign in Russia continues. The drive against Jewish cosmopolitans continues to be the public form. But beneath this campaign, more serious and disturbing reports are beginning to reach the outside world.

LABOR ACTION of April 11 said that the unhindered development of Stalinist anti-Semitism could lead to mass deportation of the Jews of Russia to Siberia. Unfortunately, it seems that this development is becoming a reality. We reprint below sections of a story by L. Arieh in the Jewish Morning Journal of July 6. The reader is cautioned that the report is unconfirmed. However, one must take into account the fact that an "Iron Curtain" hangs over Russia and the difficulties of getting absolutely reliable facts.

The truth about the arrest of the Jewish writers, the truth about the deportation of the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars and others, first became known through these sources. It was only years later that the "authorities" admitted the facts. The reports are of such a serious nature and fit in with the character of the regime that to ignore them would be criminal negligence.

"New reports that will cast terror into the hearts of all Jews all over the world have reached Paris through the same channels as the information

Truman Report Cheers Profiteers; CIO Proves Case for Wage Boost

Reuther Slate Wins; Ranks Down Proposal for Biennial Convention

MILWAUKEE, July 11—Walter Reuther's slate for top officers was elected by the twelfth convention of the UAW by a landslide vote. The opposition was swamped. It consisted merely of remnants of the former Addes group, the Stalinists and their fellow travelers. All the convention decision reflected a bitter hostility on the part of delegates toward Stalinism, so much so that all other considerations were waved aside in condemning it.

Although Reuther was firmly in control, the delegates revolted in rejecting the Reuther-sponsored proposals for extending the time between conventions to two years. This is a triumph for rank and file democ-

racy and a blow against the trends toward bureaucratic control. Following this defeat the Constitution Committee withdrew for further consideration a proposal to amend the constitution allowing the summary ap-

Keynoter



WALTER REUTHER

pointment of administrators over local unions in emergencies.

Reuther called a special caucus at which he retreated and proposed as a compromise the practice of the last five conventions—a convention in 20 months. This was carried the next day.

The convention voted overwhelmingly for a resolution which in effect called for the expulsion from the

CIO of those internationals under the control of the Communist Party which refused to carry out official CIO policy. A minority resolution, reported by Paul Silver, president of Local 351, in the name of the Committee for Democratic and Militant Unionism, denounced the role of the CP in the labor movement but upheld the traditional autonomous rights of international unions. Speakers for this resolution contended that it was a necessary defense of democratic rights in the labor movement. The Stalinists spoke against both resolutions.

The convention passed a resolution unanimously condemning the attempted assassination of the Reuther brothers. It protested the refusal of immigration authorities to allow the delegates of a Canadian local to cross the border.

By BEN HALL

MILWAUKEE, July 10—The twelfth annual convention of the United Automobile Workers opened here today. When it adjourns on Saturday, July 16, its contract with the Ford Motor Company will have expired. At the same moment, the contracts of the United Steel Workers will have run out.

The issues of the 1949 negotiations have come to a head with the steel manufacturers refusing pointblank even to bargain on the demands of the CIO, and the Ford Motor Company replying to all proposals with a blunt NO. This is the main thought of the UAW delegates.

In opening the sessions of the convention in a hall decorated with streamers—"People Before Profits," "Adopt the Fair Deal Program," "Political Action"—Walter P. Reu-

(Continued on page 2)

By JACK BRAD

What stands out in Truman's economic message is its studied effort at caution, the unwillingness to come to any definite conclusions and, therefore, the avoidance of serious proposals. Everything is left in the realm of generalities.

The key phrase is the description that we are in a "transition period." Just what the trend is, however—whether we are in transition to a depression, a recession or renewed expansion—is not even hinted at. In part this is a reflection of the general uncertainty in business and government circles. More specifically, this conclusion is a compromise between opposing views in the President's own Economic Council. It represents an attempt to

Britain Decrees Scab Emergency To Break Strike

By SAM FELIKS

The British Labor Party sent Britain into a state of emergency on July 12 in order to break the two-month-old strike of the dock workers in London. Last Friday the British government announced that it was going to meet this "challenge to the whole authority of the state" if the dock workers did not go back to work—and the threat was kept.

The sweeping powers granted to the government are the most severe to be enforced in peacetime since their use in the general strike of 1926. These emergency powers enable the government to move troops into the docks, arrest anyone without a warrant, prosecute anyone inducing others to withhold their labor from essential services.

Answering this move to intimidate strikers, and in particular response to the appearance of troops to unload ships that are tied up, the strike has spread to sympathizing lightermen, bargemen, other waterfront workers and now to the meat porters on shore who have refused to handle

(Continued on page 3)

bridge the differences between Keyserling, who is fearful of present trends and tends toward active state intervention, and Nourse, whose faith in free enterprise and its ability to adjust the nation's difficulties remains undiminished.

In consequence, the President's report and his recommendations read like a statement of hedged possibilities, full of "on the one hand—but on the other." Altogether it fails to come to grips in any serious fashion with the main trends in the economy.

Insofar as it has a central theme, the report meshes with the appeasement of business displayed by the last and the present Congress in lifting rent ceilings, retaining Taft-Hartley, etc.

For business, the N. Y. Times describes it as a "reassuring report." The Journal of Commerce calls it "constructive," and reports that "the business community liked it but it could have been a little sweeter." The stock market hardly reacted at all. Dependence on arms outlays, is not mentioned. It is simply accepted as a given condition to which all sections of capitalist political opinion subscribe.

The main emphasis of the report is on "encouraging business." Cautious optimism is intended to dissuade big business from further reducing capital outlays for expansion. Several specific proposals are made to stimulate expansion. The report is business-centered rather than government-centered. It looks to capitalist enterprise to right things at this time.

Three specific grants are made which will redound to the benefit of corporate monopolies. Truman withdrew his request for a \$4 billion hike in taxes, which the Wall Street Journal acknowledges with a fervent thank you. Second, carryover of losses in income tax payments is to be liberalized. The Treasury Department has proposed that corporations be permitted to carry forward their

(Continued on page 2)

O'Dwyer Still in N.Y.C. Mayoralty Race; Marcantonio-Connelly Feud Splits ALP

By WILLIAM BARTON

By the time this appears, New York City's Mayor William O'Dwyer may have announced his decision to "reconsider" his refusal to run for reelection. Three out of five Tammany borough leaders have chosen District Attorney Hogan as their candidate, but the other two are still pressing O'Dwyer's candidacy.

The main force behind the move to select O'Dwyer is the labor movement. It is now evident that most of the leaders of both the AFL and the CIO (the non-Stalinist section) have been pressuring his change of decision and will probably put themselves solidly behind him and his ticket in the campaign.

They are only slightly motivated by the "pro-labor" record (which included martial law in a tugboat strike) of the O'Dwyer administration. They are motivated by the relation between the municipal election and state and national politics. For them, that is largely the politics of the Democratic Party.

In this particular election, the wider significance of the municipal contest is intensified because of the simultaneous campaign for United States senator to succeed the resigned Robert Wagner. The likely Democratic candidate will be former Governor Herbert Lehman, whom the labor leaders of New York City are particularly interested in electing. Having O'Dwyer on his ticket will, they feel, not only assure the election of both, but should produce an impressive Democratic majority that could influence subsequent national elections.

One important part of the city's labor movement that has thus far stayed off the O'Dwyer bandwagon is the International Ladies Garment Workers, AFL, mainstay of the Liberal Party. President David Dubinsky is reported to be hostile to O'Dwyer because of the latter's failure to provide police protection to his organizers, who have been assaulted and murdered in organizing non-union shops.

Other elements in the Liberal Party, led by former Assistant Secretary of State and short-time holder of office in La Guardia's first administration, Adolph Berle, are opposed to granting any support in a local campaign to anyone associated with the Tammany stigma. On the other hand, Liberal Party spokesmen are increasingly declaring their reluctance to back any Republican nominee except in race circumstance.

It is therefore possible, though unlikely, that it will run its own candidate, even if O'Dwyer runs. In that case there may be the ironic situation of the nucleus of an independent labor party being opposed in a city-wide campaign by the majority of the labor movement, which still hopes to get some rewards for hanging on to the Democratic Party coattails. However, it is most likely that the Liberal Party leaders will be so concerned with getting someone like Lehman elected to the Senate that they will forgo their immediate objections to an O'Dwyer and support the entire Democratic slate.

