

Work for A Workers World
By Joining Workers Party

LABOR ACTION

JUNE 16, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

This Is a Time for Action, Not Letter-Writing

DEMAND A 24-HOUR STRIKE!

Giant Parade Proves Labor Is Ready to Fight

By SUSAN GREEN

NEW YORK CITY, June 10—Today this city saw a tremendous demonstration of labor's might. CIO leaders called it the greatest demonstration in CIO history. From 5 p.m., starting from 24th Street up Eighth Avenue, tens of thousands converged on Madison Square Garden, protesting the Taft-Hartley slave labor bill and calling on President Truman to veto it.

The first contingents in the parade came right from work, tired and hungry. Old and young, white and black, Italian and Jew and Irish, marched carrying their union banners. Across their chests and in their hats they wore streamers with the slogan: "Veto the Taft Slave Labor Bill."

Labor Action Compelled to Reduce Size

Compelled by rising costs to re-french, LABOR ACTION will become a four-page paper with its next issue. The decision to revert to a four-page after ten months of publication as an eight-page was made after weeks of carefully reviewing all the factors pressing for a change in policy.

While we shall endeavor to continue the high socialist standard of the eight-page paper in the four pages, it is with the greatest regret that we announce this decision. We do so now in the conviction that the splendid response of our friends which made it possible to maintain the eight-page paper in the face of continually rising costs will make a new expansion possible after a period of time. During this period of retrenchment, it is our intention to stabilize our financial situation and bend every effort toward building the groundwork of a new advance.

COSTS DOUBLE

When the eight-page paper was first projected a year ago, a budget was drawn up, based on calculated income and expenditures. Because of the exceptionally generous response of our readers, and above all of the members of the Workers Party, we more than exceeded our estimated income. However, in this same period, prices jumped far beyond the point which even we had anticipated. Thus, since the first of the year alone, our costs have risen almost one hundred per cent, to the point where each copy of the paper, selling for five cents, costs approximately ten cents to print. (Of the five cents, the business office of the paper as a rule receives three cents.)

Under the best of circumstances the revolutionary press requires subsidization through special contributions. We publish virtually no commercial advertising. (In the past year, LABOR ACTION published two "commercial" ads for a book club.) Our income, therefore, depends entirely on our friends, on the extra contributions that they are able to make from time to time. Several times in the past year, we have appealed for urgently needed funds to stave off creditors and to close the unavoidable gap between cost and income. Our friends each time taxed their limited resources and rushed to the defense of the paper. We considered a new appeal in our present situation, but decided that it would be unwise at this moment.

Our only other alternative was to increase the price of the paper substantially. Virtually every periodical has done just that, including such mammoth outfits as the Saturday Evening Post, whose income depends primarily on high-cost advertising. This course too we deemed inadvisable, believing that it would be an additional burden on the pocketbooks of our worker readers who are finding it difficult enough to manage as it is. (Continued on page 7)

Well into the night they were still marching, these CIO workers of New York City. After the Garden was packed and the streets outside jammed like a subway train, they were still coming. One section of workers marched bound together by a chain, like chaingang labor, to make graphic what the Taft-Hartley bill will do to the workers of America. Other marchers carried huge make-believe pencils to suggest a written veto by the President.

Inside the Garden, speakers estimated the number of marchers and demonstrators at 120,000. This giant CIO demonstration, together with the protest of the tens of thousands a week ago in the AFL parade and meeting at the Garden, told off both the National Association of Manufacturers and their political office boys in Washington.

OPPORTUNITY MISSED

The workers of New York City have warned the "good samaritans" of NAM, with their full-page ads proclaiming their desire "to protect" the workers from the unions, that they recognize union-busting when they see it. The workers of New York City have told the capitalist politicians in Washington who claim to have a "mandate from the people" to bring back the days of the Pinkertons and the sweat shop, that they lie with brazen contempt for the people.

The keynote of the speeches inside the Garden was a call to the workers to fight. But nowhere was it stated how they should fight. Joseph Curran of the Maritime Union, who acted as first chairman, declared that "tonight the fight has really begun." Ruth Young of the United Electrical Workers said there is "no limit to what the working people must do in the next few days to defeat the bill." Yet a limit was definitely set. For no other kind of action was indicated by any of the speakers. CIO President Philip Murray, in his closing speech, described the New York City demonstration as an "example to other cities." This apparently is the only kind of fight the leadership advocates to kill the Taft-Hartley bill.

What an opportunity missed to call for really effective working class action! Here is this vicious bill, described by Murray as the first step toward fascism in this country, aiming to smash the labor unions and to take away the right to strike. What could be a better index of labor's will and power than for these unions to call upon the workers, organized and unorganized, to join in a nationwide strike demonstration—a twenty-four-hour work stoppage to protest. (Continued on page 7)

Reach for Your Weapons!



Guaranteed Annual Wage Issue at ILG Convention

By MARY BELL

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union holds its triennial convention in Cleveland, June 16, the first since the wartime convention in Boston in 1944 and the twenty-sixth in its forty-four years of existence.

The garment worker's "bundle"—the sheaf of clothing parts handed to him for stitching—is the measure of his daily bread. The shrinking of that work bundle since the war's end to a point where this spring an estimated sixty per cent of the trade was unemployed, is the anxious concern of every worker. Maximum capacity production in the needle market, a war-born and atypical phenomenon in this industry, began in the spring of 1942 and ended with the termination of the war. The ladies' wear industry is back to its quarter of a million pre-war seasonal styles, and the stock style that doesn't change—

continued seasonal employment.

The garment worker's "bundle" is also a mirror of the national economy and, in particular, of the well-being or lack of it on the part of the country's workers. Because the garment industry is a "soft goods," or consumers' industry, and because the majority of its consumers are working people, its prosperity depends directly upon the purchasing power and the employment levels of the masses of people. Full employment in wartime in the needle trades was a result of full employment throughout the economy and the exceptional conditions created by the war.

The wages of the workers, whose wives and daughters buy garments, dropped, according to government sources, from \$116 billion in 1944 to \$109 billion in 1946. Or, the average earnings of the employed worker dipped from \$2,240 to \$1,987. This

loss of consumer purchasing power, plus consumer resistance to high prices and shoddy goods, has resulted in a greater proportion being spent for food and less for apparel—hence the dwindling of the bundle, the work-week and the pay envelope for the garment producer.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE

The solution to the economic problem of the garment workers is therefore linked in an especially intimate and sensitive way to the problem of the mass of workers. The guaranteed annual minimum wage, proposed in the program of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party for labor as a whole, is particularly urgent for the workers in this seasonal industry. While the plan has been perennially proposed at garment workers' conventions, and has even been put into

(Continued on page 2)

Letter writing will not stop the Hartley-Taft anti-labor bill. That much should be clear by now.

Truman has now had the bill for several days. There is as yet no sign as to whether he will veto the bill or sign it. Whichever course he follows, it will be dictated solely by reasons of political expediency: will it help or hinder the Democratic political campaign? Every newspaper in the country has made this clear.

In the event of a veto there is a great possibility that Congress will override the veto. Yet the labor leaders are still depending on a veto. Philip Murray this week again addressed a letter to Truman begging for a veto. It is not a letter couched in the kind of language that will make the labor-baiters pull in their horns. It pleads where it should DEMAND.

Miners Quit Pits; Protest Slave Bill

JUNE 9—Ten thousand miners left their pits in southwestern Pennsylvania this morning to protest the passage of the Hartley-Ellender-Taft Slave Labor Bill. The majority of these came from the captive pits—those owned by U. S., Bethlehem and Weirton Steel.

There is reason to believe that the movement is only beginning. While no pickets are in evidence as yet, friendly pressure is being brought to bear on those mines which still operate.

Many of the miners have called on all workers to join them in a general strike to protest the Slave Labor Bills.

MASONTOWN, Pa., June 8—Two thousand members of Local 6321 at Robena Shaft, Greene Co., today grimly decided to maintain their already one-day-old strike against the Hartley-Ellender-Taft Slave Labor Bill. This action, taken by the largest mine local in the world in what is rapidly becoming one of the country's top producing areas, highlighted events throughout southwestern Pennsylvania.

Moffit, Alicia and Bobtown Mines in Greene County, all large producers, served notice that they were prepared to strike in protest against the slave labor bills and requested that Lewis call such a strike. Two large, but unidentified, mines in Fayette County prepared to lead a wave of strikes in that county.

All evidence indicated that these moves were completely spontaneous. Lewis had requested letters of protest to be sent to Congress but the men, in their local meetings, realized

Pursglove, W. Va., miners ask Lewis to back call for a general protest strike against the Hartley-Taft bill. See story on page 2.

the futility of such action and determined that strike votes be held.

Reports arrived throughout the day of other mines throughout the valley taking similar action. Notable among these were the Pursglove Mines in Scotts Run, W. Va.

Two giant demonstrations were held in New York this last week by the AFL and CIO. New York workers turned out in such numbers as to prove that labor is ready to go down the line in fighting the anti-labor drive.

The effectiveness of the demonstrations was limited by (a) the fact that they were separate instead of united AFL-CIO demonstrations, and (b) by the fact that they were directed in the spirit of the letter-writing, veto-begging campaign. Still, coordinated and expanded on a national scale, with teeth put into their organization, there could have been the kind of action which guarantees results.

Letter-writing has its purposes. It is sometimes useful. In this present situation, however, it is less than useless; it is actually a crime, for it disorients labor and dissipates activity. The Congressmen know where labor stands. They need to know what labor is willing to DO in defense of that stand.

Congress bases itself on the premise that the labor leadership will not lead militant, aggressive action. That is why it acts big on behalf of big business. That is why a man like Hartley can talk big about how Congress will retaliate against a general protest strike, etc. Faced by the organized wrath of the labor movement, Hartley would crumble like a creampuff under the blows of a sledge-hammer.

There are a few days left in which to act. The governmental servants of the employers must be made to face the reality of an aroused labor movement. The only way in which this can be done is to give them a sign of what labor is prepared to DO in refusing to tolerate the strangulation of the union movement.

Time is short. It must be used effectively. It must be used to rally a 24-hour nation-wide general protest strike. It must be used to mobilize a mass march on Washington.

A few hours are enough to summon labor to action. Congress will not now be impressed by bushels of post-cards. Congress can only be impressed by determined action which is the promise of FURTHER militant action to come.

No reliance on Truman!
Reliance instead on labor's organized power!

ASK YOUR UNION TO DEMAND A MARCH ON WASHINGTON!
ASK YOUR UNION TO DEMAND A 24-HOUR GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE!

A MESSAGE TO THE CONVENTION DELEGATES

How Can Militant Vets Meet the Crisis in the AVC?

By W. FARGO

The American Veterans Committee is being torn by an acute internal crisis from which it may never emerge. It is more than a struggle for the control of the organization. IT IS A STRUGGLE OF SURVIVAL. Who controls the AVC is indeed important; but only, and exactly, to the degree to which the question of control is linked with the platforms upon which the contending forces stand. The AVC must emerge from THIS convention with a fighting program for the veteran, correctly oriented (toward labor) and militantly implemented; a program through which it can break its isolation from the veteran—without such a program the AVC is doomed to stagnate and to disintegrate. It is therefore incumbent upon every delegate to understand fully the nature of the crisis and to reflect carefully upon the programs offered as solutions.

Such a program is presented elsewhere in this issue. That program

distinguishes itself from the Stalinist "program" as well as from that of the majority of the National Planning Commission led by Bolte, F. D. R., Jr., etc. It is offered as a separate organization is justified by a fundamentally different approach to the problem of the veteran from that of the reactionary, labor-hating American Legion and VFW.

UNDERSTANDING THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF THE AVC

Before we can understand the nature of the present crisis in the AVC, it is necessary first to understand the character of the organization. In the field of veterans organizations as we have known them in this country, an organization such as the AVC is eminently unique. There has never been, and there is not today, any organization among veterans comparable to the AVC.

The unique quality of the AVC does not lie in the restriction of membership to the veteran of World War II. If this were so, it would be far better to advocate the organiza-

tion of exclusive World War II sections of the already established veteran organizations like the powerful American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Its existence as a separate organization is justified by a fundamentally different approach to the problem of the veteran from that of the reactionary, labor-hating American Legion and VFW.

Turn to pages 3 and 5 for other material on the AVC Convention.

Of all the veterans organizations that have sustained themselves after the first flurry of formations which followed on the heels of V-J Day, the American Veterans Committee alone has stood out as the only socially alert and progressive organization in the veterans field. The AVC has

sought to approach and to grapple with the problems of the veteran on a social level, as distinct from the pure and simple "beer and pretzel" approach of the already existing organizations. It has not sought to treat the problem of the veteran as elevated above society, but rather as an integral part of the problems of society as a whole.

The AVC has refused to become a "special-interest-group" of the veteran, has consistently maintained that the special problems of the veteran are inextricably linked with the problems of the country in general, and has therefore sought the solutions to these problems within the frame-work of the general life of the country. It is to this that the AVC owes its distinctiveness. It is to this that it owes its right to contend with the already existing veteran organizations, as the least qualified spokesman and champion of the veteran.

In the sphere of veterans organizations, the AVC represents a sharp

break with the reactionary, anti-labor policies of the traditional veterans organizations. The AVC has challenged the domain heretofore dominated by the reactionary American Legion and the VFW, and has thereby challenged the "view" that the veteran is traditionally a reactionary force. And—it has given this challenge organized expression.

In contradistinction with the traditional veterans organizations in the U. S., the American Veterans Committee has:

1. Taken an unambiguous position against "Jim Crow" and against all forms of racial discrimination;
2. Defied southern bigotry and terror by organizing inter-racial chapters of the AVC;
3. Spear-headed the anti-Bilbo drive in Mississippi and gathered witnesses to testify before the investigating committee;
4. Has sought to intervene in social problems—notably the housing, rent and price situations. In several instances it has sponsored militant

actions in behalf of these issues, although most of such actions were initiated by individual chapters and Area Councils;

E. IT HAS PROVIDED AN ORGANIZATION OF FREE AND DEMOCRATIC EXPRESSION ON ALL ISSUES OF THE DAY;

F. In some instances (again at the initiative of chapters), has supported the strike struggles of the workers;

G. Has, of course, on any number of occasions, intervened in behalf of special veteran issues.

These are among the factors marking the AVC as the only PROGRESSIVE veterans organization on the American scene. These are the factors which not only give it the right to exist, but dictate that the AVC MUST BE PRESERVED AND STRENGTHENED.

In the very uniqueness of the AVC, in the very factors which give us the right to exist as a distinct movement of veterans, in the very (Continued on page 8)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

State Convention to Test UAW Groups

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—Delegates are gathering here on June 16, 17 and 18 for the annual CIO state convention at a time of crucial importance to the union movement.

The burning issues of the day are bound to occupy a major part of this convention, in contrast to last year's mainly organizational fight between the so-called right and left wing factions in the CIO, in this case, of the UAW-CIO in particular.

For the problem of meeting the anti-labor offensive cannot be ignored or buried. The Taft-Hartley bill may be signed by President Truman. It may be left unsigned, to become a law. Or it may be vetoed and passed anyhow.

LABOR PARTY ISSUE

The point is that labor must re-evaluate the political program that brought it into its present defensive position. It must chart a course for victory in the next period.

And that is why the question of a labor party will assume major significance at this convention, in spite of all attempts to shift it aside. Interwoven with this question and every other disputed point at this convention is the UAW-CIO factional struggle, for both Reuther and the anti-Reuther forces are using this convention as a testing ground of

strength in preparation for the coming national UAW-CIO convention.

The predominant influence of the UAW-CIO delegates to the state convention arises from the fact that the auto union is the decisive section of the labor movement in Michigan. The importance of the UAW-CIO factional struggle at this convention is that both major auto factions will play a decisive role in the respective "right" and "left" wing caucuses.

The major political answer of the Stalinist bloc to the burning issues of the day will be in the slogan "Support Henry Wallace." In the camp influenced by Reuther there will be confusion, opportunism, conservatism and some labor party sentiment. Much of the confusion will arise from agreement among some delegates with what Wallace says, but dislike of Wallace's blessing from the Communist Party. The conservatism will come mainly from the present leadership of the state CIO, headed by Gus Scholle, president. Unlike last year, when Scholle found Philip Murray, CIO president, tacitly supporting the left wing, Scholle expects support from Murray in his anti-CP attitude and in his general line, "Support national CIO policy."

ACTU'S INFLUENCE

How far labor party sentiment has spread in Michigan CIO ranks will be revealed at this convention. Certain-

ly it will be an issue in the Reuther-Scholle caucus meetings held before the convention. Of special interest to progressive workers in the Reuther camp will be the role of Emil Mazey, co-regional director of the big East Side region of the UAW-CIO. He is the only leader of prominence in the Reuther camp who has spoken repeatedly for a labor party.

