

Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

JULY 7, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Organize Tenant Committees in Every Neighborhood

DO NOT PAY MORE RENT!

AN EDITORIAL

No Law Can Make Labor Give Up Rights!

No law can make labor give up its rights!

That is, no law can do this if labor refuses to yield those rights.

History is rich with proof. From ancient times to modern times, the oppressed, the hounded and the persecuted have defied their masters and erected milestones of progress in their struggle.

It is not so long ago that government by injunction was a commonplace and the yellow-dog contract a frequent device in "labor-management" relations.

But the labor movement did not submit. Even Samuel Gompers, who preceded William Green as president of the AFL and who was as conservative, to put it mildly, as any man who ever held a union post, repeated over and over that the labor movement could not and would not tolerate government by injunction.

In fact, Gompers, for all that his whole misleading philosophy was based on advocating friendship between capital and labor, himself defied an injunction in 1912, and inspired a motion at the 1919 AFL convention declaring it to be the position of that organization never to submit to an injunction.

Of others, of such giants of the labor movement as Eugene V. Debs, there is no need to speak. Militantly and with a genuine understanding of the opposition of interest between labor and capital, they spat defiance at injunction rule, resisted Pinkertons, spies and goons.

Compared to the strength of labor's organized millions today, the labor movement was in its infancy in Debs' day, and even in the last days of Gompers' leadership. Yet, in hard struggle, it forged ahead, built its unions, won its rights often with the heavy loss of lives. There were defeats along the road. At times labor paid heavily for the leadership of such "statesmen" as Gompers.

Out of its struggle came enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Act barring the use of injunctions, and other achievements, some legislatively recognized, others recognized by the simple fact of union power. Out of it came a higher standard of living!

A DECLARATION OF LABOR'S INDEPENDENCE

Now, with enactment of the Taft-Hartley Labor Relations Act, we are faced with a kind of government by injunction. The provisions of this hateful law are fully known to the workers of the United States. And the workers of the United States want to fight it!

The fight involves many forms and types of action. Above all, however, it depends upon an attitude, an attitude concretized day to day in actions that we last week summed up as a DECLARATION OF LABOR'S INDEPENDENCE.

Hence the extreme importance of the ranks taking an effective and leading part in the fight. Almost the first word to come from the leaders of the two big union organizations, the AFL and CIO, was to reject various appeals for a nationwide protest walk-out and to assert that the fight would be waged primarily in the courts.

Now, there is nothing wrong with court action, properly understood and used. Murray and Green are correct in directing union lawyers to seek every possible angle in the law to hamstring its operation. But, accompanied as it is, with a statement repudiating more militant forms of action, it can prove to be dangerously misleading and disorienting.

We believe that a 24-hour general protest strike, while it properly should have been called BEFORE passage of the bill for real effectiveness, can still serve as a meaningful political demonstration, yocalizing the offensive possibilities of the labor movement.

However, that is not the important point. If they thought a general protest strike unwise now, but of possible use later, then they should have said so. If they thought it better to wait with such action until the labor movement was faced with the penalty of the law in some important instance, as in an injunction against the miners, they should have said so.

The unfortunate fact is that they abhor such types of action. They are competent men in their own way. They know how to get the best out of a contract. And all that. But they do not believe in losing the militancy of the labor movement on a scale that they might find it difficult to control.

CENTRAL PLANKS IN A FIGHTING PROGRAM

Yet, everything rests on making a determined stand. In our opinion, there are two central planks in any program to turn the boss offensive, into a rout—and make no mistake about it: the bosses are on the offensive, on the offensive because they think a restrained and apathetic labor movement will not resist.

One plank is a long range program for the building of a Labor Party as a political weapon in keeping with the economic power of our unions.

The other plank is the formation on a national and local scale of democratically delegated union boards of strategy in which the representatives of union men and women plan common action on a wide front of interest, from the specific problem of crippling the anti-labor law to winning wage increases.