CONFLICT IN ALP

Actually, developments inside another political body, the American Labor Party, were as interesting, or more interesting. Eugene Connelly, secretary of the New York County Committee of the ALP and New York City Councilman, has announced his defiance of most of the party's leadership, particularly Congressman Vito Marcantonio, by declaring himself in the race for the party's nomination for president of the Borough of Manhattan, after the party had already designated Ewart Guiner, secretary of the United Public Workers, CIO, as its nominee.

Rumors of the current strife have existed for some time. Although the ALP is completely controlled by the Communist Party, not all of its members and not even all of its leaders are out-and-out Stalinists. In the present fight, Marcantonio is apparently the leader of the CP faction (whether or not he is formally a card-holder). Connelly represents a group of dissidents, including former Assistant Attorney General John

Rogge and social worker Mary Van Kleeck. This split may parallel a similar schism in the parent Progressive Party nationally.

Just why the break should have occurred just now is not easy to discern. Connelly has played the Stalinist game in the ALP almost from its formation. His present disagreement

(Continued on page 3)

ISL Speaks for WP at Regents Board Fineberg Bill Hearing

On July 5, ISL headquarters in New York City received a notice addressed to the Workers Party from the Board of Regents of the State of New York to the effect that the Regents were "conducting an inquiry to determine what organizations are subversive" within the terms of the Fineberg Act, signed by Governor Dewey last spring. The notice further states that the Workers Party is "so characterized by the Attorney General of the U. S." and invites the Workers Party to "appear at a hearing in Albany on July 14 to file a memorandum and to make oral argument, but warns that "no oral testimony will be taken."

Earlier news reports indicated that five organizations, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers Party, International Workers of the World and Nationalists of Puerto Rico, all of which appear on the Attorney General's "subversive list," are to appear at the same hearing and that no one but a representative from each of the organizations is to be granted permission to participate in the "inquiry."

The Fineberg Act, under which the above-mentioned hearing is to be held, provides for the making of a list of "subversive organizations," and instructs the Board of Regents to provide that "membership in any such organization included in such list made by it shall constitute pri-

ma facie evidence of disqualification for appointment to or retention in any office or position in the public schools of the State."

The Workers Party having been superseded by the Independent Socialist League at the last national convention of the Workers Party and having delegated to the ISL all power and authority to proceed with all and all steps to remove the Workers Party from any and all "subversive lists," the Independent Socialist League has chosen Hal Draper to represent the Workers Party at the said hearing and to make oral argument.

The ISL objects vigorously to the whole idea which underlies the Fineberg Act, and has so informed the Board of Regents. It intends, however, to participate in the hearing without conceding its propriety. The ISL has already informed the Regents of its objections to the procedure employed—notably the absence of a detailed list of charges and evidence.

It appears unlikely that the hearing itself will be able to conduct any real investigation since it has arranged only one afternoon session during which all five organizations will be heard. The hearing will not record any testimony or introduce or consider any evidence.

Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry a full report, with text of letters and statements.

Waiting for Corpses?

The Jews of the world who, in our time, have suffered as few peoples have in history, are facing a new ordeal—the danger of Stalinist anti-Semitism. LABOR ACTION has in the past given details on the "easing out" of Jews from influential positions, the drive against cosmopolitanism, and its anti-Semitic propaganda accompaniment, and the governmental campaign to destroy Jewish culture.

In this issue we print a reported account of the deportation of 1,000,000 Jews to Siberia. This deportation could as well be spelled: extermination.

The vast majority of the world sat by and did nothing while Hitler exterminated 6,000,000 Jews.

Will the same happen while Stalin exterminates 2,000,000 Jews? The reported deportations are as yet unverified. It could not be otherwise (at the present stage), given a totalitarian country which takes special pains to conceal the truth. But while unverified, it seems to us that the news reports have at least established a prima facie case and have sufficient credibility to be taken so seriously as to demand investigation. The fullest information must be sought.

From Europe (which is closer to the realities of the situation) come demands that the Jewish writers do something, that the influential Jewish organizations, like the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, do something. They have so far failed to act. What are they waiting for—1,000,000 corpses?

Silence on this will not gain the emigration of the Jews from Western Europe. Without provocation of any kind, the Stalinist rulers deny these Jews the right to emigrate, persecute and jail thousands of Zionists. Restrictions are tightened daily.

No, the safety of the Jews of Eastern Europe cannot be bought with the lives of the Russian Jews.

Where are the UN and its UNESCO? These bodies allege that they exist to protect human rights.

Where are the democracies—U. S., England, and France—who profess to be so deeply concerned with civil and human rights (in other lands, of course). Are they going to repeat their miserable past and sit by idly on the pretext that it is an "internal question" as they did when Hitler exterminated the Jews. The very least they can do is to ally themselves with the cause of the Jewish people to the extent of opening their own doors to immigrants.

The time is later than most people think.

(Continued on page 3)

Defense Dept. Fingers UE Activists at RCA!

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, July 9—Four active unionists were recently branded as "poor security risks" at the RCA Local 103, United Electrical Workers, CIO, in Camden, N. J., by the Department of Defense. This act represents a further infringement upon the civil rights of employees in private industry, since none of the individuals involved had access to classified work or to restricted areas.

Over a year ago the president of the local, John Leto, was designated "a poor risk" and barred from restricted areas in the plant. Later, other cases in this area resulted in loss of jobs or in barring various individuals from classified work.

This current action of "fingering" individuals who are not involved in classified or restricted work or areas provides the Radio Corporation of America and the government with a powerful weapon in dealing with the union, since they can claim that contracts for classified work are being withheld because of the existence of "poor security risks" in the plant. The government action has been protested by CIO Secretary-Treasurer James Carey, District 1 UE President James Price and by the local union.

Westinghouse Settlement

The dispute between the Westinghouse Corporation and Local 107, United Electrical Workers, CIO, concerning the elimination of overtime in the steam division at the South Philadelphia works has been settled in favor of the union. Except for engineering department and plant protection employees, no worker "shall work more than 150 hours (160 for salaried employees) in any four-week period."

The agreement, which ended the

week-end picketing by the union to force Westinghouse into five-day operations, was signed by D. W. R. Morgan for the company and John Schaefer, union president. The company is also cooperating with the union's "job saving" program of cutting the work week to four days in various departments where a five-day week cannot be maintained without layoffs.

Stay in CIO Council

At the membership meeting of July 5, the rank and file of Local 107, UE-CIO, rejected overwhelmingly a proposal of their executive board to withdraw from the Pennsylvania State CIO Industrial Union Council. The executive board action was motivated by the increased assessment voted by the last state CIO convention, by the poor service rendered by the state organization, and by the conservative policies of State President Harry Boyer and the United Steel Workers, which controls the State CIO.

Recording Secretary George Yauniches made a minority board report in opposition to the withdrawal proposal. Numerous speakers from the floor stated that while they were opposed to much of CIO policy and to the actions of the State CIO leadership, they were also in favor of staying in all CIO organizations and attempting to change policy from within.

In the context of the UE and national CIO's troubled relationships, withdrawal from the state body would constitute a serious tactical blunder. While the rejection of the recommendation to withdraw was unanimous, the incident should serve as a warning to Boyer and other state CIO leaders that CIO affiliates are expecting them to show more constructive and militant leadership.

Ranks Vote Downs Two-Year Conventions

Reuther Address Outlines Policy—

(Continued from page 1)

ther, president of the union, in convincing and sweeping terms punctuated with the bold and even radical slogans characteristic of his best speeches, outlined the long-term objectives of the union. But this speech has been made many times before. What he omitted is as significant as what he included—how significant, only the course of the convention and a balance sheet of its debates and its decisions will show.

KEYNOTE SPEECH

Since its foundation twelve years ago, said Reuther, the UAW has been in the "vanguard of the labor movement" and has written glorious and militant chapters in its history. In these difficult "twilight" years of neither war nor peace, neither prosperity nor depression, this convention will help decide the turn of events. How effectively we fight in the 1949 contract negotiations and how strongly the steel workers and the coal diggers push forward for their demands will determine which way our country will drift.

We reject, he continued, the totalitarianism of communism and fascism which bring economic security at the price of political and intellectual enslavement, and we reject, he added, the irresponsible program of the high priests of Wall Street which would give us freedom at the price of economic security. The eyes of the world are on America. We can make democracy work only by proving in action that we can combine security and abundance for all and at the same time strengthen and extend political liberties.