The Stalinist bloc has been working hard before this convention to link directly Gus Scholle and Governor Kim Sigler, the Republican witch hunter. But much of this campaign failed to catch fire among the ranks when Scholle made a shrewd speech before a legislative committee against the Callahan red-hunt bill, while spokesmen for the Stalinist forces fumbled the ball. Scholle's speech was made before a huge delegation of CIO unionists as well as committee members. Sigler, of course, was for the Callahan bill.

If the reactionary influence of the Stalinists is the curse of the so-called "left wing" bloc, then the curse of the Reuther camp is the vicious

ACTU (Association of Catholic Trade Unionists) influence. ACTU openly endorsed Sigler's witch-hunt in an editorial in *The Wage Earner*, their weekly publication. ACTU moaned when Walter Reuther denounced Sigler's red-baiting. But ACTU is very influential in some circles, especially in the state CIO leadership, and its reactionary role needs further exposing. Paul Weber, of the American Newspaper Guild, and ACTU "braintruster," is a case in point. He is a vice-president of the state CIO.

In terms of organizational strength at the state CIO convention, both sides claim a majority of delegates. It seems probable, however, that the right wing will again retain control. It is important, of course, to keep the state CIO from becoming a tool of the Stalinist bloc. But that is not enough. A good house-cleaning of the reactionary elements in the Reuther-Scholle camp would be of further aid to the progress of the Michigan labor movement in fighting off the bosses' offensive.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL" ECONOMICS

Practically every economist in the nation has, in the last two months, had his say about what the immediate future holds for American capitalism. I have before me the predictions of 87 capitalist economists. The consensus is that this nation is entering a period of "recession," which will last for from three months to a year or more.

The sounder ones keep close to the facts—business inventories still rising—capital expenditures leveling off—a slow-down in the post-war boom—the widening gap between our immense exports (\$4.9 billion for the first three months of 1947) and our imports (less than \$2 billion)—the lack of consuming purchasing power. The crack-pot economists are in the majority. Even when they are right, they are right for the wrong reason. Almost the most stupid school of economics is that which holds that "we have talked ourselves into a depression." This is what I call "psychological" economics. It is typified by such persons and groups as Ray Moulden, of the Washington Bureau, Chicago Journal of Commerce, and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Moulden writes that "economists have successfully talked us into" the recession.

Is it true that the capitalist system can be "talked into" a depression—or a recovery? If it is true, then we socialists are indeed Utopians, and the capitalist system is guaranteed a very long life. Capitalism enjoys a firm monopoly on all the important avenues of information. It has thousands of spiers and hucksters. According to the psychological economists, all that is necessary to control the capitalist cycles is to "talk" prosperity.

What does this remind us of, if not the silly campaign headed by Herbert Hoover in the early 1930's. Do you remember? That vast yawning crack in the capitalist system that began in 1929, we were then told, was caused by pessimism and lack of faith. Recovery was just around the corner. Legions of businessmen followed Hoover in issuing reassuring statements. Luncheon clubs from coast to coast would have song fests and comedians to cheer them up. The Democrats yodeled "Happy Days Are Here Again." Telephone operators were instructed to answer calls with cheering greetings . . . 1932 . . . 1934 . . . 1936 . . . 1937, a little upswing . . . 1938, whoof, the bottom again . . . 1939, still 10,000,000 unemployed. Then came the war and its insatiable demands for goods, and the system recovered on this artificial basis.

The point to remember is this: All the professional optimism of the capitalists affected the economy not a jot. What people say or think or feel has little impact on the business cycle. Economics has its own laws. These laws have best been explained by Marx and his followers. These laws are as impervious to "psychology" as are the laws that govern the swing of the planets and the stars.

Capitalist economists who believe that a depression is something that can be caused by talk or thought are like savages and little children who believe they can harm other persons by thinking evil of them.

What great fools most capitalists are! Here is the president of Dun & Bradstreet, saying it will be an "utter disgrace" if the United States has a depression in the next three or four years. Who will be disgraced? The capitalists who try to run the system? The people who are victims of the system? He does not say. But this man, Arthur D. Whitehead, has got conditions figured out. "The fact is," he says, "when we quit buying English shoes at \$58 a pair, as against the prewar \$22, and do only selective necessary buying, prices will come down. They told me I had to pay \$35 for a dress shirt, so I'm doing without a new dress shirt."

Maritime Workers Want New Contract

NEW YORK, June 10—With contracts due to expire on June 15, CIO maritime unions on both coasts are engaged in last-minute negotiations with the shipping companies. The Stalinist leadership of the West Coast Longshoremen and Marine Cooks & Stewards have announced their willingness to accept the operators' offer of a year's extension of the old contract, but the East Coast National Maritime Union still demands favorable revisions in wages and working conditions.

East Coast shipowners, represented by a committee headed by Frank J. Taylor, countered the NMU demands with a list of proposals that would slash at the foundations of the present working conditions aboard ship. Chief targets of the shipowners' attack are overtime earnings, transportation payments and the right of a seaman to ask for better conditions aboard ship before signing on.

SIX-POINT PROGRAM

The NMU Negotiating Committee rejected these proposals in toto and demanded that the shipowners' committee negotiate on the basis of the union's six-point program:

1. Increase in wages and overtime.
2. Forty-hour week.
3. Health and welfare fund.
4. Extension of vacations to six weeks per year.
5. Increased manning scales.
6. All shipping of unlicensed jobs to be through the union hall.

"We do not intend to negotiate an agreement downward," the union committee informed the shipowners.

SWEAT-SHOP CONDITIONS

A brief examination of the shipowners' proposals shows what sweat-shop conditions they would impose upon the seaman if they were able. Under the misleading slogan, "Eight hours work without overtime," they would destroy the working conditions and penalty jobs that the unions have earned in years of fighting. Changes in ratings would further decrease a seaman's wages, and a replacement shipped from the union hall would not go on the payroll until he actually "turned to." At present a man is considered as hired and on the payroll when he takes a job at the dispatcher's window.

An effective weapon used by seamen to win minor disputes, such as living conditions aboard ship, food, cost for tropical cruises, etc., is to refuse to sign on until these corrections are made. The shipowners want any seaman who refuses to sign on to be automatically discharged.

Another clause calls for the union to pay all costs of transporting a replacement to the port where he ships. Often a qualified crew may not be obtainable. In such cases, the union sends men from the nearest port where such men are available, but the operator is obliged to pay transportation. Now the shipowners want the union to foot the bill for supplying them with men. In this case the shipowners offer a concession: the money can come out of the seaman's pocket instead of the union's till.

The rest of the shipowner proposals are in a similar vein. The NMU negotiators have quite properly told them to forget such nonsense and get down to the business of negotiating.

with no revisions. For weeks Harry Bridges has been crying "Lockout!" Now he hails as a victory a contract that shows no gains for the longshoremen. Standing still is actually going backward in these days of rising prices and general inflation. Nevertheless, the agreement reached by the ILWU and MCS is contingent on agreements reached with other CIO maritime unions, according to the conference held recently. Another meeting of this conference is due on the eve of the June 15 contract expiration.

While Bridges has been content to accept the old agreement, Stalinists in the NMU have been super-militant in their demands. This strategy is linked with the current struggle in the NMU between the Stalinists and Joe Curran. "Anything to embarrass Curran," the Stalinists say. Curran, on the other hand, realizes that the union is weakened temporarily by its internal strife and favors a cautious approach. He wants a contract with enough gains to strengthen his own position within the NMU, yet he does not want to stick his neck out where treachery by the Stalinists can cut off his head.

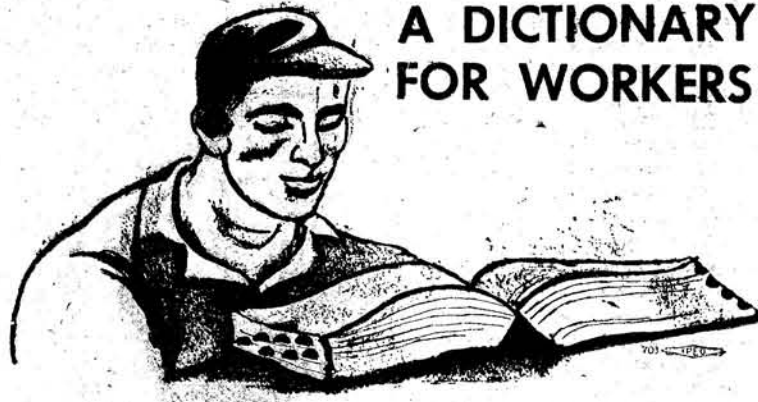
The shipowners, never a generous lot, are eager to hold down wages. Though still heavily subsidized, the good old days when the government paid all the bills are gone. Now the shipowners must squeeze a bit to hold on to their fat profits. It hurts a shipowner least of all to squeeze a seaman. Thus they come out with sweeping demands to revise the old contract downward. They are likely to offer a settlement on the basis of the old contract.

Such a settlement would not be a victory for the seamen, despite the claims of Harry Bridges on the West Coast. Anything other than an advance in wages and conditions will be a defeat at this time. There is no question of a "bankrupt" industry unable to afford an increase in wages, as profits are at a high level. The crippling legislation passed by the shipowners' allies in Congress is not yet law, nor are the American maritime workers ready to retreat before the onslaught of the bosses and their government.

The six-point program of the NMU is moderate and reasonable from any point of view. These demands can be won if the NMU leads the way with fighting determination. In a showdown the other CIO unions, including the ILWU and MCS, will support fighting action undertaken by the East Coast seamen. Last year's strike proved that the AFL seamen will respect genuine picket lines.

Maritime labor can still forge ahead!

A DICTIONARY FOR WORKERS



E
Economics, the study of the production and distribution of wealth.
Employee representation, a fancy name for company unionism.
Employer, one who owns the tools of production or exchange and hires workers to exploit their labor power.
Eplague, a disciple who falsifies and distorts the teachings of his master while still claiming to advocate those teachings.
Exploitation, has come to mean utilizing resources or squeezing labor so that every last bit of profit may be obtained.

F
Fabian, a member of the Fabian Society in England, or one sharing its views. A Fabian is a moderate socialist who advocates and preaches the possibility of gradual, peaceful reform through education.
Factory committee, a committee elected by all the employees of a factory, irrespective of union affiliation, to press for the interests of the workers.
Farm-Holiday Association, a radical organization formed by working farmers in the early 1930s to resist foreclosures on the farms through direct action against sheriffs, judges and other forces of capitalist law and order. Existed principally in Iowa and Minnesota.

Guaranteed Annual Wage and the ILGWU--

(Continued from page 1)

effect in a tiny section of the industry, as late as the last convention held in 1944, resolutions favoring the guaranteed annual wage were merely referred to the General Executive Board and shelved.

A guaranteed annual wage carries with it the necessity of production planning, access to company data, etc. Here the ILG is in a uniquely favorable position—in contrast to the UAW, for example, which withdrew the Reuther demand to "Open the Books"—to make concrete proposals. For it has long followed the procedure of inspecting the bosses' books, since the price of work-rates is set by the price the manufacturer gets for the product.

In 1941, when the union leadership considered asking for a guaranteed annual wage, they were confronted with a badly sagging industry. The union took the initiative in proposing to industry that it modernize itself, adopt more efficient methods, take "fashion" leadership away from Paris, etc., and to these ends set up a Management Engineering Department which undertakes many of the

functions of management, including time study practices. If the union is capable of assisting in pulling an industry out of the red, surely it is capable of seeing that its members are assured a guaranteed living wage the year around!

Given the type of industry, the solution of the working problem is not a simple one. But it is obvious that no ordinary measures can guarantee year-around work and an annual wage. In a nation where the government subsidizes various enterprises permanently, the demand for nationalization of industry under workers' control has application to the garment trade as well. But such a demand is in sharp contrast to the policies of the present government, whose aim is to maintain the capitalist profit structure rather than to guarantee jobs and wages.

In the garment industry a partial start has been made in the existing "intervention" of the union in the welfare of the industry. But here, too, the union's activity is still far short of the goal of full employment and a guaranteed annual wage.

In the last analysis, the guarantee

of security, not merely to garment labor but to all labor, is a political problem. The fate of the garment industry is dependent upon bigger business. And the anarchy and lack of planning throughout capitalist private enterprise which leads to depression—and to a depressed industry—foredooms any partial planning. Over-all planning means government planning, which involves politics—in the highest, most scientific sense of the term. Or, the garment workers would have to have government assistance in the event of an industry-wide plan, which means political action from the very start. What is obviously needed is a party of labor—an independent labor party to represent the interests of the workers and the people as a whole. The necessity for such a party and such political action is dictated by the times, when every important economic struggle of labor becomes a highly charged political issue, and when government intervention in economic affairs has reached a high point. All one has to do to recognize this fact is to focus his eyes on Washington.

NEED FOR POLITICAL ACTION

Contrary to younger and less politically sophisticated unions, the leadership and membership of the ILGWU are aware of at least pay lip service to the idea of an independent labor party. This is due in part to the socialist and radical tradition of the ILG, imparted by its founders. However, that tradition is a pretty dilute solution today; the leaders of the ILG always are ready to settle for less than a genuinely independent labor party.

In 1936, the ILG was the spearhead in the organization of the American Labor Party in New York City, whose aim, unfortunately, did not go further than to uphold the New Deal and "save New York for President Roosevelt." When the Communist Party took control of the ALP, the ILG and other anti-Communist unions and liberals bolted and formed the Liberal Party in 1944, which unsuccessfully tried to resuscitate the New Deal by supporting Mead and Lehman.

David Dubinsky, president of the ILG, is still first vice-chairman of the Liberal Party, and the ILG is actively supporting on a national scale the Americans for Democratic Action, which vociferously denies any ambitions to become a third

party, let alone a labor party. Yet Dubinsky recently debated against Matthew Woll on the need for independent political action. It is more than high time to put these off-repeated declarations into action. Surely the ILGers have had their fill of third-party, liberal-labor, laboristic and all kinds of tail-end groups which support the politicians of private enterprise. A lead from the ILG, representing the major industry in New York City, would spur immeasurably the formation of a national independent labor party.

FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY

The ILG has been called the "Harvard of the labor movement." This is a double-edged compliment. It pays tribute to the undoubted progressiveness of the union, its cultural achievements, its lengthy traditions, its great concentration on education, health, medical benefits, insurance, etc. But it is also an unintended but apt commentary on the stolid, elderly, business-like bureaucracy that heads the union. While the union has grown steadily in recent years, organizing in the West, South and Southwest, until it now numbers more than 375,000, this is scarcely reflected in the conventions or the national leadership.

At the last convention, most of the delegates and speakers and virtually all of the executive board elected by the convention were the old-timers,

men who have been associated with the union from ten to forty years. Officials of the union, union managers, business agents, organizers, Joint Board members, etc., are all delegates. This union should take a leaf from the UAW, most democratic and expressive of the rank and file among the CIO unions, and prohibit officers from serving as delegates. Election of officers as delegates is facilitated by the fact that elections for convention delegates are held at the same time as those for local officers. Local officers hold office for three years, between the triennial conventions, much too long a time between conventions, to reflect the feelings of the membership. Most local unions have membership meetings only once in two months.

When Rose Pesotta, well known organizer for the ILG, declined nomination to the GEB at the last convention, the GEB was composed solely of males representing a union 85 per cent of whose membership are women, and she revealed that the constitution prohibits more than one woman at a time as a member of the GEB.

What the union should have is a far greater measure of rank-and-file control if it is to reflect the wishes and interests of its membership, if it is to mobilize them in the hard days that are now beginning to show themselves.

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Exposes Strategy Of the Stalinists At AVC Convention

By SAUL BERG

The present drive against "Communists" by the administration in Washington, as part of its execution of American imperialist policy here and abroad, has led many heretofore willing liberal tools and fellow travelers of the Stalinists to jump the fence and to engage in pure and simple red-baiting.

This combination of circumstances, in which the Stalinists are unpopular for such a variety of reasons, has necessitated their use of all sorts of complicated stratagems in order to hold on to posts of leadership.

STALINIST SLATES

Those who have kept their eyes and ears open know who the Stalinists are on the National Planning Committee of AVC. However, it is true that the people most widely known as CP leaders in the AVC—Borden and Knoble—are not on the NPC.

Smolens has been circulating material nationally. He ended by proposing to organize a ticket to oppose the "extreme right wing of Gil Harrison and Gus Tyler and the extreme left wing of Knoble-Borden-Kaufman."

Seizure of Hungary is Russia's Reply to the Truman Doctrine

By IRVING HOWE

President Truman is apparently excited about the situation in Hungary: he seems to feel that the Hungarian Stalinists count ballots in about as fair a manner as do his political cronies of the Pendergast machine in Kansas City.