Not all actions have to be national in scope. If the boards of strategy feel that local actions are indicated first, local actions reflecting the solidarity of joint councils organized with the purpose of effecting precisely such activities, these can be integrated in a national plan.

The point is that the issues, whether local or national, are too big to be handled by individual unions. Our real strength lies in the totality of our organization: That is why we say no law can make labor give up its rights—if labor will not permit it.

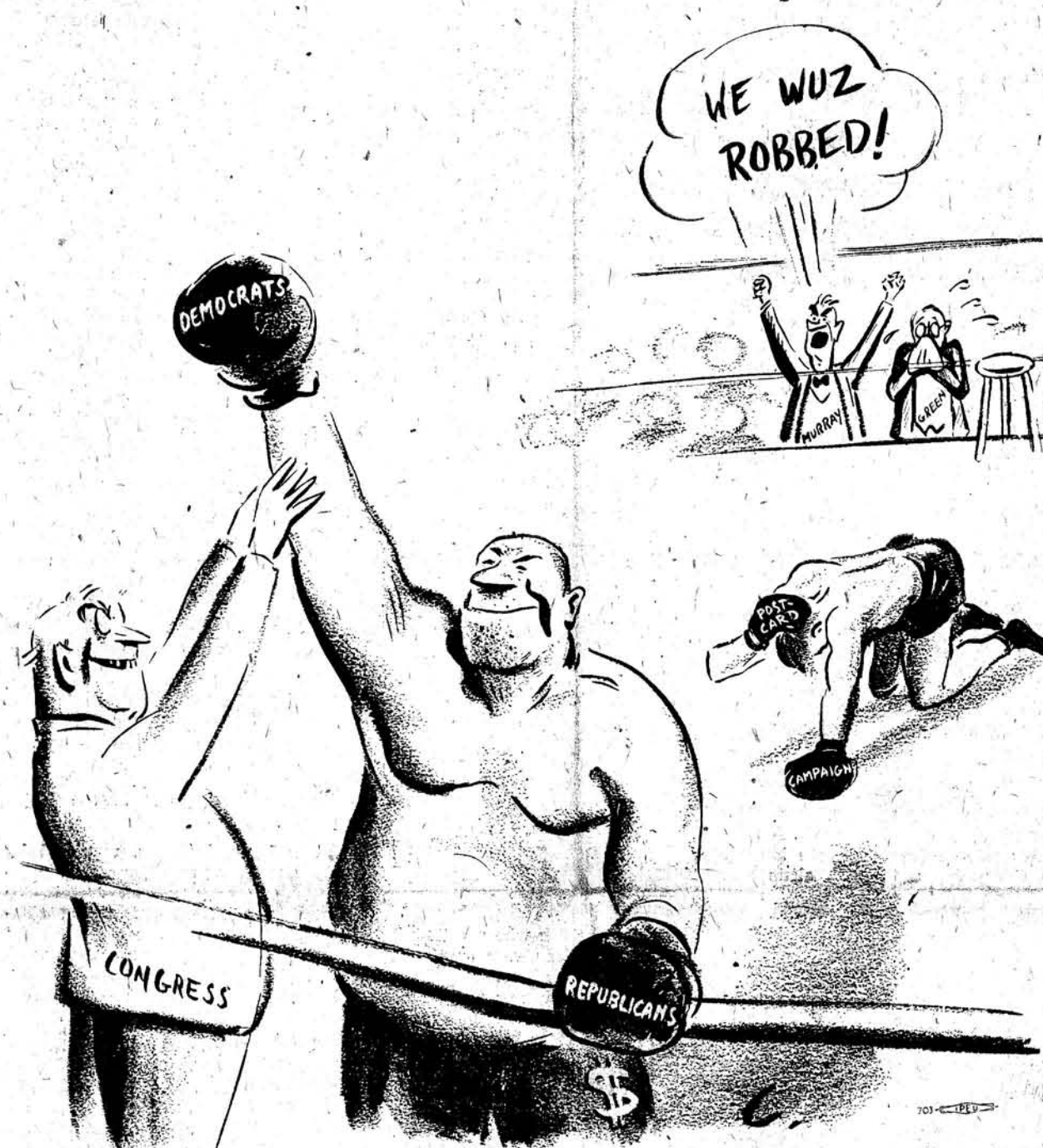
If we choose to stop the machines, nothing can make them turn. If we choose to ignore any restrictions on our rights, nothing can make them operate. As one union official said: there is no concentration camp big enough to hold the labor movement.