Seeing the growing lines of unemployed, said Reuther, Wall Street urges us to be "statesmanlike," to withdraw our demands, and muddle through together. But, he continued, to the applause of the listeners, we will not permit our demands to be postponed. We are going out after them in 1949. We are going after Ford in a few weeks. And we must fight for these demands NOW to avoid a new depression.

The audience applauded in agreement as their leader emphasized and re-emphasized the demands for the union for pensions, hospital and medical insurance and bolstered the validity of these demands with impressive statistics of rising auto profits, fat pensions paid to corporation executives and dwindling savings of workers.

We would like to raise collective bargaining above the level of competing economic interests, he continued, and base them upon economic facts. Problems can no longer be solved, he cautioned, solely by table-pounding and picket lines, however militant. However, if it proves to be necessary we are prepared to use all the weapons of a free labor movement.

What was quitted in Reuther's speech, and why, becomes clear only when we understand his general orientation today and his relations with Philip Murray, president of the CIO. Reuther is in a close alliance with Murray. Unlike the days of the GM strike when Reuther criticized the strike policy of the Steel Workers Union, today he is one of the foremost advocates of official CIO policy and Murray's chief defender.

Despite his ceremonious reminder of the vanguard role of the UAW, he seems determined to act only within the limits of what is permitted by the close association with Murray. He insists upon orthodoxy. He proposes disciplinary action against CIO internationals, local unions and their officers if they gag at carrying out "official" policies with which they do not agree. In his written report to the convention he illus-

trates the type of thing he would have outlined.

To cite only one example: Harry Bridges, in the name of the International Longshoremen's Union, sends out a circular letter to locals of his own international union which reads: "... the story of the sell-out of Taft-Hartley repeal by the top officials of the AFL and CIO in conjunction with administration leaders is important enough to be distributed to our local unions." According to Reuther's concept, such an action is intolerable.

But where does this conception apply to the UAW itself. To follow his line of reasoning to the end, Reuther would have to propose that all local unions of the UAW and their officers be deprived of the right to address their own membership and other local unions to demand a change in policy by the international or the CIO.

But Reuther does not make this proposal. It is noteworthy that in his ORAL report to the convention he made no reference whatsoever to the new devices to protect CIO policy. We cannot tell at this point how far he will try to go or how far he can go at this convention. He may finally make up his own mind as he tests the temper of the delegates.

LIMITED POLITICAL AIMS

Among the long-range objectives set forth by Reuther are a national labor daily newspaper and a labor radio network. The union would gain a voice but what would it say? These measures, admirable as they are, hardly meet the economic and political issues of the day.

The 1948 resolution on political action, adopted by the International Executive Board of the UAW, was half-forgotten and half-reinterpreted. Political action to Reuther simply means the election of more liberal Democrats and Republicans. Jack Kroll, who addressed the session today as the representative of the national PAC, admonished the delegates, like a nagging housewife, to pay up their PAC dollars, to get out and vote. He seemed bored with his own words.

The convention has already adopted several standard resolutions: for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law; for the Fair Deal legislative program, and others. Subsections of all these resolutions endorse the old political line.

Referring to the line-up in Congress, one resolution declares: "A realignment of political forces is in progress," the so-called Dixie-GOP coalition on the one side and the alliance of liberal Republicans and Fair Deal Democrats on the other.

The hope that the UAW would open a new political path, fight for the formation of a new political party, is gone; what is left is not new: the CIO has trusted, half-trusted and mistrusted its liberal "friends" in Congress for many, many years. "Realignment of political forces" may be a new phrase; it is not a new reality. Several delegates spoke out for the formation of a new Labor Party, notably one of the delegates from Lincoln Local 900 in Detroit. The speeches were received with modest interest and a sprinkling of applause.

The most immediate question is: what will the UAW do in its 1949 fight for its demands, in particular what will be the fate of the negotiations with Ford? Although the contract expires this week, it has been extended on a day-to-day basis. Rumor is that the International Board is determined to let Murray and the Steel Workers Union take the lead. We cannot definitely confirm the rumor at this early point. But the tone is in harmony with the Reuther-Murray partnership.

If Murray gives up the struggle for pensions, does his capitulation become "official" CIO policy? And if so, does Reuther intend to be bound by "discipline" to abandon the UAW fight at that point? Or does his desire "to rise above conflicting economic interests" and to rely upon "economic facts" mean that he will then propose that pensions, which may give rise to a new Ford strike, be arbitrated by an impartial committee or by a presidential "fact-finding" board? Or does Reuther's declared intention to utilize all the weapons of a free labor movement mean that he will go ahead with the struggle despite Murray, to the point of a strike if necessary?

This convention cannot and will not settle this question. Only the events of the next months will tell the full story. But precisely because this, the crucial matter before the delegates, is unclear, they do not take at face value the proposal to increase dues from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a month in order to finance militant struggles of the union.

The turbulence, the contempt for authority, the rank and file spirit so markedly characteristic of a union which has topped many a leader out of his seat, have in no way been displayed at this convention. The old opposition is totally disintegrated; it was swamped in a test vote on a minor proposal to change the method of

national lightmindedness of any such course, then my "sectarian and dangerous" conclusions will likewise have no effect.
R. MAGNUS
June 29, 1949

electing officers. After only a single speaker, the delegates voted to close debate on the Taft-Hartley resolution. Even the intervention of Reuther himself failed to reopen discussion.

The single speaker, however, was De Vito of Cleveland Local 45, the sacrificial candidate of the Stalinists against Reuther at the last convention. For the delegates, it was their way of saying that they had heard enough from the old hacks.

The real right wing in the UAW, represented by Livingston and Gosser, with Matthews riding along, senses the fact that Reuther follows a standstill policy. As he becomes the proponent of official CIO orthodoxy enforced by discipline, they feel that their day has come; they see the opportunity to entrench themselves, to expand their role in the union.

The militant elements of the Reuther bloc feel handcuffed by "official policy." They have heard Reuther's radical speeches too many times now to be content with them alone. We need more than speeches and resolutions, they say, but they themselves are not quite sure what they want. Not only the ranks and secondary leaders have misgivings about the advances of the right-wing elements and feel uneasy about rumors of pending proposals for discipline in the UAW, but also the best elements among the appointed officials. But the former hesitate to speak out for fear of being identified with the old discredited opposition and the latter think of their jobs.

I am not a Communist, I am not a Communist... every critic feels compelled to preface his remarks. The fact that Emil Mazey, recognized in the past as the outstanding leader of the best elements in the Reuther group, seems to be playing only the role of an accountant and office manager, makes everybody pause. So far, all the disquiet is admitted only in private griping, in muttering, in grumbling. The next days of the convention, however, may see it break out into the open.

Truman Economic Report—

(Continued from page 1)

Truman's Economic Council proposes to "hold the line" on wages as a means of encouraging business with higher profits. However, Philip Murray stated, in making the CIO report public, that the present economic decline is the responsibility of "short-sighted and greedy business policies—short-sighted price and profit policies." Nathan points out that business profits are still in the realm of the fabulous. In auto, they run about 27 to 28 per cent, and run higher this year than last. For General Motors, profits were 33 per cent on investment in the first quarter of 1949.

Finally, the Nathan report sees no indications that the trusts and monopolists are able or willing to do anything about reversing the present downward trend of employment. Reversing his previous demands for wage freezing and price freezing, Truman now is willing to permit "adjustments" through market operations of the economy—a recognition of declining conditions. Business is given the green light to "keep wages in line."

WORLD PICTURE
Since the purpose of these reports is the formulation of policies for legislative action and administrative practice, a full analysis must wait until it become clear just what Truman proposes to do. The specific proposals with which the report concludes are minor. They could neither retard nor resolve the fundamental forces of decline now beginning to get the upper hand in the American economy. What stands out is that Truman has no program other than minor palliatives mostly concerned with "encouraging business."

If the Truman message is placed against the background of the increasingly bleak international situation, which is in imminent danger of sharp crisis, its lilliputian stature can be more easily appreciated. All Europe and all those countries in the Sterling bloc are beset with problems caused to considerable degree by the contradictions of the U. S. in the world economy. The entire Marshall plan is threatened with failure. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder made a hurried trip to Europe to confer with government leaders on ways of alleviating the threat of collapse of world trade. Currencies have become so unstable that their values are questionable. The U. S. is the dominant factor in these difficulties. The slightest decline here has enormous effects on the sensitively related and dependent capitalist economies of the world. Yet this major factor has almost no part in Truman's report.