Yet we think that for the time being none of his moral indignation and tub-thumping will very much help the cause of U. S. imperialism in Hungary. The Stalinists have turned a coup; they have in effect seized power and are determined to consolidate that power.

So Truman is screaming a little too late. Just as U. S. imperialism waved its dollar signs and got the Stalinists driven out of the Italian and French cabinets, so the Russian waved bayonets and its stereotyped confession formulae and drove Nagy and his crowd out of Hungary.

INSIDE HUNGARY

But what is now happening inside of Hungary? That is a really interesting matter. For one thing, there is panic in financial and industrial circles. Hungary is largely an agrarian country, and a backward one at that; its small industry is owned by three major banks.

help assure the reelection of the present Stalinist minority on the NPC by giving them a reputation different from Knoble and Borden.

SHELVE BONUS

The chief characteristic of the Stalinists in their approach to program has been cowardice. The California state convention under their leadership shelved the whole question of the bonus. This demand, so elementary, in which the veterans find themselves supported by the entire labor movement, is actually favored by the Stalinists in individual chapters.

In their attitude toward General Bradley, they have equalled the AVC leadership in grovelling. Only a few weeks after Bradley came out for "economy" by opposing the maintenance of the program of furnishing cars for legless veterans, the New York CP caucus statement appeared with a plank endorsing Bradley's work as head of the Veterans Administration.

On the National Planning Committee there has been not one iota of difference in program between the two factions. The CP group refrains entirely from presenting any proposals, and when it gets slapped directly in the face with denunciations of communism . . . it abstains! Under these circumstances the Stalinist caucus cannot pretend to any principled basis for opposition to the leadership, and the whole level of the convention is brought down to a dog eat dog personal fight for posts.

The genuine militants in the AVC, who want a fighting vets' organization allied to the labor movement, will join even with the milk and water respectables to kick all the Stalinists out of leadership, for only such an outcome can assure the growth of an AVC free from bureaucratic domination. But at the same time the genuine militants will not yield in their fight for program against the present administration.

June 16, 1947

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

Some Capitalist Leaders Explain How Their Profit System Functions

By E. R. MCKINNEY

A MAJOR task for all the defenders of and apologists for capitalism today is how to make "our system of free enterprise" work. The Republican and Democratic Parties and the capitalist class began with the position that the first thing to do was to eliminate price control. Let the "law" of supply and demand have free rein unhampered by a blundering and "socialistic" government bureaucracy.

This conception, to the degree that one should attribute honesty to its proponents, was and is based on a fallacy and a considerable amount of downright ignorance. The ignorance and the fallacy revolved around the question of how prices are really determined and this so-called "law" of supply and demand. During the late depression and before the apple vendors were put to work making bullets, before the inhabitants of the Hoovervilles were moved to the various beaver board and sheet iron fold houses erected by the Federal Government, there was an abundance of "demand" but the "supply" was a little short. Not "demand" of course in the technical sense meant by the capitalist economists. What they mean by "demand" is the desire for something when you have the money to pay for it.

Not only do these giant corporations, trusts and holding companies operate within their own field on a monopoly basis but the whole of capitalist business enterprise functions monopolistically through its trade associations and organizations, for the purpose of establishing prices and wages. By this it is not meant that the leaders of business and commerce sit down together and decide

all the details of what prices and wages should be. They can hardly do so given the present organization of capitalism. What they do is to adopt general formulas to take care of the overall needs of industry in the way of prices and wages. They come to some general decision that prices should be increased and not lowered, that wages should be held down, or if increased, only by a certain amount.

This should be clear from what has transpired during the months since the death of OPA. What happened to the "law" of supply and demand? With the country stripped of the usual peacetime abundance of supplies, the manufacturers began operations after the war was over. Fifty-eight millions were at work and unemployment was negligible. But the goods did not get to the retail stores. Manufacturers piled up huge inventories. The goods were packed away in warehouses. From January to February of this year inventories increased from 20 billion to 21 billion; or one billion dollars in a single thirty-day period! Combined with this rapid increase in inventories was a rapid, constant and seemingly limitless increase in prices. Where was the "law" of supply and demand? Where were the price reductions which were to follow the elimination of OPA? Where were the benefits which "free enterprise" would bestow if only the government would take its hand off and give industry an opportunity to produce and make a "fair profit" on its investment?

Despite all this there are capitalists and defenders of capitalism who feel that the system is working fine.

The National Industrial Conference Board got so elated at the way things were going that this institution decided to discover "what keeps the American free-enterprise system ticking so strongly." Mr. Virgil Jordan, the president of the NIBC, in a speech at the meeting of the Edison Electrical Institute, told what he discovered. Mr. Jordan discovered that "our" success is due to our "economic freedom" and "free competition in free markets." But he sees a dark cloud on the horizon. We have gone too far "in the direction of government controls and private monopolistic practices." What is really unique in our system "is the American democratic way of life itself." But according to Mr. Jordan we must keep a very vigilant eye on the "monopolies," government, business "and now the labor monopolies." "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Mr. R. T. Haslam, of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey has written a pamphlet. He has just returned from a good will tour of South America. He found some competition there but nothing like the "complete" competition which prevails in the good old U. S. A. Here "people, corporations, industries and geographic areas all compete with one another." Mr. Haslam is very proud of the American system because under this system "people are constantly changing jobs or starting new businesses . . . cutting costs and prices. . . . Furthermore "our system puts a premium on efficiency, which leads to low prices and high wages, which in turn mean that more people can buy the great quan-

ties of goods we turn out." It may be a good idea to emphasize that this is a brand new pamphlet and was not written in 1928.

In trying to make "our system of free enterprise" work the big business geniuses pay attention to talk about a coming depression. According to the New York Times, one big insurance executive has the cure, or at least he knows where the real danger is. It seems that a source of "imminent danger" is the insistence of misguided people for lower prices. His argument is, if the public believes that prices will come down, they will not buy now. But if people don't buy now production will have to be reduced. If production is reduced costs will go up. This will necessitate price increases. The moral is, if you don't want unemployment and higher prices keep paying the present high prices, no matter how high they go.

WHAT IS A RECESSION

Another interesting aspect of this question is the language used to describe certain phenomena. Prices are not increased or decreased but "re-adjusted." There are certain "mal-adjustments" in "the price structure." There are also "cost maladjustments" and "scattered inventory losses" following "price adjustments."

Also, it can now be definitely said that we know the difference between a "recession" and a "depression." The difference has been explained by no less an authority than Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank. Mr. Aldrich concedes that there may be a recession but one (Continued on page 6)

"Freedom from Fear" in Europe

Stalin Reaches Out For Expatriates

By ARTHUR STEIN

Reports continue to pile up concerning Russian citizens in Central and Western Europe who refuse to be repatriated to Russia. Their refusal has been so determined that many, when confronted with forced repatriation, have committed suicide.

The motive of these people in refusing repatriation is obvious: the Russian government has taken the position that anyone who had "permitted" himself to be captured by the Germans, either as a prisoner of war or as a slave laborer, has thereby committed a criminal act. Since the Russian economy is operated on the basis of using a constantly increasing supply of forced labor, former prisoners of the Axis powers are a valuable source of slave laborers for the Kremlin empire.

Recently, a group of Russian "displaced persons" in camps in Italy issued an urgent appeal to the outside world for aid in preventing their forced shipment to slave labor camps in Russia. Another group in France has been confined to barbed wire repatriation camps which are run, under an agreement with the French government, by Russian police forces.

ALLIED "SLAVE-CATCHERS"

Under terms of an agreement signed at Yalta, British and American military forces have consistently served the Russians as "slave-catchers." By the beginning of this year, more than two million Russian nationals had been forced back to Russia. Today, 13,800 of them are left in camps throughout Europe, while a much larger number, estimated at around 400,000, has avoided the camps by concealing their nationality.

According to the Yalta agreement, only former members of the Russian armed forces were to be forced to return, while the former labor slaves of the Nazis were to be given the alternative of staying in the West if they so desired. However, since the propaganda campaign of the Russian embassies failed to get these people to agree to voluntary repatriation, a good deal more than "moral persuasion" has been used by the British, Russians and Americans.

The following are excerpts from a report on forced repatriation of Russian refugees from Italy, released here by the Refugee Defense Committee:

On August 14, 1946, all those who were in the Russian section of the camp at Bagnole were transported to the prisoners of war camp in Rimini. Here all "former" Soviet citizens" were segregated on the basis of pre-

viously prepared lists and placed behind barbed wire.

This action created so much indignation and suspicion that the British command felt constrained to reassure the refugees. Among other things they were told that it had all been done in order to protect them from Soviet persecution; that in a prisoner of war camp they were under the protection of the British Army and the Soviets therefore could not possibly interfere with their fate.

Shortly before the events of May 8, Major Hills promised the entire camp that they would be emigrating to the Argentine and that they had precedence over all other categories. Lt. Col. Martin, the officer commanding, made a public declaration in the same sense to the entire camp.

On May 7, Capt. Smith called out a list of 185 names, all of whom were told to prepare for evacuation from Rimini. Apparently wishing to reassure them, he suggested that they take their bedding and belongings with them. The refugees complied with their forced shipment to slave labor camps in Russia. Another group in France has been confined to barbed wire repatriation camps which are run, under an agreement with the French government, by Russian police forces.

On the morning of May 8, a number of strong British units arrived at the camp and, while these units stood guard, the refugees were placed aboard trucks. Each truck seated 15 people and each one departed only after the previous one had returned. Each truck was escorted by a radio car, tommy-gunners on motorcycles and two jeeps, one in front and one behind, both mounted with machine-guns. At the time, no one knew the destination of the trucks and no one could guess why they were so heavily guarded.

BRITISH DECEPTION

British troops and battalions of carabinieri had already been deployed around the nearby hamlet and the railroad station. At the station, each group of 15 dismounted between solid rows of British guards, their tommy-guns at the alert. They were herded between this gauntlet onto special railroad cars that were awaiting them. Only then did the refugees realize that they had been deceived and that they were being handed over to the Soviets.

The following scenes took place during this operation:

1. While boarding the prison car, Alexander Kristalevsky, 25 years old, tore himself loose, picked up a large boulder and struck himself on the temple with it, thus killing himself. 2. Paul Rodin, 33 years old, wrenched a gun from a British Tommy and tried to shoot himself. When

the rifle failed to fire, he tried to club his way to freedom with it. He broke through the first line of British soldiers, but then was shot dead.

3. The Bikodoroffs, father and son (Vladimir, 52 years old; Nicholas, 22 years old) tried to make a simultaneous break. The father, to save his son, threw himself from the truck and bowled several of the guards off their feet. The son tried to leap through the opening thus created, but was instantly shot. The father, unconscious, was thrown aboard the railroad car.

4. Anatole Imanov, 27, snatched a gun from a guard and tried to shoot his way out. He was killed in the melee.

5. Koursahin, a medical doctor, committed suicide by swallowing poison.

6. Among those delivered to the Soviets were 12 married men. At the station, women and children were forcibly separated from their husbands, sons and brothers. An old woman, mother of one Ivan Korobko, who by accident had discovered her son in Italy after the war, begged to be allowed to share his fate. She was torn away from him—forever.

One by one, the railroad cars with their cargoes of condemned men were assembled in the station at Bologna, where they were joined by another hundred or so Russians who were being repatriated from the American camp at Pisa. We have not as yet received a full account of what happened at Pisa. The following facts, however, have been ascertained:

Among those slated for delivery was one Pavel Ivanov, former camp leader of the Russian group. Until the very last he trusted the word of the British officers, who had assured him that all of the inhabitants of the camp would be safeguarded. Shortly before the transfer from Rimini, some friends from a nearby camp had suggested escape to him. He refused their suggestion, saying that he trusted the British command and could not violate his pledge to them.

ONE-SIDED BATTLE

It is said that only in Bologna did he understand that they had all been deceived. He reacted with firmness and courage. He waited for an opportune moment; then he called out to all men to revolt rather than permit themselves to be returned to their death. The unarmed Russians, knowing well what awaited them if they were returned, threw themselves to a man against the British guards who surrounded them and fought what was for many of them the last battle for their lives. Some of them succeeded in seizing rifles from their guards, but the battle was too one-sided to last very long. A precise estimate of the casualties is difficult. According to our information, al-

most 100 Russians were killed or wounded and there were also a number of British casualties. Ivanov himself, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, picked up an empty can and committed suicide by cutting his arteries and then his throat with its jagged edge.

Major Hills again guaranteed the safety of those who remained in the camp upon his word of honor as a British officer. In every DP camp attempts were made to reassure the inmates by telling them that what had happened had merely been a surrender to the Soviets of known "war criminals." But the Russians living in Italy knew the people who were surrendered; and they have thus been able to convince themselves that the

Spreads His Net



term "war criminal"—just as is the case with the designation "enemy of the people" in the Soviet Union—is a classification sufficiently elastic to meet all the desires of the Soviet regime. It is clear from everything that has happened that the Soviets consider all their pre-war citizens now in exile to be "war criminals."

The population of the camps is in a state of great anxiety. General despair, hopelessness, a complete distrust of the camp administration, have together made life unbearable. The people here would be ready to make any sacrifices—they would be ready to die if necessary—if they could only escape from the camps and the endless deception of their "protectors." But the general situation in Italy is such that even this final avenue is closed to them.

Simultaneously with events described above, the Allied and Italian police have launched a full-scale man-hunt against all those refugees who lack identification papers, and especially against those who have been designated by the Soviets. This man-hunt is obviously being conducted (Continued on page 5)

He's Angry



persecuted, eaten up from within by Stalinist-organized groups. That has been the pattern in Poland, where the petty-bourgeois Peasants Party has suffered this treatment and where the Social Democrats have largely been absorbed within the Stalinist orbit as political stooges—willingly or not, it makes slight difference. It has been the pattern in Yugoslavia and in Rumania; in the latter country, the small group of Independent Socialists (we don't know the complexion of their politics except that they are unwilling to knuckle under to the Stalinists) is vigorously persecuted by the Stalinist government.

And that is now the pattern in Hungary. The majority Small Land-

(Continued on page 4)

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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International Socialist Notes

SOCIALIST YOUTH HIT STALINIST HOOLIGANISM

PARIS, May 2—In the course of the First of May demonstration at Paris, some militants of the Socialist Youth who were distributing the Red Flag, national organ of our movement, and a leaflet of solidarity with the Renault strikers, were attacked in cowardly fashion by members of the UJRF (Stalinist youth), who tore up papers and leaflets and injured several comrades. One of them had to be hospitalized.

Similar attacks were made at several places against Renault strikers and members of the PCI (Trotskyists).

The national bureau of the Socialist Youth condemns these odious attacks. It sees in them the result of the abominable campaign of calumnies pursued by certain papers for several weeks, in particular against the Socialist Youth.

It denounces publicly and forcefully the introduction into the ranks of the working class of these methods inherited from fascism, at the moment when the necessity of unity of action of the proletarian forces is greater than ever.

The National Bureau of the Socialist Youth.

CEYLON

The June 3 New York Times carried the following brief dispatch from Colombo, Ceylon's capital city:

"Royal marines and sailors from the British cruiser Glasgow marched through the streets of Colombo with a Ceylon defense force contingent today in an apparent show of strength in the face of spreading strikes. It was estimated that approximately 25,000 government and industrial workers were involved in the strikes."

For details on the situation we must await word from the Ceylon Trotskyists. What we do know is the pattern of the past year that has led to this crisis. During the war, when the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, Ceylon section of the Fourth International, was illegal, leadership of the legal trade union movement fell into the hands of the reformists and Stalinists. The period since 1945, when the Trotskyist leaders were released from prison, has witnessed the slow, steady resurgence of their influence over the mass movement, and a tremendous increase in the militancy of the working class. Last October, a strike that started among the bank clerks took on the character of a general strike in Colombo. The reformists and Stalinists were forced briefly into a united front with the Trotskyists of the LSSP.

The strikers were victorious on the specific issue over which the strike took place. However, in December the government, which had refused recognition to the unions of civil service workers, attempted with the aid of the reformist leadership of those unions, to put through a plan for splitting up the strong govern-

ment unions into small departmental segments which would be recognized. The aroused membership turned down the plan, ousted the union leaders and elected a new revolutionary leadership. It was under the new leadership that 5,000 government workers of Colombo, Galle and Kandy went out on strike a month ago. Now, this latest dispatch indicates a broadening of the struggle. Certainly the British Navy's show of strength marks the seriousness of the situation.