Labor's answer need simply be that we will not yield any right; that, as a matter of fact, we intend to win new and greater rights for the working class and for the people as a whole, and march forward to a BETTER standard of living.

And it can concretize the answer by taking such steps as give it meaning, among which we prominently place the continued threat of a 24-hour work stoppage, and union boards of strategy or councils of action—call it what you will—to mobilize the union movement in effective day to day action. Even such matters as court action are best handled that way!

WE REPEAT: NO LAW CAN MAKE LABOR GIVE UP ITS RIGHTS. IT IS UP TO US TO MAKE THAT CLEAR!

Moral: We Need FIGHTING Weapons!



Fight on Anti-Labor Law Will Not Be Won in Court

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The Taft-Hartley Bill "is the law" of the land. Those who are acquainted with the history of the labor movement and of the struggles of the working class to achieve democratic rights in capitalist society, are also aware that this is not the first oppressive and crippling legislation which has been directed at the working class and its organizations. One can go back to the anti-combination acts of the British Parliament in the first quarter of the 19th century and the conviction of the early pioneers of the labor movement in this country, for "conspiring together to raise their wages," for their revolt against the "sunrise to sunset" working day.

The working class was victorious over these and other restrictions. The whole history of the organized labor movement has been a series of ever-recurring revolts against the efforts of the capitalist ruling class to put labor in a straight jacket, to make labor satisfied with capitalist aims. These past victories were not won without tremendous sacrifices, solidarity and militant determination not to submit.

The past victories of labor were not won either with a fanfare of oratory or by campaigns of postal card writing "to your congressman." Labor won its past victories by resistance. The early anti-labor laws were overturned by resistance, by non-acceptance. That was the way the union movement was organized and developed. That was the way it grew and came to be the numerically and financially powerful institution it is today.

The AFL and CIO will fight the Taft-Hartley Bill in the courts, up to the Supreme Court. Let them do this. The working class, however, should have no illusions about this kind of fight. Even should the Supreme Court declare the whole bill "unconstitutional," no final victory would have been achieved. Congress (Republican or Democrat) will pass another bill that is "constitutional" which will

not be basically different from the present bill. The Supreme Court can declare the present bill, or sections of it, "unconstitutional" for reasons which have no direct bearing on the welfare of the working class or the welfare of the trade unions. One of the declared purposes of this bill is "to promote the full flow of commerce." The courts may decide that this bill will not promote the "full" flow of commerce. In that case the proponents of anti-labor legislation in Congress will call expert constitutional lawyers to their aid in the framing of a bill which will satisfy the Supreme Court that the "full flow of commerce" will be promoted.

We do not say these things to say that it would make no difference what the Supreme Court does about the Taft-Hartley Bill. Such a position would be mere crack-pot non-

sense. For the bill to be thrown out, or thrown out in part, by the courts would at least mean that the unions and working class would not be harassed by this particular piece of vicious legislation. Also labor would have the opportunity to oppose the passage of a new bill through Congress. Also, in the interim between the throwing out of this bill and the passage of another bill by Congress, labor would have the opportunity to think over the lessons of the present and prepare more effective actions for the future without being bothered with the legal restrictions of the present bill.

These considerations are important and we emphasize them. But they are not decisive and cannot be. For labor to place its confidence in the capitalist courts is identical with

(Continued on page 2)

Dubinsky Shelves Guaranteed Pay

Four-Point Resolution Passes Buck on Labor Political Action to Top AFL Leaders

CLEVELAND — The International Ladies Garment Workers Union convention is over. The threat to the garment workers' union and the whole labor movement is not over, and the ILG delegates went home poorly armed to fight the battles ahead.