Interestingly, there is practically no mention of the large role of armaments in the economy. That is, no direct mention. It is simply assumed that this is a fixed and necessary factor. Budgetary appropriations of \$15 billion, and the effect this has in a period of decline on shifting the center of production toward greater de-



WITH THE Independent Socialist League

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, classes, lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE. For general information and literature of the ISL, and for local information not given below, write to: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York. For information on the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE, youth organization of the ISL, write to the SYL at the same address. Telephone: IRonsides 6-5117.

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An ad elsewhere in this issue announces that the second issue of CONFRONTATION INTERNATIONAL, the new international discussion review in French, has arrived at this office. Our first bundle order was almost completely sold out last month. Local New York of the ISL took 20 copies, besides the 26 that were sold on newsstands. Our good comrades in Chicago disposed of 10 copies, and almost every branch sold at least a couple of copies. We never knew that we had so many French-reading friends in the USA...

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE maintains a stock of interesting Marxist works in a number of foreign languages. Among the French items is "La Commune de 1871," by C. Tules, with an introduction by Leon Trotsky. Very much worth having at only \$2.00 a copy... Also in stock (two copies left) is Pierre Naville's study of the philosopher Holbach, which reveals a genuine insight into the ideas of the XVIIIth century... \$4.00 a copy. Order from this address: 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Just today we received from R. F., the very capable agent in San Francisco, a sizable payment on that local's literature account, plus a batch of seven subs. And a letter from

Helen in Cleveland enclosed payment to clear up the branch LA debt in full... Still waiting to hear from Buffalo (they must be having vacation days up there).

Here's a brief quote from R. F.'s letter from the Golden Gate: "Incidentally, please forward a batch of LA sub blanks—we just can't keep up with the demand." That's the kind of thing that makes a whole day wonderful here in the circulation office. Anyone else need some more sub blanks?

The mail from India has been on the heavy side this week. One comrade in the Socialist Party has this to say: "I am really sorry for not replying to your letter. I hope you will not mind this irregularity on my part. The reason for delay is that I was arrested under the Public Safety Act and put in jail for many days in connection with the railway strike in my district."

This comrade, by the way, has probably broken all previous records for long distance contacting work. He encloses the names of two friends, one in Los Angeles and the other in Brooklyn. Thanks.

And a friend in Bombay writes: "It is a long time since we contacted you. We get LA regularly and circulate the copies. They are extremely interesting." Same place... next week.

Readers Take the Floor...

Indonesia Policy

To the Editor:
So that the readers of LABOR ACTION may judge competently the alternative policies advocated by Jack Brad and myself on Indonesia, and to avoid verbal squabbles and irrelevancies, I submit the following list of our differences and agreements:

(1) Both Brad and I are for continued and uncompromising armed struggle against the Dutch to attain complete national independence for Indonesia.

(2) We both have political differences with the new Jogjakarta government (under Hatta and Soekarno), BUT...
(3) These differences are not important enough to cause Brad to repudiate this new regime as an arena of struggle, while they cause me to brand it as a Dutch puppet regime and to continue war against the Dutch independently, and...

(4) Brad is for fusion with the Social Democrats and I am not because they support and are a part of this new regime. Furthermore, and this is not so important, I believe that the Proletarian Party represents one group which still struggles against the Dutch.

Brad's latest letter to LA (June 27) is all mixed up. He misunderstands

my present position and even mistakes his own past position. I never said the Republican leadership was the "main enemy." In fact, I was for a united front with them. My policy was to march separately and to strike together against the common enemy—the Dutch. I continued to emphasize the extreme danger of subordinating Tanmalaka to the Republican military commanders while Brad insisted on a class-collaborationist policy.

Brad seems puzzled by my change in attitude after the Dutch-Indonesian agreement. But previous to this agreement the Republican leadership was engaged in armed struggle against the Dutch, a struggle which Brad so vividly described in his heroic article, "How the Indonesian Republic Fights On." At that time the leadership DID represent in a "distorted way the needs and aspirations of the people" FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. What Brad cannot understand is that the premise for this recent agreement was not only the murder of Tanmalaka but even more important the complete cessation of all armed struggle against the Dutch.

Brad's thinking is in a strait-jacket. Defeats have no influence on his policies. He still maintains his position that the new regime "remains an

arena of struggle" although the sine qua non of its very existence is to disarm all those who continue to struggle.

Brad says, "the government of compromisers is not a 'Dutch puppet regime' any more than Nehru is a British puppet because he has just reunited India with the empire." But this is a fantastic analogy. India is not occupied by British troops; it is an independent country which has entered the empire for economic reasons. That Brad must resort to such tricks proves that he has lost all ability to analyze his own past errors.

I am not going to argue with Brad as to the relative amount of independence the new residency will have from the Dutch. Suffice it to say that I do not equate the two, for it is precisely the appearance of some independence that makes a puppet regime so useful to the conquerors.

But since Brad believes that "this leadership has failed again" and that "it is necessary to forge a new leadership for the Republic," how then does he propose to do this while remaining within the framework and under the banner of a group whose raison d'etre is to stamp out mercilessly any such attempt?

If the death of a great revolutionary is not enough to convince Brad of the absolute stupidity and crimi-

Civil War in Korea

POLICE TERROR STALKS A LAND TRAPPED IN GLOBAL CONFLICT

In the week or so since the article that follows was written the crisis that seems determined to engulf Korea in a new bloodbath has gathered momentum. A large pitched battle was reported last week to have taken place on On-ji peninsula, which is separated from the rest of South Korea by water. This seems to be the chief dueling ground between the contending forces.

Secretary of State Acheson has stated, at hearings for Korean aid, that the South Korean government would not last three months without U. S. assistance. Whereupon Congress voted the requested \$150 millions.

By JACK BRAD

There is a growing danger of civil war in Korea. Every day fresh incidents raise the possibility of a new "Greece" on a larger and more hazardous scale. Korea is a country split in half between Russia and the United States.

Hardly a day passes without border incidents at the 38th parallel. During the last two weeks of May, North Koreans made three stabs below the boundary, fought several pitched battles and installed themselves in the hills at Oshin in the West.

POLICE TERROR IN SOUTH KOREA

Both sides talk of war quite openly. The South Korean Prime Minister accused "the North Korean Communist regime (of) testing the strength of our defenses with the object of mounting an invasion of South Korea."

From the beginning of the U. S. occupation its policy has favored extreme reactionary groups. In China, the State Department complains it could do nothing with the Kuomintang. In Korea, the U. S. has created and given power to a super-Kuomintang.

No opposition is countenanced. This holds even for such reactionary rightists as Kim Koo who was assassinated last week. Last year Chang Duk Soo, another rightist who supported Rhee, was murdered, presumably at the instigation of Kim Koo.

Terror organizations of the Rhee group supposedly organized a plot to kidnap and murder those members of the assembly who criticize the ruling group. Terrorism as a political weapon flourishes in an environment of suppression. Murder has become a common pattern of Korean politics.

This atmosphere in the state is duplicated in the country at large. Arrest of members of the South Korean Labor Party (CP) is a daily police function. During the first week of November last, hundreds of leaders of the Independence Party (Kim Koo's), Social Democratic Party, and Laboring People (Peasants) Party, were jailed.

The U. S. bears full responsibility for this totalitarian rule. American military government sanctioned this development and, since establishment of the Republic last summer, has supported all the major acts of the Rhee government. The people of South Korea correctly identify the regime with U. S. policy.

The South Korean Republic and its rulers live in a state of chronic fear of internal rebellion and northern, Russian-supported invasion. The worst revolt was the much publicized one at Yosu last year. Its suppression was so inhuman as to shock all observers. However, revolts are common and in fact have never ceased since the end of the war.

PEOPLE REBEL AGAINST REPRESSION

In September and October 1946 what amounted to national revolution swept the country. It was at this time that the U. S. army joined forces with the most reactionary elements encouraging and sanctioning the worst counter-measures. But hunger and harsh landlord rule have gestated new revolts.

The disaffections are not limited to the army. Strikes are frequent and are treated like rebellions. Peasant demonstrations break out frequently and armed force is commonly used against them.

Conditions in South Korea are at boiling point. The country is too impoverished to sustain the restored landlord class and the new repressive state. At the source of Korea's difficulties is the split of the country which separates the industries of the North from the agriculture of the South. Hunger and misery stalk the land.

