

# ANSWER TAFT-HARTLEY BILL WITH A LABOR OFFENSIVE!

## Senate Passes Bill for 15% Rent Increase

The real estate lobby scored a smashing victory as the Senate this week paved the way for a \$90,000,000-a-month national rent boost. By voice vote, the Senate voted to permit a 15 per cent hike in rents where landlord and tenant "agree" on a lease running beyond December 31, 1948.

As opponents of the bill have pointed out, this is a pistol at the head of the people: either sign a lease incorporating the 15 per cent increase or... find another apartment!

Other provisions in the Senate bill would exempt newly-rented and newly-built buildings from rent control, would give states the right to fix their own rent control systems and would allow landlords to evict "nuisance" tenants. "Nuisance" tenants will prove to be tenants with a strong objection to a rent increase.

The bill now goes to conference with the House. Inasmuch as the House has already approved the 15 per cent increase, there is not likely to be any strong difference of opinion among the conferees.

### WE MUST HAVE FULL AND REAL CONTROL

The rent control bill now in operation is due to expire on June 30. The majority of the House and Senate members are known to be opposed to any kind of rent control. Thus, the bill which is now in the stages of final drafting is merely designed as a cover under which to retain the pretense of control while controls are actually nullified.

**Even under the present law, rents have risen steadily and perilously. Under the new bill there will be few obstacles in the way of unbridled rent gouging and mass evictions.**

The present indications are that Truman will not veto the Senate-House bill with the excuse that any bill is better than none. The Congressmen, of course, anticipated exactly that attitude. While that may be adequate reasoning for Truman, it is not good reasoning for the majority of people. There is only one kind of rent control adequate to the people's need—firm, rigid, unrelaxed controls.

**If at the moment our attention is distracted by the urgency of defeating the anti-labor legislation, the rent issue nevertheless continues to have the deepest importance for us. Our pocket-books cannot stand the strain of this final robbery in prices. We must resist it, and resist it vigorously by every means at our disposal. There are only a few weeks in which to act. Hence we must act with resolution.**

Last year when it appeared as though rent controls would give way entirely, a nationwide protest halted the schemers dead in their tracks. The same protest is indicated now, but on a larger and more organized scale.

### OURS MUST BE AN ULTIMATUM!

Various tenant groups have already been formed. These must be extended to include tenants on every block in every city serving coordinated notice that a rent increase or evictions will not be tolerated.

**As we have many times commented before, the problem of rents is not essentially separable from the other problems facing labor and the people. The very same gang that is behind the anti-labor drive is behind the drive to boost rents. An effective, victorious demonstration on one will have successful repercussions on the other.**

Our unions are intimately involved in this. They must be our spokesmen, lending the organized support and leadership of labor to the fight for rent controls.

It is a fight on many fronts: to maintain and improve controls, to increase wages to overcome increases. It is a fight that demands the exertion of organized pressure on landlords directly and on landlords indirectly by warning their legislative servants against lifting controls.

**The fight needs to be so waged that even if the rent controls are relaxed by Congress, landlords will not dare to avail themselves of their "right" to steal. It must be so waged as to make it plain that thousands will gather to prevent any evictions.**

This is a job which can be started in your neighborhood. Organize the tenants on your block. Get your union to back your campaign. Unify your activities with those of others. Make it plain that nothing less than complete control will be acceptable! Let it be an ultimatum!

## To Win We Must Show Our Might!

To meet the menace in the Taft-Hartley bill, we propose:

- No reliance on Truman.
- Reliance instead on labor's organized power.

Even if Truman should veto the bill, and it is not at all certain that he will, despite the fact that the labor leaders are making that the sum and substance of their campaign, there remains the danger of a Congress vote over-riding the bill. To rely on Truman, is—to veto or no veto—to undermine the fight of the labor movement against this vicious bill.

As we go to press, there is a tremendous meeting in progress in New York City's Madison Square Garden, called by the AFL, to demand a veto. Mayor O'Dwyer has even named this (Wednesday, June 4) Veto Day, with an eye on snatching labor votes come election day. Meetings are alright. But they are not enough. And they are certainly not enough if they're organized in the spirit of reliance on the Democratic Party machine.

Labor can take effective action. When the workers in Detroit assembled on Cadillac Square, they were taking that kind of effective action. When workers in various unions voted for a national work stoppage of 24 hours they were voting for that kind of action.

Workers demonstrating in strike action throughout the country do more toward getting a veto and in persuading congressmen against over-riding that veto, than a million post-card petitions. A 24-hour strike, backed by a mass march on Washington, gathered outside and INSIDE the halls of Congress will speak the only kind of language the reactionaries can understand. They must be confronted with labor's might!

Time is running short—get your union to act.

- FOR A 24-HOUR NATIONAL PROTEST.
- FOR A MASS LABOR MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO BACK THE VETO.

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the Iron and Steel Institute and all the big capitalist employers have received the relief and the security which they sought from their government at Washington. The Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill, known by the name of "Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947," has been approved by the conference of the two houses and Congress and is ready to be put to vote.

According to Taft, the bill agreed on by the conferees is not "harsh." It does not contain all of the provisions that industry had demanded. Taft let it be known that industry had demanded a tougher bill than the present Taft-Hartley Bill. The NAM

## WP and SWP Will Picket Greek Consul

ATHENS (via Paris, May 23)

Five members of the Internationalist Communist Party of Greece (Greek section of the Fourth International) have just been arrested, accused of breaking the "public order" measures decreed by the reactionary Maximom-Tsaldaries government.

In Salonika, three other members of the ICP, including one woman, are to be tried by court martial and face the death sentences.

Five other members have been condemned to two months' imprisonment for distributing a leaflet.

In response to the demand required by the above news, the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party have called a protest demonstration before the Greek Consulate at Rockefeller Plaza, for Saturday, June 7, at 12 noon.

Coming on the heels of the adoption of the "Truman Doctrine," by which the government has set aside tens of millions of dollars to "stabilize" the reactionary-terror régime of the Greek monarchists-industrialists-militarists, we have a clear lesson in the meaning of the imperialist assistance given to a rotten puppet régime.

The Greek régime is not a reactionary-terrorist régime because it is as war with the Stalinist mercenaries—between them there is little to choose. But it is an anti-working class régime. No better opportunity is afforded us to protest not merely the support given to the Greek rulers by the government, but against the terrorist régime itself in behalf of our comrades.

and individual corporations had their lawyers present to help in the drafting of the bills and to give advice as to what industry wanted and must have. It is known that lawyers from the Case Co. and from Chrysler took a hand in the drafting of the bills.

The Taft-Hartley Bill is a very long bill, containing thousands of words. Two and a half pages are required in the New York Times for the bill with all its titles, sub-titles, sections and sub-sections. It is formulated in the usual technical jargon of "the law," and particularly in the technical jargon of the congressional lawyer. Not only is the bill a long one and wrapped in all the gibberish of musty legalisms, but it is deliberately organized in a very tricky fashion. It gives and takes away, it protects and punishes, it is clear and obscure, it is loose and definite. It is just such a bill as to provide a paradise for shyster lawyers and for the best medieval minds on the federal bench. The bill is so worded that every major "violation" can become a case for long-drawn-out court proceedings, costing the unions thousands of dollars for the purpose of getting nowhere.

### MYTH OF EQUALITY

In the language of the bill, the purpose of this act is to protect "the full flow of commerce," the avoidance of industrial strife by getting employers, employees and labor organizations, "under law" to "recognize one another's legitimate rights." Also "to prescribe the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce." That is, the act is basically concerned with the protection of "our system of free enterprise," with the maintenance of business, with the enhancement of capitalism.

Congress makes no apologies for taking this course. "Liberals" joined with the most reactionary in voting for this bill. The overwhelming majority of the members of Congress, Republicans and Democrats, liberals and reactionaries, joined hands in coming to the defense of "commerce."

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## Youth Conscription Plan Is Step Towards New War

by JULIE FALK

Six months ago President Truman appointed his Advisory Committee on Universal Training. The committee was a chosen assortment of industrialists, war-cabinet members and atomic-age churchmen and professors.

The formation of this committee was the opening gun in a capitalist offensive to incorporate peace-time conscription into "the American way of life." It was the beginning of a drive to inflict infinite hardships on teen-age youth and to gear the American people and industry to defend America's imperialist interests.

On June 1st the President's commission—an example of select breeding in capitalist politics—did the expected. It delivered a report which unanimously recommended compulsory military training for all male youth reaching eighteen years of age or on being graduated from or leaving high school. From this source the commission expects to collar nearly one million conscripts a year.

### COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS

The committee compiled its "findings" and "recommendations" in a voluminous report which, except for several fragmentary quotations, has not as yet been made freely available to the public. However, the committee's "summary letter" to the President was printed, and from it we can gather the essential features of a vast plan to put the entire nation on a war footing.

Any sugary illusions about the character and purpose of the proposed universal training is dissipated by the committee's "findings." The committee emphatically dismisses the idea that the military angle to Universal Training is only "incidental." President Truman tried to sell conscription to the American people by peddling it off as a health and mental fitness program. The committee's letter, in its typical blunt manner, makes it clear that compulsory training is to accomplish "essential military objectives."

The commission proposes a six-month basic training period for all physically and mentally fit of the above described age categories. After this period the conscript has an "option" of one of the following alternatives:

- 1) Remain in camp or aboard ship for another six months.
- 2) Join the regular army.
- 3) Attempt to win an appointment to Annapolis or West Point.
- 4) Take a civilian job provided he join the National Guard.
- 5) Attend college if he joins ROTC and agrees to accept a reserve commission on graduation.

6) Join the enlisted reserves for the current enlistment period which is now six years.

The committee recommends "only" six months of basic training. But from the above alternatives we can see that the proposed regimentation of youth is for at least twice that period of time. Also, we know from experience with wartime conscription that six months can be extended indefinitely if Congress sees fit.

The committee didn't slip up on any point. The report makes a recommendation on pay allowance, too. However, this must have been a minor consideration as evidenced by the very minor recommendation of \$25 a month pay for the peacetime draftee.

### THAT ISN'T ALL

The recommendation of compulsory military training was but one proposal in an eight point program designed to insure "national security." These proposals, if effectuated, would directly and indirectly reorganize just about every phase of American life in consonance with the declared military needs of American imperialism. Practically all industrial and scientific activities in America would be integrated in the vast military program as proposed (Continued on page 7)

### Imperialist Bloc Stages European Tug of War

## Stalinists Take Over in Hungarian Coup

By IRVING HOWE

The continuous and unrelenting war for the control of the European continent being waged at present between the Anglo-American bloc (which means primarily the U. S.) and Stalinist Russia is sharpening; it is erupting in a series of new manifestations. Most important of these are the political crises which have recently broken out in three countries: France, Italy and Hungary. The facts in brief:

In France, no doubt under the pressure of U. S. agents who hinted that if the Stalinists remained in the French cabinet the forthcoming loan to France might not be... forthcoming, the Stalinists were dropped from the cabinet. Now the Social Democrats, "rule alone" even though they are a minority party. Of course, this is a bit of a farce; actually they are ruling as trustees of French capitalism and Anglo-American imperialism. In any case, however, a squeeze play has been worked on the Stalinists, who thought that no cabinet would

be formed without them. In France at least, the Stalinists don't yet dare to come out with a full-fledged policy of opposition to the government; they content themselves with "criticism." They have deliberately restrained the French workers from striking; in some instances they have even played the role of strike-breaker.

In short, in France the Stalinists are not yet prepared for a show-down, if only because they, and their master in the Kremlin, know that the U. S. will not tolerate the loss of France and would be ready to take extreme measures in case of such a loss. Such extreme measures, not even perhaps short of war, the Russians are not in a position to counter. As a result they restrain themselves and their followers in France. (This fact, it should be added, provides a great opportunity for exposing the Stalinists in France, for showing how their vassalage to Russian foreign policy makes them betray the interests of the French workers.)

In Italy, a similar situation has

developed. Again largely under the prompting of Anglo-American imperialism, a new cabinet has been formed without either the Stalinists or the pro-Stalinist "Socialist" party of Pietro Nenni.

The premier, De Gasperi, is leader of the Christian Democratic Party, which is the party of the Italian capitalist class and of the Vatican. He has chosen a cabinet of "non-party technicians"—which means of floating bourgeois politicians—and his justification for excluding the parties of the "left" has been that their inclusion might prevent a loan from the U. S. (In the present catastrophic economic position of Italy, such a loan is a very important political device.) Such a statement, however, is merely an inverted way of saying that the U. S. is demanding the exclusion of the Stalinists from power as its price for the loan. In turn, the Stalinists are trying to play it a little rough. They have organized demonstrations and some of the "Partisans" are reported to have taken to the hills. But it seems, at

the moment, doubtful if Stalin is prepared to precipitate a civil war in Italy; here, too, he must know, the bloc of capitalist powers is making a stake and will not give up without a fight.

So that we come to Hungary, where there has taken place the most sensational news event of the week. The premier, Ferenc Nagy, of the conservative bourgeois Small Landowners Party, has been forced to resign as a result of Russian pressure and he has been replaced by a Quisling from his own party who will serve as front for the Stalinists. This Quisling, Lajos Dimnyes, is a minor figure from the Small Landowners Party who has been pushed to the post of premier by the Russian occupation because of his willingness to take orders from it.

### INSIDE HUNGARY

The situation in Hungary is remarkable from a number of points of view. The Small Landowners Party, to which Nagy belongs, is a bourgeois party with a considerable

following among the Hungarian peasants, who comprise a majority of the country's population. In the last election held in Hungary in 1946, the Small Landowners Party polled 57 per cent of the vote. The Stalinists got 17 per cent and the Social Democrats 17 per cent. This absolute majority was given to the Small Landowners Party not, we think, because of any intrinsic attraction it may have to the Hungarian people, but because they sought a means of registering their dissatisfaction with the Russian occupation. And since the Stalinists and the Stalinized Social Democrats were both playing ball with the Russian occupation, there was only one party for which dissident votes could be cast: the Small Landowners.

After this resounding defeat for the Stalinists, a shaky cabinet was then set up with Ferenc Nagy, leader of the Small Landowners, as premier, and with Stalinist and Social Democratic representation far beyond that which their strength warranted. Nagy

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# East Bay Machinists Vote Strike Action

By JACK NEAL

OAKLAND, May 30—On May 21, the workers of Marchant and Frieden Calculating Machine companies met at the Oakland Auditorium Theater to hear a report from the business agents of four lodges of the International Association of Machinists on the state of contract negotiations. Speaker after speaker described how the companies had stalled negotiations and virtually broke them off by telling the union representatives they were going out to eat and "would negotiate from the dining room."

The afternoon work stoppage meeting to hear the report was obviously being held as a test of union strength and as a means of pressuring the company to "get off the dime." But the aroused union membership voted overwhelmingly to start strike action immediately. The Oakland Tribune, Joe Knowland's anti-labor sheet, lyingly headlined its afternoon edition "3500 Machinists Out on Wildcat Strike."

Why did the companies provoke this strike? The answer is not hard to discover. They were operating on the weaknesses of the production lodges of the IAM, to which most of the workers at Frieden and Marchant belong. The union leaders were conscientiously avoiding strike talk and strike preparations. The union membership was not kept informed on the day-to-day progress and lack of progress of negotiations, thus allowing the companies to spread all kinds of pernicious lies and rumors to confuse and discredit the workers. The companies have not been struck for some ten to fifteen years. Among the members the union has a reputation of being a do-nothing outfit, with high inflation fees and little action. Shop stewards hardly functioned at all. The members stayed away from the boring, tedious meetings by the thousands. That's why the companies have tried to pull a fast one.

The rank and file production workers didn't let them get away with it. Once the facts were made clear to them they took militant action. They voted for a strike, knowing they didn't have money saved in the bank, that they were facing two profit-swollen companies. They know un-

employment and layoffs are just around the corner. They know that Congress and the courts are providing the bosses with some powerful weapons to break the strike. But the men are out on the bricks and the plants are shut down tight. The first week "holiday" phase of the strike is over and the men realize how that it may be a long and bitter fight.

It is impossible to decide how this battle will end. One thing is certain: if the 3,500 workers, with the steady help of 16,000 other Bay Area machinists really begin to throw their weight around, the two companies can be brought to their knees.

**PRODUCTION CHANGES**  
The strike at Marchant and Frieden's points up the problems which unskilled, low-paid production workers face in the IAM. This conservative craft union will be 60 years old in 1948. It gained strength, high wages and good conditions, but not on the basis of mass militant action. The machinists in the small shops bargained on the basis of their high skill and craftsmanship. The union has become ossified these last 60 years because most of its members belonged to the "aristocracy of labor."

This is now changing. Mass production methods in shops like Marchant and Frieden's make shop skills more and more superfluous. There is little skill and a great deal of monotony connected with such jobs as assembly, inspection, drill press and punch press in these two plants. Being different from the old-line machinist in the nature of his work, the production worker also gets the rawest deal as regards wages.

Let us see how. The average wage of an IAM member throughout the country is a dollar-fifty, according to The Machinist, April, 1947. But the average wage of the production worker at Marchant and Frieden's is much closer to \$1.15. Does the IAM officialdom try to close this gap between the wages of the production worker and the craftsman? No, they only widen it. The agreement with the California Metal Trades Association, which covers most of the shops in the Bay Area, provides for a fifteen-cent hourly increase for skilled craftsmen and only thirteen cents in-

crease for production workers. Once this pattern is set, this will be the deal Marchant and Frieden's will get when the strike is won. No wonder Mel Thompson, business agent for Oakland Production Workers, Lodge 1586, reported that he had bitterly accused the business agents of other lodges of "having sold the production workers down the river" in their CMTA agreement.