Even as the vote in the Senate on the Taft Slave Labor Act was being announced, the convention decided that, while a new party was desirable, it was not yet timely. With that, they passed the buck to the heads of the AFL, who are to be entrusted with the political destiny of the garment workers.

Specifically, the political resolution contained four points.

First, President Green of the AFL was called on to convene an emergency conference of all AFL interna-

tional union presidents to "lay the groundwork for effective political action in 1948."

Secondly, the conference is urged to attempt cooperation with all other liberal and labor groups.

Thirdly, the conference is urged to launch an educational campaign among workers to show the need for political action.

Lastly, the AFL presidents are urged to "lay the groundwork" for independent candidates and organizations for 1948 where no acceptable Republicans or Democrats are available.

Urging this program on the top leadership of the AFL amounts to putting these ideas, good and bad, in a permanent pigeon-hole. It is to be remembered that these men include Hutcherson of the Carpenters, a Re-

This is Zero Hour for millions of tenants in America! President Truman, despite a face-saving statement, has signed the "rent control" bill passed by Congress which places a black-jack in the hands of the landlords with which to raise rents 15 per cent. We say that Truman's statement was face-saving because large sections of his party representation in Congress voted for the bill and because the Democratic National Committee did absolutely nothing to prevent its passage.

Democrats and Republicans together pushed through this legislative present for the landlords; a present in no basic way different than if they had voted an outright grant of millions of dollars to the landlord lobby.

Nonetheless, we say that the tenants can still stop this grand landlord steal. The first thing we must do is ORGANIZE!

Now, today, every apartment house must be organized into tenant committees! These committees must present a united front against any landlord attempt to raise rents.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO PAY MORE RENT! According to the provisions of the law, the landlord can't evict you if you refuse to pay the rent increase—at least not until the end of February, 1948. And in some states, such as New York and New Jersey, there are laws which prevent any eviction afterward.

But far more important than the legal aspects is the fact that if tenants organize, participate in mass united militant activity, they will be able to prevent both evictions and raises in rents.

That means to throw picket lines when necessary around the houses, letting your neighbors know that your landlord is trying to raise the rent or to kick you out. It means throwing similar lines around the office of the landlord or real estate agency or bank which owns your house. It means also uniting on a block-wide basis to prevent rent raises or evictions.

In Detroit, sections of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, have pledged themselves to prevent evictions and to call in, if necessary, their famous flying squadrons to see to it that nobody gets kicked out of his home. That's something to think about and copy.

It means getting the trade unions of your locality into action to support their members who make up the bulk of tenants.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR ACTION! Remember, you don't have to sign a lease to raise your rent. The landlord will try to tell you that if you don't sign a lease now, your rent will be raised even more outrageously in February, 1948, or you will be kicked out altogether at that time. That's bluff. If thousands of tenants organize in each city, the landlords will not be able to evict people even if there is no longer any rent control legislation. Mass action can do it.

Don't give your landlord a present; he's getting rich enough as is.

And just one more word: remember who is responsible for putting us in this squeeze. Remember that it is the same legislative scoundrels who passed the Taft-Hartley Anti-Labor Act—the Democratic and Republican capitalist parties. Don't you think their records—both parties, and both the conservatives and "liberals"—are enough to convince labor that it needs a party of its own to put an end on the political front to these outrages and attacks on the workers' standard of living?

No, a Labor Party will have to emerge from the aroused pressure of the ranks, who refuse to be chained any longer to the needless choice between Democrats and Republicans, who insist upon DECLARING THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

Thus, a Labor Party will take some time to form, though we believe that a call for such a party, issued

(Continued on page 3)

Why Do We Stress the Labor Party?

By EMANUEL GARRETT

We were asked, after the appearance of last week's issue of LABOR ACTION, if we thought that there was nothing labor could do about the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law outside of forming a Labor Party. Our answer, of course, is that there are many things labor can and should do. These might be summed up as refusing to submit, and mounting an offensive for labor's interests.