On April 1, the government cut 4,300,000 people off its ration lists because it had no more rice to distribute. Landlord pressure to end forced rice collection had succeeded. These landlords can now sell their rice on the black market. But no one made provision to feed these almost four and a half million people, who with one decree, were doomed to starvation.

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Re-entered at Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874.

British Labor Government Decries Strikebreaking Emergency Power

(Continued from page 1)

goods unloaded by the scabbing troops.

The strike began two months ago as a result of a dispute between the Seamen's International Union and the Stalinist-led Canadian Seamen's Union over the union-raiding tactics of the SIU.

Officially, the dock workers maintain that this is not a strike, but a lockout. The union has stated that it would return to work provided that its members do not have to unload the two Canadian ships.

UNREST IS GENERAL

The reason that the Labor government puts forth for its drastic emergency action is that the strike is "Communist-fomented."

N. Y. Mayoralty

(Continued from page 1)

may be a result of the refusal of the Stalinist corps of leaders to support his candidacy. This may be part of their strategy of further consolidating their hold over their front groups.

There is one other possibility, involving Marcantonio himself. His power has rested as much with his own local machine as with his Stalinist connections outside his district. To maintain that power, he has often made semi-open deals with the New York County Democratic Party.

three times as fast. These enormous increases more accurately reflect the extent of the inflation. Production has remained depressed, unable to reach even minimal pre-war levels.

U. S. POLICY BUTTRESSES PARTITION

South Korea has subsisted on U. S. aid without which the government and the economy could not survive at all. In the first three years of occupation U. S. supplied 434 million dollars worth of goods and supplies of which 290 million went for absolutely essential food and clothing.

President Truman has just asked Congress for an allocation of 150 millions for 1950 Korean aid. Although U. S. is withdrawing its forces from Korea, Truman prepares to continue the annual subsidy at the previous level because in his own words: "Without the continuation of such relief its economy would collapse inevitably and rapidly."

There will be no relief from hunger in Korea until the country is unified and the agrarian system is altered. President Truman is requesting an appropriation as a substitute for aid in order to prevent these essential political and social changes.

Military government actually did distribute about 20 per cent of the land, which had been Japanese owned. However, no one is certain how much of this has not already come under control of landlords.

This program has not met with great response because the purchase price and conditions are harsh. It means ten more years of tenancy under existing feudal conditions at the end of which the peasant who has acquired his land would be over his head in debt and at the mercy of the usurers.

TRAPPED IN GLOBAL CONFLICT

Meanwhile, in the North, the Stalinists have distributed the land. While little is actually known about this controlled peninsula behind the iron curtain, there are reports of extremely oppressive taxation, frequent confiscations and, of course, all the social and political trappings of Stalinist dictatorship.

A social wedge has been driven into the 38th parallel which makes the Stalinist North attractive, and permits the Stalinists to pretend to a real program of economic change. This attraction is the root of fear for the landlord reactionaries of the South.

By the first of this year Russia had withdrawn its troops, or claimed to have done so, since no observers had been permitted to check. In any case they do not have far to withdraw since Siberia makes a border with Korea to the East, while Manchuria borders the entire north.

U. S. troops are now being withdrawn. However, President Truman has announced: "A military advisory group requested by the Korean Government for training purposes will be retained in Korea. . . ."

It can be expected that, just as in Greece, the regime will do everything necessary to retain U. S. interests, particularly military and economic aid, even if it must create incidents.

However, as the strike dragged on, its spokesmen began to issue statements that the strike was "treason" against the country, that moves would be made against the Communist agitators from abroad, that the strike represents a danger (sic) to trade unionism, that it is of "illegal" origin.

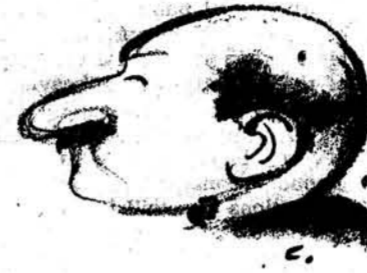
It is a known fact that the Stalinists are active among the dock workers and that the Stalinists are dominant in the CSU. It is also known that the Stalinists are out, at the present time, to wreck in whatever way possible the economies of Western Europe.

Even if the strike was originated by the Stalinists in an effort to preserve their position in the unions in which they are dominant, the policy that the Laborites have adopted is one that fits perfectly the design of the Stalinists.

In the early weeks of the strike, the number on strike was less than a thousand; today it is 13,000. The gov-

ernment policy has served to solidify the workers on the waterfront and those in industries allied to stevedoring. The number of strikers is increasing.

Labor Leader?



CLEMENT ATLEE

Labor unrest is general in England [See London Letter on page 3 of this issue - Ed.]. "Firebrand" Aneurin Bevan characterizes this unrest as the work of "evil disposed" persons trying to bring an end to the industrial harmony of the last four years.

The move of the Attlee government lays bare the armed force on which the state rests. The government will not permit any challenge to operation of the economy. Any interruption of production represents a "challenge to the whole authority of the state" (J. Chuter Ede, Home Secretary) — and is met by the armed force of the state.

State Anti-Labor Laws Repealed

While Taft-Hartley continues as a national statute to plague labor throughout the country, the swell of anti-labor laws in state legislatures that threatened to become a flood last year seems to have abated somewhat.

On June 29 the Missouri state legislature repealed the Madison act, which had prohibited jurisdictional and sympathy strikes, secondary boycotts and "strikes against the government." The repeal was passed after an eight-hour filibuster by Republican state senators and after the session got so stormy that two senators were arrested and the doors to the legislature were padlocked.

On June 30 the state of Delaware repealed the "Little Taft-Hartley Act" passed last year. This is a du Pont state and their legislative mouthpieces have announced that the fight is far from over.

Deported

(Continued from page 1)

Warsaw and Kiev and Poland had been going on until recently. Only now did many Jews of Poland understand why the latest letters sent to relatives in the Soviet Union were returned with the inscription "Returned—Addressee has moved."

"The Jews of Poland are in a position where they can do nothing but mourn. But will the Jews of the world be silent in the face of the barbaric fate being meted out to a million of their brothers and sisters? Won't the Jews of the world raise a mighty voice of protest?"

An Urgent Need

Local New York of the ISL has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, especially in the 12-14 year old group.

Writings and Speeches of

Eugene V. Debs

Introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (486 pp.) Reduced from \$4.00 to \$2.25 LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

London Letter

by GEORGE STONE, Editor, Socialist Leader

LONDON, July 6.—As I write this column, Sir Stafford Cripps, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, is making a statement to the House of Commons on the Government's plans for meeting the rapidly developing financial crisis. Signs and portents of that crisis have been multiplying in recent weeks.

The first reports of Sir Stafford's statement are now coming in. "Government have not slightest intention of devaluing pound" . . . "No Immediate Cuts" . . . "Three Months Ban on Dollar Buying" . . . "Government will safeguard policy of full employment" . . . "Position will be reviewed by Cabinet during next few weeks."

Well, Sir Stafford has said his piece and, if his statement lacks the drama of that of Mr. Gaitskell quoted above, it is none the less portentous. Going over the phrases one inevitably recalls the days of 1929/31 when Wall Street crashed and an economic blizzard swept the Western world.

Workers Are Victims of Market Race

A Labor Government was in office in Britain at the time under the premiership of James Ramsay MacDonald. Unable or unwilling to face up to the hard realities of the situation, it accepted the advice of certain financial experts, slashed workers' living standards, cut social services and unemployment pay and, as a consequence, split the Labor Party from top to bottom.

It may be argued that the similarities between the position today and that of 1929-31 are slight and that an economic crash of the magnitude of the one of that period will not be allowed to occur again. But the laws of capitalism are inexorable and we have no reason to believe that a Labor government, unwilling to break completely with the fundamental bases of capitalism, is better able to prevent a crash arising from the operation of these laws, than any other government.

It is to be expected, however, that Britain's Labor government will do all within its power to soften the impact of the blow, but, tied as it is to American economy, it is powerless to prevent the blow being dealt.

Capitalism means competition—ruthless competition now that the sellers' market has gone—and we are entering a period when there will be a bitter struggle for markets. Cripps has stated that the government intends to safeguard the policy of full employment—a very commendable gesture—but it is difficult to understand how this can be achieved in a fight for world markets unless production costs are reduced.