The production worker knows that he and his family have to eat and live just like the skilled craftsman, that he faces the high cost of living as does the skilled craftsman, that he is as vital to the production of the company's product as is the skilled craftsman. Growing wage differentials between the minority of skilled workers and the majority of production workers sets these workers one against the other and weakens the union. The production worker, knowing he has been discriminated against, loses interest in the union entirely. The only people who gain from such a shady deal are the bosses, who fatten themselves on the union's weaknesses.

### IAM NATIONAL POLICY

This old craft-line double-dealing is very apparent in the national policies of the IAM. The membership is now being polled in a referendum as to whether the IAM should rejoin the American Federation of Labor. Now the AFL is hardly the ideal labor organization, but there is obviously a good deal to be gained by uniting with a labor movement of seven and a half million workers, particularly now when the labor-haters and strike-breakers are gang-ing up on us. But the top IAM pic-nics, President Brown included, seem to be against it. Simply because the IAM has a 30-year-old jurisdictional beef with the Carpenters Union and the Structural Engineers. Does it make any difference to the rank and file IAM member whether the few thousand workers involved "belong" to the IAM or the Carpenters Union? No difference at all! But this is what the bureaucratic tops of the IAM are fooling around with all the time.

From the viewpoint of labor's intervention in politics, the IAM is among the most backward unions in the United States. The weekly paper, The Machinist, devotes three-quarters of its space to the government's anti-labor drive. But its proposals to combat union-busting are limited to

two words: "Write letters." The rank and file members instinctively feel that letter-writing to government strike-breakers and scab-herders is a waste of time. In this they are far smarter than all the bureaucrats, from Harvey Brown to Mel Thompson. The members would go for some direct action like the Oakland general strike, or political action such as labor candidates in the city, state and national elections. The IAM officialdom is incapable of providing leadership of this kind. They are busy hunting red bogeymen—Stalinists or good political or militant unionists—to expel them from the union and deprive them of their jobs in case they work in a closed shop.

The political backwardness and vicious red-baiting policies of the IAM allowed the union to give only half-hearted and passive support to the recent municipal election. Had this been the policy of the other unions in the East Bay area, Knowland's finks in the City Council would have easily been re-elected and the picket lines in front of Marchant might have been facing an army of four hundred cops as did the clerks at Kahn's and Hastings' last year.

The power upon which the bureaucracy rests is beginning to fall away. More and more production workers are going to be coming into the IAM as skilled machine shop work is cut down all over the country. These production workers work differently and think differently than did Harvey Brown and his fossilized bureaucratic clique.

The production workers at Marchant and Frieden's must push this strike until they win a clear-cut victory. They will realize that there is a great deal involved besides the strike. They have to ask for a flat fifteen cents across-the-board increase for all of the workers and without any strings attached. They have to put pressure on the old-line craft lodges in the Bay area to break down the discrimination against production workers. They have to give full support to building labor's permanent political organization in Oakland in order to clean out the labor-haters and union-busters in Sacramento and Washington. They have to organize a broad progressive group to revitalize the IAM and build a union which every member would have confidence in and be proud of. This is the opportunity offered by the strike and a strike victory.

# TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

### BIG BUSINESS FARMERS

I see where the National Council of Farmers has told the House agricultural committee that farmers should help themselves before calling on the government for price supports and curbs. It seems to me that the farmers for the past five years have been helping themselves—to everything in sight. I speak only of the big farmers, of course.

There used to be a time when the nation's farm population lived on relatively small one-family farms, and for the most part made a bare living. They were royally rooked by the railroads, the grain elevators, the fertilizer sellers, the farm machinery manufacturers, and the politicians.

They are still taking a rooking from Big Business—but many farms are today themselves Big Business. From time to time this column has published statistics on the growth in the size of farms, the decline in the number of farms and the farming population, the increase in the farm holdings of the banks and insurance companies. The number of wealthy businessmen in the cities who today own farms is very large. The trend toward the purchase of farms by businessmen began in the depression 1930's, when Roger Babson and other Big Business "thinkers" urged such a step as a refuge from the coming revolution.

The newer fear of atomic warfare and of a coming depression has speeded the trend. For instance, almost all the farms surrounding Chicago are now in the hands of business and professional men from the city. The bidding for farms has been so spirited that the real farmers complain that land prices have been driven too high. It is probable that the same trend exists outside other large cities.

Together with this situation is the trend to larger and larger "factory farms," owned and operated by Big Business. It is these farms that produce the major portion of food for the market.

The Census Bureau recently announced that the value of farms jumped more than a third from 1940 to 1945, to a total of \$46 billions. The value of farm output far more than doubled in this period, from \$7.8 billion to \$18.1 billion. "Farm population decreased sharply," stated the bureau, the 1945 count being 23,558,488 farm dwellers. The average farm in 1945 was 194.8 acres, compared with 174 acres five years earlier. The number of farms declined from 6,096,799 to 5,859,169. The number of tenant farmers dipped from 2,361,271 to 1,858,421. The number of family workers and hired hands declined more than 1,000,000, to a total of 8,373,239.

Farm efficiency has jumped more than 50 per cent in the last 20 years. Compared with the era just after the First World War, a farmer now gets half again as much corn for one hour of work. He gets two and a half times as much wheat. He gets a third more milk.

While the poorer farms—and they still are in the majority—remain poor, the big wealthy farms have made a killing in recent years. Food prices have soared 145 per cent since mid-1939, almost double the percentage advance in prices of manufactured products. A lot of the increase has come since the end of the war. Food is now half-again as expensive as it was in the spring of 1946. In the first four months of this year, farmers received a \$7.5 billion return from farm products and government payments, up 22 per cent from the same period last year, according to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The increase came primarily from increased prices, as government payments were only 40 per cent

as great as in 1946. Cash receipts from livestock and products in the first four months are expected to total around \$5 billion, or 40 per cent above 1946. Prices for meat animals are averaging about 55 per cent, and cash receipts 50 per cent greater than last year. Prices of dairy products are about one-third higher.

The index of prices received by farmers reached an all-time high of 280 by mid-March, while the index of prices paid by farmers also reached an all-time high of 229 at the same time. The Department of Agriculture expects that prices of farm products will remain relatively high for the rest of the year, "due to the strength of basic sources of demand"—that is, to government buying for foreign relief.

The Wall Street Journal reports that its survey of the nine major agriculture areas indicates that the well-off farmers are on a "buying binge," while city workers everywhere are having to pull in their belts. The durable consumers' goods that city workers cannot afford to buy—the home freezers, refrigerators, washing machines, console radio-phonographs, airplanes, automobiles—are the items most sought by farmers.

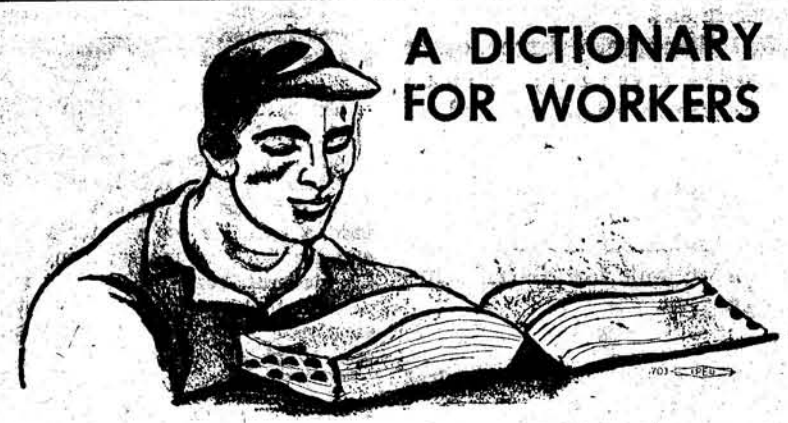
In 1939, the 30.6 million people living on U. S. farms received cash income of \$8.684 billion—or 12.3 per cent of national income. By 1946, farm income had climbed to \$24.744 billion—or 15 per cent of the national figure. This percentage gain, observed the Wall Street Journal, was all the more remarkable because total farm population fell 5,000,000 between 1939 and 1946 while national population was increasing.

Affluent farmers have got out from under the old mortgages. In Wisconsin, mortgages have been whittled down between six per cent and seven per cent for each of the past few years. The total farm mortgage debt in that state has been reduced from \$346 million in 1941 to a 1946 figure of \$258 million—the lowest in 30 years.

From the viewpoint of cash farm receipts, the richest farmers, as might be expected, are those running the factory farms in California. California farmers accounted for eight per cent of the total national cash farm receipts. Other prosperous farm states are Iowa, 7.4 per cent of the total cash income; Texas, 5.6 per cent; Illinois, 5.8 per cent; Minnesota, 4.2 per cent, etc. Ten states shared 48.8 per cent of the national farm cash income, which gives you an idea of how concentrated is farm prosperity.

The top layer of U. S. farmers is rolling in dough today. Like the ardent capitalists they are, they are charging all that the traffic will bear. Furthermore, their short-term future appears bright. Wall Street, motivated by its aim to buy off the revolution in Europe and Asia, is going to continue to ship huge quantities of food abroad. These heavy government food purchases constitute an assured market for the farmer.

But the day of reckoning will be an awful one. It will come when government food purchases stop. The domestic market will be glutted with all sorts of grains, meats, vegetables, dairy products, which, at government-inflated prices cannot be absorbed by the masses in the cities. When those days come, you will see the political ties between the workers and the majority of the farmers—progressively loosened with the coming of the war and the decline of the Farmer-Labor movement—tightened again. On the other hand, the big farmers will more and more become the political appendage of Wall Street, and will be used to advance many Big Business proposals against the people.



## A DICTIONARY FOR WORKERS

Compiled by JACK RANGER

- Demagogue**, one who tells the masses things that are untrue and who makes promises that he has no intention of fulfilling.
- Democracy**, refers either to a particular form of state organization—the capitalist parliamentary régime; or to certain "democratic" rights arising out of the struggle of capitalism against feudalism. These rights are of two sorts. The first group consists of those rights which embody and enforce capitalist property relations, such as the right to hold property in the basic means of production; the right to employ wage labor; the right to monopolize for the sake of private profit; the right of individuals and private organizations to control the instruments of propaganda, such as press and telephone and radio and motion pictures; the right to suppress the products of science and invention in the interest of profits, etc. The second group of democratic rights includes many of the so-called "civil liberties," such as the rights of free speech, free assembly, habeas corpus, petition, public secular education, etc.
- Democratic centralism**, an organizational principle that provides for full freedom of discussion prior to a decision by the organization, followed by complete unity in action in carrying out the decision.
- Dialectics**, a method of logical reasoning whereby a thing is considered in the light of its development or evolution, and in its relationship to all other things.
- Dies Committee**, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. Congress which was headed by former Congressman Martin A. Dies. The principal purpose of the Dies Committee and its successors is to stir up public suspicion against union leaders and militant workers generally.
- Dual power**, the state of affairs existing in a nation during a revolutionary crisis when the old government and the new revolutionary government both exercise power in the same area, each government representing different classes and aims. By its very nature, such a period is quite brief.
- Dual union**, one which competes with an established union which has already organized the bulk of the workers in a trade or industry.

# On the ILGWU and Real Political Labor Action

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is holding its annual convention on June 16 in Cleveland, Ohio. As at so many of its recent conventions, the leadership of the union will record the state of the union, the progress it has made since the days of struggle so many

### British Group Urges Amnesty Upon Truman

Disappointment over the "continued victimization of thousands of American citizens" who have been sentenced as Selective Service violators was voiced in a letter addressed to President Truman by Herbert Read, noted English poet and chairman of the Freedom Defense Committee, British counterpart of the American Committee for Amnesty.

"We learn that not only are 1,000 of these men still in prison," wrote Read, "but thousands more are severely handicapped in seeking to earn a livelihood by their being deprived of certain elementary civil rights."

"We in this country have carefully watched the trend of events in the United States and have ventured to hope that at this juncture, long after the war has finished, a general amnesty would be granted... We respectfully tender the opinion that not only is a general amnesty the only practical solution—it would also be acclaimed as a statesmanlike action."

years ago, and the condition of the many enterprises in which the union engages in the field of education, welfare and culture. They will point with pride to the efficiency of a finely organized union which has succeeded in getting reasonable gains for its workers without the necessity of engaging in long drawn-out strikes. But as usual, there will come the warning that the union must be vigilant to preserve these gains against the possibility that some forces or other may destroy what has been built so laboriously.

Somewhere along the line, the convention will receive a report or hear some comments in the course of an address—most likely by Dave Dubinsky himself—that the political situation in the country contains some grave dangers for unionism. He will, like his fellow officials of the AFL, point to Washington and describe the perfidy of Congress which has passed the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill. The speech will call upon Truman to veto the bill, if he has not already done so, and cry out for nation-wide protest telegrams and letters to be sent to congressmen. The ILG convention will no doubt reflect the opinions of those AFL leaders who feel betrayed by the Republican Party which so many of them supported.

### NO POLITICAL ACTION

Dubinsky and others will no doubt point with pride to their "independent" political policies. It is quite possible that Dubinsky and his aides may, at one point or another in their remarks, threaten the two parties of

capitalism with an independent party, a third party, or even a "labor party." All of this will be a sign of the times, but we can say with certainty that the union will not, at this convention at any rate, adopt anything like a serious action toward such a step.

The political progressiveness of the ILGWU stands out only in comparison to other unions, particularly the old-line craft unions of the AFL. The ILGWU has not, with the exception of its earlier efforts to build the American Labor Party in New York, subsequently taken over by the Communist Party and turned into a Stalinist auxiliary, done anything to concretize any of the progressive, "independent labor political action resolutions" which it has repeatedly adopted.

Yet, this powerful union, composed of tens of thousands of experienced and progressive members could have and can still play a mighty role in hastening the movement for a labor party in this country. It would not be wrong to say that the officialdom of the ILGWU, especially the officialdom of its powerful Local 22, is fully cognizant of the meaning of genuine independent labor political action. Many of them with political experience of long standing know fully what should be done. If the ILGWU used its tremendous resources and high standing in the labor movement, given the present mass political dissatisfaction of millions of unionists, for a campaign of education, agitation and organization of a labor party, such a party of the people could be easily organized on

a solid and long-lasting basis.

The union does not have a solidly organized progressive force to counter-balance a radical political program to the present course of the officialdom which can best be summed up as a do-nothing political policy, unless support of one or another of the capitalist politicians of either party is called a labor political policy.

A right-about face in this field of union activity, made more and more necessary by the current political situation, is an obligation for the ILGWU. One of the obstacles that

stand in the way of such an intelligent program is the long list of "wised-up politicians" who play such a dominant role in the union. But a mighty upsurge in the ranks could make these leaders quit talking so much about independent political action and begin to do something other than sit around banquet tables with the "radical" capitalist politicians, or yell "amen" every time John L. Lewis and William Green protest that they and the AFL have been robbed by such sterling pro-labor politicians as Senator Taft and Representative Hartley.

# Hungary Coup --

(Continued from page 1)

tried to resist, to some extent, the gradual domination of Hungary by the Russians, but in many respects he played along with them. The Stalinists gained control of the Ministry of the Interior, which meant control of the police. They staged a series of "purges" in which they eliminated enemies of their rule. All the while the might of the Russian army was behind them. Finally with the aid of the Social Democrats (the cowardly role of the Social Democrats in the Stalinist occupied countries we shall comment on some other time) they squeezed out Nagy and installed their puppet.

cate, tend to be like the recent election in Poland: a set-up for the Stalinists. The technique of breaking up and destroying all opposition groups is the same in all countries which the Stalinists occupy.

Without question this is a victory for the Russians in the tug of war now being waged in Europe. Though Hungary was within their sphere of control, the elections in that country proved a severe moral blow to the Russian claims to popular support. Now they will stage another election... more carefully.

At the moment there is nothing the Anglo-American bloc can do. Perhaps a protest note; but that is all. As the New York Times correspondent, Bertram Hulen, reports from Washington, one result will be that the U. S. government will now "pay more attention" to (that is, try to exert more control over) events in France and Italy.

In these events we see still another part of the general tendency for all small, or second-rate nations in Europe to be swallowed up by the major imperialist powers. Either openly through outright force—as Russia does. Or more subtly, through financial pressure—as the Anglo-American bloc. In either case and to varying degrees, the sovereignty of every European people is being destroyed. It is for this reason that in the hands of the revolutionary socialists in Europe today, the program and slogan of "national liberation" without the troops of all the occupying powers; full self-determination for all peoples" is so powerful. It is the road to mass struggle; to driving out the imperialist occupation; and thereby to destroying their native agents and the capitalist structure.

# UAW Threatens Strike at Briggs Detroit, Evansville Plants

DETROIT, May 27 (UAW Release)—Refusal of the Briggs Manufacturing Company to bargain in good faith with the UAW-CIO threatens to cause a strike in the company's plants on June 5. Emil Mazey, director of the UAW-CIO Briggs department, said today.

Negotiations between the union and the company were broken off Tuesday morning, Mazey said.

The attitude of the Briggs management, if it remains unchanged, leaves the Briggs workers with no choice but to strike for their own protection," Mazey declared. "In that event, responsibility for the effect of the strike on automobile production must be borne fully and ex-

clusively by the Briggs management.

"Negotiations since May 1 have failed to move the Briggs management from its stubborn and unreasonable position of demanding contract changes that are designed to and would result in the destruction of the union and the forfeiting by Briggs workers of their collective bargaining rights. With complete disregard for the welfare of its workers, the community and the nation, the Briggs management is determined to make a desperate attempt to break the union of its employees. The attempt will be unsuccessful, but if the company persists in its plan, the effort will be a costly one.

"Most of the contract changes de-

manded by the company represent drastic departures from the general pattern of collective bargaining relationships in the automobile industry and from long established practices in the Briggs plants. They are changes that would make it impossible for the union to exist and carry out its collective bargaining functions and responsibilities.

"Following are some of the changes demanded by the company:

- "Elimination of time and a half for Saturday work and double time for Sunday, which has been in effect in Briggs plants for ten years.
- "Replacement of collective bargaining at the first stage of the grievance procedure by individual bar-

gaining between the workers and the foreman, which has never been the practice in Briggs plants since the union was organized.