January's municipal elections in Ceylon provided a good test of strength. The LSSP, mistakenly, in our opinion, ran candidates in only two wards of Colombo, and endorsed the CP candidates in ten others on the ground of the necessity of working class unity. The result was that the two Trotskyist candidates were elected in spite of Stalinist opposition, while only one of the ten CP candidates was able to win, even with the LSSP endorsement. The workers simply wouldn't stomach the Stalinist lackeys, who have been working very closely with the native capitalist political machine. Furthermore, our comrades elected three other councillors in smaller cities.

The present labor crisis is undoubtedly connected with the legislative elections taking place this month—the first in Ceylon in many years. In this election, the CP has lined up in support of the United National Party, the party of the native capitalists, while the Trotskyist LSSP constitutes the chief opposition ticket.

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

BLAMING IT ON BABY

Like many other popular beliefs, the concept of the absent-minded professor has a considerable basis in fact. Ours is a society which demands a great deal of specialization in every field. This has produced startling results, of which the atomic bomb is a frightening example. But the one-sidedness which this specialization causes produces almost equally startling phenomena when these monarchs of the classroom begin to issue speeches from the throne on fields unrelated to their specialty.

The social sciences in particular have recently fallen victim to such periodic royal pronouncements. For such persons the study of society is conceived of as being in the intellectual public domain, where one man's opinion is as good as another's, and where the scientific method, which rigorously disciplines their investigations in their specialties, can be happily cast aside.

The most recent person to air his views on the world's ills is Dr. Arnold Gesell, director of the Yale University clinic on child development. It must be said that the value of Gesell's views on social problems is inversely proportional to the value of his exceptionally interesting work in gross observation of child development.

GESELL ON WAR

Gesell's views were recently summed up by the New York Times as follows: "By meeting the natural history of aggression in all children, with a science of child development and intelligent guidance of anger, fear and self-assertion in the rising generation, we can hope to control hostile aggressions and war at their psychological source and make war impossible because it will be unthinkable . . . aggressive and hostile tendencies are the natural result of inborn temperament, experience and training, and maturity."

Such views are not uncommon. They have been expounded in different and more stimulating form by persons such as Freud. But they disintegrate upon the slightest contact with reality.

What Gesell fails to establish is the connection between the indubitable "aggressive and hostile tendencies" of the individual personality and large scale modern war. If such universal aggressive tendencies are the basis of modern war Gesell has considerable explaining to do. As spokesman for the inarticulate if not silent babies of the world I'd like to ask Gesell a few questions:

Why, for instance, does every nation have to resort to conscription? According to Laski, speaking at the last labor party conference, the English army could hope to raise only 18,000 to 31,000 troops on a voluntary basis.

Why, if this aggressive instinct is so all-pervasive, must every army operate on the basis of rigid discipline? The most "aggressive" army of all, the Wehrmacht, was held together in good part by a ruthless system of terrorism.

How account for historic events like the Russian Revolution, which was made possible by the "pacifist" rather than "aggressive" instincts of the troops?

Why, in the recent war, were these "hostile and aggressive tendencies" directed against the Germans and the Japanese, who few soldiers had even seen—much less have a personal hatred of, and not against Negroes, say, who live in the United States and against whom most whites do have an antipathy?

Why is this inherent aggression currently directed against the Russians, who but yesterday were our friends?

Why does it sometimes take the form of civil war—and at other times of foreign abroad?

A SOCIAL QUESTION

Even under capitalism individuals do not normally settle differences by violent or lethal means, in spite of their "aggressive and hostile tendencies." At the University of Chicago roundtable broadcast, where Gesell's theories were contested by Dr. Adrian Vander Veer, we are sure that Gesell had little desire to wheel up an M-6 tank and give his estimable colleague the business.

War is a social question whose roots will not be discovered by prowling into childhood behavior. They will be discovered by bringing to the study of society the same scrupulousness observed in applying the scientific method in other fields.

The foul interests underlying world politics have seldom been so clearly and so frequently exposed as they have in the two years which have just passed. The root evil is capitalism.

That Gesell is so little able to perceive it affords one more unfortunate proof of how little the middleclass scientific intelligentsia, profound as its insights may be in other fields, is able to rise above the regressive social ideas of its times.

No "Death" - - (Continued from editorial column)

Slave labor is being used today in Russia to an unprecedented degree. German prisoners, stranded Poles, Russian dissidents—these are a few of the sources of replenishment for the Stalinist slave labor camps. We shall not here go into a detailed description; we shall only refer our readers to the article by Jack Weber on "Stalin's Slave Labor Camps" in the forthcoming July issue of The New Internationalist. It is only in terms of the Stalinist desire to find new sources of supply for their slave labor camps that the "abolition of the death penalty" can be seen; and it is only in terms of recognition of the totalitarian nature of the Stalinist regime that all of its actions can be understood.

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Editorials

A Lesson in Labor Unity

By the time you read this editorial, two important events will have taken place in New York City. One of them has already taken place and the other is scheduled for the time we go to press.

The one already held was the big mass rally held by the AFL in Madison Square Garden against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Bill, to which 40,000 workers poured out into the streets, jammed the Garden and filled adjacent blocks. The CIO is also scheduled to hold a similar rally at the Garden, which will no doubt be at least as large.

We shall not here dwell on the shortcomings of the AFL's tremendous meeting, no doubt to be duplicated by the CIO—the fact that they were loaded with speakers who were capitalist politicians trying to excuse the inexcusable records of their parties; the fact that the Republicans were singled out for attack even though the Democratic Party has an equally reactionary record in Congress; the fact that there wasn't any sentiment expressed by the speakers in behalf of labor's most crying need: independent political action. These were serious shortcomings indeed; but no more about them here.

What concerns us now is the potential strength of labor which is indicated by these gigantic demonstrations. Consider the fact that every housewife who gets her milk delivered by a driver (there are nearly one million such deliveries made each morning in New York City) also got a leaflet announcing the AFL garden rally. That showed the widespread possibilities for reaching other workers which the AFL has: an infinitely more effective device than the paid advertisements which it placed in capitalist newspapers. It showed how the labor movement reaches into

every corner and aspect of daily life and is able to control production at will; for labor is indeed the motive power behind all production.

But there's another idea we'd like to get across to you on these demonstrations. The AFL got 40,000 people out; the CIO will get at least as many. Just imagine what kind of meeting could have been held if there had been a joint rally!

Why not? There have been negotiations between AFL and CIO for organic unity, which seem likely not to come to anything right now. But just because there isn't organic unity is no reason why there should not be joint action on specific issues about which there is not possible disagreement between the two giant bodies of labor.

If there had been a joint rally, it would have fired the imagination of the entire city. People who have said: "Just think of that! The AFL and CIO getting together against the Slave Labor Bill. Must be pretty important if they're holding a joint rally." There would have been an attendance far greater than the total attendance of the two separate meetings. It would have gained national publicity. It would have shown that all sections of labor, whatever their other differences, can unite to work together against their common enemies.

We're talking about "what could have happened." BUT IT STILL CAN HAPPEN! Two separate meetings—but now a joint meeting. That's something every AFL and CIO worker ought to take up in his union as a proposition for the immediate future. So long as there are two separate labor organizations, let them at least work together when the future of all workers is threatened.

No "Death Penalty" for Slaves

The professional "friends of the Soviet Union"—that is, those whose purpose is to apologize for Stalinist totalitarianism—are creating a bit of a hullabaloo about the decree issued on May 26 by the Stalinist regime which "abolished the death penalty." They are pointing to this decree as evidence of the democratization and humanitarianism of the Stalinist regime.

Before analyzing the specific nature and motives of this decree, we wish to emphasize one central point: nothing a totalitarian regime does can be taken at face value, none of its decrees have any necessary relationship to what it has done, can do, will do or is doing. For so long as a regime is totalitarian, so long as it is dictatorial, so long as there is not the slightest possibility of the expression of popular discontent with its actions, then it is free to behave as it wishes. It may violate its own "laws" with complete impunity or fear of criticism; it may violate them secretly without the possibility of ever being discovered. For instance, the Stalinist regime quietly and secretly murdered thousands of Old Bolsheviks without trial during the past two decades; it brought its critics to trial only when convenient for its own purposes.

That is why the decrees of a totalitarian government are not worth the paper they are written on. In the case of a capitalist democratic regime, most legislation and all basic legislation is also passed and executed in the interests of the ruling capitalist class; but there is still the possibility of criticism and mass pressure from dissidents and from the masses of workers. That is why, when the masses succeed in pressuring through a piece of legislation (like, say, unemployment insurance) which gives them some help, they are in a position to see to it that that legislation is enforced.

In a totalitarian country like Stalinist Russia, that is impossible. Which is why

we say that the "abolition of the death penalty" means absolutely nothing so long as Russia is in the grip of the Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship.

What, however, are the specific reasons for this decree? We believe there are several reasons:

(1) It is a useful propaganda device for foreign consumption. It gives material to the cynics and the naive who are "friends of the Soviet Union." And it costs nothing—for while the apologists for Stalinism prate about the abolition of the death penalty, the Stalinist regime itself can, because of its unlimited powers, destroy in secret any opponent who dares criticize it.

(2) Together with the announcement of the "abolition of the death penalty" came the announcement from Moscow that for the "crimes" formerly punished by the death penalty there would now be meted out sentences of 25 years in "corrective labor camps." From all reports of what forced labor camps in Russia are like, it is obvious that no person could or would want to last 25 years in them. This change from death sentence to 25 years in labor camps is merely a means of prolonging the agony of the condemned; it merely means that the Stalinist state will destroy its prisoners by hunger and labor instead of killing them painlessly and immediately. Whoever thinks that a step to humanitarianism and democracy is welcome to the thought.

A few days after the above announcement there came further news from Russia that penalties for various "crimes" have been stiffened; the terms of service in the forced labor camps have been increased. We would like to see some of the "friends of Stalinist totalitarianism" explain that away while they are reveling over the "great Stalin's wisdom and humanity."

(Continued in last column)

Stalinist Coup in Hungary - -

(Continued from page 3)

But what about those countries in which the Stalinist armies have set up puppet regimes and in which economies constantly more like that in Russia are being established? If it is the fact of nationalized economy in Russia which makes it a "workers' state," why does not the nationalization of economy in Poland or Yugoslavia make the regimes in those countries workers' states? And if and when the Stalinists nationalize the basic industries in Hungary, why won't there be a workers' state there? For it follows with logical inexorability: the one condition which the defenders of this theory give as sufficient to establish the presence of a workers' state in Russia is the existence of nationalized property. If that one condition exists elsewhere, then there must be in that country a workers' state as well.

But surely no revolutionary socialist can stomach the idea that there is a workers' state being established in Hungary today, or that there is some sort of genuine proletarian revolution taking place there! Surely every revolutionary socialist, every Trotskyist must gag at that! Yet such a conclusion is the only logical and consistent possible result of the "workers' state" theory. It is a result which indicates once more the political insufficiency and invalidity of the theory.

It indicates as well the impossibly contradictory nature of the idea that the Stalinist parties are "working class parties." If one believes, as some do, that Russia is a "degenerated workers' state" and the Stalinist parties "degenerate working class parties," then one must conclude that some sort of "degenerate working class revolution" has been accomplished in eastern Europe. On the other hand, if one believes, as some do, that there is a capitalist society in Russia and that the Stalinist parties are nonetheless still "working class parties," then one must conclude that the traditional bourgeoisie is being expropriated in eastern Europe by "working class parties" in order to establish . . . to-

talitarian state capitalism. In which case, when do these Stalinist parties cease being "working class parties" and when do they become parties of totalitarian state capitalism? This theory too is an impossible muddle.

TESTING THEORIES

What, however, of the theory put forward in the revolutionary movement that Stalinist Russia is a state capitalist society? Since it is apparent that the regimes being established in eastern Europe are moving closer in character to that established in Russia, we must conclude that there too state capitalism is being established. But on the basis of this theory, we see state capitalism, presumably the most advanced and concentrated stage of capitalism, established by the . . . expropriation of the traditional capitalist class. On the basis of this theory, we must come to the impossible conclusion that state capitalist society . . . is anti-capitalist. In which case, why call it capitalist to begin with?

Traditionally in the Marxist movement, those who have posited the possibility of state capitalism—that is, a society where the state rules and owns industry as direct depository for the capitalist class as a whole, rather than allowing private individuals to own industry—have thought of it as part of the organic development of capitalist society. They have thought of it as a late stage of capitalist concentration. Whether or not one believes such a stage possible; whether or not one believes that the realization of such a stage would mean the continued existence of capitalist society as we know it; still the theory makes a certain amount of sense because it posits state capitalism in terms of the continuity of capitalist society, that is, the continuity of the capitalist class. But here we are asked to believe that this stage of capitalism is being introduced against the wishes of the bourgeoisie and by the expropriation of the entire bourgeoisie.

We think the events in Hungary demonstrate, in terms of practical political confirmation, the validity of

the theory advanced by the Workers Party on the Russian question: Russian society is neither capitalist nor proletarian; it is a bastard form, the product of a unique historical configuration—the degeneration of an isolated proletarian revolution in a backward country. This form we call bureaucratic collectivism, a label which has at least the virtue of accurate description if not of full historical explanation. In our opinion, bureaucratic collectivism is a society both anti-proletarian and anti-capitalist. This analysis is confirmed in the events in Hungary and all of eastern Europe: in those countries where the Stalinists seize power, they destroy the power of both the native working class and the native bourgeoisie. They establish an extension of the Russian state power.

We are aware that these remarks do not at all exhaust a most complex problem, but we think that they at least point the road to a proper analysis of what is happening today in eastern Europe.

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PRESENTING RESOLUTIONS SPONSORED BY DELEGATES TO MILWAUKEE AVC CONVENTION

A Militant Program for the American Veterans Committee

A Program To Support

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Since the last convention of the American Veterans Committee a full scale offensive has been launched against the mass of working people of this country by a Congress which openly represents the interests of the few. The past year has seen the abolition of price control, the disintegration of the veterans emergency housing program and finally the most vicious attempt in our history to shackle labor. The policies of the government and of private industry are hastening the wiping out of the buying power of the people, and thereby hastening a new depression, with all that such a prospect signifies for the average workingman—unemployment, miserable relief living standards and condemnation to continued existence in the overcrowded slums of today.

The average young veteran suffers from the reactionary policies of the government even more than most of the population because his lack of experience, his absence from normal occupations, during the war, puts him on the bottom of the economic ladder. Thus his interests are directly linked with the only force capable of a successful fight on the political and economic front against reaction—namely, the organized labor movement. The AVC can make the fight of the average veteran for jobs, housing and security its own fight only by linking its activities with the progressive activities of the unions, in close cooperation. The AVC should become the rallying point for the working veteran.

To implement the perspective outlined above we present the following planks:

HOUSING

1. Retention of the Veterans Emergency Housing Program.
2. Retention of rent control.
3. Government interest-free loans for home building by individual veterans.
4. A program to begin construction of 10,000,000 homes and apartment units before the end of 1947—at least one-third of these to be built directly by the federal government for the low income groups. The balance are to be provided for through private construction with government aid.
5. Requisitioning for emergency housing of boarded up mansions and all other suitable idle buildings.
6. The setting up of joint committees by AVC, other veteran and progressive organizations, and the trade unions to fight evictions of tenants unable to pay increased rents, in areas where rent control is abolished or weakened.
7. The abolition of all racial and religious restrictive covenants. The abolition of zoning practices which prevent the setting up of low income housing in new areas.

EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR

1. For a permanent Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission with power to enforce fair employment practices.
2. For extension of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to cover all employees and to provide a national minimum wage of one dollar per hour as well as the enactment of state laws providing the same minimum.
3. For a permanent Federal Employment Service with adequate facilities for vocational counseling.
4. For a comprehensive system of federal unemployment insurance at a minimum rate of \$30 per week for a period of 25 weeks per year, including time lost in labor disputes.
5. For full endorsement of the position taken by the AFL and CIO in opposition to the bills to enslave labor that have been presented to Congress. To implement our opposition, we propose a national demonstration in Washington, sponsored by the trade unions, with participation by all organizations that oppose the slave labor bills.
6. We recognize the fundamental importance and value of the labor movement. We commend and unreservedly support those unions which have taken the lead in fighting corruption and racketeering within the labor movement. We support these unions in their opposition to intervention in the affairs of the labor movement by antagonistic forces, and in their assertion of labor's right to clean its own house.
7. We oppose government interference in labor disputes and the affairs of the union. We oppose government seizure of industries for the purpose of strikebreaking.
8. We endorse the right of all workers to strike.

TAX POLICY

- The following constitutes a supplement to our present tax program:
1. We favor an increase in income tax exemp-

- tions to \$1500 for single persons, \$3000 for couples, and \$1000 for each additional dependent.
2. We favor the enactment of a \$25,000 income limit after taxes.
 3. We favor abolition of preferential treatment of capital gains.