Indeed, so far as Britain is concerned, Sir Stafford Cripps has made this quite clear. He has stated that NO personal incomes are to be increased and emphasized that he included all sections of society in that remark.

A Lesson Mr. Attlee Had Better Learn

Action of this kind will have political as well as economic implications. Britain's railwaymen are pressing for increases and it is exceedingly doubtful whether Sir Stafford's strictures will stop them from enforcing their claim. Some of these men are among the country's most poorly-paid workers and it is almost certain that there will be a national stoppage unless their conditions are ameliorated.

In a speech last week-end, Mr. Attlee sought to blame the Stalinists for the country's industrial unrest. We do not quarrel with his description of the Stalinists for it is all too obvious that while Britain is tied to American economy and there is hostility between that country and Russia, the Stalinists will do all within their power to smash the economy of this country.

But Mr. Attlee is completely misjudging the mood of the British people if he imagines that the present wave of industrial upheaval can be stemmed by constant reiterations about the menace of Stalinism. George Isaacs, the Minister of Labor, tried it a couple of weeks ago in a broadcast speech, and the fact that Mr. Attlee's speech was more carefully phrased and more plausible should not be allowed to obscure its limitations.

Mr. Attlee and his government have a lesson to learn and they must learn it quickly if they are to survive the next general election. That is that millions of people throughout this country have legitimate grievances; they are disturbed about the rising cost of living, they are annoyed about the slowness of negotiations for wage increases, they want houses more quickly than the government is prepared to provide them; in effect, they want to see the social transformation which the Labor Party promised them in 1945.

They are not unmindful of the fact that the Labor government has brought in valuable legislation, that all in all they are better off than they have been for years, but they do not expect this government to adopt a policy of recession. They have made some gains and they do not want to hold onto them—they want to advance. And any government which tries to stem that advance will be faced with industrial unrest and ultimate political defeat.

The test of Britain's Labor government at the moment is not whether or not it is a better government than that of the Tories; the test is whether or not it is big enough to undertake political action for the common good. And, in this period of crisis, the government must stick firmly to certain essential principles; it must not ask for abstinence from the workers and allow the fruits of abstinence to be reaped by the property-owning class. The British labor movement must learn once again the lessons of 1929-31 and it must see to it that the history of that period is not allowed to repeat itself.

Just arrived!

The second issue (May-June) of the new international discussion review has just been received!

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The Legal Face of Stalinism From Official Sources

Anti-Labor Despotism in Stalin Legal Code

By ROBERT MAGNUS

Between the publication in 1926 of the first Soviet Criminal Code and the republication in 1947 of its emasculated successor lies a period of 20 years of profound change.

The bureaucratized workers' state has become the totalitarian bureaucratic-collectivist state. Everything is turned on its head as the fundamental class composition of the Soviet republic changes. Slave labor on a grand scale is introduced in the '30s, along with its reflection in the political field—the Moscow Trials and the final destruction of the Bolshevik Party.

The period between the opening of the first Five Year Plan in 1929 and Hitler's attack on Russia in 1941, a period of over a decade, had seen the most kaleidoscopic and fundamental changes in all realms of Russian life. It is precisely in this period, with the victorious counter-revolution in full swing, that the most vicious and backward class legislation was passed. A long series of ukases came out of Russia beginning in the early '30s, each one worse than the last, each one testifying to the utter bankruptcy of a government which hysterically spit on its own past, which attempted to control and administer the results of its own mistakes in the interest of the rising ruling class.

The Criminal Code of 1926 reflected in all of its parts the contradictions and conditions of a backward country rapidly declining from its own past history. Any kind of a workers' state must, to begin with, have a criminal code. Any workers' state, even if victorious in the most highly developed capitalist country, is left with a gigantic heritage of inequality and barbarity in every field. Basically, under any society, criminal law merely reflects, on the one hand, the fundamental sociological conditions, including class conflict, in that society; and, on the other hand, attempts to confine that conflict within the fundamental property relations established in the society.

In the Russia of 1926 class conflict and inequality had not been abolished. Far from it. Nevertheless, the criminal code was the most progressive (or among the most progressive) of its time.

There was a serious attempt to carry out the principle that crime was not a natural result of the evil nature of man, but that it was the product of social conditions and contradictions. Crime could only be wiped out by wiping out the causes of crime. From this idea followed the principle of looking at a "criminal" as someone to be cured, not punished. Under ideal material conditions, criminals should be sent to hospitals, not jails. This doctrine, of course, went out with the victory of the Stalinist counter-revolution.

Changes in the Criminal Code

Let us consider some of the most important changes introduced in the Russian criminal code during the decade of the '30s. The laws here selected deal basically with theft, petty theft, malingering, hooliganism, truancy, etc.—that is, not uncommon, exceptional crimes, but everyday common crimes that are committed by members of the working class.

(1) August 7, 1932—Art. 1 (2): "In the case of crimes of pilferage of goods in transit by rail or water, the supreme measure of social defense—death by shooting—together with confiscation of all property, shall be applied as a measure of legal repression; or, in extenuating circumstances, deprivation of liberty for not less than ten years, with confiscation of property, may be substituted."

(2) March 7, 1934—Art. 154-a: "Sexual relations between men (sodomy) entails deprivation of liberty for a period of from three to five years." [In accordance with all the laws of humanity and modern psychology, the 1926 code did not penalize such action as "criminal," considering that the doctor and not the prison warden was the answer.]

(3) June 8, 1934—Art. 58, 1-a: "Treason to the fatherland, i.e., any act done by a Soviet citizen to the prejudice of the military strength of the USSR, of its independence as a state, or of the inviolability of its territory, e.g., espionage, the betrayal of any military or state secret, passing over to the enemy, or taking flight across the frontier by air or otherwise, is punishable with the supreme measure of criminal punishment—death by shooting and confiscation of the whole of the offender's property; or, where there are extenuating circumstances, with deprivation of liberty for 10 years and confiscation of the whole of the offender's property."

Art. 58, 1-c: If a soldier goes AWOL across the border "any adult member of his family who assists him in preparations for or in committing the treason, or who, having knowl-

edge of it, fails to bring it to the knowledge of the authorities, is liable to deprivation of liberty for a period of from five to ten years and confiscation of the whole of his property. The rest of the adult members . . . who were living with or dependent on him at the time when the crime was committed, are liable to deprivation of electoral rights and exile to the remote regions of Siberia for five years."

[Note that this law explicitly provides for the punishment of admittedly innocent parties, thereby harking back to a practice associated only with the dark ages. "Adult members" means anyone 12 years of age or over.]

(4) October 1934—Art. 193, 2-a: "Failure to carry out an order given in the course of military duty entails—deprivation of liberty for a period not exceeding five years." [Previously: two years.]

(5) October 1934—Art. 193, 12-a: "Evasion of the obligation to perform military service by the self-infliction of some injury, malingering, forgery of documents or any other form of deception, entails . . . deprivation of liberty for a period not exceeding five years." [Previously: two years.]

(6) April 7, 1935—Art. 12: "Minors from twelve years of age, convicted in the commission of a theft, causing of violence, of bodily injury, mutilation, or murder, or attempted murder, are to be prosecuted by the criminal court with the application of all measures of criminal punishment."

Previously: "Minors under the age of 16 are not liable to measures of a judicial-corrective character. To them the commissions of juvenile cases may apply measures of social defense of a medico-educational character." Also: "If a sentence of deprivation of liberty or of forced labor is passed on a minor between 16 and 18 years of age, the period shall be reduced by one third of the sentence which could have been imposed by the court if the crime had been committed by an adult."—Art. 50, now abrogated.

The whole concept of juvenile authorities and special education for young criminals is here done away with.

(7) October 2, 1937: Maximum sentence of deprivation of liberty raised from 10 years to 25 years. (Addition to Art. 28.)

(8) June 26, 1940: "For truancy [more than 20 minutes late"—Par. 3] without a valid reason, the workers and employees of state, cooperative and public enterprises and in-

Workers Fined for Lateness

So far we have only the bones of the reality of class repression in the form of decrees and ukases. Let us fill in this framework with a little sociological meat. How are these laws applied? Unfortunately there has never been (how could there be?) a sociological study of crime in Russia. In the absence of such a work only conjectures are possible. But fortunately the tradition in Stalinist criminology has been to follow up on the publication of decrees by mass warnings to the population in the form of lists of "criminals" indicted for specific crimes. Here is Stalinist justice at work (Pravda, August 28, 1940, page 6):

TARDY WORKERS HELD RESPONSIBLE BEFORE COURT

Yesterday in the people's court of the 12th division of the Kiev district of Moscow, three criminal cases of N. P. Alfimov, I. I. Ermakov, and A. S. Gushchin, accused by the workers of the Moscow State Electromechanical plant, of violating the Ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, of June 26, 1940, were reviewed.