"Abolition of maintenance of membership provisions which have been in effect five years.

"Reduction of the number of committeemen, which would result in inadequate representation of the workers in collective bargaining relationships.

"Limiting the functions of committeemen.

"The company also refuses to fix a retroactive date for the payment of wage increases and other economic concessions that are agreed to in the current negotiations. A tentative

agreement has been reached on general wage increases, vacation pay provisions and pay for holidays. The company's refusal to fix a retroactive date means that Briggs workers stand to lose not only back pay while the company stalls negotiations, but they will not be paid for the Memorial Day holidays, as will their fellow workers in other auto plants.

"The company has further insisted on freezing wages for a period of one year, including the freezing of existing wage classifications. During the ten years of contractual relationships between the union and the company, we have always had an open-end wage agreement that could be opened at any time.

## "An Abiding Belief In Old-Fashioned Virtue" and Slavery

Some would say that the following tale, reported at some length in Life, could have happened only in French Canada, but such a comment would only reveal an awareness of the essentially reactionary nature of Catholic-dominated Quebec. Actually, however, the story of industrial servitude which we recount has been duplicated in other parts of the industrial world of capitalism where there is a profit to be made from the labors of the workers.

Ludger Dionne (no relation to the productive Dionne), a French-Canadian rayon spinning manufacturer, took himself a trip to Germany this spring to find some cheap labor for his mill, whose labor force had declined sharply now that the farm girls he exploited during the fall and winter months had "take(n) off to the woods," as he said. So this industrialist, with an "abiding belief in old-fashioned virtues" (Life), decided to become "the savior of the working girl." The UNNRA officials to whom he went to ask for 100 girls readily consented, being overwhelmed with the problem of displaced persons.

The qualifications of the girls demanded by M. Dionne were that they be of good health, good Catholics and of high virtue. This throw-back to feudalistic industrialism carefully checked on the girls whom he found to be "relatively healthy and impressively Catholic."

Originally he was going to choose Ukrainian girls for his soul-saving venture, but two Catholic priests steered him to a Polish camp and there he had his choice among 12,000 camp inhabitants. The industrialist arranged for their trip to Canada by plane to increase his labor force to five hundred—still three hundred short of his goal. But he is now planning to bring over another hundred girls. "I hate to see machines idle," declaims Dionne.

Because of the backgrounds he demanded of the girls, it was rumored that industrialist Dionne demanded that all the girls be virgins. This, of course, he denied. Someone must have tipped him off to the meaning of the "ravages of war," and then again, you know, these days, it is hard to tell. Even doctors say you can't always be sure. No, all he wanted was good girls, and he learned that the girls of his choice went to mass every morning.

To show that he wants to be decent about it all, the paternalistic industrialist is paying the girls 21 cents an hour for a 48-hour week! What is more, he even gave them a contract for two years. The 48-hour week will cause no great hardship because Dionne had already ascertained the girls' interests by asking all of them: "You don't like to run around nights, do you?"

Just in case anyone thinks this a piece of chicanery and is revolted thereby, rest assured that the girls are really well provided for. Of course, they must pay back their passage money. After all, it wasn't their money! Of their \$10 a week, they are going to pay only \$6 for room and board. Since the legal minimum wage in Canada is 20 cents an hour, the one cent difference is going to be banked for them so that when they leave his employ after two years, they will have a little nest-egg to go on. You can figure it out: one cent an hour over the legal minimum, 48 cents a week, 52 weeks a year, two years, why that's...

M. Dionne, who was "amazed to see the goodness of these girls," is taking no chances, however, which is right and proper, given these perilous times. The girls will be taken charge of by the nuns of the Order of the Good Shepherd, for whom Dionne built a \$250,000 annex to the stone convent near his mill. But it is a lie that the girls will be virtual prisoners. Dionne himself told the girls, who are permitted out at night: "You can see your sweethearts." It is only for their own protection that they must see their sweethearts only "in the convent parlor, and at 10:30 (they) will have to go."

Whatever one says about this, it must be admitted that the magnanimous industrialist has helped to solve Canada's labor shortage and it is pure cussedness for one parliamentary member to have charged Dionne with dealing in "a fire sale of human misery." After all, he did get the girls out of Europe, and if he is only paying 21 cents an hour for 48 hours a week, remember, money isn't everything. The girls will be aided in fighting the gross materialism of modern life, through the spiritual help of the Order of the Good Shepherd. And the comforts of religion are, as everyone knows, quite priceless!

# Michigan CIO Convention Will Test Strength of UAW Factions

By BEN HALL

WHEN the convention of the Michigan CIO Council is called to order on June 14 the preliminary skirmish will begin in the battle between the Addes-Thomas-CP bloc and the Reuther caucus for control of the coming international convention of the United Auto Workers Union. The strength of the two factions will be tested, especially among the delegates from UAW locals who make up a large part of this state convention, and the grounds on which each intends to make its stand will be charted in general outline. If this convention is to signal a step forward for the labor movement its proceedings must be attuned to three facts:

One: A full scale economic-political offensive by the employers has been launched against the labor movement.

Two: The CIO workers in this area have shown themselves fully ready to fight back by the hundreds of thousands.

Three: The leadership of the CIO in general and of the UAW in particular has no program, no policy, no platform which can offer guidance to their members in such a fight.

Twice within a year, the workers of Detroit have poured out into the streets by the tens of thousands in massive demonstrations. In July, 1946, they demonstrated in vain for the retention of price control. In April of this year, they stopped work to march to Cadillac Square in protest against anti-labor legislation. And in Flint, without the moral or material backing of a single well-known CIO official, UAW militants from several locals are campaigning vigorously for the formation of an Independent Labor Party.

These acts prove that the workers are ready to intervene through their own organizations, by their own mass action in the broad social questions facing the country. And they are concerned not only with the amount of wages in their pay envelope but with prices, with profits, with political developments and with the course of the government. Let us emphasize this point because in attempting to whitewash its own miserable role the "Wage Earner," published by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists has to minimize it.

The Stalinists were victorious in the big Rouge local 600, it informs us, because the anti-Stalinists wasted their time in a futile attempt to explain to the workers the significance of important national and international events while the Stalinists and their aides rested on their ability to settle little shop grievances. Therefore, you see, the workers are only concerned with petty matters! Not one word of this is true. The fact is that the anti-Stalinists in local 600 took their guidance from the Wage Earner and had neither a correct analysis of important social issues nor an enviable record on shop matters.

### ORIGIN OF PRESENT FIGHT

The election of Walter Reuther to the presidency of the UAW and the defeat of R. J. Thomas was a spectacular revelation of what the UAW members wanted. They supported Reuther because he represented a radical new social policy associated in their minds with the program of the GM strike of 1945-46. Yet, though the need for a program of militant action is as necessary as ever and though the UAW members have displayed their readiness to follow such a program, as the state CIO convention prepares to meet, Reuther maintains a studied silence

### Head Respective UAW Caucuses



WALTER REUTHER



GEORGE ADDES

## These Are the Facts On "DeLuxe" Relief

By HY PHILLIPS

NEW YORK—The new low in journalism reached by the New York City newspapers in recent weeks, which have devoted reams of newspaper to lurid accounts of extravagance in relief spending, has focused attention on the growing relief problem here.

Governor Dewey, aspiring candidate for the presidency, has seized upon the excuse of "luxury" relief to order an investigation of the Welfare Department. He hopes to expose the city's administration of relief by riding the victims of insecurity and avarice, the jobless, the aged, the halt and the blind; in a word, the people who can't answer back, the people who have been used out by the capitalists and cast aside to live on the pittance of a relief handout. These are the people Dewey will expose to pave his way into the White House. The facts of the situation will show that, far from living in luxury, the overwhelming majority of the people on relief are living from hand to mouth.

### RIISING CASELOADS

The Welfare Department of New York City finds itself faced with a rising caseload as unemployed and veterans exhaust their unemployment insurance benefits and GI allotments. Young veterans are taking the place in industry of older workers and women with families. These are flocking to the welfare centers for assistance in ever-increasing numbers. Since V-J Day, the number of cases has risen from 93,000 to 126,000, so that there are approximately 233,000 individuals on the relief rolls in all categories—aged, mothers with dependent children, and those on home relief. Here we have a good index of the growth of unemployment in the city and the inability of many low-paid workers to meet their living expenses in the face of rising prices, especially of food.

The Welfare Council of New York recently declared that the food budget of the Welfare Department is at least 12 per cent under the minimum requirements, and this is a conservative estimate. This is for food alone. Taking all other items into account, the Council considers that the average relief budget is 20 per cent under the MINIMUM required for health and decency. This, in spite of the fact that an over-all budgetary increase of 20 per cent was granted by the department at the beginning of this year. During the past years, while the cost of living was rising, the budget constantly fell behind and only when it became clear that the

greatest hardship was being inflicted did an increase come through.

A glance at any typical case on the relief rolls will speak more eloquently than a hundred statistics. Mr. and Mrs. Jones on home relief, live with their two children in a three or four-room apartment of a dilapidated house in the slums. The halls of the house are dirty and unlighted. The rooms are poorly ventilated. It is a cold-water flat and heat is supplied by a stove and an oil burner. The rooms need painting. Violations are covered up. All sorts of repairs are needed. The lack of decent furniture is all too evident. The "scientifically" worked out budget allows from 50 to 65 cents a day for food for the adults. The small children receive 30 to 40 cents per day for food, depending upon age. Is it any wonder that the children are so susceptible to disease and malnutrition in this household? Is it any wonder that they have been using their allowances for clothing and incidentals to supplement their need for food? There are no allowances for recreation for this family. They can't afford to go to the movies, buy radios or make trips to the beach. They are supposed to vegetate into self-sufficiency, and are not to be treated as normals until they do. The truth is that the budget is grossly inadequate. Even the private agencies in the city have a minimum budget for a relief recipient which is considerably above that of the Welfare Department. The city has never maintained its relief cases on anything more than a starvation level.

### PURPOSE OF ATTACK

The newspaper attacks go far beyond the housing of 37 families in hotels. They represent an attempt to discredit relief for the jobless and indigent in order to reduce the budget still further. They are also out to smash the union in the department by red-baiting tactics. The city administration now finds itself on the defensive and publicizes some of the facts about the low standards of relief as though it was none of their making; as though the budget director and the Board of Estimate were not a part of the administration responsible to it; as though the budget director had not pared the latest budget estimate submitted by the department to a figure considerably below actual needs.

Actually, the Mayor and his administration hold the whip and wield it like the harsh "overseers of the poor" of olden days. It is the same administration that has saddled the

(Continued on page 5)

## Open United States Doors to Displaced Persons! Powers Play with Displaced Persons' Lives

By AL FINDLEY

A sub-committee of the House of Representatives will begin hearings June 4 on the Stratton bill to admit 400,000 displaced Europeans to this country in the next four years.

The bill, introduced by Rep. Stratton and supported by the Citizens Committee for Displaced Persons, would allow 100,000 DPs to emigrate yearly from Germany, Austria and Italy, through the utilization of unused quotas.

The plight of these unfortunates was dramatized recently by the recent events which forced more than 116 Jewish refugees to spend three days and nights on a bridge in the no-man's land between Hungary and Austria. Among them were pregnant women and several children. Three of the children died of hunger during this nightmarish time, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

What happened to this group is typical of the fate not only of Jewish refugees but of refugees generally in Central Europe.

### HUNGARY INCIDENT

On Tuesday, a group of 116 Jews who had fled from hunger conditions in Rumania into Hungary, were forced by Hungarian frontier guards to cross the Austrian frontier at Rohrbach. The Russian kommandature of the district ordered the Austrian guards to send the refugees back. A Soviet major and a detachment of soldiers escorted them across the frontier. Trucks sent by the Committee for Refugee Jews were con-

fiscated by the Russians and the drivers arrested.

When the case was brought by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior to the attention of the Russian authorities in Vienna, they ordered the trucks returned and promised to ask the Russian authorities in Budapest to prevent further "incursions" of refugees. However, the Russians have insisted on returning to Hungary those refugees who already had arrived.

Then the Hungarian frontier guard, under orders from the Stalinist Security Minister of Hungary, refused to readmit the refugees. The Austrian guards in their turn declined to permit the refugees to cross the bridge. There they stayed, without shelter, without food or water, for three days, until the Austrian guards, finally moved by the plight of these pitiful refugees, housed and fed them in the railroad station.

They are still in the railroad station, suffering less hardship, but hardly enjoying the "finer things."

### IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

The situation of those in the DP camps has been showing no improvement. The camps are converted concentration camps and the enforced idleness is increasingly disintegrating. They are rotting away and the change of name from "concentration" camp to "DP" camp has not materially improved their hopes for the future.

UNNRA has been giving aid to over 850,000 displaced persons, of

whom less than 250,000 are Jews. The UNNRA will cease to exist on June 30. Unless the substitute International Relief Office, with its greatly reduced budget, begins operations immediately, almost one million persons face immediate starvation and deportation to countries where their lives are not safe. The IRO cannot come into existence without the U. S. appropriating its share, \$73,000,000, to the budget of this organization.

There is no basis for thinking that the displaced persons will to any significant extent be absorbed into the shattered economies of Germany, Austria and Italy. The real and final answer to the entire problem is immigration.

The majority of the 250,000 Jews want to go to Palestine. The Workers Party, together with the international working class, demands the opening of the doors to the Jews. However, as Americans, living in the richest country of the world, we put the emphasis on the demand of "Open the Door to the U. S." All the Zionist groups at first refused to raise this demand and now a few do, but still give this demand only a mild lip service. This policy is one of gambling with the lives of thousands of Jews for so-called ideological reasons, and does not help their struggle to open the doors of Palestine.

The 600,000 non-Jewish refugees want to go to North and South America. The Workers Party demands the right of free immigration for all people, to all countries. For us, the

right of free immigration everywhere is one of the basic democratic rights, like free speech and freedom of religion. Revolutionary socialists have always been the most consistent and sincere fighters for civil liberties and democratic rights.

OPEN THE DOORS! What has the United States done up till now. President Truman has demanded the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. But they did not get there—they are in new concentration camps in Cyprus. At the special assembly of the UN on Palestine, the American delegate did not even mention the President's often repeated demand.

On December 22, 1945, President Truman, acting within the limits of the present restrictive immigration laws, ordered the admission of 39,000 refugees. It took five months before the first group arrived in May, 1946. Last week was a full year since this group landed and instead of 39,000, only 12,400 immigrant refugees were admitted into the U. S. So as not to sound like totally destructive critics, we hastened to point out that despite President Truman's inaction, he has done far more than did Roosevelt on this question.

Roosevelt operated under the same laws, but this "great humanitarian" did nothing. He even prevented a pro-Jewish resolution on Palestine from reaching the floor of Congress.

The U. S. has trifled too long with the lives and welfare of these people. There is no reason either in com-

mon sense or justice why the American labor movement should allow itself to be influenced by the taboos of the immigration laws.

There can be no peace in Europe without solving the DP problem. There is no saving of American money by supporting the DPs in Europe, through UNNRA, IRO and an army of occupation. The immigrant does not have to become a rival for a job, for an apartment, for a house. With a proper program the U. S. can supply more than three times its present population in comfort. The immigrants will add to the greatest asset any country has—its population, its workers.

In the name of peace and reason, no less than in the name of humanity, the time has come to do something about it.

OPEN THE DOORS TO THE U. S. FREE IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE.

COMING IN LABOR ACTION: An analysis of the problems facing the AVC as it prepares for its National Convention. This will include a program for militants in the AVC.

### HOW THEY BUILT THE FRAMEWORK OF THE "FOUR FREEDOMS"



## A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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## Editorials

## Where Is the Price Drop?

It is exactly two months since President Truman made his public plea to big business for a voluntary cut in prices in order to bring about a greater balance in the economy, forestall labor demands for wage increases and to raise the standard of living of the people a few notches. Prices were way out of line, said the President, who never could make his mind up about the OPA and finally, with the aid of his colorless, reactionary assistants and Congress, killed whatever was left of price control.

The situation got so bad this spring that many thought the President would be compelled to act by proposing some new governmental measure to control prices. But they didn't know our President. No, the President was far more clever than to invite the abuse of the press and the opposition of Congress. This time he would make a plea to the profiteers and try to show them the error of their way—ask them to reduce prices for their own good. He felt that his position as President would provide sufficient persuasion and produce the necessary good will to bring about a voluntary and big reduction in prices.

But the President was merely exercising his vocal cords. Business didn't take him seriously because there was nothing in the President's speech that should have been taken seriously. At least, big business

understood that.

In these past two months nothing has taken place to bear out the President's good temper on the price question. Aside from a few demonstrative flourishes on the part of some local storekeepers and a great deal of fakery, prices have held the line. No reduction in real prices has taken place. On the contrary, there has even been a slight increase in commodities other than farm and food. A slight drop in food prices has taken place, but it is apparently more seasonal than anything else—it is not reflected in restaurant prices, or in the prices of most staple foods.

In business circles a great deal of back-passing takes place: manufacturers blame wholesalers and retailers for price levels; retailers blame the wholesalers; the wholesalers blame the manufacturers—and they are all right, for each category is soaking the people for all they can get.

Behind them stands the leering Congressman who helped secure the profits of big business and their smaller hangers-on by ending price control and making it clear to the profiteers that as far as they are concerned the sky is the limit on prices. The job the people have is to heave that whole gang of big business Senators and Representatives out of Congress by beginning now to build a party of labor to represent the interests of all the people.

## On Congress and Economy

We are once again in the midst of the "economy season" in Congress. The very same legislators who didn't hesitate a moment to pass bills granting astronomical sums for war purposes suddenly become conscious of the "taxpayers" and start cutting items from the national budget. Usually these items are those which have some social usefulness, such as reforestation and child lunch programs; on such matters the "economy-minded Congressmen" (as the capitalist press admiringly calls them) are regular heroes. But they habitually and without a word of dissent pass legislation which provides for the expenditure of millions of dollars for the further discovery of increasingly terrible ways of waging war.