Along with the prominence we gave the Labor Party in our last issue we also featured other urgent and immediate steps that we think are essential in fighting against the new law and, more generally, in advancing labor's interests. On the immediate, practical plane we stressed the formation of union boards of strategy, jointly planning action.

Nor do we pretend that this exhausts the matter. If we do not enter into the minutest detail, it is because the union leadership, of necessity, will be compelled to take a variety of steps. On such matters as legal action, test cases, and so forth, they have the know how and the will. Our concern lies in the fact that they will not undertake broad, militant action, and that consequently labor's energies may be dissipated in long drawn-out maneuvers when they should be consolidated in a frontal assault.

OUR GREATEST NEED

Where in all this is the Labor Party? Why do we think it the cornerstone of a genuine labor program?

Admittedly, a Labor Party is not something that can be formed overnight. The union officialdom, by and large, most certainly does not favor the formation of a Labor Party. It is, on the contrary, deeply attached to the political parties of our class enemies, the capitalists, and will do nothing to free labor from the horrible policy of "rewarding our friends" and "punishing our enemies" by mobilizing the vote each fall for whichever of these enemies they choose to support.

No, a Labor Party will have to emerge from the aroused pressure of the ranks, who refuse to be chained any longer to the needless choice between Democrats and Republicans, who insist upon DECLARING THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

Thus, a Labor Party will take some time to form, though we believe that a call for such a party, issued

(Continued on page 3)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Will Not Win Fight in Supreme Court --

(Continued from page 1) placing our confidence in the veto of a capitalist president, or the votes of "pro-labor" congressmen. That is what we want to emphasize: that labor cannot achieve a victory over the anti-labor machinations of the political representatives of capitalism by reliance on the good will of the capitalist courts, a capitalist president or a capitalist Congress. Such reliance and confidence are only a treadmill, which will sap the strength of labor and get the working class nowhere.

The reactions to the passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill are very, very interesting. President Truman will do everything in his power to make it work. The New York Times hopes "that union labor will find in it much that is useful and advantageous." The Times also hopes that Congress will "act promptly to correct any unfairness and abuses." The NAM also has "hope." This great bulwark of democracy, good will and brotherhood "calls upon management to take the initiative in demonstrating... sincerity and good will." Management "must seek no unintended advantage from technicalities in the new law." Let us forget "the name-calling and the bitterness," says the NAM.

It is all very simple. "Before the Taft-Hartley Bill was passed," say the capitalists and their political henchmen, "we were enemies, but since Congress has carried out the clear mandate of the American people, expressed at the last election" (NAM we can now be friends.) Let lovingkindness prevail and "labor-management" harmony reign throughout the land. "It is the democratic way."

This is the way these scoundrels want labor to view their latest assault on our democratic rights. The Hearst press had the brazenness to call the bill the "labor reform bill." All of them are trying to tell us that this capitalist assault on the working class is something that will do good for labor. No worker should be fooled, not one. We cannot submit to this

bill. We cannot afford to listen to the siren voice of any capitalist or capitalist politician who tells us that he is a friend of labor but that a "few labor leaders" have brought all this on themselves. The Taft-Hartley Bill is not an attack on labor leaders, primarily, but on the whole organized labor movement and the whole working class.

They tried this trick in 1943 when the miners were on strike. They were not against the miners and the union but only against Lewis, who, they said, was misleading labor. The Workers Party pointed out then in LABOR ACTION that this was a lie; they were after the union. The same holds today. They are after Green, Murray, Lewis and others only to the extent that the labor bureaucracy represents labor and the working class. The labor bureaucracy would be nothing without the millions of workers who are organized in the unions.