In the front row sit the accused—three young lads. There is no sign of disturbance on their faces. They are striving to give themselves the appearance of complete indifference, even perplexity: for what reason, in truth, were they invited here?

But this is only at the beginning of the court examination. As the judge and the assessors ask questions of the accused to clear up the circumstances of the perpetration of an anti-state offence, the accused start to consider that they were by no means summoned to jest with them.

The young workers, Alfimov, Ermakov, and Gushchin had much in common. All three came to Moscow at the same time looking for work without having any specialty. Alfimov and Ermakov entered as apprentice locksmiths at an electromechanical plant. Gushchin entered as an apprentice locksmith at another plant. Alfimov and Gushchin are members of the YCL. All three have obtained the qualifications of a locksmith. The old workers at the plant gave them assistance.

On June 27, all three were late 30 minutes and all gave the same reasons for lateness: "I overslept," "I was not in time at the bus stop," and "I was late to the train."

"We did not agree beforehand," Alfimov answered the judge's ques-

tions . . . are to be punished by corrective-labor work at the place of work for a period up to six months and withholding of salary up to 25 per cent." (Criminal Code, Page 110, Sec. 5, Par. 2.)

(9) August 16, 1940—Art. 74: "Hooliganistic practices in enterprises, institutions and public places . . . will be punished by imprisonment for a term of one year unless the character of the case calls for a heavier punishment."

(10) August 16, 1940—Art. 162-f: "Petty theft, regardless of the amount, committed in enterprises or institutions . . . will be punished by imprisonment for one year, unless the character of the case calls for a heavier punishment."

(11) December 26, 1941: "Voluntary leave of workers and employees from (war industries) . . . are to be punished by imprisonment for a period of five to eight years." (Criminal Code, Page 117, Par. 2.) (Note: According to Art. 28: a sentence of three or more years is to be served in a corrective-labor camp.)

These basic amendments to the criminal code of 1926 continue to increase in severity and in applicability, and the majority of them deal with the protection of property and the terms of work of the working class.

The increasing barbarity of class repression and the solidification of the Stalinist bureaucracy here find their perfect expression in legal terminology. Let us go down the list: the extremely severe punishment for pilferage, petty theft and "hooliganistic" practices, family responsibility for guilt of soldiers who escape from the "socialist fatherland," a tightening of military authority, full criminal punishment for minors, and punishment for truancy (20 minutes late) and quitting a job. Truly an admirable record!

"But wasn't the death penalty abolished in 1947?" the apologists ask gleefully. Very true, it was. Let us examine this seeming liberality and discover its roots. The law at issue is the following:

May 26, 1947: "The death penalty for crimes punishable by death under the existing law is to be superseded by imprisonment in corrective labor camps for a period of 25 years." (Pravda, May 27, 1947.)

The seeming liberality, on second glance, becomes the means to increase the labor supply in the gigantic slave-labor camps which began to become an important part of Stalinist production in the '30s.

"It is merely a coincidence. I am a member of the YCL and I understand the complete importance of the new law, but I cannot explain how this happened. I confess my guilt."

Ermakov and Gushchin gave the same explanations. They also confessed their guilt. However, it was explained to the court that Gushchin was tardy more than once. Last year, for tardiness, he was dismissed from the plant.

After the discussions the court retired into a consulting room. The deliberation lasted one and a half hours. The court acknowledged the guilt of all the accused in committing criminal offenses and sentenced them as follows: to subject the tardy workers Alfimov and Ermakov to corrective-labor work for two months each at the place of work, with deduction of 15 per cent of their monthly earnings.

Gushchin, having been tardy more than once, was sentenced to three months corrective-labor work at the place of work and likewise with deduction of 15 per cent of his monthly earnings.

The cases were heard under the chairman of the people's court Comrade D. Lieubimov, with participation of the people's assessors, Comrades I. Nikitin, A. Kazukov, and advocate Comrade Raubo. The accused were defended by Comrade Kazukov, the attorney of the Kiev district.

V. OVCHAROV.

This little piece reads like a play by Gogol, the great Russian satirist. Three young workers up before the tribunal for being thirty minutes late, accused by the "workers" (bureaucrats) of their plant. They all give perfectly reasonable excuses for their tardiness but the judge wants to know if they had agreed beforehand. Truly a person closely connected with workers' everyday experience with crowded buses—this judge!

The deliberation lasted one and a half hours. Beware, tardy worker! And then finally the fine: It is only necessary to recall that the first pamphlet Lenin ever wrote, entitled "On Fines," warned the workers not to accept exactly such treatment from their employers.

As a slight indication of how these laws are applied in practice, it should be noted that the third worker, Gushchin, was given an extra month for an act which was not a crime when he committed it. This is

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS . . .

The documentary material presented on this page is from official Russian sources ONLY—the official decrees of the USSR and the official press, reporting official announcements. Out of their own mouths shall they be judged.

There is here no question of a complete analysis of Russian criminal practices. The terrible Russian reality is only partially and sporadically reflected in what gets put on the books. Seven-eighths of it, like the well-known iceberg, is hidden out of sight—in the slave labor camps, in the actual practice of the secret police (MVD or GPU) who recognize no law, not even the restrictions written into the books. But the one-eighth which shows above water—part of which is here presented—may help to indicate the rest.

The picture which is presented is that of Stalinism, the regime which carried through a counter-revolution in Russia, which destroyed the workers' state established by the great Russian Revolution of 1917, which murdered and wiped out a whole generation of the old Bolsheviks, the comrades of Lenin and Leon Trotsky, in order to thrust the working masses back into a slavery even worse than the hated czarist autocracy.

This regime and its system has not the slightest resemblance to socialism. The apologists of the Kremlin butchers point to it as "socialism" (echoing their masters) in order to conceal the truth from the dupes of the Communist Party in this country. The apologists for capitalism point to it as "socialism" in order to use the black brush of Stalinism in order to smear the real fighters for a socialist democracy and socialist freedom and abundance.

Independent Socialists present this exposé so that American workers may learn that Stalinism, with its Communist Parties, is not labor's alternative to the injustices of a decaying capitalism. Independent Socialists fight for the democratic alternative to capitalism, the socialist alternative to Stalinism.

Just as some workers turn to the Stalinist Russian "utopia" in revulsion against the evils of capitalism which are so plain and evident today so others think they must reconcile themselves to these capitalist evils in revulsion from the horrors of the Moscow dictatorship. They fear on each other's crimes—these two rotten exploiting systems that are waging their cold war over the backs of the people of the world.

Independent Socialism is the banner of those who refuse to give up their fight against both camps of exploiters, in the name of the Third Camp of the oppressed workingpeople whose class struggle and militant fighting spirit is the only road to socialist emancipation.

called *ex post facto* law in legal terminology and went out with the first stirrings of democracy. Gushchin was late to work "last year" but the ukase had just been passed a few weeks before. That such a blooper got into Pravda is an indication of the general situation.

Poverty, Theft and Justice

IN THE PEOPLE'S COURTS OF MOSCOW—Cases of Petty Theft in Production.

The people's courts of Moscow reviewed a number of cases of persons brought to court on the basis of the Ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 10 for responsibility for "petty theft" in production.

Mitkovich, A. A., worker in the Novobylvaren plant, was detained with an ingot of bronze, 5.7 pounds by weight, which he had been attempting to carry out of the plant.

Promaskov, I. F., a driver in the Moscow Industrial Cooperative Transport Artel, while transporting freight, stole 3.6 pounds of candy.

Zakharov, A. I., a female worker at Factory No. 10 by the name of Clara Zetkin, committed a theft of 2.2 yards of satin, with which she was detained in the watchman's hut of the factory.

Petrov, A. S., previously convicted for theft, working at the factory "Bolshevik," committed a theft of cookies and sugar.

Logunov, V. S., a worker at the plant "Red Warrior," stole two English locks belonging to the plant.