We recall, however, that in a little-publicized incident of some months back Congress rejected a bill to create a national research institute to find ways of curing cancer. This disease, as everyone knows, is the second most deadly afflicting man; it is feared by millions and it is a terrible affliction of millions. Official estimates are that one out of every eight persons will get cancer. That means that of the total population of the United States, some 17,000,000 people will one day have and perhaps die from cancer.

Surely, then, this is a disease which requires the most heroic measures of research and medical activity; surely this is a real enemy of mankind requiring a total effort to stamp out.

Yet Congress refused to pass a bill which would have coordinated national efforts against cancer into one large organized research project. The grounds? "Economy."

But wait a moment. Wasn't the proposal to begin this nation-wide movement against cancer similar in kind to the plan once worked out during the recent imperialist war to perfect the atomic bomb? The same nation-wide coordination; the same government financing; the same mobilization of the top talent of the nation's scientists.

But with one big difference. The atomic bomb was a terrible weapon which killed thousands of innocent helpless victims at one blow. The atomic bomb is a weapon which can be used to destroy civilization.

While cancer research is a project which may help millions of people to avoid premature death and untold suffering.

The difference is clear, isn't it? Congress voted funds for the atom bomb without a murmur. In fact, with cheers.

But in the name of "economy" it killed the plan for cancer research. The murderous atomic bomb was necessary, we were told, for "national defense." Cancer research is presumably not necessary for "national defense."

There you have it. Under capitalist society, the production of atomic bombs is "national defense." These are the standards and values of capitalist society and its politicians. Let everyone examine them and learn from them.

## LEON TROTSKY'S

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## WORLD POLITICS

## British Labor Party Conference

The conference of the British Labor Party which has taken place at Margate, England, has ended with a victory for the old line leadership of Bevin and Attlee. Before the conference opened there was a good deal of talk about a rebellious group, a so-called "left wing," which was to attack Bevin's imperialist foreign policy; but at the conference itself this group was roundly trounced, despite a few pyrrhic victories on minor issues. Since the only reports of the conference thus far available are those in the daily press, we shall here confine ourselves to a few comments in the hope of receiving a more detailed report later.

There was a fairly large dissident group at the conference. Under a progressive socialist leadership, this group might have played an extremely significant role. For there seems little doubt that a certain amount of discontent with the policies of the Labor Party government has developed inside the ranks of the Labor Party and that this discontent expressed itself through the "rebel" group at the conference. But the highly unfortunate fact is that the "rebel" group was largely under Stalinist control or influence; Bevin's description of it as "crypto-Communist" (that is, secretly under the influence of the CP) must be acknowledged as accurate. This group, led by such MPs as Driberg and Zilliacus, has made as its central plank a proposal for a pro-Russian foreign policy. It has had no essentially socialist criticisms to make of the Attlee government. Despite its ability to attract some support from Labor Party members who confuse socialist militancy with pro-Stalinist Russian foreign policy, the "rebel" group has been doomed to defeat. Bevin's attacks on it at the conference were powerful and well-aimed; the "rebel" group's alliance with pro-Stalinism allowed him to slough off his own criminally imperialist policy in Greece, Palestine and Indonesia.

## "REBELS" UNDER STALINIST LEADERSHIP

It is therefore a tragic fact that it was precisely the existence of this "rebel" group, tainted as it was with the colors of Stalinist appeasement, which facilitated the victory of Bevin and Attlee. For the genuine socialist criticism which might have been made of Bevin and Attlee was lost in the shuffle when the problem was posed as pro-Russian or pro-British foreign policy. Actually, genuine socialists can find nothing attractive in either foreign policy.

That the crypto-Stalinist group was able to gain such a degree of support, however, indicates that there is considerable dissent inside the Labor Party. It shows that at least minority sections of the party's membership are restless about their leadership's imperialist foreign policy and its failure to establish a genuine socialist regime at home. There is here an excellent opportunity for revolutionary socialists to direct this dissent along genuine socialist, as against reactionary, Stalinist, lines. From these distant shores it would therefore seem highly advantageous for revolutionary socialists in England to function within the Labor Party and attempt to drive the crypto-Stalinist MPs out of the leadership of the more militant elements within the Labor Party.

Otherwise, the conference revealed little new. There was a great deal of talk against British subservience to U. S. imperialism and one of the Ministers, Hugh Dalton, announced that Britain would not ask the U. S. for another loan. (Which probably means that they have been tipped off that they can't get another loan!) One of the MPs, Jennie Lee, cried out, "Must we go as mendicants? Must we accept political conditions and become a junior partner of American imperialism?"

The sad answer to that question is yes, unless the British Labor Party government took one of two other possible courses: moved into the orbit of Stalinist Russia, which is highly unlikely, or took steps toward the expropriation of the British capitalist class, the establishment of a genuine workers regime in Britain and the rallying of the European working class in a similar direction—which, given the political complexion of the British Labor Party's leadership, is just as unlikely. So that so long as it follows its present course of trying, willy-nilly, to prop up British imperialism abroad and nationalizing a few industries at home while leaving intact the basic structure of finance capitalism, the British government has no real choice but to be the "junior partner of American imperialism."

## ADMITS DEFENSE OF IMPERIALISM

Bevin, by implication, recognized this when he declared that Britain was going to take all possible steps to maintain its position in the Near East in order to keep its fingers on the crucial oil deposits of that area. "I am not going to be a party," said Bevin, "to putting all the British interests into a pool and all the others sticking to their own." A remark strikingly similar to Churchill's declaration that he would not preside over the liquidation of the British empire, with the single exception that Churchill is an admitted imperialist.

On the issue of Palestine, there was a certain amount of dissatisfaction, but Bevin defended his policy of terror against the Jews on the grounds of concern for the interests of the Arabs. That Britain has been simultaneously exploiting the Arabs and depriving them of their national independence, did not seem to bother Bevin. Here too the opposition to Bevin's policy was weakened by its disastrous semi-Stalinist leadership.

On only one issue did rank and file criticism win a victory: the problem of equal pay for equal work. A number of women delegates made impassioned speeches demanding that women in industry receive pay equal to that which men receive for the same work. This demand is so obviously just that even the Labor Party leaders were embarrassed by their opposition to it. They opposed it not "on principle" but because it was, they said, "impractical at the moment." But the conference voted down the leadership and came out in support of the demand of equal pay for equal work.

Though not in itself of first importance, this incident shows the potentialities for rank and file Labor Party militancy. It must be remembered that the delegates always express more conservative views than the ranks in the constituencies. Bevin and Attlee remain in the saddle, but a clear, anti-Stalinist and militant grouping inside the Labor Party should be able to make that saddle increasingly jittery in the coming months.

## International Socialist Notes

The Revolutionary Socialist Party, Irish Section of the Fourth International, has just sent us several copies of the first issue of their new organ, "Workers' Republic." It is a six-page periodical in magazine format.

The first issue features a lead article entitled "The Connolly Tradition" which relates the life and struggles of James Connolly to the present class struggle in Ireland. Tracing Connolly's career as an internationalist and Marxist, it shows how he properly understood the nature of the Irish struggle for independence and tried to give it the necessary integration with the general class struggle. Other articles deal with specific

problems which arise out of the division of Ireland which has resulted in the separation of the Northern nine counties from Eire.

In an article on "Unemployment and High Prices," The Irish RSP has raised a series of demands which are not unfamiliar to us in the United States. They demand: (1) A Sliding Scale of Wages; (2) A Sliding Scale of Hours; (3) Open the Books for Inspection; (4) Expropriation, without Compensation of Idle Factories and (5) A Comprehensive Scheme of Public Works.

Copies of "Workers' Republic" can be obtained by writing to LABOR ACTION.

Comrade Bob Armstrong writes from Belfast that the Irish RSP held an open-air Connolly Memorial meeting on Sunday, May 11th. He writes as follows:

"Six hundred workers attended—most of them were sympathetic to the policy of our party. We reckon that this is one of the biggest Trotskyist meetings ever held in the British Isles—and certainly it was one of the biggest labor meetings in Belfast for the past two years."

An interesting sidelight, Armstrong reports, was that: "About ten police attended—one in uniform, the others in plainclothes. One of them took shorthand notes."

## British ILP Meeting Shows Party Is Nearing Collapse

The British Independent Labor Party is on the verge of collapse. The ILP is a centrist organization—that is, it is to the left of the official Labor Party but is not a genuinely revolutionary socialist organization. We are reprinting below a report on its recent conference which is taken from the mid-April issue of the Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Trotskyists:

The ILP conference, which met on April 6, 7 and 8, constituted the most critical in the whole history of the party. The proceedings had the character of the last twittings of a dying body. At the end of the conference an air of depression hung over all the delegates.

The circulated agenda contained a varied collection of resolutions, most of which were pervaded by pacifist or reformist sentiments, and patently reflected an absence of revolutionary thought within the party. Even the few amendments put forward by the lefts which attempted to raise class issues were invariably defeated.

The general demoralization of these lefts, in face of the hopelessness of the position, was demonstrated by the Battersea delegate, Hugo Dewar, when he only formally moved their most important amendment to a pacifist resolution on foreign policy and disarmament and did not even attempt to argue the case. On his own statement, it was pointless to do so.

Apart from the public session on the afternoon of the 6th, and a short public session on the 7th, when a

nebulous resolution on workers' control was discussed, the remainder of the conference was held in private session.

In the first of these private sessions a resolution supporting the proposal that ILP members be permitted to join the Labor Party was defeated by the pacifist and sectarian wing. The proportion of voting was much the same as in 1946, and on much the same basis.

A resolution presented by the NAC that a "Socialist" Federation be established with Commonwealth, and that a permanent joint committee of the two parties be set up to carry out joint activities, was carried. This was after the proposal to fuse with Commonwealth had been defeated, although the door was left open for further negotiations.

But it was after this session that the sparks began to fly, with the suspension of practically all the remainder of the agenda and the continuation of the private session right up to the end of the conference.

On the morning of the 8th, Carmichael (whose parliamentary report, signed with Campbell Stephen, had not contained a particle of socialist criticism of the Labor Government) handed in a letter to McNair stating that in view of the decision not to go into the Labor Party, he could not remain in the ILP and would go into the Labor Party himself.

This desertion of Carmichael was taken up in full cry by the rest of the right-wing affiliationists. Camp-

bell Stephen, the other MP, followed suit and announced his intention of leaving.

It was reported that branch after branch would fold up and go into the Labor Party.

The general attitude of the pacifist-sectarian wing was "let them go." But all the delegates recognized that the party was rapidly moving to complete collapse and that, whatever happened, there was not much hope left.

During the past twelve months, leading elements such as Brockway, McGovern, Padley and others have deserted the sinking ship and joined the Labor Party. The leading figures that remain are itching to join them. After the special conference the parliamentary representation will be gone, and with it the only string that holds the ILP together.—R. T.

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## OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

## "The Best Years of Our Lives"

PART II

The task which confronted the fabricators of "The Best Years of Our Lives" was to inhibit the explosive possibilities of the veterans' problem so as not to menace the capitalist mythology about the present system but yet to secure a maximum emotional impact. Inevitably a falsification of the veterans' world took place.

The movie perpetuates the myth of the classless American society. The plot, contrary to the ballyhoo, does not concern typical GIs in typical situations. In real life the rich and poor alike do not equally suffer the ravages of war. Unlike in the movies, middle-aged bankers with two grown children do not ordinarily become sergeants in rifle companies. Nor do slum boys ordinarily end up as air corps captains. It happens, of course. The point is, it is not typical, as the movie infers. Harold Russell, the amputee, is a credible person, but his presence does not change the dominant impression given.

How were the homecoming problems of these untypical men resolved? In truly Hollywood, that is, truly untypical style. The banker is rudely put back to work (with a promotion!) by his boss. That was a problem! His second crisis is overcome with equal facility: a maudlin speech at a dinner secures him the right to make small loans to veterans without collateral. The field for the Little Entrepreneur is still wide open, the movie suggests. If individuals have economic difficulties they are not resident in the system but are caused by a few hard-fisted bankers, who, in the end, turn out to have a heart, if not of gold, then of something closely resembling it from a Hollywood prop room.

Nor can we doubt for a moment that the captain's emotional storms will be followed by fine weather. He comes home to discover simultaneously that his wife is a floozy and that he is in love with the banker's daughter. To point out that beautiful bankers' daughters who marry dissatisfied drug store clerks from the slums (thereby solving their economic and biologic needs) are a rare commodity is no doubt only bad taste.

The only profoundly moving part is that portrayed by Harold Russell, the amputee. His strength lies in a number of things: his face, which is the face of a person you know, his utterly natural speech, and the real and irrevocable nature of his problem even in the story's terms. (It could have been you yourself!) To this tension a tragic surcharge is added by the knowledge that this man's problem is real, that the fairy tale once told, he cannot, like the other actors, return to the real world a whole person. For him it is not make-believe.

But with all of this, his role, much as we desperately want to believe in it, does not, in the end, quite inspire conviction. Life (you only have to look around) is too often not quite so good, not quite so pat. Nevertheless, whatever dignity this movie has, whatever memories of dead days, dead places, and dead men it stirs, whatever tears it brings is due to this real man with the real looks.

## SOME FAULTS OF COMMISSION

All of Hollywood's phony symbols for "The American Way of Life" are there: The general plushness of the décor, broken only by the briefest shots of the captain's slum home and his almost two-dimensional parents. Women so uniformly beautiful as to be uniformly boring. The Completely Hygienic treatment of sexual matters. Characters as complex as figures in a medieval allegory: The Understanding Wife, the Prissy Floorwalker, the Hard-hearted Banker, etc. The dehydrated dialogue ("It's really not bad after you get used to it, men.")

The story is choppy and is lacking in intensity. This is caused in part by concentrating on too many characters. Mostly, however, it is caused by breaking off emotional passages before they drive too inescapably deep. Scenes of the most terrible potential power, such as the one in which the mother answers her child's accusation of parental insensitivity to her problems by telling of the rocky road of her marriage, are pulled up short . . . of life itself. The crude drunk scenes, done within the movie convention, lower the whole intensity of the drama.

## FAULTS OF OMISSION

Of that burning hatred of the army which consumed every vet there is not a trace. Nor of his hatred of the officers. Nor of his cynicism about the war. The enemy, the picture would have us believe, was the civilian. And just to nail down the point that the vet considered it a just war, the amputee was made to attack a civilian who raised a question about it.

"It is a stupid, sad story like yours or mine," says a character in a finer film, "Les Enfants du Paradis." But a "stupid, sad story like yours or mine" is just what is not recognizable in "The Best Years of Our Lives." Where are the actual problems—the housing shortages, the miserable factory jobs, the lives without perspective, the good wives—not the floozies—who cracked up, the dead who deserted the living, the Cinderellas who weren't real princesses, the clocks that ran down?

There were good things in the show. The hesitancy of the vet before entering the house was a good insight. (The strangeness, the guilt of being alive when others were dead, the embarrassment of being thought a hero when you knew your own cowardice, the fear of the man in the bed, the inability to sense the reality of civilian life, the loneliness of unshared experiences.)

Another excellent symbolic scene was the one of the air corps officer wandering in silence through the bomber-graveyard where thousands of planes lay with their engines jerked out, empty of present meaning, but echoing with memories of tremendous combined effort, high stakes, comradeship, purposeful activity, even dignity.

But they are only scenes, of more indicative than of actual value.

It is difficult, in a way, to be harsh. The haze of memory settles over everything, and you say, "Why bother?" But when you hear people beginning to say, "Frankly, don't you think this veteran stuff has been exaggerated?" You have to rise and say of the movie, "It's a lie! It's not like that!"

It is necessary only to contrast "The Best Years of Our Lives" with such an anti-war film as "All Quiet on the Western Front" to see that the current film is only a slick rationalization for the past war and, thereby, an emotional preparation for the next one.

Commemorating an Irish Revolutionary Marxist

# James Connolly and the Socialist Struggle for Irish Unity

The following is the lead article which appeared in the first issue of "Workers Republic," new periodical issued by the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Irish section of the Fourth International. We are reprinting the main body of the article because we believe it will be of interest to American readers, particularly because it treats with James Connolly, the great Irish revolutionist, in the light of present-day conditions and the needs of the Irish working class.—Ed.)

ONLY the Unionists unreservedly scorn Connolly's memory. The Eire ruling circles have to be more circumspect. They are even compelled to acknowledge him as a national hero. For, as the Irish capitalists are unable to falsify the history of Easter in the manner that Stalin has falsified October, it remains common knowledge to every schoolboy that he was one of the two outstanding leaders of the Easter rebellion. Thus it is that Connolly, the revolutionary socialist, has suffered the unusual and curious fate of becoming an object of involuntary homage rendered by capitalist exploiters.

To be sure, the Fianna Fail conservatives, while paying cautious tribute to his memory, piously lament his "tragic error" in embracing the class war doctrines of Marx. They would prefer to erase the socialist imprint from the hero's pedestal, and to insert "purely national" in its stead. On the other hand, the fascist fringe of the nationalist movement, posing as the champions of the down-trodden unemployed and low paid workers, freely cull excerpts from Connolly's teachings to suit their own reactionary purposes.

## CONNOLLY'S DEBASERS

Within the republican wing of the labor movement, Connolly is hailed by all as the final authority in matters of socialist principle. Unfortunately, however, the much quoted texts from his works are seldom understood and frequently perverted. To revive the genuine tradition of Connolly among the youth, and among the members of the labor movement generally, is the major task of "Workers Republic." This tradition, however, is not like a dish of Irish stew which can be appropriated to the various sections of the labor movement, in accordance with the requirements of each of them. If by Connollyism is meant uncompromising class struggle against every shape and form of capitalist exploitation—and an honest study of Connolly's teachings cannot lead to any other interpretation—then only the sprinkling of socialist workers grouped around the banner of the Revolutionary Socialist Party have the true right to designate themselves Connollyites.