The Workers Party holds that the Taft-Hartley Bill is an assault by the whole capitalist class on the working class as a whole. It is an assault on our economic standards, on our democratic rights and an attempt to head off the independent political organization of the working class. We defend the whole labor movement against this assault by the main enemy of the working class, the capitalist ruling class. We say that we defend the whole labor movement against any and all aggression of the capitalist ruling class. We defend the WHOLE labor movement against the depredations of the capitalists and their government. We defend Murray, Green, Lewis and Co., as part of the labor movement, against the capitalist plunderers and their political yes-men. We want none of their "friendship," none of their solicitude, none of their "reform."

Does this mean that we have nothing to say against Murray, Green, Lewis and Co.? Not at all. We have plenty to say, harsh things to say. But we say them from inside the labor movement and as an integral

part of the working class. We do not say them from the congressional tribune, the directors' room, the capitalist publishers sanctum, nor from any other place within the ranks of the enemy.

The conduct of the labor leadership during the passage of the Hart-Hartley Bill through Congress was disgraceful and scandalous. They did not fight. They did not rally labor. They did not call on the working class to defeat the bill; they called on Truman. They do not deserve the confidence of labor, they do not deserve the leadership of the labor movement. In the most dangerous crisis confronting the working class since the war, they failed, and failed abjectly and cowardly. Instead of putting all their faith in the might of the working class and calling on organized labor to fight, and fight together, they relied on Truman. They held labor enchained while the capitalist ruling class was attacking unchallenged on every front.

This is what we have against the labor bureaucracy. This is what all the ranks of labor should have against them. We emphasize again, however, it is for the workers themselves to correct this. It is for labor to correct this failure of the leadership within the labor movement, without any aid from the capitalist ruling class, without listening to the advice of the capitalist ruling class.

There is only one way for labor to begin correcting the real "abuses" in the trade unions. (We mean the "abuses" which are the ineptitude, the inertia, the peaceful collaboration between ruler and ruled which the trade union bureaucracy advocates. The only way is for the trade unions to insist on a new program for the unions, for labor, for the working class. A new leadership without a

new program, is the same leadership. This will become clearer when the many problems connected with the Taft-Hartley Bill arise.

Now the labor bureaucrats plan to fight in the courts. That is their program. They will also attempt to come to what agreement they can with what they call "management" (the capitalist ruling class). But we ask, will the millions of workers be content to stand by while the lawyers carry on their mock battles in the courts? Will labor be content to have a program which calls for marking time until the courts have pursued their humdrum way through all the "technicalities" of this bill? What will labor do in the factories while the old men are deciding whether or not this bill is in line with the thinking of 1789 or 1870? Or in line with precedents and previous decisions?

The labor bureaucracy intends to "fight" politically in 1948. Into the courts, into the elections. But what will they fight for and who will they fight against? They will fight for Truman and against Taft or Dewey. They will fight for Wayne Morse and against Bricker. The NAM will not be disturbed by this. They can get along very well with Truman and Morse. They did fairly well with the "socialist" Roosevelt and the "foreign ideas" of Pepper.

The trade union leadership will not fight for a new militant trade union program nor for a new militant working class political program. They will not call for an independent political party of the working class. That is, they will not do these things unless the ranks of labor demand them and insist upon them. The bureaucrats will have to be pushed into action, or they will go on to the end of time waiting for Truman, waiting for the Supreme Court.

The Boss's Dictionary

Anarchy:



Draft Plan Would Create Permanent Political Prisoners

Asserting that the Amnesty Committee is campaigning to free political prisoners, its secretary, Albon Man, pointed out that a permanent class of political prisoners would be created under the plan recently advanced by the President's Commission on Universal Training.

In a letter to Dr. Karl T. Compton, chairman of the Commission, Man quoted from the section of the Commission's report regarding conscientious objectors and others who would refuse to take part in the proposed compulsory military training program: "Granting the sincerity of those who take this extreme position, they may not reasonably seek exemption from the penalty the law may impose." This statement was, Man said, a "candid recognition" of the fact that peacetime conscription would give rise to a regular category of political offenders.—From Amnesty Bulletin.

Eddystone Workers Give Strike Notice

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, June 25—Local of the United Steel Workers, CIO, at the Eddystone Works today notified the Baldwin group that a strike was being called and will begin at 12.05 a.m. July 1, when the old contract expires.