HEALTH PROGRAM

1. We favor a comprehensive national health program, to include federal aid to the states for the establishment of community-wide preventive health services, compulsory health insurance and extension of social security benefits as they relate to health—particularly health care provisions for the indigent and cash disability compensation.
2. We favor federal assistance for medical research and education, national mental and school health programs, a national dental program, and a national cancer control program. We urge, furthermore, the liberalizing of the appropriations and the eligibility provisions in the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, so as to insure the adequate development of hospital facilities in the rural and economically depressed areas.
3. We favor the development of consumer-controlled group health associations and union-sponsored medical care plans. We oppose all proposals seeking to substitute a charity medical program for the indigent, based on any form of means test, for a comprehensive social insurance system. We oppose all efforts of private professional organizations to suppress the development of all aspects of public health activity.
4. We favor legislation to require adequate industrial hygiene and safety programs, comprehensive workmen's compensation regulations, appropriations for research in industrial hygiene and accident prevention, and adequate safety inspection and enforcement.

EDUCATION

1. We demand national legislation to bring about improved educational facilities with equal opportunities for all. We favor federal aid for the public school system of the country upon the basis of educational need and not on a fixed state matching basis.
2. We favor elimination of all discrimination in school and college entrance requirements due to race, creed, color, or national origin. We favor the repeal of tax exemptions to educational institutions engaging in such discrimination. The distribution of federal aid to the states must be upon the basis of equality of educational opportunity for all races. We are opposed to segregation in schools.
3. In particular, we emphasize our serious determination to fight against Negro discrimination throughout the field of education, and we must insist on the right of the Negro veteran to attend any school or college under the G.I. Bill of Rights.
4. We propose that federal aid to education shall include the establishment of a national minimum wage for teachers of \$2,000 with proportionately higher minimums in areas where the cost of living is higher.
5. We favor maintenance of free college and professional education which shall be available to all.
6. We demand that the tuition payments of veterans to public institutions shall supplement, not substitute for, the regular state and local appropriations to these institutions.
7. We favor the establishment of entrance requirements to the military academies on the basis of free competitive examinations, without congressional appointment.

ARMED FORCES

1. We oppose conscription.
2. We favor elimination of the caste system, and of all social distinctions between officers and enlisted men.
3. We favor the extension of all normal civilian judicial guarantees and procedures to members of the armed forces in place of the present court martial system.
4. We favor abolition of all segregated units in the armed forces. We favor equal opportunity for advancement for all.
5. We favor increased off-duty educational opportunities.
6. We favor a free armed forces press.
7. We favor establishment of an educational program within the armed forces on a level comparable to a general college program.

SOCIAL SECURITY

1. We favor universal coverage for old age insurance and unemployment compensation.
2. We favor increased old age benefits, with a minimum of \$100 per month.
3. We favor immediate eligibility for old age benefits of those who have not yet been able to establish an earnings record since the enactment of social security legislation.
4. We favor lowering of the age for old age pension eligibility from 65 to 55.
5. We favor financing of social security benefits out of general taxation sources instead of taxes on employees salaries.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

1. We reject super seniority as an attempt to pit the veteran against the labor movement. We favor protection of the veterans regular seniority rights. We favor the retroactive seniority clause of the UAW's model contract.
2. We favor abolition of any income ceiling in on-the-job training that is below the standard union wage for the trade concerned. We favor union supervision of all apprentice training programs and union certification as to the fair labor standards of companies applying for trainees. These measures are necessary to keep on-the-job training from remaining a source of cheap labor.
3. We favor abolition of the distinction between officers and enlisted men in the grant of retirement pay for service-connected disabilities. We favor a full disability pension adequate for a living wage, namely \$220 per month, with proportionate increases in present rates for partial disabilities.
4. We favor free hospitalization of veterans. The notoriously inadequate facilities of the veterans hospitals make this a pressing necessity.
5. We favor an increase in subsistence allowances for education and training under the GI Bill to \$200 a month for single veterans plus \$50 a month for each dependent.
6. We favor elimination of strikers' disqualification for readjustment allowances.
7. We favor modification of existing pension policies to emphasize retraining and reeducation.
8. We favor liberalization of procedures and terms for loans to veterans for the purchase of homes.
9. We favor immediate cash payment of terminal leave bonus.
10. We endorse the federal bonus bill formulated by the VFW, based on compensation in proportion to length and place of service.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

We condemn the policies of the major powers—the U. S., Russia, Great Britain and France—as imperialist, resulting in the continued oppression of colonial peoples and continued reactionary intervention into the affairs of small nations. We condemn the present Security Council of the United Nations as a thieves kitchen, designed to hide the imperialist powers' domination of the world behind a facade of world "organization." We favor cooperation nationally and internationally of all organizations that oppose support of any of the imperialist powers. We favor the organization of concrete aid to the valiant movements struggling for colonial liberation, such as the movements of the Indonesian and Viet Namese people, the Arab masses of North Africa and the Middle East, the people of India. We support any economic action undertaken by labor to forestall the shipment of munitions or other supplies to be used against colonial peoples or against progressive movements struggling for freedom from oppression.

Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world remain the victims of starvation. They must be fed or the effort to build a lasting peace must fail. We therefore urge that our government take all necessary measures to meet this great human crisis. If adequate shipments of food abroad cannot be maintained without the restoration of rationing, we urge that rationing be restored; and urge, if necessary, the refitting and restoration to service of our Liberty and Victory ships.

We reject any concept of collective war guilt of the German and Japanese peoples as a basically racist and anti-democratic doctrine. We reject any continued policy of forced division of Germany as leading to the continued economic chaos, and demoralization of the people. We oppose the inhuman policies of the Polish and Czech governments of dumping into Germany millions of German speaking people driven from their homes and dispossessed of their property. We favor the abolition of all restrictions on Germany wide organization of all anti-Nazi political parties and trade unions. We oppose all reparations, including those from current production taken from a people who are already starving and without proper clothing or shelter. We greet with enthusiasm the tremendous growth of a new democratic trade union movement in Japan. We point out that this growth could take place only because Japan was not divided up into distinct economic zones, and only because the workers' living conditions were not made completely hopeless by large scale reparations from current production. We favor immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces from Germany, Austria and Japan.

We favor the immediate admission into the United States of 400,000 displaced persons, and a substantial increase in immigration quotas, with the removal of all discriminatory features of the present quotas.

Sponsored by the following delegates:
 JACK CARPLEY,
 SAUL MENDELSON, Newark No. 1
 E. FRIEND,
 D. SCHECT,
 C. RACHLIN, Brownsville
 H. LEVINE, Buffalo

On Stalinism By Newark Chapter No. 1

1. We oppose the present drive to outlaw the Communist Party as a mask for (a) the general drive against the liberal and labor movements and (b) the pursuit abroad of an active imperialist policy, as in the proposed loans to the Greek and Turkish dictatorships.
2. We oppose any attempt to expel Communist Party members or sympathizers from the AVC and any attempt to bar them from the organization. We believe that the AVC should welcome into its ranks all veterans anxious to participate constructively in its activity. This is possible only with the concept of broad agreement with AVC principles as a prerequisite for joining, rather than any concept so narrow as to make of the AVC essentially a private organization. We cannot fight effectively as representatives of the veterans without such a broad basis, any more than a union can defend the interests of workers in a trade if it sets political principles as a criterion for membership.
3. In the past, organizations that have fallen completely under Communist Party control have been manipulated in accordance with the exigencies of Russian foreign policy—witness the American League Against War and Fascism, later the American League for Peace and Democracy; later the American Peace Mobilization. We therefore oppose any threat of domination of the AVC by the Communist Party and instead seek the broadest possible coalition of pro-democratic forces that can be mobilized behind the progressive pro-labor program that we support.
4. We must offer the veteran leadership which is militant and progressive. This can be done first and foremost by welding an alliance with the progressive labor movement, especially the CIO, and by putting emphasis on organization of AVC labor chapters through cooperation with the CIO.

Call for a Bonus

1. We favor enactment by Congress of an adjusted compensation (bonus) law, based on length and place of service. We endorse the general features of the VFW bill along these lines, and greet with satisfaction the support this bill has already obtained from the AFL and CIO.

The need for such adjusted compensation is indicated by the disabilities that veterans suffer in civilian life because of the years in which they were artificially cut off from it. This is recognized in the GI Bill of Rights itself, which attempts to enable the veteran to obtain schooling and home and business loans. By itself, however, this law is actually discriminatory, since it confines compensation only to veterans who want to go to school, own a home or a business, or collect unemployment benefits. But the majority of veterans, who are not directly interested in these things, have nevertheless also suffered disabilities—all the economic handicaps caused by their absence from the normal pursuit of their civilian existence. The bonus, based on length and place of service, is the only truly equitable over-all method of compensation for these disabilities.

We reject the argument that the bonus could bring about inflation. The tremendous rise in the national debt that occurred during the war without a runaway inflation, together with the fact that Congress is already lowering income and other taxes, demonstrates the falsity of this argument, for, compared to wartime expenditures, the bonus would be totally insignificant.

We reject the argument that the veteran would have to pay for the bonus himself through increased taxes. The people as a whole would pay for it, and the veteran would pay only a fraction of what he received. Actually this absurd argument could be used against a housing program, against a pay rise for federal civil service workers, etc., all of which are in the end paid for by increased taxation. Nevertheless, to make the bonus of maximum benefit to the veteran, it must be accompanied by a tax program that hits those most able to pay, the profit-rich corporations and the higher income brackets.

2. We believe that in the past AVC has been severely damaged by its head-on collision on the bonus question with the organizations which are its allies on so many other social and economic issues, namely the CIO and AFL. We can understand the stand the majority of AVC's membership has taken on the bonus thus far only in terms of that membership's social composition, which is unfortunately unrepresentative of the veterans as a whole. We want the AVC to continue to attract all veterans who are liberally inclined, but the mass of such veterans are not students, professional and white collar men, but workers, and the working veteran will never be attracted to the AVC on a large scale if we continue to oppose the veteran's most all-inclusive single economic demand—the bonus.

3. Last year, many AVC members stated that any failure of the government's program on housing and price control would make the bonus an absolute necessity. Can it be doubted that this is now the case? The federal housing program has collapsed, price control has been torpedoed, rent control is being gradually weakened. We must continue to fight for these things, but meanwhile, with all the more urgency, we must add our shoulders to all those already pushing for veterans' adjusted compensation.

Passed by Newark No. 1 Chapter, AVC.

Reaches for Expatriates - -

(Continued from page 3)
 ed with a three-fold purpose: (1) to catch those who succeeded in escaping from the camps; (2) to discourage any attempts at escape by those remaining in the camps; and (3) to prepare a second contingent for shipment to the Soviet executioners.

A few remarks should be added here regarding the Stalinist explanation for the refusal of Russian, Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish DPs to be repatriated to Russian-occupied territories.

All these people are branded by the Stalinists with blanket accusations of being "collaborators of the Germans" or "fascists." While we have little reason to doubt that a limited number of DPs actually are former

collaborators, we have various facts at our disposal indicating that the overwhelming majority were bitterly persecuted by the Germans.

In the case of the Jews, at least the great majority of them, the Stalinist accusations are too ludicrous to discuss.

In the case of the Russians, Poles and Ukrainians, we have reason to believe that the majority of them are opposed to any kind of totalitarianism or monarchy. When the Russian DPs in Italian camps sought help from countrymen abroad in their fight against the program of forced repatriations, they did not turn to Czarist émigrés or other conservatives who would have been only too glad to use them. They turned, rather, to the Russian Mensheviks in

various parts of the world. While we have many serious disagreements with the Mensheviks, we know how to distinguish them, nevertheless, from fascists and monarchists.

Actually, however, no defense of these DPs is necessary. We know that Russia's need for slave laborers dictates a policy of considering every one of them a criminal. All of them know that to return to Russia means a lifetime at slave labor. Under these conditions, the political background of the DPs, even granted the collaborationist activity of Ukrainian peasants to whom the Germans appeared little unlike the Russians in their methods, becomes totally irrelevant when weighed against the crimes of the Stalinist slave machine and its British and American collaborators.

Renault Strikers Address Metal Workers

Below we print the text of a leaflet issued in Paris by the strike committee during the recent Renault strike.

WORKERS OF THE METAL INDUSTRY OF THE PARIS REGION, THE WORKERS OF THE RENAULT FACTORIES ON STRIKE ADDRESS YOU

Comrades: Since Tuesday, April 29, our strike has assumed a general character. Already, several weeks ago, partial strikes demanding a readjustment of wages had broken out in the factory. With a wage of 42 francs per hour (about 30 cents), faced with the unceasing rise in the cost of living, none of us could make ends meet. That is why on Thursday, April 25, departments 6 and 18 went on strike, and a strike committee, elected almost unanimously in a general assembly, was instructed to lead a struggle for:

- Ten francs per hour increase in base pay;
 - Payment for time on strike.
- The strike committee, in order to prosecute this struggle which interests all the workers, immediately appealed to all the Renault factories. And despite the opposition of the official trade union leadership, the workers, organized and unorganized, whatever their union or political organization, were unanimous in adopting our demands.
- Before our decisive action, the management

and the union leadership countered our demand for ten francs increase with an increase in the form of a production bonus. But the piece work system as every worker knows, constitutes super-exploitation of the workers' labor power and does not present any guarantee from the wage viewpoint.

Up to now, the employers' policy has always been to keep us chasing prices with the aid of minor partial adjustments to calm our discontent. Our present demand, which is that of a living minimum wage, that is to say, to confine ourselves to the wage described as such by the CGT, one of 7,000 francs per month, with ten francs increase in base pay hourly for a 40 hour week, must put an end once for all to this state of affairs. For the increase that we demand must be guaranteed by constant adaptation to the price indices based on what we must buy to live without endangering our health. We want the SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES.

Already the trade union local of the Alsthom factory has sent us a message of moral and practical solidarity of the workers of their factory with us.

Comrades, we are all in agreement to fight not to pay the expenses of a capitalist system that crushes us in misery, while on the other hand a small group of millionaires, who have realized enormous profits, continue to enrich themselves.

Up to now our action has been prevented by those who, while calling themselves our leaders, not only do not defend us, but still oppose our fight, either because they have been accomplices of the bosses, or because, having no confidence in themselves, they have adopted an attitude of passivity.

It is up to us to defend our demands. You know the difficulties that we have had to overcome. But our example proves to you that these difficulties can be surmounted—the workers of our factory elected, in the struggle, directly out of the ranks, delegates instructed to fight for their demands.

Our factory has begun the movement. We call on all our comrades of the metal industry, all the workers of the Paris region, to join us. Let us make for ourselves only a part of the sacrifices that we are obliged daily to make for our employers and we will conquer.

LONG LIVE THE TEN FRANCS RAISE!
 LONG LIVE THE MINIMUM LIVING WAGE GUARANTEED BY THE SLIDING SCALE!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS UNITED IN ITS DEMANDS!

The General Strike Committee of the Renault Factories—
 30 April, 1947

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The Anti-Socialist Thinking of the Dissident Stalinist Groupings

By CARL DAVIS

The deadly anti-socialist effect of Stalinism upon the thinking and political morality of the men and women of the Communist Party is again brought to light by the material published by the dissident groups about whom we have written so much in recent weeks. When it became known that such groups came into existence as a reaction to the social-patriotic line of Browder, it was thought that the opposition might be of a revolutionary socialist character, if only as a reflex to the new chauvinism of official Stalinism. The first written expressions of these groups did not support such a hope, but we hoped that the logic of their position might still produce it.

By this time, however, it has become abundantly clear that we are dealing with a group which is nothing but a bizarre caricature of Stalinism: people who have broken with the Communist Party because they believe it is not Stalinist enough. They do not understand Stalinism as Russian chauvinism produced by a counter-revolution. What they consider and call bolshevism is in reality the irresponsible ultra-leftism of the "third period," when world Stalinism attempted to overcome its many defeats by driving the workers into one adventure after another.

The National Committee of Publication, if not the most intelligent, is certainly the most prolific of the opposition groups. Its NCP Report is issued regularly and is a compound of the sterile, catechistic thinking of the Stalinist-trained mind. We have already pointed out in previous articles that these people are merely dissatisfied Stalinists who really believe that the Communist Party in this country has betrayed the Kremlin and true bolshevism as interpreted by Stalin. In this harsh and often fantastic criticism of the CP and its leaders, they revert to quotations from Stalin, all characteristically dating back to the late Twenties and early Thirties. There they find the theoretical source for their "revolutionary" wisdom.