We assert this tranquilly and confidently, happy in the knowledge that we shall hardly offend the leaders of official labor who love to drape themselves in Connolly's cloak on holiday occasions. For most of them won't even read our paper and,

if they do, they will give broad, tolerant grins. The class war doctrines of Marx seem realistic to these people only when they seem to relate to past history and have come to rest in the works of someone already dead and famous.

Long experience has likewise habituated us to the sarcastic jibes of the so-called Communist Party, North of Ireland and British, whose Connolly Club—a part of the Stalinist solar system—is designed to divert the patriotic and class militancy of Irish emigré workers into channels useful to Stalin's diplomacy. We recall how, during the Stalin Hitler pact period of the war, the Irish Stalinist leaders played the role of anti-partition crusaders and how later, during the Churchill-Stalin pact, with breath-taking effrontery, they proclaimed themselves adherents of the constitutional position of the Six Counties. They hailed Brooke as the leader of the "progressive" wing of the Stormont Tories. They flew the Union Jack, symbol of imperialist oppression, at their demonstrations. And—make sense of this who can—they demanded the substitution of the Civil Authorities Special Powers Acts by the British Emergency Powers (which in the hands of the Tory Unionists, would have fulfilled precisely the same function). And during this period, the bust of Connolly escaped the indignity of being decorated by an orange sash by a hair's breadth; for, while bowing and scraping before Brooke and "our" Irish generals, the Communist Party continued to profess allegiance to Connolly, Lenin and Mary.

## THE TACTIC OF EASTER WEEK

Connolly, first, last and always, based himself on the class struggle, and his Citizen Army grew directly out of the picket of the great 1913 strike in Dublin. He was an internationalist whose fiery denunciations of imperialist brigades of 1914 are still the most invigorating writings that have ever appeared in the British labor press. Liebknecht's slogan, "Down with war! The main enemy is at home!" and Lenin's "Turn the imperialist war into civil war!" found a ready echo in Ireland. Connolly was full of praise for the heroic Liebknecht. In his "Forward" articles he urged the leaders of the European labor movement to throw their influence into transforming the imperialist war into a struggle for socialist liberation. The northern star gleaming beyond the shadows of night is no further distant from this orbit of ours than Connolly's program of class struggle is from the reformist vapors of the republican socialists of today.

However, it was the tactic of harnessing to the goal of socialism that earned Connolly a distinctive place in history. All other aspects of his greatness he shares with others. But this uniqueness lay in the circumstances themselves. What, then, was the Easter Week tactic? Was it a putchist effort? An act of desperation arising out of a loss of faith in working class mass action? Was it a desertion of the socialist goal, as Connolly's socialist critics allege?

Putchism, whether left-wing or right-wing in tendency, is character-

istically based on the notion that the mass of people will remain passive onlookers, while an attempt is made at the seizure of state power by an élite of politicians turned militarist; or, more familiarly, by the members of the officer caste itself. The insurrection of October, 1917, for example, was not in any sense of the word a putch, although accomplished by a comparatively small number of Red Guards. The Czarist and capitalist reaction inside the country was demoralized, and foreign intervention had not yet begun. The mass of workers, fully conscious of all the issues at stake, stood ready to answer a call to arms as they had done against the putchist attempt of General Kornilov.

The Irish war of liberation took place in reverse order to the Russian Revolution. There the popular mass struggle of February paved the way for the October overturn. Here, the insurrection of Easter preceded and, in fact, produced the popular upsurge. Thus Easter Week had every appearance of putchism; for here was a small body of fighters, numbering not more than several hundreds in all, who challenged to battle a mighty empire whose soldiers were undemoralized and armed for a large-scale war.

Connolly, Pearse and their comrades were the nation's idealists. Yet nonetheless they were a part of a trampled populace, whose dream they expressed and whose understanding they sought to gain through struggle. Hundreds of years of imperialist tyranny had made the vision of liberation so much a part of the personalities of Irish men and women that, trading with Britain and even fighting for her, they scarcely took account of their yearning to be free. The Easter battle broke the habit of compliance. It brought the dream to life. Going down in defeat it touched potent springs of revolt and brought welling out of the nation's heart a flood of patriotic courage and resolve. The British had won a Pyrrhic victory. Their power over most of Ireland was broken.

Was it not the military debacle in itself which is of first consequence when a popular insurrection goes down to defeat but the political conduct of the insurgent leaders. The magnificent struggle of the Asturian miners in 1934, although bloodily suppressed, left the Spanish workers undismayed and paved the way for the bitter resistance to Franco. On the other hand, the battles which raged in the streets of Madrid in 1939, between the forces of the Spanish "Communist" Party and those of Colonel Casado—their erstwhile ally in the Popular Front—were prestige-saving putchist actions. The rival factions grappled while the victorious fascist army stood at the gate, and while the Spanish working masses, bewildered by betrayal and bled white by the war, looked on impotently.

The valiant uprising of the Warsaw Jews against the Nazis, in the latter part of the war, was strikingly reminiscent of the Easter Week rebellion in some of its features. Here were representatives of a people doomed to physical extirpation, who rose against their oppressors and fought with legendary courage until they were overwhelmed and massacred. The situation of the Irish under Britain in the 20th century did not parallel the plight of the Jews under Hitler. But in the threat of the Northern Carsonites, the presence of a strutting, alien soldiery in the land, the slaughter of Irish youth enlisted with the British, there was inflammable material enough at hand to light the flames of the Easter insurrection.

## CONNOLLY'S PATRIOTISM

The patriotism of capitalist exploiters is a quality altogether different from the selfless idealism of rebels fighting to free their land. To insist that Connolly was above all an internationalist socialist is not thereby to fall into the error of supposing that the passion of patriotism was absent from his feelings. His patriotic fervor was intense and his

## Italian Stalinist Posters Cater To Superstitions

The April 22 issue of the Manchester Guardian carries an interesting report on the election tactics of the Italian Stalinists. The report reads in part:

"The Communists' posters were really a masterpiece of pandering to Sicilian superstitions. They were written in dialect, misquoting a local poem and read: 'People's block: God's block: Jesus will descend to scare all tyrants, with joy in his heart and his fist clenched.' 'After the Communist deputies' vote recently here in favor of inclusion of the Lateran Pact in the Italian Constitution and these Sicilian posters, one Roman wit has propounded that Signor Togliatti (Stalinist leader of Italy) is aiming at being called 'the man sent by Providence' just as Pope Pius XI called Mussolini. There is actually more in this than the joke and the dogmatic Communists are certainly among the staunchest allies of the Vatican in this country today."

fiery hatred and contempt for his country's oppressors inevitably betrayed him into occasional exaggerations. For instance, in his "War Against the German People" he favorably contrasts the German industrialists to the brutal, mean and slothful ruling class of England. On the other hand, in other articles of the same period, he heaps equal hatred and contempt upon the German imperialist brigands.

It is worth noting that the Stalinist party, during the Stalin-Hitler pact period, published Connolly's "War Against the German People" without a word of criticism. Within two years, however, they were describing the German people as "Huns."

An erstwhile revolutionist, Koestler, makes a mock of those Marxists who continue to harbor feelings of passionate personal animosity toward their political enemies, in apparent contradiction to the doctrine that the evil lies not in man but in his circumstances. But this is theorizing out of time and space. It is the "whips and scorns" of capitalist society which shape the rebel soul of the revolutionist long before he has worked out his philosophy of life. Lenin understood this when, writing of Gallagher in his youth, he spoke of "his noble proletarian hatred."

And noble, too, was the patriotic wrath of Connolly and Pearse, contemplating the trampled pride of the Irish people.

## DID HE ABANDON SOCIALISM?

It would be interesting to discover how many of those who accused Connolly of abandoning the working class struggle found themselves later in the bandwagon of capitalist imperialism, or else found comfortable posts in the official opposition—in reality, the junior partnership of the De Valera régime.

These guardians of purity notwithstanding, the revolutionary military alliance with the volunteers was entirely in accordance with socialist principle. "Keep your arms, your allies of today may be your enemies of tomorrow" was the warning issued by Connolly to the Citizen Army on the eve of battle; and when it is borne in mind that Pearse and his friends were men who wielded no means of coercion over the workers—unlike the allies of Stalinism, such as de Gaulle and Churchill—but were, indeed, men prepared to live or die as outlaws in the eyes of official society, then the principal difference between the revolutionary tactic of Connolly and the opportunist policies of the Stalinist Popular Fronters, or of the labor reformist capitulators to the capitalist state, is apparent.

At the end of the Second World War the European capitalist classes found themselves in perilous circumstances. War and occupation had reduced the capitalist economy to conditions of chaos. The professional armies and the police, formerly reliable instruments in holding down the workers, had either been shattered or dispersed; or else had so compromised their standing through Quisling collaboration with the Nazis, as to have forfeited the allegiance of even the backward elements of the population. The working class forces emerging from the underground had won sufficient moral authority among the middle classes to have been able to lead virtually the whole of society in a struggle against the capitalist exploiters. Intervention, blockade, as well as the exhausted state of the economy, would have presented huge difficulties to the newly-arisen workers' states; but the Russian workers survived such conditions and, in any case, no lesser dangers and difficulties can be envisaged for the future. However, the Stalinists and reformists used their influence to dissolve the militias, and formed coalition governments with the exploiters to work for the restoration of the capitalist state. Had the militias of the working class been trained in the Citizen Army tradition by leaders of the stamp of Connolly, the rotting structure of capitalism would have been swept away. Connolly would have fought the Nazis in the underground and would have formed military alliances with non-socialist sections of the Resistance Movement, but he wouldn't have dreamed of liquidating the independent military formations of the working class in the interests of reconstituting bankrupt capitalism; and far from entering into political partnership with Badoglio and de Gaulle, he would have described them as criminals on an equal plane with the Nazis.

It may be added that whereas the Stalinists incessantly preached racial hatred against the German workers there can be found nowhere in the works of Connolly, even by the implication of a chance phrase, a single word of insult directed against the English working class.

The Easter Week proclamation was revolutionary nationalist in tone, and capitalist-liberal in content. But, as the German Marxist Lassalle has taught, the essence of constitution lies in the balance of power between the classes. It was far from a foregone conclusion that, once the British power had been vanquished, a new native, capitalist state would take its place. The final outcome of the struggle begun in

Easter Week depended on the further course of the international class struggle. Meanwhile, the supreme immediate task lay in smashing the coercive power of the British and casting out of the Irish race the spirit of submissiveness.

But nevertheless, argue the critics, the capitalist state DID consolidate itself, and the Easter rebellion led to the triumph of Cosgrave and De Valera's régime. These enterprisingly superficial critics belong to the same camp as those who attribute Stalinism to the thought and action of Lenin. The truth is, however, that the triumph of the reactionaries took place despite the revolutionaries, and because of the aid afforded them by the treacherous leaders of the workers.

Had the conflagration which consumed the Russian state extended to the West, then the role of the Citizen Army, thanks to the prestige won in the struggle of Easter Week, would have been immense in advancing the cause of the workers' revolution throughout the whole of the British Isles. But the Western capitalist powers stood immune from the fires of revolution, and, in Central Europe, reformist socialism extinguished the flame. The survival of capitalism in the decisive centers ruled out the prospect of a revolutionary development in Ireland.

## RISE OF PARTITION PROBLEM

The struggle between the partisans of the treaty and the wing of irrecconcilable republicans, and the partitioning of the country by the British led to the victory of the De Valera régime in the South and the rule of the Carsonite Tories in the six North-eastern counties. Two generations of ardent youths expended themselves in the apparently hopeless effort to oust the British from their Orange bridgehead in the North. The more fiercely and resolutely gloved the spirit of struggle among the baffled republican forces, the more firmly the Tory régime consolidated its support in the ranks of a misled, bigoted working class. Today, the proof that the Irish working class is the most conservative in Europe lies in the longevity of the rival governments.

De Valera strengthened his influence during the war. His neutrality policy protected the Eire state from the shocks, upheavals and devastations which shook the political stability of the belligerent capitalist states. The safety valve of emigration prevented the unemployment question from becoming a threat to stability.

An immense force for the indoctrination of conservative ideas is the church, whose historic power as a national (and nationalist) institution is perpetuated by the stagnant condition of living standards, and the consequent absence of a sharp hunger for social change among the workers. And, in place of rebellious, landless peasants of former days, there are the petty proprietors of today who, though hostile to the monopolies which exploit them, are nonetheless imbued with a conservative dread of change.

Every child knows that the overriding political issue of the past quarter century has been the country's disunity, and the presence of Britain in the North. The capitalist system maintains itself on the divi-

sion of the workers, and no working class has ever been more effectively divided than the Irish. A unified, independent Ireland, or union with Britain? Over this problem reformist socialism has floundered helplessly for a generation. Labor reformism is by its nature compelled to keep in step with the popular prejudices. However, the thorny problem is what to do when two rigidly opposing sets of prejudices divide the workers. This split on the constitutional question has led to division among the reformist socialists themselves.

## UPHOLDERS OF STORMONT

The Commonwealth Labor Party is the avowed defender of the British connection within the Northern labor movement. The Commonwealth Party justifies its position on the grounds of the cultural affinities and common traditions of the peoples of England and Ireland; of the superior social services under Britain; and of the anti-labor role of the Catholic Church, as demonstrated, for instance, during the Spanish War.

However, while it is true that speech, literature, history, trade unionism, politics and economics tend to cement the closest bonds between the Irish and British workers, on the other hand the tradition of greatest political consequence to the Protestant workers (whom Commonwealth aspires to represent) is the one which they share with their nationalist fellow workers; namely, the "Irish Question," under which heading we place religious bigotry, church politics, the Orange Order, the IRA, the special powers, partition, and all, in short, that keeps the workers behind the banners of Orange or Green Toryism.

The sectarian hatreds can be finally burned away only through working class unification around a programme of all-sided struggle against the vested interests. Down with the factory bosses and the landlords, the partition politicians and the Orange leaders, the police dictators, the church politicians and sectarian ideologies of every hue! It is only through engaging in the creative task of transforming the social system and establishing the workers' republic that the consciousness of the workers will be changed.

It is undeniable that the Westminster subsidy allows six county residents superior social services to Eire's. But it is equally true that two generations of British workers have had to spill their blood on Europe's battlefields in defense of these standards, won through class struggle and made possible by Britain's world exploitive power. Let us recall in this connection the efforts of the Commonwealth leaders to persuade the six county workers to accept conscription.

High prices and ever mounting taxation weigh down the gains which the Northerners share with the British. A merciless trade war and a further military struggle loom ahead. Viewed against such an oncoming of ruin and bloody destruction, the question of the relative level of social amenities between Eire and the North is of minor importance. In raising the question of social service levels, the Commonwealth leadership demonstrates its essential adherence to capitalism, and its belief in its reliability. It does not seriously occur

to them that the duty of socialists is not to choose between De Valera and Brooke régimes, but to advance the goal of workers' power. The harsh conditions of capitalism drive thousands of fresh layers of workers yearly in the direction of the labor movement. A few thousand workers, influenced by a fighting movement, would win the masses of people behind them in a social crisis.

Meanwhile the greatest counter-pressure to the growth of a socialist consciousness in Ireland is the Northern régime, its subsidized services notwithstanding. Tory unionism is an exceptional régime, neither fascist nor democratic, which preserves itself by playing on the Protestant fears arising out of the size of the nationalist minority and the proximity of the Eire republic. To keep green the seeds of sectarian division among the people must inevitably remain the guiding principle of its policy.

It is fantastic to suppose that within even a capitalist republic the roles would be reversed and that the Protestant workers would become the object of sectarian discrimination. The concentration of the Protestants and the anti-sectarian bias which partition has given the nationalist workers, are sufficient guarantees. In contrast to Stormont, exceptionalism, there is a normal, reactionary capitalist régime. Far from providing a base for the Catholic indoctrination of Protestant children—as the Protestant Action demagogues allege—the unification of Ireland would weaken the power of the anti-socialist crusaders of Catholic Action by providing a superior mobilizing point for the class struggle. Between Stormont and the Dail we therefore make some distinction. To choose a hypothetical example, we would support strike action protesting attempts to force a reunion with Britain on Eire. On the other hand, we would denounce as reactionary a strike action aimed against the incorporation of the six counties into an Irish republic. Such considerations could only be modified in the event of a fascist government coming to power in the South.

## THE REPUBLICAN LABOR WING

At no time would we assume a shred of responsibility for the political actions of the capitalist parties of either side, or sacrifice working class independence for blocs with dubious "in-between" politicians. The supreme task is to heighten the socialist consciousness of the workers, to arm them with an understanding that the Fianna Fail and the Unionist politicians are the agents of the employers, to convince them that capitalism is bankrupt, and to equip them with a program for power. The main republican wing of the Labor movement, the Eire Labor Party, by its demonstrated alliance with De Valera on questions of high state policy and its purely verbal opposition on secondary issues, by its acceptance of the Papal encyclicals and by its failure to lead the class struggle of the Southern workers, plays into the hands of the partitionists and sectarians. Its anti-partition campaign is conducted on abstract historical grounds unrelated to the class needs of the workers of either side. Its activities are conducted outside the consciousness of the Northern Protestant workers.

(Continued on page 6)

# "De Luxe" Relief --

(Continued from page 3)

workers with an increased sales tax, broken strikes and perpetuated the housing crisis. Having told some of the facts about relief, they have only exposed their negligence and callousness in the treatment of the indigent. The story is beginning to follow the same pattern as during the depression days. The administration could never find the sums of money needed to maintain a decent standard for the victims of economic insecurity. Yet they were able to pour untold sums into the war machine for destructive purposes. How hollow this sounds today when they say they cannot find money for housing or the relief budget although we are also told that purchasing power is still at a high level. Or do they imply that they cannot extract much more money from the depleted pockets of the workers while they relieve the "harrassed" bankers with high interest rates?