Each of the indicated persons was sentenced by the people's courts of Moscow to a year's imprisonment. (Pravda, August 16, 1945)

One is reminded of Jean Valjean in "Les Miserables," who is sentenced to the galley for stealing some bread when he was starving. These petty thefts—candy, cookies, cloth, a piece of bronze—indicate a society of poverty, a society of want and semi-starvation for the masses. Otherwise, why are the penalties so severe?

The most inexcusable and vicious class legislation—horrible to an extreme—are the laws on "hooliganism" passed in August, 1940. The different conditions of life of the worker and his "boss," whether he be Stalinist or bourgeois, dictate different attitudes, language and behavior. Laws against "hooliganism" are basically laws against the working class and are usually dictated by a desire to prevent workers from protesting against their conditions of slavery.

The severity of the punishments in the following cases merely hints at the terrible reality of everyday life in Russia. Izvestia, August 27, 1940:

FROM THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF JUSTICE AND ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE USSR.

In Moscow, recently, the following violators of the Ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of August 10, 1940, on criminal responsibility for hooliganism, were brought to court and sentenced:

Milovanov, I. I., born in 1914. On the night of August 17 he created a scandal in a house, used profane language and hit a boarder. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment and three years of exile.

Fedorov, M. I., born 1921. On August 18 at 8 p.m., while riding on a trolley, used profane language. On being requested to stop his hooliganistic activities, he continued to give insults; sentenced on August 20 to one year's imprisonment.

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years shall be served in an ordinary place of imprisonment, and for a period of three years or more in a correctional-labor camp." Six of these unlucky victims were sent to work in the slave-labor battalions of the Stalinist state.

The worker who tried to get an excuse to quit work from the "company sawbones" should be familiar to every worker who has been in the same position. Half-dead from fatigue, he was probably told that he was in excellent health and that he should go back to work and stop malingering. We might imagine him restraining himself to calling the

Slave Labor Fixed Into Law

PROTECTION OF CITIZEN'S PRIVATE PROPERTY.

With the object of strengthening the protection of the private property of citizens, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decrees that:

(1) Theft—that is, covert or open appropriation of the private property of citizens—is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labor camp for a period of five to six years. Theft committed by a gang of thieves for a second time is punishable by confinement to a reformatory labor camp for a period of six to ten years.

(2) Robbery—that is, assault with the object of appropriating other people's property combined with violence or a threat of violence—is punishable by confinement to a reformatory labor camp for 10 to 15 years with confiscation of property.

Robbery with violence endangering the life or health of the victim or a threat to kill or cause grievous bodily harm, as well as robbery committed by a gang for a second time, is punishable by confinement to a reformatory labor camp for 15 to 20 years, with confiscation of property.

(3) Failure to report to the authorities concerning a robbery authentically known to be under preparation or known to have been committed is punishable by loss of freedom for one to two years or banishment for four to five years.

(Signed) N. M. Shvernik, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and F. K. Gorkin, secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Moscow, Kremlin, June 4, 1947.

EMBEZZLEMENT OF STATE AND PUBLIC PROPERTY.

In order to establish uniformity of legislation with respect to criminal liability for embezzlement of state and public property and to strengthen the measures against these crimes, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decrees that:

(1) Theft, appropriation, defalcation or other embezzlement of state property is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labor camp for 7 to 10 years, with or without confiscation of property.

(2) Embezzlement of state property for a second time, as well as when committed by an organized group or on a large scale, is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labor camp for 10 to 25 years, with confiscation of property.

(3) Theft, appropriation, defalcation or other embezzlement of collective farm, cooperative or other public property is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labor camp for five to eight years, with or without confiscation of property.

(4) Embezzlement of collective farm, cooperative or other public property for a second time, as well as that committed by an organized group or gang or on a large scale, is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labor camp for 8 to 20 years, with confiscation of property.

(5) Failure to report to the authorities concerning embezzlement of state or public property definitely known to be in preparation or known to have been committed as set out in Articles 2 and 4 of this decree, is punishable by loss of freedom for two to three years or banishment for five to seven years.

(Signed) N. M. Shvernik, etc. (same as above). Moscow, Kremlin, June 4, 1947.

The intensity of the class struggle fairly screams through the pages of the law journal. The "reformatory labor camp" (a guilt-ridden synonym for forced labor) has become the punishment for a theft, no matter of what size. To put it in another way, recruitment to forced labor has become the purpose of this legislation, while the actual theft takes a subordinate role.

The increase in income differences is reflected in the increasing severity of the punishments for the theft of personal property, which, contrary to previous law, have now become quite as severe, to all practical purposes, as theft of "public" property.

Pravda again comes to our aid with a few choice morsels of Stalinist jurisprudence in action. The following is from Pravda, July 9, 1947:

sawbones an S.O.B., whereupon he is dragged off to a slave-labor battalion, after a summary trial, and condemned to eternal exile if he ever gets out of prison.

The crowning achievement of Stalinist jurisprudence, however, is yet to come in the shape of the "Protection of Citizens' Private Property" act and the "Embezzlement of State and Public Property" act, which were passed on June 4, 1947. Here income differences, class repression and social barbarity speak through the authoritative lips of N. M. Shvernik, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

Slave Labor Fixed Into Law

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE USSR:

In carrying out the ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of June 4, 1947 . . . a number of persons have been recently prosecuted and brought to trial for criminal responsibility:

(1) In the city of Saratov, V. F. Yudin, who had been previously convicted for theft . . . stole fish from a smoke factory. On June 24, 1947, . . . Yudin was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps. . . .

(2) On June 11, 1947, an electrician on the power lines of the Moscow-Ryazan railroad, D. A. Kiselev, stole fur goods from a railroad car. . . . On June 24, 1947, the war tribunal of the Moscow-Ryazan railroad sentenced D. A. Kiselev to ten years' imprisonment in the corrective-labor camps.

(3) In the town of Pavlov-Posad in the Moscow region, L. N. Markevov . . . stole clothing from the Pavlov-Posad textile factory. On June 20, 1947 . . . Markevov was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps. . . .

(4) In the Rodnikov district of the Ivanov region, Y. V. Smirnov and V. V. Smirnov . . . stole 375 pounds of oats from a collective farm. On June 26, 1947 . . . both were sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps.

(5) In the Kirov district of Moscow, E. K. Smirnov, a chauffeur, was arrested for stealing 22 pounds of bread from a bakery. The people's court . . . sentenced E. K. Smirnov to seven years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps.

(6) In Saratov, E. I. Gorydeyev . . . stole various products from a warehouse. On June 21, 1947 . . . Gorydeyev was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps.

(7) On June 8, 1947, in Kuikyshev, E. T. Poluboyarov stole a leather case from Citizen Shnitko, who was riding on a trolley. . . . Poluboyarov was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps.

(8) On June 7, 1947, in Kazan at the collective farm market, V. E. Bukin snatched money from the hand of Citizeness Pustynskaya. . . . On June 20, 1947 . . . Bukin was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps.

(9) On June 6, 1947, in the village of Subovka in the Kutuzovsk district of the Kuibyshev region, A. A. Chubarkin and V. G. Morozov stole from a cellar 88 pounds of potatoes belonging to Citizeness Presnyakova. On June 17, 1947 . . . both were sentenced to five years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps.

(10) On June 5, 1947, in Moscow . . . K. V. Greenwald, who had been previously convicted for theft, took advantage of the absence of his neighbor, entered the room of Citizen Kovalev and stole various household articles. . . . Greenwald was sentenced . . . to ten years' imprisonment in corrective-labor camps.

The lot of the Russian working class is more graphically portrayed in these items than in a thousand theses. This society is a huge concentration camp, with want and misery rampant as the ruling class of the bureaucracy grinds the people into an atomized mass.

The means of production, the factories and farms and mills, belong to the state. But that is not necessarily socialism. The state, in turn, belongs not to the people ruling their own lives democratically but to a totalitarian and uncontrolled bureaucracy. It is the collectivism of the new class of rulers, not the democratic collectivism of the working class. It is what we have called the bureaucratic-collectivist society of the Stalinist tyranny.

Social discontent in such a new slave society will obviously take many forms among the downtrodden: brutality in social relations, theft, sabotage, flight—even anti-Semitism. The brutal rulers brutalize their slaves and then call for thicker chains to hold them in their slavery.

But side by side grows the hatred of the slaves for their brutal lot. The new slave rulers of the Russian state had best examine history: they will find there, written in bloody letters, the picture of their future: the great Spartacus revolt of the ancient slaves. It is toward this day that we work.