AN INCREDIBLE POSITION

It does not seem possible that there should exist a group of ex-CP members which is not aware of the utter dependence of the native Stalinists upon their Russian masters. But laughable as it seems, the NCP is such a group; it is not alone, for its fraternal groups think the same way and they vie with each other to be the best Stalinists. It is, of course, wrong to use the word "think" in relation to these groups; they are incapable of reflecting upon their past, understanding the meaning of their

break with the CP, or projecting themselves into the future.

To be sure, they sometimes quote Lenin, and they make references to Marx and Engels, but it is thoughtless and of no significance to minds which are accustomed to thinking in a groove, or set patterns. They are now devoting themselves to a "study" of Trotskyism in Stalinist style. For example, anyone acquainted with the radical and socialist movement is now aware that Trotskyism has become synonymous with revolutionary Marxism in the world today. Trotskyism alone remains the representative of bolshevism, if by that is understood the application of Marxism to conditions of modern imperialism and Stalinism.

By the same token, Trotskyism is the most vigorous, consistent and implacable enemy of Stalinism, which it regards not only as the leader of the counter-revolution in Russia but as the force which destroyed the once-glorious revolutionary movement of the world. For the counter-revolution to succeed in Russia, it was necessary for the murderer who sits in the Kremlin to wipe out the whole Old Bolshevik cadre, and the generation of revolutionaries who made the Russian Revolution possible. To maintain power in Russia and control of what was once the Communist International, Stalin was obliged to destroy the independence of these parties and replace their former democratically selected leaderships with hand-picked agents—such as Browder as well as remains to this day.

Stalin did this not only by defeating the Russian Opposition with his organized gang of policemen and hooligans, but by legal warfare against the old Bolshevik Party, destroying its most heroic figures and its leading cadre, replacing them with hand-picked Stalinists—the representatives of the new bureaucracy. Every opponent and critic, no matter what his views, or his record and devotion to the movement, was treated alike—the GPU prison and torture, loss of job, loss of citizenship and finally death. The word "Trotskyism" was used in Russia in the same way as the word "Red" is used in this country to denote those socialists who wanted to build a new and better world.

In the Communist International, an opponent of Stalinist leadership, no matter what he stood for, was called a Trotskyist. To be known as a Trotskyist, whether it was true or not, meant the end of one's life and career in the Communist movement. For in the mouths of the counter-revolutionary Stalinists, Trotskyism was made synonymous with fascism—while the rest of the world looked on and laughed, laughed at the mon-

strous spectacle put on by world Stalinism as it proceeded to destroy the world political labor movement with its totalitarian doctrines and practices.

DISCUSS TROTSKYISM

The NCP, as we have pointed out, finds itself in a ludicrous position as a Stalinist opposition to the official Stalinist party in this country. It has criticized the native Stalinists as incompetent betrayers, employing the language so common to this movement. Their main charge is that the present leadership has renounced the principles of Stalin and acts contrary

"Bookseller" Hopes To Be Called Back



EARL BROWDER

to the international interests of Russia and the CPs of the rest of the world.

Like all Stalinists, they regard the totalitarian, police state in Russia as a socialist state, and this governs their thinking. They swallow the theory of "socialism in a single country" while paying lip-service to the theories of Marx and Lenin. Their theoretical thinking is primitive, consisting entirely of quotations from Stalin. In order to appear as the only real and consistent Stalinists, they not only call for the organization of a genuine Stalin party in the U. S., but, like all Stalinists, have now begun a campaign against Trotskyism. Having entered this struggle, they believe themselves to be the true disciples of the Great White Father in the Kremlin, and hope to be accepted by him as such.

Though it would seem impossible, their discussion of Trotskyism is more stupid than that of the official CP and it is due to greater stupidity and ignorance than the old-time leaders of the CP. Because NCP is merely ignorant, its attack on Trotskyism sounds like that of a child having gone through a Stalinist enlightenment campaign. Its issue of May 26 is entitled: "Seven Notes on the Fight Against Trotskyism." And what is Trotskyism? Trotskyism is Menshevism. And who are the Mensheviks? They are the "various Socialist Party groups," Norman Thomas, Walter Reuther, the Liberal Party, A. A. Berle, etc. (A recent CP pamphlet included the Socialist Labor Party.) No, they are quick to expand this observation: Trotskyism "is only one variety of Menshevism."

And it is in a bloc with "Catholic Action elements." What is more, "the Trotskyist movements are organized!" Thereafter follows a discussion on how Trotskyism ceased to be a political trend in Russia (quoting Stalin on how it was wiped out) and why it is still a trend in the U. S. Here it exists and is active in open and concealed form. Trotskyism, according to the great minds of NCP, is not merely "one variety of Menshevism," but it is "sometimes right-left, sometimes 'centrist' and sometimes 'leftist'—there is one main theme that ALL include as a principal ingredient.

What is their source for thinking so? The "revelations" of the Moscow Trials, which have been conclusively established as the most brutal frame-up in the history of mankind.

And what do they point to as proof that Trotskyists may have penetrated the leadership of the CP? The reasoning again is logical only to a Stalinist mind and a half-trained mind at that. The main enemy of the workers, say the Trotskyists, is Stalinism. We must destroy Stalinism. Browder carried a motion, supported by all the other leaders, to "liquidate" the CP. Therefore, the leadership must be, in part anyway, Trotskyist. The Moscow Trials "proved" the Trotskyists were wreckers. Abolishing the party was part of their wrecking activities.

PLOTS AND MORE PLOTS

The only thing true in the above is that the Trotskyists are against the whole system of Stalinism and regard it as the syphilis of the labor movement. How stupid is NCP, then, when it transfers a former condition in Russia, with its one-party system, to the U. S. and the rest of the world. The origin of the Trotskyist movement was in the Russian Communist Party. But that went back to the Revolution, when these old revolutionaries were founders and leaders of that party. They could have come from nowhere else. But says NCP:

"It would require quite a stretch of the imagination to think that, in view of the Trotskyite penetration of the Russian party for a number of years, the U. S. Communist Party has somehow been 'guaranteed' some mythical immunity from 'such happenings.' So, reason these poor deluded and trained Stalinist seals, what may be wrong with the CP in this country is that it has been penetrated by Trotskyism! It certainly requires some imagination, a Stalinist imagination, which conceives of things in the terms of plots, provocations and police-rule, to think up this one.

It seems that only the NCP group, and its co-thinkers, believe that the CP leadership was without Russian supervision during the war years. The only thing that can explain

the Browder incident is that he went too far in his zealous application of the "line." He had to be "discarded" for the time being because HE could not well reorient the party in its new "class struggle" policy which corresponds to the new relations among the big powers. But he is useful in his new role as pro-Russian publicist and book representative, and he may be even more useful in the future as a resurrected leader of the CP.

"INDEPENDENT" THINKERS

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of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee? Or the opportunist, capitalist people's front, and a "class" people's front party? Where did you ever see Lenin's Comintern conduct itself as the Italian, French and British CPs during the war and now? Or Russia in the UN? What difference is there between the American CP and its European prototypes? Where, in theory or in practice, can you find justification for a police régime, a totalitarian political state, with millions of slave laborers, passing itself off as working class or socialist? Why doesn't Russia, which you call socialist, reflect the "withering away of the state," but rather reveals a growth in the power of the state and its police powers? Why should this be under "socialism"?

PRINCIPLES ABSENT

But of even greater interest in understanding the mind of the Stalinist trained "socialist" is that in eight single-spaced legal pages of discussion on Trotskyism, the authors do not mention ONE theoretical principle or political idea which the Trotskyists represent. Not one! The main reason for it, however, is that these people do not know how to explain the Marxian theories and politics of Trotskyism. They do not know how to explain the complete identification of Trotskyism with the principles of Marxism and Lenin's application of these principles to modern times. NCP is theoretically ignorant and sterile. But it also knows little or nothing of the history of the revolutionary movement and the great inner struggles which produced the program of Marxism and of Leninism.

For example, where in Marx or Lenin will NCP find expressed the theory of "building socialism in a single country"? Where in Lenin will you find the theory which Stalin employed in the betrayal of the Chinese Revolution: The Bloc of Four Classes? Where in revolutionary politics will you find justification for the politics

loved the floor in discussion (also with the 4 to 12 shift again left out, with no chance to vote). Some members think that the reason the local was stuck with such a bad contract, was because the top leadership wanted to shove through CWA, and knew that it might not stick unless the local was safely sewed up in advance with a contract—and a two year one at that.

The situation in the Point Breeze plant is now very confused. The national and local leaderships of the union are both in bad repute. A sizable group of the highly pro-union elements in the plant are talking in favor of the newly set up Telephone Workers Organizing Committee—CIO as the only way out for the telephone workers. The UE-CIO and the IBEW-AFL both have a handful of supporters in the plant. A small group is talking independent company union.

Review of Telephone Strike Reveals Inadequacy of Present Union Leaders

BALTIMORE, Md.—The workers at the Point Breeze works of the Western Electric plant are disgusted and are circulating charges of a union sell-out around the shop now that they are back at work after striking for seven weeks as a part of the national telephone strike. That these workers stayed out one hundred per cent for six weeks, and over ninety per cent for the seventh week, in spite of the unbelievably sloppy and incompetent leadership, is a tribute to the intelligence and solidarity of the rank and file workers.

A review of the course of the strike shows that it was doomed to failure from the start. While everything shows that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company was prepared for a long, union-busting strike, the National Federation of Telephone Workers was kidding itself that things would be over in a few days. It had neither the organization or the funds to win. (The national treasury was practically empty the day the strike started.)

INCOMPETENT LEADERSHIP

The Telephone Equipment Workers, Local 54 of the NFTW, was equally unprepared. It had no strike fund and was several thousand dollars in debt to the national office of the NFTW. The appointed strike committee of five had no idea of how to conduct a strike. Although Walter Petry, a national organizer of the NFTW, was with the local all through the strike, acting as chair-

man of the negotiating committee and general strike adviser, it was obvious that he also did not know how to conduct a strike.

The strike committee practically never met, and considered that their main job was to answer the telephone on a twenty-four hour coverage in the union office. Picket line leaders were not called into meetings to organize strategy and build morale. There was no hall taken for daily meetings of pickets until the fifth week of the strike when it was already too late to effect the morale of more than a handful of the members.

Even the crucial question of organizing local fund collection for welfare cases was done mainly because of agitation of rank and file members, to the extent that it was done at all. The strike leadership seemed to be afraid of going to the unions, except for the most urgent matters, and when they did get contributions from CIO and AFL unions they were never reported to the membership.

Less than ten per cent of the members ever did picket duty, and even that small number began dwindling away during the second week. By that time the active strikers saw that the strike organization was falling apart, and demanded a complete re-organization of the strike set-up. The strike director made the small concession of hiring a trailer to be used for a strike headquarters at the plant, and of putting a committee in charge. Within a week the move had failed, because the activity was not coordinated with work of the top strike committee—in fact it seems to have actually been sabotaged by them. In the same way, practically every effort made by the rank and file strikers to build up the strike failed, and more and more people gave up their activity in the strike and just stayed at home.

It was hard to tell whether the TEW leadership didn't understand that a strike is the best possible chance to organize and educate the membership, or whether they acted deliberately to prevent a new local leadership from gaining influence during the enthusiasm of strike activity.

POOR CONTRACT

When the national policy committee of the NFTW adjourned at the end of the fifth week and dumped the strike in the laps of the local unions, many TEW members wanted to go back to work immediately because they felt that the strike was already lost. Most telephone locals over the country did go back then, but the Western Electric Company was still holding out and not making any offers. It seemed that WE felt it could afford to keep the workers out longer in hopes of doing a better job of breaking the union, and discouraging the workers from having anything to do with any unions in the future.

At the end of the seventh week, the negotiating committee recommended that the membership go back to work without a contract. Four days later, a poor contract was ratified, by the membership of a poorly attended and improperly called meeting. The TEW constitution provides that a contract

must be posted seven days in advance of consideration. This was not done; and neither the four to twelve shift nor the guard unit in the plant were called to a meeting to vote on the contract.

There are two reasons why "sell-out" talk is going around the shop. The first reason is that workers now know that there are sections in the contract that Walter Petry denied were there or avoided mentioning when reading the new contract clauses at the meeting.

Specifically, he denied that the contract allowed the company to add one-half hour a day to the hours of skilled maintenance men. He failed to read the clauses that gave the company the right to put through small cuts on most piece rates and to eliminate the fifteen per cent guaranteed base payment on piece rates. He also failed to read the clause giving the company the right to discipline shop stewards for the least infraction of procedural rules in investigating grievances.

None of the members of the local negotiating committee made any objections to the report on the contract. Now the company has already put these clauses into effect and the workers find that twenty-five to seventy-five per cent of their average raise of \$4.40 weekly is already gone.

UNION AFFILIATION

The second reason for the "sell-out" talk, is that the story has gotten out that the local negotiating committee was "wined and dined" by the company in a hotel room both before and after the membership meeting at which the contract was ratified.

In the midst of the settling of the contract, the issue of supporting the Communications Workers of America, new national set-up for the NFTW, had to be settled because a convention was to be held in Miami on June 9. Walter Petry and the local officers were for it. In spite of that, the membership, at a meeting with more than 1,000 present, voted to postpone action on CWA until January, 1948, because they felt that the NFTW had bungled and lost the strike and that CWA would be the same thing. The members wanted to wait and see.

Four days later, at a meeting with less than 125 present, a vote to go into the CWA was railroaded through with only one member al-

lowed the floor in discussion (also with the 4 to 12 shift again left out, with no chance to vote). Some members think that the reason the local was stuck with such a bad contract, was because the top leadership wanted to shove through CWA, and knew that it might not stick unless the local was safely sewed up in advance with a contract—and a two year one at that.

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It now appears that the company's union-busting campaign is missing fire. The vast majority of the workers in the plant still want a union, but many are looking around to find a new union that will be strong enough to beat that Morgan-controlled, super-corporation, the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

Wants Material For History of Socialist Party

To the Editor:

I am collecting materials for a history of the Socialist Party and would welcome any aid that your readers might give me. I am especially interested in files of inner party bulletins, factional documents, minutes, correspondence and any relevant material on the Socialist Party. These materials would be returned in good condition and the writer would pay all express and insurance charges on them. If any readers have any material they would care to loan me, they can write to the address listed below.

Yours truly
Daniel Bell
Faculty Exchange
Univ. of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.

Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

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

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

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

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

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

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

Profit System - -

(Continued from page 3)

most distinguish between a recession and a depression. "Recessions are to be expected in a dynamic economy, and represent temporary deviations from rapid upward growth. Recessions which correct such distortions are not to be feared. Corrective recessions of this character are not accompanied by large unemployment or great inflation. They are necessary to reduce costs and prices to a level which permits an economy to function to best advantage. Moreover, they serve to increase labor productivity and managerial efficiency, and they lay the basis for further improvements in living standards." That is what a recession is, Mr. Aldrich does not say what a depression is.

What is Mr. Aldrich really saying here? Rapid upward growth today is a distortion which needs to be corrected. Don't produce too much or you may have to reduce prices in order to sell. The correction provided by a recession only throws a few millions out of work, say two or three millions. Nothing like a depression when 20 million are "idle." Recessions increase labor productivity; that is, the individual worker will produce more for fear of being fired. Recessions produce price and cost reductions. Prices come down because employment comes down, that is, there is less "prosperity." During a recession, costs are less; particularly "labor costs," for the reason that when unemployment reaches the "recession" stage, wage rates begin to fall.

tributions being made to this knotty problem by the country's "best minds." President Truman and Senator Taft have entered the forum on this question. Taft has charged that the Truman policy of spending abroad would keep prices up in the U. S. Truman replied that Taft's economic philosophy was of the "boom and bust" type. This made the senator angry and he struck back claiming that Truman's price policies were an attempt to "veto the law of supply and demand." Rising prices were caused by Truman's abolition of price controls. Also by his encouragement of wage rises and lastly by Truman's opposition to tax cuts and "labor reforms."

BUY IT WON'T HELP

While it can be said that Taft has one of the finest cave man economic and political minds extant, and that Truman's mind is of a type similar to the mind of Bill Green; no one should become too much alarmed over this dispute. Since Truman and Taft serve the same master, they will not go too far in their disagreements. Both are really anxious to answer the call of the masses in 1948. Both are willing to be "drafted" by their respective parties.

Not one capitalist or one single political leader knows how to make capitalism work any better than it has been working. The Republican Party doesn't know, and neither does the Democratic Party. "Efficiency" will not do the job for them. Neither will tax reduction or "labor reforms."

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With the Workers Party

Grand Jury Questions Ex-Daily Worker Editor on Trotsky Murder, Poyntz Abduction

AKRON

Write to Box 221 for information.

BALTIMORE

Headquarters: 21 West Preston St. Meetings of Socialist Youth League held every Friday at 8 p.m. Public forums are held second Friday of each month. For details of Workers Party branch, contact above address.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone—CH 5-2626. Office hours: 3:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesdays and Wednesday evenings.