## STAFF SHORTAGE

The public assistance problem has been putting very great pressure on the staff of the Department of Welfare and there is now a shortage of 777 persons in the department, 221 of them social service workers. The staff is represented by the United Public Workers Union (CIO), which only recently succeeded in getting a \$300 cost-of-living bonus for the underpaid workers of the department after a long fight. A social investigator handles a large caseload, often exceeding 75 cases, and goes into all problems of his clients, financial, medical and social. The department is utilizing the situation to exhort the investigators to greater effort to catch up with the work. The investigators have found it difficult enough to keep pace with visits and clerical work, let alone the many pressing medical and social problems faced by their clients. The department is

beginning to tighten up on its investigations for eligibility. It is becoming more difficult to obtain items of special need. As the investigation by the stated department of social welfare proceeds it will probably interpret the rules more inflexibly and pry deeper into the privacy of the clients.

Not the least of those who are involved in the relief setup are the veterans. The Welfare Department maintains a separate veterans division, whose caseload has been growing constantly. The staff is overtaxed to handle the influx of veterans who have returned from the Army to the post-war paradise of joblessness, GI allotments and relief handouts. Joblessness among the veterans constitutes 45 per cent of all males unemployed. What a commentary on the failure of capitalism to find jobs and provide for its defenders! Is it possible that the anti-relief hysterics want to include this category too among those who would rather live off the government than work?

The old argument that people on relief are "lazy" falls flat in the face of a more detailed examination of the makeup of the relief rolls. We then find that 54,000 persons are old-age cases, 2,000 blind, 28,000 women at home taking care of children, and 96,000 children. About 37,000 persons are in the so-called "employable" group, and of these, according to Commissioner Rhatigan, only 1,800 are fully employable. Most of the others are older, handicapped people who cannot readily compete in the present labor market. The department has its own employment service and frequently succeeds in making placements. Is it fair then to condemn these helpless people who exist on the lowest possible standards? We say that such attacks are only making capital out of human misery, the cheapest form of political trickery imaginable.

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# ATOMIC BOMB AND THE HOLLYWOOD MIND

By SUSAN GREEN

MGM's film "The Beginning or the End," Hollywood's version of the development of the atomic bomb through to its murderous use at Hiroshima, is not offered only to us here and now. It is meant for posterity too. A copy of the film has been buried in the redwood forest along with a more official record, if I recall; all to be unearthed again in 2447, five hundred years hence.

The assumption is that posterity, fifteen generations removed from us, will be carrying on as we are, that there will be theaters, projection machines to throw film on screens, audiences to look at them. Perhaps so. But lots of water flows under the bridge in five hundred years. If atom war occurs, the water will be flowing backward, so to speak. For a while at least, there won't be many bridges left for water to flow under. Who knows what kind of a comeback the survivors of atom war will make? Who knows what say 490 AAW will look like? (AAW stands for "After Atom War" and 490 arbitrarily allows ten years for same to break out.)

If the film should be shown in 2447, one thing is certain. The movie audiences won't be bothered, as I was, by the fact that movie stars take the parts of scientists, army men and government officials, including President Roosevelt, Brian Donley and the other Hollywood actors, not known in 2447 as actors and not associated by our progeny five hundred years hence with all kinds of silly pictures, will undoubtedly be accepted as real physicists, generals and officials of the 1940s. To me, however, the presence of well-known Hollywood actors in what is supposed to be a record of actual life, put a fictional face on the whole.

### THE HOLLYWOOD TWIST

For an audience today, I should say the film is not too impressive. After all, the newsreel has horrified us amply with its pictorial records of the New Mexico test of the atom bomb and of the annihilation of Hiroshima, as well as of the sequel in Nagasaki and of the more recent navy test in the Pacific. Furthermore, the story of Oak Ridge has been publicized so widely that everyone is pretty well informed about the facts. MGM's film adds very little, except perhaps a "human interest" touch in playing up Dr. Cochrane. Dr. Cochrane is presented as the physicist who, though best by doubts as to the morality of creating the monster of destruction, did not join the scientists who walked out on the venture. He remained to die of radioactivity, leaving a very

young wife with child. This is a bit of fiction, of course, given a Hollywood twist.

How may the audiences in 2447, if such there be, react to the film? If an atom war destroys civilization and reduces the world to ashes, the descendants of the survivors of such a cataclysm will be the ones viewing the film. Therefore, the film may reasonably bring loathing to audiences of 2447, loathing for those who in the 1940s laid the beginning for "the end" that the world suffered. On the other hand, if the peoples who inhabit the world today should succeed in preventing their governments from waging another war, 2447 will be quite different. It will mean that before the end of the twentieth century, the imperialist rulers will have been deposed; that peoples' governments will have been established. By 2447 we could well have a fully developed socialist world. In that case atom energy will have been turned to creative uses, and audiences viewing MGM's film would look with astonishment at this unearthed relic of a barbaric age.

All this is of course conjecture. What is not conjecture is the ideas the film embodies—for audiences today. First of all MGM seeks to justify the prostitution of science to the needs of capitalist imperialism. German scientists were working on the atom bomb for Hitler; therefore, American scientists could save their consciences in creating the bomb for allied imperialism. In the film these men are heroes. At best they are really miserable puppets directed by the strings in the master hands of the imperialists. In the trail of imperialist competition and war, science inevitably follows in the race to create more and more deadly weapons—and not merely as a threat but for actual use. For Hiroshima and Nagasaki shall forever give the lie to the claim that the weapons for wholesale murder can be held merely as a threat. The repeated protestations in the film that the population of Hiroshima was warned, by leaflets dropped from American planes, does not absolve from guilt either American capitalism or the scientists who serve it, which is the impression the film works hard to create.

### SWEET BUSINESSMEN!

Again, the way the corporations that took part in the gigantic project are pictured in the film, brings a wry smile to the lips. These corporations all but sprout wings. Such self-sacrificing capitalists you never saw. They did not want any profits out of the development of the atom bomb, and they made the condition—

in the film—that the scientific discoveries become public property. However, the project did cost two billion dollars; there must have been just a tiny bit of profit somewhere for private business. As to the discovery of atom energy becoming public property, that's a laugh. The corporations that were in on the ground floor are moving heaven and earth to remain there. What was the fight over Lillenthal about if not the behind-the-scenes struggle of big corporations to control atom energy? These big-hearted corporations!

What the film truthfully portrays, however, is the nothing-can-stop-us nature of the project. With two billion dollars, a million people and three years' time, the secret was had and the bomb built. A modern city was erected. The word "cannot" was not recognized. If copper was not available, millions of tons of silver were obtained as a good substitute. If a certain type of steel not in manufacture was required, a new mill was put up to make it. If more land was needed, thousands of people were evacuated. All this to bring forth a scourge on the human race. Contrast this with the dalliance on

human needs. Help for worldwide famine remains in abeyance while politics rule—and mountains of potatoes are burned; people are homeless while real estate lobbies haggle over profits; cancer takes its enormous toll while funds to discover its cure lag behind public charity. If audiences viewing the film today will see this contrast, then it will not have been a total loss.

The film is called "The Beginning or the End." The end is certainly forecast in the film, and rightly so. As international affairs are going, the world may indeed be reduced to ashes. The beginning, the beginning of a new era, is nowhere in sight in the film. Only at the conclusion, in a real Hollywood wind-up, is the "hopeful" note sounded. The farewell letter of the dead Dr. Cochrane to his young wife is read aloud at the foot of the Lincoln memorial. The setting and the hope of the dead man that soon the energy in a cup of water will be heating a home, etc., etc., are supposed to convey the feeling that a new era of abundance has started—as convincing as the happy endings tacked on to most Hollywood "problem" films.

### He Sacrificed EVERYTHING for Love!

We are not in the habit of quoting from Walter Winchell, but we couldn't resist his reprint from the Boston Globe on the case of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor:

"The Duke and Duchess of Windsor travel with a secretary, a valet, a maid, 85 pieces of luggage and a fortune in cash. The Duke will be remembered as the monarch who gave up everything for love!"

## James Connolly - -

(Continued from page 5)

The small group within the ranks of the Northern Ireland Labor Party adhering to the "Back to Westminster" slogan objectively belong to the same camp as Commonwealth. The "Back to Westminster" faction starts from the correct conception that Stormont is a régime of exceptionalism; but apparently works on the theory that under the benevolent sway of the British Labor Government, sectarian animosity would die away. However, the existence of a reformist labor government, whose position is bound to become precarious, and whose leaders in any case willingly collaborate with Tory Unionism, is no guarantee against a return to the pre-Stormont Carsonite era. The capitalist Unionists derive their strength not merely from the existence of the Stormont Parliament but from their social position and from partition and the special powers maintained by successive British governments, including the present Labor régime. "Back to Westminster" would perpetuate Irish disunity and prevent active partnership between the workers of both sides around the program of the workers' republic, which alone can exorcise the specter of further sectarian strife.

The official labor leadership in the North likewise adheres to a pro-partition standpoint. Posing as labor purists they dismiss the border question as a "capitalist bogey!" To evade the problem of the border means, however, to accept the constitutional status quo.

### THE LABOR PARTIES

The Laborites rest their hopes on the worker profiting from the British examples by returning Labor majorities on both sides of the border. An enlightened Labor Ireland would then, presumably, settle the question of partition amicably, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the constituents.

Unquestionably the swing to Labor in Britain led to a strengthening of the Labor Party's prestige in Northern Ireland; but this can easily be exaggerated. The British leftward swing took place largely outside the consciousness of the workers here. The Labor Government was not their creation and, as County Down demonstrated, large masses of Protestants remain hostile to it.

Nonetheless, the opportunities of the Irish Labor parties depend largely upon the fate of the present British government, which is now entering heavy weather. The "tragedy" of Fabian socialism, which grew out of the theory of a peaceful partnership between the classes founded on mutual prosperity, is that its advent to power occurred not in the lush days of imperialism but in the period of capitalism's death agony.

Today, however, Britain has been cast out of the privileged circle of nations. United States competitive supremacy, Russia's challenge on the Continent, the Indian debacle, the fuel crisis, the burden of militarism,

her outdated equipment and her new status as a debtor nation are scale wherein to weigh the dwindling strength of imperial England.

However, the exposure of the bankruptcy of the present leadership would not necessarily terminate the Labor Party's governmental career; and, in any event, certainly would not mean the end of the party as a mass working class organization.

The emergence from within the movement of left-wing opposition tendencies, revolutionary or pseudo-revolutionary, is inevitable. Thus it remains a likely perspective that the Labor parties, basing themselves on the left of the British movement, will win a majority of the workers of the decisive urban centers, though the rural vote renders the prospect of gaining majorities in the Parliaments remote.

Arising out of the cataclysmic conditions of crisis, such a shift to Labor would signify a revolutionary state of mind among the workers. However, to consummate the revolution would require a labor rank and file trained in the program of Marxism and in the spirit of Connolly's tradition and a leadership altogether different in quality from the present dozing leaders.

The crying need of the hour is for the development of a tendency within the Labor parties basing itself on the program of the "Workers' Republic."

# How Trotsky Was Expelled From Norway by Trygve Lie

Trygve Lie is the Secretary of the United Nations. He is also torn between the pressures of the Anglo-American and the Russian blocs in the UN, balancing himself perilously between these rival imperialists. At one time heeding the one, at another time, before the other. Yielding to the big powers, or the stronger nation has been an old habit with Lie.

One of the first and most glaring examples of this occurred back in 1936. At that time, Leon Trotsky had found a haven in Norway, seeking to escape the human hounds of Stalin's GPU. The Moscow Frame-up Trials were then going strong and a horrified world watched a spineless Norwegian government succumb to Moscow's demand for the expulsion of Trotsky on the ground that he was a murderer and had intervened in Norwegian politics!

It goes without saying, that Trotsky demanded that Stalin extradite him from Norway—an act which would have required a public hearing on the charges of the Russian secret police. The frame-up artists of Moscow dared not make this demand. They knew that their lies and frame-ups would be exposed before the whole world. What is more, they didn't have to.

They succeeded in reaching out for Trotsky through Trygve Lie, then Minister of Justice of Norway. It was he who forced the expulsion of Trotsky from that country, an act which showed the essential culpability of the man. The following letter of Trotsky to Lie describes how the Moscow frame-up reached into Norway to strike at Stalin's most powerful opponent, the outstanding Marxist of our times.—Editors.)

To Mr. Lie  
Minister of Justice, Oslo  
Sir:

I HAVE always endeavored to comply with the conditions governing my stay in Norway, both in the letter and in the spirit, at least as I understood them. It develops, however, that the Chief of the Central Passport Office has interpreted these conditions in quite a different manner and as far as I am aware, his interpretation is approved by you, the Minister. As I am deeply concerned in further enjoying for myself and my wife the favor of the Norwegian institutions, I would be prepared to accept this interpretation of the conditions of which I was not made aware before my coming to Norway if I could get the conviction that this new interpretation could be reconciled with my dignity as a human being and as a writer. I can only sign what I have clearly understood and what I can really undertake to fulfill.

According to the Chief of the Central Passport Office, who, incidentally, when I came into the country, gave me a somewhat hostile interview without waiting for any action of any kind on my part, my activities are to be confined solely to "historical works and general theoretical essays which are not directed against any country."

How am I to interpret this limitation? Is for example my autobiography a general theoretical essay or a topical political work? Three weeks ago I wrote a detailed analysis of the development of the Soviet



Leon Trotsky as He Appeared on Arrival in Mexico

Union; I myself am compelled to pass judgment now. I have the impression that this work contributes no small service to social science. On the other hand, this work, by the mere concrete analysis of fact, is directed against the ruling bureaucratic caste which is continuing to exploit the people economically and suppress it politically. Is it really possible in a democratic country to accept the stricture that a Chief of the Passport Office may decide whether this work is only scientific or also politically topical?

### THE CASE OF MARX

I could quote an incomparably greater and more worthy example. My great teacher and master, Karl Marx, wrote a book called "Capital." I try to imagine for a moment that the Chief of the Passport Office or any other authority had to decide whether this grandiose work was only scientific or whether it also had a topical political character. The decision would not be easy to make for this work built upon the granite foundations of science is illustrated by thousands of topical examples and has as a whole today far greater political importance than on the day of its appearance. It is not a coincidence that the whole struggle of reaction, of the official and unofficial type, is directed against Marxism and Marxists.

The Chief of the Passport Office reproaches me for an article in which I took the position that the struggle in France could only end with a victory for military reaction or with the building of Soviets. Perhaps I am mistaken in my analysis. In any case I attribute to this analysis a thoroughly scientific character. The article in question appeared in the universally known bourgeois-democratic American journal "The Nation." If I had written an article in which I explained theoretically the general advantages of an autocratic regime over democracy, would this article have been disapproved

by the Chief of the Passport Office? Unfortunately, this question is not yet clear to me, especially after the visit I had today from the Chief of the Passport Office.

The declaration demanded of me includes also a promise "not to allow myself to be interviewed by any Norwegian or foreign journalists." During the whole of my stay in Norway up to the last days, I have given only one single interview, that is to the editor of Arbeiderbladet, and this, Sir, in your own presence and even with you kindly taking part, which even now I appreciate. You may perhaps recall that I personally tried to avoid even this single interview in order to provoke as little noise and sensation as possible in connection with my name.

### LIE'S DEMOCRACY

But now the situation is different. I have been accused by the judicial authorities in Moscow of being the organizer of terrorist acts. The whole world press is dealing with this historical trial. If you, as Minister of Justice, or the authorities controlled by you, or the Norwegian government deem it possible or likely that I have misused my sojourn in Norway or anywhere else for this kind of activity, I expect immediately a warrant for my arrest. I desire nothing else, but to have the opportunity to bring into the light of day, before an open judicial forum, this monstrous crime of the GPU and of the powers behind it. But if the Norwegian authorities deem it impossible to interfere in this matter, they have the duty—I repeat, the elementary duty, which is not necessarily even a democratic one—to allow me complete liberty to tell the truth to the whole world by the means at my individual disposal. The principal means of informing public opinion is through the press. To refrain from bringing me to trial before a Norwegian court and at the same time to rob me of the possibility to appeal to public opinion on a question that concerns myself, my son, my whole political past and my political honor would mean to transform the right of asylum into a trap and to allow free passage to the executioners and slanderers of the GPU.

These are the reasons which make it impossible for me to fulfill the demand of the Chief of the Central Passport Office to sign the declaration which he has presented to me without drawing the attention of the government and of public opinion in advance to the unforeseeable consequences of such action for the moral existence of myself and my family.

LEON TROTSKY.

Norway  
August 26, 1936

Note: At the urgent request of the Minister of Justice this letter was not published as originally intended. All copies were forcibly removed from Trotsky's secretaries. By chance, one copy had already been sent abroad, giving us the opportunity—after considerable delay—of bringing the document before the public.

ERWIN WOLFE,  
JEAN VON HEIJENOORT,  
Secretaries to Leon Trotsky

## 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 \$65 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.

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Public forums are held second Friday of each month.  
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The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m.  
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For additional information, write to Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1139, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

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Local branch of Socialist Youth League at same address.

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Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

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CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 8 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.

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For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1071.

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HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Girard Avenue (3rd floor).  
Workers Party Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
Coming events at Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Avenue:  
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Labor Action Forums every alternate Friday evening at 8:15 o'clock.  
Some scheduled topics:  
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June 27—Symposium on FEPC.  
July 11—The Future of PAC.  
Marxist Discussion Group Forums every alternate Friday evening at 8:15.  
June 6—Philosophical Trends in Literature.

**ST. LOUIS**  
Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbett Avenue, University City 14.

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For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 206, Oakland 7, Calif.

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# Answer the Taft-Hartley Bill With a Labor Offensive - -

(Continued from page 1)

No distinction can be made between members of Congress who had been elected by labor and those who had been opposed by labor. With insignificant exceptions, they all acted in concert and alike. It is significant that congressmen who were elected by the efforts of labor, by the efforts of the PAC and the CIO, fell in behind two of the most reactionary men in Congress: Taft and Hartley.

In this Taft-Hartley Bill, the members of Congress attempted to cover up what they really meant by the free flow of commerce and the protection of commerce. The bill creates once again the myth of equality of capital and labor, or the myth that such equality can be established in a capitalist society. According to the protagonists of this legislation, labor had been favored during the New Deal against the employers. Now it is time to even things up, to produce an equitable balance between labor and capital. According to its proponents, what the Taft-Hartley Bill does is to bend the rod the other way so as to remove inequities which had developed under the New Deal.

This is not the only myth which this bill seeks to spread. It attempts to establish the belief once again that the government is neutral and sits calmly and impartially above the conflict between capital and labor.

### SLYLY WORDED

The bill goes further in its myth-making and in distortion of the facts of capitalism and capitalist society. Great concern is expressed for the rights of labor and all the workers. Collective bargaining and the right to organize are exalted. The attempt is made in the wording of the bill to make workers believe that the framers and supporters of the bill are really concerned with the right of labor to collective bargaining and the right to organize. They want to make labor believe that there is real concern in Congress for the protection of labor.

This is not the case, however, and no worker should be deluded. This bill is a direct frontal attack on labor in the interest of the big manufacturers, bankers and processors. The bill is so worded that it can be used for all manner of purposes not expressly stated in the act. It is open to almost any interpretation which a government agency or a court may

wish to give it. It is slyly worded with an eye toward escaping veto by the Man from Missouri as he looks ahead to 1948.

Also, the soundbore who wrote this bill and voted for it were concerned about the reaction of labor. They wanted to please their capitalist masters. But at the same time they know that labor in the U. S. is not in the habit of maintaining a permanent retreat. The framers therefore exercised a little caution and an abundance of tricks and sly phrases and ostensible concern for the rights of all the people.

Herein lies one of the dangers of this bill. The final version is "not so bad as the House bill." We did not include all the things the employers wanted." Also, the bill sets up a procedure which is extremely complicated. All of the following government entities will have a hand in the settlement of labor-industry disputes, in one way or other, at one time or other. A National Labor Relations Board, a Mediation Service, the Secretary of Labor, a "Labor-Management" Committee, a Bureau of Inquiry, the President, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Courts.

### A POLITICAL ATTACK

What does this bill actually do? What does it forbid? A sixty-day notice must be given of intention to end or seek the change of a contract. Contracts must remain in full force during the sixty-day period. Unions (or employers) are required to give the new Mediation Service thirty days' notice of intention to terminate or seek to change the contract. Workers striking during the sixty-day period will lose all rights under the act. Unions must file financial reports, giving all expenditures for salaries and allowances for the three principal officers, as well as of dues and initiation fees.

A union can have no rights under the act until each of its officers has filed an affidavit swearing that he or she is not a member of the Communist (Stalinist) Party and does not believe in the violent overthrow of the government. Workers should look at this provision of the act, for what it is and get trapped into the belief that this section is today, or will remain, directed at the present Stalinist organization. It is, in practice, directed at the Stalinists today and for very practical reasons: it is Russia against which the U. S. prepares for war. In order, however, to carry out the long-term motivations of the act, it will be very easy for this or some future capitalist Congress to amend the act to include union officers who are members of any non-capitalist party: a militant labor party or an "American" revolutionary party.

This section of the Act should be related to the provisions against political contributions or EXPENDITURES to a political party in national elections by "any corporation whatever, or any labor organization." This restriction includes a primary election, or a political convention or caucus. This means that if labor formed a labor party, the unions could not make contributions to their own party. Not only this, but even today, when there is no labor party, the unions, for instance, are restrained from making expenditures in behalf of a candidate for a national office. The term "caucus" can be interpreted in such a way that unions would be forbidden to make contributions to or expenditures for the PAC.

This is the kind of measure that the "enemies" and the "friends" of labor alike have concocted for labor while labor's bureaucrats have been busy doing nothing.

The whole bill is a political attack on labor by the capitalist ruling class. It is a political attack because this bill is an attack by the whole

capitalist class, as a class, against the workers as a class. It attempts to stifle the working class in the parliamentary arena and on the economic field.

The bill bans the closed shop. The union and the employer cannot make an agreement for a "union security" clause until after a special NLRB-conducted vote in the union on this specific question. This is an additional requirement to the one already existing that the union must have won an election in the plant. This is not all, however; after one year a minority group in the union may secure a new vote and have the opportunity to upset the union security agreement.

### A RAID ON LABOR

Check-off is confined to dues and can be used only in cases where the individual employee has given consent in writing. The bill will create groups of splinter bargaining units. Collective bargaining cannot be established by the simple device of employees voting their preferences. The union must satisfy all the technical requirements in connection with reports. The bill will permit the existence of company unions and guarantees that they will have a place on the ballot at election.

The Taft-Hartley Bill eliminates the Norris-LaGuardia Act and authorizes the use of injunctions. Even the new NLRB may issue restraining orders against the union. Employers are given free rein to raid union treasuries. Employers may sue the union in any federal district where the union has officers or agents.

This whole bill is a raid; a raid on the security of labor by the capitalist ruling class through its hirelings in the government at Washington. If this bill becomes law and the unions abide by the provisions of the bill, labor will be back where it was fifty years ago.

### UNION LEADERS' ROLE

Bill Green, Phil Murray and the other labor bureaucrats should think a little. They have been talking a great deal of nonsense about "slave labor," "destroying the unions" and "breaking up the unions." This way of characterizing the Taft-Hartley Bill is the sheerest stupidity. The bill does not destroy the unions. If it passes, the unions will be as big as they are now, they will be legal, they will have the right to strike, every worker will still have the right to "withhold his labor" whenever he sees fit. That is, all the forms are preserved.

Many workers will feel that the provisions on "union democracy" are a good thing. All workers who believe this way will not be reactionary workers. They will be somewhat backward, but all of them will not be reactionaries. They know that the labor movement is greatly in need of far more internal democracy. Their weakness is that they do not understand that union democracy cannot be established by the reactionary capitalist government, but only by the workers themselves, in a struggle against their own union bureaucracy.

Green, Murray and Co. are stupid because they do not understand or do not want to understand that the capitalist ruling class of today does not desire to "destroy" the unions. They only want to get exactly what the Taft-Hartley Bill grants them: the right to keep the labor movement in the ante-room, to make it subject to periodic injunction proceedings, to have the government and its various labor boards take over in effect what is a managerial function in relation to the unions; to get the unions in such position that they can make no further progress toward becoming genuine class organizations. It is in this consummation that the Greens and the Murrays have made and are still making a most traitorous contribution.

# Philadelphia Forum Hears Speakers on Marxism and Science

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA—The symposium, "Marxism and Science," held on May 25 in Labor Action Hall, stimulated a large amount of interest in the practical and philosophical aspects of the relationship of modern science and of dialectical materialism. Despite uncomfortable weather conditions, the audience listened attentively while three guest speakers spoke briefly on specific phases of the general subject.

After the formal presentations the speakers answered as many as possible of the questions which were asked from the floor. The number of questions and the interest of the audience made it necessary for the Philadelphia Branch of the Workers Party to consider placing on its agenda of autumn activity a more complete treatment of the relationship of Marxism and science.

### PREPARE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The invited speakers for the symposium, Frank Carner, Isadore Dintzis and Walter Grey, were all actively engaged in the field of science as teachers and engineers. They were careful to point out that, because of the limited time, the difficult nature of the subject and their own limited ability and experiences, only the surface of the subject could be touched upon in one evening.

Prior to the symposium, an outline of discussion and bibliography had been mailed to those who signified an interest in attending. This procedure proved to be quite helpful.

The three subdivisions of the symposium were: The Scientific Method, The Dialectical Approach and The Social Backgrounds of Science. The first was a necessary introduction to acquaint some of the audience with the formal aspects of gathering scientific knowledge while the latter two were of greater interest to Marxists, as was shown by the far greater response from the audience in the question period.

### SCIENTIFIC METHOD

The first speaker stressed that although the ten aspects of the scientific method which he subsequently discussed were known for many centuries, it was only in the progressive period of capitalism that they had

been welded into a single entity—that is, that capitalism created the scientific method. In discussing and illustrating his ten aspects, Mr. Carver pointed out that only two—observations and treatment of data—are presented adequately in the schools and colleges. Many scientists are unaware of the roles played by the hypothesis, abstraction, deduction, and induction and are even unaware of the nature of scientific law. Natural law is fundamentally a description arrived at scientifically and has no juridical status, that is, the law does not force nature to behave in a prescribed manner.

In treating the application of the scientific method to political economy, the speaker postulated that under a socialist economy, techniques would be developed that would move science ahead in the social field at least the rate at which capitalism has promoted natural sciences.

Mr. Dintzis opened his treatment of dialectics with a historical survey of the development of the concept stressing particularly the contributions of Marx in Capital and Engels in Anti-Dühring, Feuerbach and Dialectics of Nature. Three important assumptions are at the roots of the dialectical approach: nature is primary, the world is a complex of processes, not fully fashioned objects, and the universe has a history without a beginning or an end. Dintzis enumerated the three laws of dialectics as presented by Engels and gave illustrations from modern science which made the apparently mystical terms of "quantity into quality," "interpenetration of opposites" and "negation of the negation" much more concrete to the audience. Scientists were urged to use consciously the dialectical approach in the laboratory in order to integrate themselves with their work.

The last speaker, Walter Grey, covered very adequately the social aspects of science. He showed how science could not reach fruition until a social order, capitalism, arose which needed to extend and enlarge the productive techniques by mechanical and other scientific inventions. Relying on a Marxian analysis, he showed the relationship of science to Marx's four factors, the "modes of production," i.e., human labor, social relations, raw materials and instruments of labor.

# ACEWR Cables Food Parcels To Hunger-Stricken Germany

The American Committee for European Workers Relief last week announced that it had started cabling relief packages to hunger-stricken Germany. Since it is now apparent that the food crisis in Germany will last for many months it is making a special appeal for contributions so that it may increase the volume of parcel post packages it has been sending.

Excerpts from letters received recently from the hunger zones of Germany are as follows: from Hamburg, a worker writes that the packages he

received "prove that in spite of 12 years of Nazi terror the feeling of international solidarity is alive and we German workers are not alone in our struggle for the final establishment of peace in the world. We will never slacken in this struggle."

Another letter from Hamburg states: "The package is doubly useful to me because of my 72-year-old mother. After two severe operations in November and February, she has contracted hunger edema due to the lack of healthful food. You can well imagine how happy we were under

these circumstances to receive your package. It means for my mother that her life was saved." From the industrial Ruhr: "I wish to inform you that I have received your fine package. It arrived in good condition. You have no idea what a great help such good packages are for us in these times, which are steadily worsening. Many thanks to you and to all those who contributed to this. I spent nine years, beginning in 1935, as a political prisoner in jail and concentration camps (Esterwege, Sachsenhausen and Oranienburg). I simply add this for your information."

A woman in the Ruhr writes: "Only today am I able to thank you for your wonderful package. I received it in the beginning of February but was confined to my bed by illness and I was not able to write. Now the good contents of the package are helping me to improve my health fast. It is a great joy to know that there are friends abroad who help us in our misery in Germany."

The New York chapter of the ACEWR announced that the profit from the Cafe Internationale held May 17 is already slightly over \$400 with some money yet to come in. Successful benefit showings of movies were held by the Newark and Los Angeles chapters of the ACEWR. The final tally on these affairs has not yet been received.

The food crisis in Europe will continue throughout the summer. German workers whose wages do not allow them to buy foodstuffs on the black market will find it impossible to feed their families on the official ration. Former concentration camp prisoners whose health has been destroyed by as many as ten years of imprisonment and torture will speedily succumb to tuberculosis and other diseases unless you act to prevent it. Make a donation today, no matter how small. All money orders and checks should be sent to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 130 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. Please note the change of address and help the starving workers of Europe today.

# Philly Unionists Come to Rally Get Nothing but Empty Rhetoric

PHILADELPHIA—One thousand CIO unionists turned out at Town Hall, Monday, May 23, for a rally aimed at stopping the passage of the Taft-Hartley bill. Fully two-thirds left the hall before the third speaker, Jack Kroll, of CIO-PAC, finished his address at 10:45. Insignificant as it is, the evening's sole accomplishment was the signing of petitions urging President Truman to veto the bill.

The principal speaker of the evening was Mrs. Helen Douglas, Democratic Congresswoman from California, widely touted as one of the few pro-labor representatives in Washington. By comparison, her voting record may be good. But the damage done at the rally by the Congresswoman's address cannot be overestimated. For over an hour she gave one of the poorest exhibitions of public speaking ever witnessed in the city's long history. The speech simply had no substance, no continuity, and no appeal. The few points which were discernible hinged around "the small number of survivors of New Deal Democrats," "the

Hartley-Taft bill puts the unions on the defensive," and the expressed wish that "we should all learn by this bitter experience." No doubt Mrs. Douglas' heart is in the right place but her contribution to the rally was entirely on the negative side.

The CIO spokesmen, Harry Boyer, chairman of the Pennsylvania State CIO Council, and Jack Kroll, national chairman of the PAC, were just as vague and almost as boring as the main speaker. They alternately stated that the anti-labor legislation meant fascism in America and would destroy the unions, and in the next sentence that the unions would not only survive but actually grow stronger and united in the face of the opposition. Only once was a real solution brought forth, "to put forward some real political action in 1948." Even this statement by Jack Kroll was more in the nature of a plea to revive the already half-dead PAC.

The reaction of the audience in leaving the meeting hall was only what could be reasonably expected.

# Training Plan - -

(Continued from page 1)

by the President's Advisory Committee.

Highlights of this all-embracing program, other than conscription are:

1) Unification of the armed forces which would be prepared for "long range operations of great destructive power. . ."

2) Establishment of a "national science foundation" which would direct its knowledge and energies toward "providing potent new instrumentalities of warfare."

It is this objectively written point, which is perhaps the most calloused expression of an imperialist world gone mad. A world where scientific progress loses its socially progressive character as it increasingly becomes an intimate and exclusive instrument of a destructive war machine.

3) Industrial mobilization. The summary letter stresses the need for applying America's industrial apparatus to the needs of an atomic war. Decentralization of industries and construction of underground factories as safety measures against atom bomb attacks are proposed.

Under this plan for the total mobilization of industry for war, a concerted effort to regiment labor and break the back of the union movement is implied. The union struggle for better working conditions cannot be reconciled with a program to completely reorganize American industry to match the production needs of a war economy. This program cannot afford to brook the interference of an organized working force fighting to better its standard of living.

The plan for industrial war mo-

bilization is a direct challenge to labor.

### NEW WAR A-COMING

The Advisory Committee doesn't even attempt an estimate of their program's cost. According to them the expense is so "staggering" that it can only be viewed "with horror," and is too great to be calculated. But why worry over such trifles? The cost will come out of the pockets of the working people.

The commission makes little pretense about the ability of the United Nations or other such frauds to peacefully solve the imperialist conflict between America and Russia. On the contrary the report has as its point of departure the very high degree of probability of an atomic war between four and ten years.

Without so much as a verbal blush the commission warns the nation that an atomic attack is quite possible after 1955 and proceeds to give a graphic picture of the destruction that might follow a 24-hour "sneak attack."

This is a confession of capitalist bankruptcy and hypocrisy. The same committee members and the capitalist class they represent were the very forces which promised a higher, peaceful civilization if only the "war-loving nations" were crushed in the Second World War.

That war ended in a decisive victory of the Allied "peace-loving nations" two years ago, but instead of the promised "new world," the capitalist politicians are stretching every muscle in an armaments race which can only be consummated in a civilization-destroying atomic war if not put to a halt by the decisive action of the labor movement.

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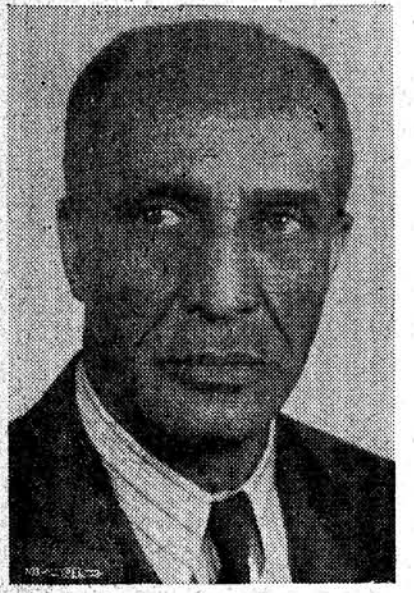
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From a Forthcoming Pamphlet on the Struggle Against Jim Crow by Ernest Rice McKinney

# We Want to Be Free in a Free Country, in a Free World . . .

In the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence one may read the following words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." The 14th Amendment to the Constitution proclaims: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge any privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." This was followed by the 15th Amendment which provides that: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

That is what the Declaration of Independence says and that is what the Constitution of the United States says. But, we who are Negroes do not need anybody to tell us that every line and every provision as set forth in the Declaration of Independence,



ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY  
National Secretary, Workers Party

the Constitution and the laws made by the Congress at Washington have been and are violated in the case of the Negro. Instead of the policy set forth in the Constitution and the law and the Declaration of Independence, the Government of Washington, the State governments, public institutions and business, are guided rather by the declaration of Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott Decision: "A Negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect."

We who are Negroes know that not only are we denied equal protection of the law but the right to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." We know that our right to vote is "denied and abridged." No matter how patiently they try to make it appear that this is done because we can't interpret some state constitution, we know that it is done "on account of race" or "color." Every Negro knows that he is segregated, hounded, clubbed and lynched. We know that we are insulted, degraded and Jim Crowed. This happens everywhere in this country. In New York City and Atlanta, Georgia. In Seattle, Washington and Charleston, South Carolina. In the nation's capital, at Washington, and in the capital of Mississippi, at Jackson. We are Jim-Crowed in the departments of the Federal Government just as in the government of the State of Texas. The Tammany, Bilbos and Eastlands demand "white supremacy" in Georgia and Mississippi while the Roosevelts, Trumans, Deweys and Tafts enforce "white supremacy" in the national government, in the military service and in the Republican and Democratic parties.