CLEVELAND

The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m. The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8:00 p.m. For additional information, write to Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DETROIT

HEADQUARTERS: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10; Telephone: PL 2-5593. Write or phone for information on class in "Political History of the Workers Party." Local branch of Socialist Youth League at same address.

LOS ANGELES

New headquarters address: LABOR ACTION, 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7. TEL: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-3067). Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday.

LOUISVILLE

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

NEWARK

HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m. Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 8 p.m. Telephone: CH 2-9651. You are welcome to attend all open branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

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

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

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

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

Industrial Branch meets Thursday at 8:30 p.m. at City Center, 114 W. 14th St. Brooklyn Downtown Branch meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at 276 Fulton Street, second floor.

BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, EAST NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).

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

READING

For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1671.

PHILADELPHIA

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

Workers Party Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

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

SUNDAY, June 15—Workers Party picnic, Pennypack Park, Foxchase, Philadelphia.

Labor Action Forums every alternate Friday evening at 8:15 o'clock. Some scheduled topics:

June 27—Symposium on PEPC.

June 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.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

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

SEATTLE

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

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

NEW YORK—Louis Budenz, whose book, *This Is My Story*, revealed that the GPU plotted Leon Trotsky's murder in New York, appeared before the New York grand jury this week and was questioned for an hour by Assistant District Attorney Grumet on his knowledge of the Trotsky murder, the disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz and the assassination of Carlo Tresca. Budenz's interrogation by the District Attorney's office is the result of a petition presented last March 17 by a committee headed by Norman Thomas and including Councilman Louis P. Goldberg, James T. Farrell, writer, Herman Singer, editor of the Call, Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, and Sylvia Bleeker for the Socialist Workers Party. The committee, representing a large group of signers to the petition, demanded that Budenz and other present and past Communist Party leaders be summoned to a grand jury hearing to testify on the operations and activities of the GPU murder machine. (See LABOR ACTION, March 24.)

"TOO HOT" TO HANDLE A former editor of the Daily Worker who recently returned to the authoritarianism of the Catholic Church, Budenz was by his own admission a tacit accomplice of the GPU terror activities against working class opponents. His book, written after years of silence about and participation in Stalinist crimes, exposed the mechanics of Leon Trotsky's assassination, representing a large group of signers to the petition, demanded that Budenz and other present and past Communist Party leaders be summoned to a grand jury hearing to testify on the operations and activities of the GPU murder machine. (See LABOR ACTION, March 24.)

nation by the GPU in Mexico in 1940 and thus proved the verdict of world opinion that Stalin ordered and organized the murder. Similarly, his book confirmed the judgment of world opinion. Because the details of the murder and abduction were plotted in New York, the case comes under the jurisdiction of the District Attorney's office. In his book Budenz chose to shield, with the anonymity of "Miss Y," the identity of a friend of his who, under the direction of a GPU agent, was instrumental in introducing the murderer, Jackson, to a sympathizer of the Trotskyist movement in order that he might gain entrance to the Trotsky household. However, the identity of "Miss Y" has long been assumed by persons interested in the

case to be Ruby Weil, and the demand has been made repeatedly that she be brought to testify here. In his appearance before the grand jury last week, Budenz promised to divulge the identity of "Miss Y." According to his story, Budenz, when editor of the Daily Worker and at the time of the Poyntz disappearance, was told by higher-ups, "not to do much about it—it was too hot." It is to be hoped that Budenz will be compelled to reveal ALL he knows about the Julia Stuart Poyntz abduction and probable murder and that other Communist Party leaders, every one of them a servant of the GPU, will likewise be compelled to testify.

Carlo Tresca, famed anarchist leader and vehement opponent of Stalinism. Norman Thomas, spokesman for the committee, in presenting the petition, claimed that Tresca could only have been killed by agents of Mussolini or Stalin. With the initial success of the committee in securing a grand jury investigation of Budenz's revelations, LABOR ACTION hopes that the signers of the original petition will press their demand for a complete investigation which will interrogate Browder, Foster, Jack Stachel and other accomplices of the GPU machine. The committee informed the District Attorney's office on March 17, complete public exposure is the only weapon the labor movement has of protecting itself against the Kremlin and its agents in assassination and terrorism in other countries.



Giant Parade in New York --

(Continued from page 1)

claim to the capitalists and their political henchmen that the right to strike cannot be taken away from the workers? But no such call was made.

Again, as one looked around the Garden filled with signs reading: "Mr. President, veto the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Bill!"—one could well become mindful of the fact that the President was in Washington. And as one heard the lusty voices sing: "We're going to roll the union on!"—and if Taft stands in the way, we're going to roll it over him, and if Hartley stands in the way, we're going to roll it over him—one could well feel the distance between New York and Washington. Why, since the time has come to fight, as all speakers agreed, should not the fight be taken to Washington, in the form of a March on Washington by labor? Let the politicians see a living demonstration of labor's determination to be free. Let the voices of tens of thousands of workers sing "We're going to roll the union on!"—rise through the windows of the halls of Congress to the ears of the political servants of capitalist reaction.

they are ready to fight with all they have.

The labor leaders are pussyfooting not alone on the methods to fight the Taft-Hartley bill but on the entire political front. They suffer from self-induced blindness. For instance, there was Phil Murray earnestly and painstakingly, point by point, analyzing the vicious slave labor bill. He showed how it would make a mockery of collective bargaining, bring back the company union, restore rule by injunction and even subvert elementary principles of democratic procedure, and how the bill would make the government the direct servant of business to do this dirty job. Murray knows, of course, as do all labor leaders and everybody else, that both Republicans and Democrats are responsible for this enslaving measure. Yet when it comes to a program for political action, Murray sees no further than the cesspools of the Republican and Democratic Parties, and abides by the heavy and discredited tenet to reward labor's friends and punish its enemies.

The political confusion of labor is thus made more confounded, as was amply illustrated at the Garden. Take, for example, Joseph Curran, who loudly proclaimed that "labor must have SOME independent political action from now on." Thereupon he introduced Mayor William O'Dwyer as the "people's man." O'Dwyer's speech was an open politician's bid for labor's support for the Democrats against the Republicans, for nowhere did he mention the Democratic Party's shameful part in the

anti-people's measures in Congress. When he finished, Curran again hailed O'Dwyer, this newest messiah from the Democratic Party, as the "people's man."

LABOR WANTS TO FIGHT In the same vein of political confusion, Hyman Blumberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and of the American Labor Party, this tail to the kite of the Democratic Party, was honored as "the political voice of the workers in New York."

Along the same line of confusion, Murray concluded his speech by calling for the support of all workers, organized and unorganized, of professional people, farmers and small business people, "to perfect a powerful political instrument." Which is correct, for labor is the natural leader of all the little people. But what kind of political instrument was Murray talking about? The same old chipped and loosened ax—the policy of trying to send home from Washington labor's Democratic and Republican enemies (who were elected in many cases as labor's "friends") and to send in their places other members of the same Democratic and Republican Parties.

To sum up the importance of this monster demonstration of labor in New York City: it proclaimed the will and the militancy of the workers to fight the Taft-Hartley bill and all attacks on their rights and their freedoms.

On the other hand, the labor leaders made a public demonstration of their timidity by limiting the methods for fighting this bill and similar attacks on labor. They also showed their cringing reliance on President Truman and on the capitalist political parties. They showed their unwillingness to mold labor's political might into an independent labor party at this time when the capitalist class has called for a showdown.

PULL LABOR'S PUNCHES

But while Phil Murray benignly states that the NAM wants "a showdown with labor" and they want it now, he is pussyfooting on the methods to meet the challenge. Yes, the labor leaders are pulling labor's punches, whereas the workers are showing by such demonstrations as this at Madison Square Garden that

REUTHER BETRAYS POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM IN UAW PRESS RELEASE ON RENT CONTROL

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—This week's prize for crass opportunism among labor leaders was won hands down by Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, in his press release dated June 3, on the subject of congressional action to kill rent control.

"Republicans can claim undisputed authorship of the 1947 recession now that the Republican controlled Congress has killed rent control," Reuther said. And this kind of stuff goes on for three and a half typewritten pages.

What about President Truman's role? If you dig hard into the article you'll find, "whether the new Republican rent bill becomes law or is vetoed by the President, effective rent control would have been killed, and the resulting hardship to millions of families will plainly and indelibly be marked with Republican fingerprints."

MIGHTY POOR ANSWERS

What about the Democratic Party? Its role in the fight against labor's welfare? Again, a very careful reading brings out this sentence: "Taft of Ohio and Wolcott of Michigan are the kingpins of this eviction campaign, but they have a strong GOP vote behind them, and in the Senate on Monday, the old-guard Democrats from the South voted as usual with their Republican counterparts."

So what is the answer to these perplexing problems raised by congressional action? Anyone with half an eye can read Reuther's not so subtle solution. Ah! If only we had

good, "new guard" democrats in Congress. And President Truman? Poor fellow! He is just a captive of that nasty Congress! At heart, you see, he is really pro-labor, especially if he vetoes the Hartley bill, or even if he doesn't, his threat to veto softened the measure!

A few weeks ago, Richard T. Leonard, UAW-CIO vice-president, presented just that kind of a line to a president's meeting called to discuss the GM crisis. Leonard all but endorsed Truman for re-election in 1948. Reuther sat there, smiling, and being amused by that performance. For Leonard was just carrying out instructions from president Philip Murray, of the CIO, who wants to cling to Truman's coat tails.

KNOWS BETTER

Today, Reuther has taken a very big step to catch up with Brother Leonard in handing out the same old baloney. But there is a difference. Leonard, it can be argued with some weight, doesn't know better. No such alibi or excuse is possible for Reuther. He does know better. He knows just as well as the average reader of LABOR ACTION that there isn't any difference between the Republican or Democratic parties insofar as fundamental policies are concerned. The "Truman Doctrine," is hardly a Republican plot! Reuther knows all that; and he knows that fundamentally Wall Street, or capitalism, is responsible for the coming depression. Check his speeches of the last year and a half and it's all there.

But Reuther is getting ready to retreat some more, especially if it will assure him of president Murray's support for his re-election in the November UAW-CIO convention. And that is why Reuther's blast at the Republicans is a prize example of crass opportunism!

AUDIENCE FINDS WP FORUM ON PALESTINE AND DP PROBLEMS UNUSUALLY INTERESTING

Two hundred and twenty people attended an unusually interesting meeting organized by Local New York, Workers Party, on "Oil, Strategic Bases, Power Politics or Human Lives" on June 6, and heard Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, and Ed Findley, LABOR ACTION staff writer present the socialist solution for the Jews of Palestine and those in the DP camps of Europe.

The Workers Party, said the speakers, is against reliance on any imperialist or any combination of imperialist powers. It contends that without imperialist meddling the two peoples of Palestine could and would find a way to each other. Only a program that takes as its point of departure that Palestine is neither an Arab country nor a Jewish country but an Arab-Jewish country can bring peace and independence to Palestine.

ARAB-JEWISH UNITY

"The doors of Palestine can be opened wide to the Jews of Europe if those who stand behind them with fixed bayonets and machine guns are driven from the soil and shores of Palestine. Palestine can be free to the Jews only if it is freed from the foul presence of British imperialism. This is a task that is common to both Jews and Arabs. It cannot be accomplished except by the common efforts of the Jews and Arabs. The Jew must stand out as the champion of freedom and democracy for all the people of Palestine, Jew and Arab alike."

After the main presentations, those in the audience who represented various Jewish nationalist organizations were given time to present their views. Despite the lateness of the hour, the audience remained and listened attentively to an exceptionally fruitful question and answer period.

BIG POWER MANIPULATIONS

Ed Findley attacked the United Nations for "making a political football out of the lives of the homeless, uprooted victims of Hitlerism. . . ." The new Russian policy on Palestine can be accounted for in the preparations for World War III and the fact that Palestine is "the key to Russia's back door." If Russia had come out in support of the Arab nationalists, the Zionists would have been pushed further into the direction of a compromise with the British—the result being the continuance of British control of Palestine.

The Jewish nationalist movements "need a shift in orientation." These parties stand for the continuance of imperialist rule in Palestine until a Jewish state can be set up on the basis of a Jewish majority.

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Labor Action --

(Continued from page 1)

is. The wisest course seemed to us to reduce the size of the paper, while maintaining its standard five-cent price.

FOUR-PAGE PLANS

We shall still require the assistance of our readers, and the maintenance of the LABOR ACTION FUND. Our printer and other creditors have extended a considerable and unusual amount of credit to us. Before we can again undertake an expansion it will be necessary to pay off our accumulated bills. But, even without the matter of debts, the cost of the paper will be high and our income from sales relatively and necessarily low. We have no rich "angels," and we accept commercial advertising only in the rarest circumstances. The weekly contribution of our friends, be it in dimes, quarters or dollars, will continue to be vitally necessary for us.

It is our opinion that we published the finest working class paper in the country. The four-pager, while it will have less room for material, will nevertheless be in the superlative socialist tradition of the eight-pager. We shall continue to combine, in the four pages as in the eight, fighting working class agitation with thorough socialist analysis. We shall continue to present the writers you like to read—Irving Howe, Jack Ranger, Susan Green and others. It will be necessary to omit several regular features, and to reduce the amount of space given to certain types of coverage. But we guarantee a paper that you will want to read and to spread.

There, in spreading the paper, in boosting its circulation to such numbers as will reduce materially the cost of the paper per copy; lies a great part of the solution to our problem. This is a job in which every leader of LABOR ACTION can do his share. Maintenance of the Boosters Fund and increasing the circulation of the paper are keys toward overcoming this retrenchment dictated by circumstances.

LABOR ACTION deeply thanks its friends who made possible ten months of the eight-page paper. The eight-pager more than justified itself in its ten months of publication, as is attested by reports from every section of the country and by the many letters that have come to the LABOR ACTION office. In thanking our friends, we ask them to continue their support for the four-pager, to boost the four-pager as they did the eight-pager, to help us maintain an aggressive, indispensable LABOR ACTION.

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Democratic Solution of Pakistan Issue Vital to Genuine India Independence

By ALBERT GATES

"History was being made fast and furiously today," said the New York Times on June 3, in describing the New Delhi conference between the representatives of the British Crown and the Hindu, Moslem and Sikh areas of India. The great sub-continent of Asia, inhabited by an estimated 400 million people, was offered a new form of settlement by the Empire which presumably is to result in the independence of the country. Thus, a new stage in the struggle for the freedom of India has been reached; it is the product of the centuries-old struggle for national independence.

The British, faced with insurmountable national and international difficulties, could no longer rule in the old way. This was clear even before the war. The war hastened the government's decision to come to some agreement with India, lest the whole nation be lost in an intense battle for freedom. Great Britain's position in India was threatened from external forces, as well. The United States, in hope of opening this vast country as a market for her goods, has long cast its eyes in the direction of the sub-continent, publicly condemning British rule in the report made by former Ambassador Phillips. And there is always Stalinist Russia, seeking new lands to conquer and new millions to enslave.

Taking advantage of the sharp cleavage inside India between the ruling Hindus and the Moslems, a struggle which the British have incited for many years to prevent the unification of the immense population, Premier Attlee proposed the establishment of a Constituent Assembly at New Delhi and plebiscites in the disputed provinces to determine

whether or not they wish to adhere to an All-Indian assembly or set up their own bodies.

DIVIDED INDIA

There is no dispute about the greater part of India which is inhabited by and is to be ruled by the Hindu Constituent Assembly. But the majority of the representatives at the present meeting from Bengal, Punjab, Sind and British Baluchistan have already refused to participate in a single Constituent Assembly. It is fairly certain that these provinces, which contain either Moslem major-

Empire Saver



CLEMENT ATLEE

ities or are evenly divided, will vote for their own Constituent Assembly, or Pakistan.

The British ardently hope for this because it will result in a divided India. Behind the British plan is the aim of maintaining a close relationship with India after the consummation of the present proposals which have been accepted by the representatives of all the three factions. In granting the democratic right of plebiscitary decision, the British expect that the new assemblies will voluntarily accept dominion status

and become part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Empire will retain its troops in India on the ground of the military weakness of the country. But actually, the British retention of her military forces is for the purpose of defending her immense interests against any encroachments which may come from her imperialist rivals. So long as these troops remain, they are a threat also to the achievement of Indian unity and genuine independence.

The acceptance of the British proposals by the Indian representatives elevates the struggle to a new plane. A measure of the plan is revealed in the enthusiastic support given it by Winston Churchill who praised it and its authors generously, claiming some credit for himself, since it followed the pattern of his own plan taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942.