We are not treated as human beings; North, South, East or West. If we go for a job we get the hard and dirty labor. If we want to rent a house, we are directed to the cabins in the field, the shanties across the tracks and the slum areas of the great cities. If we are hungry we are told, "we do not serve colored people," or "we will serve you in the kitchen." When we go to the theater, if we are admitted at all, we are told that Negroes must sit in the gallery. In the hospitals the policy is, "white people first."

The education of our children is postponed until after the cotton is picked or until a new "white" school is built. Then the Negro children get the old ramshackle building. "Justice" in the courts, for us, is likely to be determined by the color of the person who accuses us or who is accused by us. If a white man accuses us or we accuse a white man, justice is not blind, but on the side of the white man. If only Negroes are involved, then "justice" can be determined by the flip of a coin.

### THE PROBLEM IS: HOW END DISCRIMINATION?

This is enough. I could go on, and so could you, with this recital of humiliation, degradation, intimidation, pious hypocrisy, terror and Jim Crow. You know exactly what I am talking about. You and I have been through these things. We did not have to read it in the daily papers. We have been unwilling actors

We print below excerpts from a pamphlet on the Negro Question and the struggle against Jim Crow written by Ernest Rice McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, and soon to be published by the Workers Party. Comrade McKinney has completed the pamphlet, which in our opinion is the finest written on the subject, and is now making final editorial revisions. We have indicated breaks in the text of the pamphlet by "bullets." Readers will understand that the continuity of the pamphlet was disrupted in excerpting, for we have not added transitions. The sections as they appear below are parts of larger sections which discuss the Negro's status, his relation to the working class movement and his place in the socialist movement.

in this miserable and inhuman drama. We didn't need to wait for the belated and weak utterances of the "inter-racial" committees. There is nothing much that you and I can learn from the sermons preached during "Brotherhood Week." We heard these sermons even during the days of slavery from the stall provided for us in the church balcony.

Yes, this is enough for you and for me. If this booklet were for white people primarily, I would have to say a great deal more. More explanation and detail would be necessary. Lots of white people really don't know much about these things. I am not talking about the hypocrites and the liars among the white people, who do know. There are, for instance, thousands of white workers who do not understand the situation with the Negro in the United States. There are hundreds of thousands of white workers, in the North, who are really surprised at the plight and the condition of the Negroes in the South. But we are not addressing ourselves to them right now. This booklet is directed to Negroes primarily; to all Negroes.

There is one thing we have to admit right at the beginning. There is a Negro problem in the United States. I have heard both white people and Negroes say that there is no Negro problem. "It is really a white problem," they say. While I can understand what these people are attempting to support, you and I certainly cannot agree with this analysis. What the people mean, who hold this point of view, is that if the white people would let Negroes alone, or treat them just like other people are treated, there would be no Negro problem. But this is exactly what the problem is: how can white people be persuaded to stop discriminating against Negroes, to stop segregating us and to stop lynching us? How can this government and this country be persuaded to accord us the full democratic rights accorded to every other group except the Negro? We want to be let alone in this manner and only in this manner. We want to see the day come when we really have in practice, the unalienable rights to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." We want to see the United States a country where all the people, and not just the white people, are free from the abridgement of "any privileges or immunities," and where every person receives justice, and where no person is denied the right to vote "on account of race." We want to see these rights granted, protected and exercised in real life and not just printed on paper.

### WE REFUSE TO BE SLAVES ANY LONGER

The real and genuinely important question therefore, is, what must be done? What are we, as Negroes, going to do?

Before we answer this question it is necessary to get a few things straight. It is necessary to say and say frankly where we as Negroes are placed in this country. There is no need to beat around the bush on this matter. We don't stand so well. From the day that a Dutch ship landed at Jamestown, Va., with "20 negars" on board we have been fighting an uphill battle. First, for mere physical freedom and later, today, for our democratic rights. We are an oppressed race or an oppressed people. The East Indians, the Chinese and the black Africans are oppressed by foreign imperialist overlords who have invaded their countries. But these countries should belong to the Indians, the Chinese and the black Africans. It would be correct for these people to run the invaders out, win their national independence and establish their own national government. They would not bar other people from the country, but when these others came in they would know that they were not going there to dominate the country and keep the people who really belonged there from running the country and maintaining a free independent and national government.

The people themselves should have and should take the right to decide what they want to do and what kind of government they want to have. They should make their own laws and develop their country as they see fit. This is nothing new that we are saying. All the independent nations of the world demanded this right for themselves and fought against enemies and invaders to establish this right. This has been called democracy. Such demands were part of the cause of the Revolutionary War in this country in 1775. The people in this country wanted to be free and not be dominated by England.

Our country is the United States. We love this country as well as the next man. Why shouldn't we love this country? It is a vast, fertile, beautiful land abounding in natural

resources. There is everything here to supply the wants of the people, to produce abundance and happiness for the people. We have made great contributions to the building of this country. As much as the next man. We have contributed to this country. The strength of this country rests on our backs. Our sweat and toil built this country. We are natives of the country. We really know nothing of any other country. Some white people talk about being descendants of the Mayflower. We were here before the Mayflower. We are part and parcel of the soil of this country. All of our political, economic and social roots are in the United States. All of our life is bound up in the whole life of this country. We say again that this is our country and we want it to be our country. Just as it is the country of the white man. This is no more his country than it is our country. We will not let any white man tell us that this is his country but not our country.

We want to stay here. But not as slaves. We refuse to be slaves any longer. Two hundred and fifty years as chattel and 82 years of oppression under freedom are long enough and too long. If we don't see this and submit further to the insult which has been heaped upon us, then we have no right to be free. Frederick Douglass understood this decades ago when he said: "They who would be free must themselves first strike the blow."

The Chinese want to run China as Chinese. The Indians want to run India as Indians. The black Africans want to run Africa as Africans. That is proper and correct for them. That is as it should be. But we do not want to run the United States as Negroes. We want to run the country as full citizens of a Democratic Republic. We want to be equal to everybody else. Nothing more and nothing less.

We want political equality, social equality and economic equality. We want this all over the U. S. without distinction of place or section. We demand this equality in the South, too. We do not ask for more than other people have, only for what they have. We want all the rights, for instance, which a white worker has. The equal right to a job, and to any job for which we are qualified. We demand equal opportunity to prepare for any and all jobs which are or may be available to the white worker. We demand the right of equal educational opportunity, the right to travel like other people, the right to seek entertainment unmolested and unrestricted. We will insist on the right to eat in all public places and to be accommodated in all public places just like other people.

In the matter of jobs, education, railroad travel and all other accommodations and privileges afforded the public, we will oppose Jim Crow, discrimination and segregation. We do not believe that there should be jobs for Negroes, schools for Negroes, cars or seats for Negroes, toilets and waiting rooms for Negroes. We are not fools and will not be beguiled by any hypocritical talk, laws and ordinances calling for "equal but separate accommodations." We know that "Negro jobs" are the lowest paid and the most laborious jobs. We and our children have learned by bitter experience what Negro public schools are. From the standpoint of buildings, equipment and curriculum we know that separate Negro public schools are inferior to the schools provided for white children and youth. We know what Negro waiting-rooms are in railroad stations and what kind of cars are provided for Negroes on Jim Crow trains.

While all of this should be clear to everybody, unfortunately this is not the case. There are people in this country who do not understand these things. There are many people who do understand but who pretend they don't. There are Negroes who do not take a forthright stand on this question of social, political and economic equality for Negroes. There are Negroes who say: "I don't care about social equality, what I want is economic and political equality." For the large mass of us this position is based on a misunderstanding, a very serious and dangerous misunderstanding, and a failure to get at the heart of the problem of prejudice and discrimination in the United States. To say that "social equality is a 'private affair'" is also totally misleading. To say that it is a private affair whether or not I go to Smith's house to dinner, or that it is a private affair as to whether or not I marry Pauline Smith or Susie Jones, is correct. But this kind of decision is my private affair only when Smith or the woman I attempt to marry is a Negro. I will not go to the home of a Negro to dinner un-

invited nor will I impose myself on a Negro woman who rejects me. In purely personal relations, I will deport myself around Negroes with no less decorum and good sense than in my relations to those who are not Negroes.

We can approach the problem in another way. There are Negroes who say: "I don't want to go any place that I am not wanted." But what are some of the places where Negroes are not wanted? The so-called "white neighborhoods," restaurants, colleges, theaters, department stores, playgrounds, libraries, parks, swimming pools, the sales force of corporations, clerical jobs, engineering staffs, churches, dining cars and many trades unions. That is, there are privately owned institutions and enterprises which do not want Negroes, there are tax-supported public places which do not want Negroes and there are federal, state and municipal institutions which do not want Negroes. If we decide to stay away from all the places where we are not wanted there will be very few places we will go and very few things we will do.

In a certain city once where some white hooligans were driving Negroes from a swimming pool supported by public taxation, a Negro editor took the position that he would not carry on a campaign against this outrage because: "these white people are not going to have Negro men in that pool with their women." That is, according to this editor, the white people were not going to tolerate "social equality." In New York City a petty judge decided that the state equal rights law did not apply in a situation where a Negro man and a white woman went into a restaurant together to eat. The refusal of the proprietor to serve them was upheld by this judge. A steel company hired a Negro man to work in its filing department. A white girl employe of that department objected to working with a Negro and was upheld by the superintendent of the department.

It was the custom of a YWCA in a city to hold periodic staff meetings to which all executives from the various branches in the city were instructed to attend. There were four Negro executives from the Negro branch and of course they attended. At the end of the meeting tea was always served. It was understood, however, that the Negro "ladies" would not remain for tea. The Negro women would announce that they must get back to their offices and the white women would express deep regret that the Negro women could not remain. The Republican and Democratic parties have national, state and city headquarters during election campaigns. Being very anxious that Negroes shall not be ignored, these parties establish committees of leading Negro politicians. As a rule, however, the Negro headquarters is separated from the general headquarters. If it is in the same building it is isolated and segregated. A great railroad system some years back decided that no more Negro messengers should be hired because only men should be hired "who can be promoted to higher positions."

### "SOCIAL EQUALITY" IS NOT A PRIVATE AFFAIR

These illustrations help to explain and clarify what is involved in what is known as "social equality." They demonstrate that social equality, in the United States, cannot be and is not a "private affair," a simple choice to be made by an individual with the consent of another individual. In prejudice ridden America any and all equality for the Negro is looked upon as social equality. According to the American pattern of Jim Crow; to give a Negro a clerical job is social equality. To hire a Negro engineer is to accord the Negro social equality. To give a Negro any work except that of a menial, common labor, or domestic service is to "open the doors to social equality."

This much can be said about this point of view: it is not possible to keep people permanently separated and apply race superiority notions in practice if one does not, in a very concrete way, keep Negroes from advancing and demonstrating that we have capabilities just like other people.

Negroes must demand and fight for social equality because there is only one kind of equality; full and complete equality. We specify social, economic and political equality because in the United States, the Negro is in a very unique position. We are forced to compromise in practice or we will starve, go naked and homeless. Right now we are forced to take the meanest occupations or go jobless. We are forced to submit to residential segregation or we would have no place to live. We are faced with the necessity of compromising with Jim Crow attitudes in politics or we would have no opportunity to participate in political life. When we make this separation we do not mean by that that one can have political equality without social and economic equality, or economic equality without social and political equality, or social equality without political and economic equality. They all go together. They are of one pattern. Negroes know this. They have seen how it works.

When we speak of full equality for Negroes what we mean is that we

## Southern Game Laws

### RULES

HUNTING WITHOUT A LICENSE . . . . .	\$ 10.00
POACHING . . . . .	\$ 25.00
SHOOTING DUCKS OUT OF SEASON . . . . .	\$ 15.00
LYNCHING NEGROES . . . . .	O.K.
FISHING WITH . . . . .	15.00



as Negroes, should have all the rights, privileges and opportunities which white people have who are at the same station as we. That is, since Negroes are overwhelmingly wage-earners, we should have the same social, economic and political privileges that white wage-earners have. No wage-earner, white or black, can have full social, economic and political equality. Not even the white worker has social equality, or economic equality or political equality, with his employer, a high government official, the big politicians or with any of the rich. If white workers understood this they would not feel as they do toward Negroes. If white workers knew that they were socially proscribed by the rich and powerful, economically exploited and politically degraded along with the Negro, they would understand better what attitude they should have to Negroes who have all of these disabilities and the addition-

of one imposed on them as Negroes. It is tragic to hear a white worker ask the question: "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" He thinks that he has really delivered a mortal blow to the argument for the social equality of Negroes. It has never occurred to such a white worker that there are white people who take the same attitude toward him in relation to their sisters. They ask: "Would you want your sister to marry a mechanic?"

You see that white workers don't have social equality either. Neither do they have real political equality. And of course being workers they do not have economic equality. What we mean therefore when we advocate social, political and economic equality for Negroes is, the same amount of equality that white workers have, the same rights and privileges enjoyed by poor people who are white, equal treatment with the white working men and working women.

### CO in Forty-Fifth Day of Hunger Strike for Amnesty

JUNE 2—Thomas J. Leonard, conscientious objector imprisoned on April 18, after the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review his conviction under the Selective Service Act, today entered the 45th day of a hunger strike for amnesty at the Danbury, Conn., federal prison.

From prison Leonard has written President Truman: "I am not out for any personal clemency, pardon or suspension of sentence. I do not wish to leave until the end of my sentence or until amnesty is granted." According to word received from Danbury, the CO's physical condition is deteriorating.

A graduate of the University of Chicago, he was classified as a religious conscientious objector and before "walking out" of Civilian Public Service shortly after V-J Day, 1945, had spent more than three years in various CPS units, including the one at the Philadelphia State College, Byberry, Pa. There he worked for 19 months as an attendant and also acted as a guinea pig in medical experiments. On April 30, 1946, he was given a term of six months for refusing to remain in Civilian Public Service, but execution of the sentence was stayed pending appeals to higher courts. At the time of his imprisonment he was teaching the social sciences at Dillard University, New Orleans.

The Christian Century for May 28, in an amnesty editorial prompted by Leonard's fast, stated: "The government demanded its pound of flesh and sent him to Danbury. It is getting his flesh as he starves himself to bring home to America the danger in which freedom stands when one man can be made the victim of such a travesty of common sense and justice."

The Workers Party to which I belong never proceeds in this manner. We never subordinate the fight against Jim Crow to the need for preserving the present social system. Any social system which supports or tolerates Jim Crow is not worth preserving and should be destroyed. We say directly that capitalism, which is the rule of a few people who own everything, is the source of Jim Crow in the U. S. That's one of the reasons why Jim Crow is a country-wide practice and not just confined to the South. There is a national policy of Jim Crow to which all Negroes are subjected. The whole country is Jim Crow. The government of Mississippi is Jim Crow and the government at Washington is Jim Crow. Negroes are discriminated against in the factories of Texas and the factories of Michigan. That's why we say that Jim Crow is a part of the present social order and will not be eliminated until it is attacked at its roots.

### WE WANT TO BE FREE IN A FREE WORLD . . .

We of the Workers Party know about and are proud of the many black heroes who have given their lives for freedom. Not only for freedom for themselves but for all the people. Jim Crow America has ignored the real and genuine heroes of the Negro people. I am talking about Harriet Tubman, Gabriel, Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey and others. These were truly great human beings; incorruptible, brave, loyal, determined and daring. Just think of it, Harriet Tubman, a Negro woman, taking her shotgun along and going into the South, rescuing Negro men and women from slavery and bringing them north to freedom. Listen to Peter Poyas, Vesey's magnificent coadjutant, tell one of his men what kind of slaves not to recruit for the Vesey insurrection: "Don't mention

it to those waiting-men who receive presents of old coats from their masters, or they'll betray us." Peter Poyas was no hand-me-down Negro.

Here is what Nat Turner said to his men before they began the Nat Turner insurrection. "Friends and brothers, we are about to commence a great work tonight. Our race is to be delivered from slavery . . . remember that our's is not a war for robbery, nor to satisfy our passions; it is a struggle for freedom. Our's must be deeds not words. Then away to the scene of action."

There was David Walker, pamphleteer and author of Walker's Appeal. Walker was no compromiser. He denounced slavery and all those Negroes who were willing to compromise with the slave system and with the Southern slave masters. He told the slaves to rebel and "when you commence," he said, "do not trifle, for they will not trifle with you; they want us for their slaves and think nothing of murdering us in order to subject us to that wretched condition; therefore if there is an attempt made by us, kill or be killed."

These are really the great Negroes of the past: Tubman, Turner, Walker, Gabriel, Poyas, Vesey and the other daring men and women who organized the people and led them into the battle for freedom. They and all their kind give the lie to all the slanders about Negroes being cowards. That's what a lot of people would like for us to be: cowards. Our record needs no defense. Anyone who thinks he is called upon to defend our record is either a scoundrel or a fool. Anyone who attempts to denigrate us will be faced with Tubman and Poyas; Gabriel and Vesey; Turner and Walker, and a thousand unsung and unknown black heroes, right down to this very minute.

The Workers Party is proud to inscribe the names of these black heroes on its banner along with all the unforgettable revolutionary heroes of the oppressed. We want their names to live and their deeds to live. We want to emulate them and follow their example. We want to be free in a free country and a free world.

Bound Volumes of Labor Action and New International for 1945 Are Still Available

Price: LABOR ACTION, \$2.00  
NEW INTERNATIONAL, \$3.00

1946 Bound Volumes have been delayed in binding. As soon as they are ready, it will be announced in Labor Action