SOCIALIST POLICY

As revolutionary socialists we are for a complete and unambiguous independence for India; for a unified India. Whatever our opinions about the cause of the present division in the country, it would be sheer folly to disregard the deep division which exists particularly between the Hindus and the Moslems. The Moslems do not want unity with the Hindus. We believe they are wrong. If we

resided in their provinces we would do everything in our power to convince them of their error and we would vote for a single assembly and for Indian unity. We would fight for a genuinely free and independent India without any ties whatever to the British Empire and we would demand the expulsion of British military forces since they could only serve as a constant threat to genuine independence and unity.

But at the same time, as revolutionary socialists, we would defend the right of the Moslems to decide their own destiny as a people. If they do not want to establish a common state with the Hindus, if they want their own state, then they have the democratic right to so decide. Any attempt to prevent the tens of millions of Moslems from exercising their democratic right of decision would represent nothing less than the assertion of the right of the Hindu ruling majority to rule against the will of millions of people. From a democratic, internationalist, socialist point of view, that would be impermissible.

It is our hope that, having achieved this further step in their struggle for independence, the Indian masses will go even further, toward the establishment of a unified and independent India, free of all ties with its still ever-present imperialist "motherland."

Protest Political Arrests in Greece



200 pickets marched for one hour on Saturday, June 7, before the Greek Consulate at Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, to protest the arrest of five members of the Greek section of the Fourth International by the reactionary terrorist government. The picket line was organized by the Workers Party and Socialist Workers Party. Pickets carried signs and shouted slogans which denounced Truman's support of Greek reaction, and demanded the release of the Trotskyist prisoners and of all political prisoners.—Photo by Alex.

How Shall We Meet the Crisis in the AVC; A Message to the Convention Delegates --

(Continued from page 1)

factors which dictate the imperative need for our preservation, will be found the source of the present crisis in the AVC. The crisis itself is not the product of the struggle in the leadership, but merely is reflected in that struggle. The crisis testifies to the inadequacy of program. This crisis will be resolved when the present inadequacies of program are corrected, the program revised and strengthened, and vigorously advocated and carried out by a militant and aggressive membership.

The present crisis in the AVC reflects the post-war crisis of the veteran. All the belly-ache, sugar coating, that was fed to the veteran during the war, and which raised his hopes and expectations for the post-war world, to the sky, has turned into a series of merciless blows delivered upon the veteran.

A. The "Jobs for Veterans" program fell through the sieve-like loopholes of the selective service act, which presumably, had guaranteed the veteran the return of his job.

B. 52-20 proved inadequate both as to period of duration and rate of allowance. And—despite these inadequacies, aggravated by the price gouge—great pressure was exerted upon those receiving the readjustment allowance, forcing them into subsistence-level jobs.

C. The apprentice-on-the-job training allowances have been sharply reduced.

D. The surplus property of the War Assets Administration, presumably designed to give the veteran first priority has accrued to the benefit of every substantial business man and industrialist—but not to the veteran.

E. The ground floor of veterans rehabilitation was "terminated" by declining wages and declining business, buttressed by the price scandal. The vet, like the population at large, was permitted to help "bridge his gap" through war bonds purchased at a 60-cent dollar and redeemed at a 40-cent dollar.

F. Finally, THE VETERANS EMERGENCY HOUSING PROGRAM COLLAPSED.

Every move against the veteran has been in effect an inseparable part of the all-out drive organized by big business, in collusion with the government, against the living standards of the American working class. If, how-

ever, the blows against labor, have produced militant, rear-guard actions directed by the powerfully organized labor unions; the veterans, whose organizations are divorced from the labor movement (whose largest organizations are hostile to the labor movement) are fighting a disorganized and ineffective "defensive."

Our defensive action is beginning to resemble a rout. It is precisely this rout of the veterans program that has produced the real crisis within the AVC. Obviously, that organization of veterans which bases itself not upon "beer and pretzels," but upon a program of economic and social improvement of the lot of the veteran, would suffer from the collapse of the veterans program. More accurately the AVC suffered the effects of this collapse because it relied upon (and told the veteran to rely upon) the very forces which bear the main responsibility for the disintegration of the veterans program. Being pummeled from every side, the veteran sought leadership for a struggle against those who were directing the blows. The AVC leadership offered instead an "alliance of dependence" upon the administration which was systematically undermining the position of the veteran. In this respect, despite the best intentions, the AVC failed as the true champion of the veteran.

Had the AVC called upon the veteran to rally behind an American Veterans Committee in alliance with labor, had it followed the course of militant action along side, and under the leadership of labor, the position of the veteran today would not be so bleak. Had the AVC followed a course of opposition and struggle against the enemies of the veteran instead of dubbing them "our friends," the membership of the AVC today would be counted not at 100,000, but in the hundreds of thousands and even millions. Had the AVC followed the course of courageously speaking out the truth and of waging militant actions against an administration that was systematically whittling away at the position of the veteran, there would be no stagnation in the AVC and there would be no Stalinist threat at this convention. There would be no Stalinist threat because their truly reactionary character would then have been stripped of pseudo militancy and they would stand exposed.

The end of the "New Deal" for

veterans has been the most serious blow delivered upon the AVC. If the leadership of the AVC did not understand this when they so unwisely helped pay for AVC accreditation by their silence upon the vocational pay reduction, and by their opposition to a federal bonus, then they must by now feel the full impact upon the AVC, engendered by the bust of Mr. Wyatt's housing program. This is the source of the crisis that is wrecking the AVC today. It cannot and will not be resolved by any political amputations of the Stalinists from the AVC. The crisis can be overcome by categorically rejecting the open and the surreptitious programs of the Stalinists, and concomitantly rejecting their slates for office. But more than this. The solution of the crisis demands the recasting of the present program of the AVC in line with the program presented in this issue of LABOR ACTION (See page 5.)

The failures in the past have been serious—but not fatal. The situation among the veterans, as among the "citizens," grows worse, not better. There is a growing resentment among the veterans. These would normally be attracted to an organization like the AVC. Since, however, the resentment is being directed mainly against the administration and the government, the AVC can benefit by it only by becoming the real champions of the veteran. But this means, first and foremost, a sharp and clean break from the administration and from Democratic and Republican politics. It means a militant pro-labor orientation for the AVC. And it means an end to kowtowing to the administration—replaced by a policy of bold activity against the capitalist parties and their administration. An organization of 100,000 veterans, which fails now to wage an open and militant fight, will have to lose ground to the AL and VFW, which means that it will disintegrate as a potent force in the veterans field.

HOW THE CRISIS IS MANIFESTED

Although the source of the present crisis in the AVC has its roots in the developments on the American social scene, it is manifested in the organization in a political division within the National Planning Committee. Festering since the Des Moines convention (and before) the crisis was precipitated in the NPC, around the "Statement on Communism" adopted by a majority vote of that committee. A national referendum on the "Statement on Communism" imparted the division "on top" to every chapter in the country and crystallized national caucus formations. This procedure was entirely proper. The excavation of concealed differences within the leadership, their reference to the membership for solution, had the effect of opening the festering wound before gangrene could set in. And, while we take sharp issue with the "Statement on Communism" and the inference of expulsion or exclusion of veterans because of political views held, we certainly welcome the fight having been brought into the open.

The Stalinists within the AVC have not concealed their displeasure at the emergence of the issues into the open. From the very beginning they have attempted to dominate the AVC through behind the scenes machinations, through the skillful use of laurel headed fellow travelers and "innocents." They have sought to deny real differences in the leadership and have insinuated their line,

rather than advocate one; they have sought to impose their line by the well worn technique of the fait accompli. The formula of Stalinist control has been a simple one: Give the anti-Stalinists the NOMINAL control of the AVC by allowing them a majority on the NPC. This would provide a very "honorable" front. But keep the actual control of the AVC in the hands of the Stalinists by means of the domination of the area councils in the important population centers of the country. Maintain a strong enough minority of Stalinists and fellow travelers on the NPC to support, when necessary, their actual control through the area councils.

This has been, and remains the formula of the Stalinists in the AVC. They want to use this organization not to advance the interests of the veteran, but as a "legitimate" front organization to support the foreign policy of Stalin.

That is why the Stalinists have shown such irritation with the fight having been brought into the open. That is why they whimper today that there are not really any fundamental differences within the leadership of the AVC. They want the status quo—i.e., nominal control by the anti-Stalinists, but actual control by themselves. They fear that an open fight will unhinge their status quo.

THE MAIN CAUCUS WITHIN THE AVC

The leadership of the AVC—like the organization itself—is a conglomerate of groups; factions; sub-factions; and semi-sub factions. At the top there are three principle groups. The "seer-sucker" group which controls the national apparatus. This is composed largely of "New Deal Democrats" and progressive Republicans. The second group is a conglomerate of independent liberals and progressives, and embraces radicals of the non- and anti-Stalinist variety. These two groups have formed a bloc against the third, the Stalinist group. In terms of caucus formations at this convention therefore there are two main blocs; one led by Bolte, F. D. R., Jr., etc., which we shall call the majority since they represent the majority of the NPC; and the Stalinists which we shall call by no other name.

The caucuses reflect and represent the differences existing today between the two main imperialist camps. The majority supporting Anglo-American imperialism and the Stalinists supporting Russian imperialism. These alignments are revealed not only in their respective positions in the foreign policy planks but even in their attitudes on domestic affairs and on

veteran affairs. It is not accidental for instance, that the "Statement on Communism" appeared coincidentally with the overt "break" in American and Soviet relations, and corresponded with the opening of the anti-Russian drive by the American State Department. Nor is it accidental that the Stalinists in the AVC, in turn, began to advocate a pseudo-militant line within the AVC (a line designed not to aid the veteran but only to embarrass the administration as part of Russian foreign policy) coincidentally with the break in Russian and American relations. As opponents of both imperialist camps, we of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party, reject the political programs of both factions in the AVC. And we call upon the delegates to reject both political platforms.

The question, given the political character of these alignments, of who shall control the AVC organizationally, naturally arises. If there were today within the AVC substantial forces already organized around a militant pro-labor platform, we would, of course call upon all delegates to become part of that caucus and would advocate placing that group at the helm of the AVC. In the absence of what would amount to a third major caucus, strong enough to contend for leadership, we are compelled to urge the delegates to give ORGANIZATIONAL support to the anti-Stalinist bloc in their efforts to retain organizational control of the AVC.

While we of LABOR ACTION differentiate ourselves sharply from the politics of the anti-Stalinist caucus, we advocate support of their organizational slate. As between Stalinist and liberal non-Stalinist domination of the AVC, we prefer the latter. For, the victory of the Stalinists in the AVC could only mean the Stalinization of the AVC, politically and organizationally, could only mean the end of democratic expression within the AVC and the consequent preclusion of any progressive development of that organization. A Stalinist victory would mean the conversion of the AVC as a front organization for the Stalinist Party, Or—to put it most bluntly, the end of the American Veterans Committee.

The Milwaukee convention can be the beginning of the growth of the AVC into a mass organization of millions of veterans. The adoption of a militant, pro-labor program for veterans will lay the basis for this advance, and will present the AVC as the authentic representatives of the veterans. With confidence and best wishes for your future, we urge the convention to follow this course.

Slowdown Highlights N. Y. Transit Dispute

WEDNESDAY, June 11—The TWU voted last night to resume normal operation of New York City's transit after the Board of Transportation agreed (1) to hold a new "pick" for setting up work schedules on the independent subway system and (2) to allow union representatives inside Board property. The union did not win its main demand for withdrawal of charges against four suspended subway workers.

By GENE VAUGHN

During the last two weeks the New York City transit system has been hit by a severe labor crisis. This most recent disagreement between Mike Quill's Transport Workers Union and the two-star, military-minded autocrat, Chairman Gross of the Board of Transportation (Gross had been a major-general in the Army of the United States during the war) has come to a head in a near-strike situation.

In order to fight the autocratic hand of Chairman Gross, the TWU was forced to resort to a slowdown in the subway service by sticking to the "Book of Rules." The union also threatened the city of New York with a transit strike. The militancy of the transport workers can best be appreciated in light of the fact that the Condon-Wadlin law, which was passed at the 1947 session of the New York State Legislature, provides for severe penalties, loss of seniority rights and even loss of job for public employees who strike or in any way do not give "honest" service to the public.

Chairman Gross retaliated by suspending several union organizers from their jobs on the ground that they violated the by-laws of the transit code in telling the men to follow the "Book of Rules." In order to compensate for the slowdown, Chairman Gross ordered the adoption of inadequate inspection practices. Gross willingly jeopardized the safety of the city's subway travelers in order to get back at the TWU. Finally, Chairman Gross put on shorter trains at smaller intervals of time to foil the attempts of the union at a slowdown. This latter maneuver cost the city tens of thousands of dollars.

NINE DEMANDS

The Transport Workers Union has submitted to the Board of Transportation the following nine demands:

1. Increase of 15 cents on hour for all hourly rated employees. Commensurate increase for all per annum employees, including all clerical and administrative employees, whose cost of living adjustments should be made permanent.
2. (a) Retirement under City Retirement Plan at 20-25 years at half pay instead of present 30-35 year retirement at half pay. (b) Modification of IRT and BMT pension plans to provide (1) 1 1/2 per cent for each year of service; (2) full credit for period not covered from 1937 to 1941; (3) retirement age under IRT and BMT plans to be same as retirement age under City Retirement Plan.
3. Three weeks' vacation after five years' service.
4. Eleven paid holidays.
5. Sick leave to accumulate up to an eight-year maximum without loss

of any sick leave time owing to the employee.

6. Trackmen to be classified as maintainers and receive maintainers' rates of pay.

7. Overtime pay at the rate of time and a half for all supervisory and clerical employees.

8. Renegotiation of working conditions and rules now promulgated for employees in each department.

9. Adoption and implementation of the Davis-O'Dwyer plan for labor relations.

The crucial demand of the TWU is the ninth one. The TWU is a union along industrial lines which represents approximately 29,000 out of a total of 33,000 employees, both operating and administrative, of the transit system. The TWU has therefore demanded that the Board recognize a system of proportional representation when the Board bargains with the various transit unions. General Gross, in order to weaken the bargaining position of the TWU and keep the employees of the transit system as divided as possible, prefers to deal with all the transit organizations on an equal basis. Among the other transit organizations are to be found the Civil Service Forum Transit Committee, a company union outfit which claims a membership of 6,000, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which says it speaks for 2,500 motormen on the transit system.

O'DWYER'S ROLE

Ex-Commissioner Davis, a member of the Board of Transportation until two weeks ago, when he was forced into resigning by the stubbornness of Chairman Gross, had after an extensive investigation written a report favoring a system of proportional representation for the various transit labor organizations. Mayor O'Dwyer came out in favor of the report only to have it rejected by Commissioners Gross and Sullivan of the Board. Chairman Gross wrote a letter to the Mayor asking him not to "interfere" in the affairs of the Board of Transportation, and the peace-loving Mayor decided to withdraw his support of the Davis recommendation and not "interfere." The Mayor would now hold the Board responsible "for any results which adversely affect the safety and welfare of the people of the City of New York."

The TWU, by virtue of its large following among the transport workers, is justified in demanding special recognition from the Board. However, the TWU ought to learn an object lesson from these last two weeks of struggle. Democratic capitalist politicians remain Democratic politicians in spite of all the sugar coating and pink window dressing. William O'Dwyer, the Tammany Democrat, keeps William O'Dwyer, the Mayor of New York, from fighting for the "Davis plan," even though he recognizes the merit of this plan. If the TWU is to gain its demands and if the TWU is to become the exclusive transit union in the city of New York, it must depend upon its own militant unionism instead of the false friendships of the O'Dwyers and the other "friends" of labor in the capitalist parties.

WON'T RECOGNIZE LAW

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the membership of the Sailors Union of the Pacific at the regular Headquarters meeting of June 2, 1947.

Whereas: Legislation is at present pending in Congress, aimed at not only destroying the trade unions, but also our rights as American citizens; and

Whereas: These power-mad politicians emboldened by the big business lobby and the whining and pleading of politically minded labor leaders, have decided to disregard the Constitution of the United States of America; and

Whereas: Inasmuch as the aim of these politicians is the enslavement of the American worker, nothing can be gained by any further reasoning or pleading; and

Whereas: We have learned through bitter experience, the only way to make ourselves heard by these people is through the use of our economic strength;

Therefore, Be It Resolved: That we exercise our rights as free Americans and notify President Truman, the Senate, and the House of Congress, that regardless of enactment, we will refuse to recognize as laws, the Hartley-Taft Bill or any other legislation that violates or suspends the rights granted to us by the Constitution of the United States of America; and

Be It Finally Resolved: That this resolution be sent to all Central Labor bodies and AFL organizations for concurrence and be published in the West Coast Sailors and given the widest possible publicity.

SAILORS UNION OF THE PACIFIC

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