The strike notice was authorized unanimously by a mass meeting on Saturday, June 21, attended by over 2,000 of the 10,000 workers in the shops and offices of the local Baldwin works. The passage of the Taft-Hartley bill did not dull the determination of the employees to see the fight through. Shop Locals 1278, 2180 and 2443 and Office Local 2844 went on record—"No contract, no work."

The strike notice culminated six weeks of fruitless negotiations between the union and the company. The company's principal demand and the one which precipitated the break-off, was the inclusion in the new contract of a clause providing for large-scale recoding and demoting of employees. Each demotion corresponded to a wage cut of approximately 30 cents on hour. In addition the company offered a general wage increase of only 9 1/2 cents per hour, 2 cents of which was not to be effective until January, 1948. Thus, in effect, the company proposed an overall wage cut at a time when the workers desperately need an increase, to meet the swollen prices of consumer goods.

PROFITS HIGH

Michael Harris, regional director of the Steel Workers, reported on the company's financial status. Despite an eight-week strike, Baldwin netted a profit of \$3,700,000 last year. In the first quarter of 1947 the profits totaled \$880,000 plus an entry of \$150,000 into a sinking fund. Nevertheless, Baldwin issued to each employee a newsletter on April 25 which pictured the employees as taking the

very bread from the mouths of the destitute stockholders. The course of negotiations was described by members of the union's committee. The union had advanced demands including those for a 15 1/2 cents per hour over-all increase, liberalized vacation, pension and welfare plans, top seniority and pay for stewards, a guaranteed annual wage, a minimum work week, severance pay and a union shop. On the first day the company announced that it would refuse to bargain unless the union withdrew ten of its twenty-four demands, including the union shop, the annual wage, top seniority and pay for stewards.

The company's counter-proposals were: restricted steward activity, wage cuts for the foundry workers, elimination of shift differentials, abolition of seniority, a wage increase of only 7 1/2 cents per hour and the overall recoding and downgrading. Negotiating meetings averaged only four hours per week. The company admitted that the short sessions were for the purposes of stalling until the Taft-Hartley bill became law.

NO SKELETON OPERATION The show of strength during the strike will not be apparent until July 14 for the company had previously scheduled a two-week virtual shut-down beginning on June 30. However, the union picket line will be thrown around the plant to prevent even the skeleton operations which the management intend to carry through, from materializing.

The spirit of the workers is high, even though they realize it will probably be a long, hard struggle and the personal economic situations are precarious. However, all have had enough experience with Baldwin policies to understand that wage cuts now, if permitted, will be repeated and repeated until the hourly take will have returned to pre-war levels.

First of a Series on FEPC in Pennsylvania

Negro "Leaders" Aid GOP in Killing FEPC Bill

By JACK BRAD

PHILADELPHIA—The State Legislature at Harrisburg has adjourned for the summer to give its members a "well earned" rest. It is just as well that these men have gone home for the dirty work is finished. Among other gifts which they have handed to the masters, the capitalists and big industrialists of this state, is the murder of FEPC.

FEPC was killed on June 16 by a secret vote of the Labor Committee. This committee met behind closed doors, each member pledged to secrecy. Each member wrote his vote on the ballot and, without signing his name, folded the ballot and passed it to the chairman, Adam Bower, Republican henchman of the Grundy machine that runs the State Legislature. The vote of 17-8 meant that for the duration of this Legislature, that is for two years, FEPC cannot come to the floor for a vote.

There is one possibility only during these two years and that is a special session of the Legislature, called by Governor Duff for the special purpose of enacting FEPC into law. The Workers Party urges every type of pressure and action for such a Legislature. We are certain that there is only one means of getting a special session and that is mass action—a mass March on Harrisburg organized under the leadership of Negro and labor organizations.

GOVERNOR WON'T ACT

There are those who say that Governor Duff is in favor of FEPC. If that is true, then he now has a great opportunity to redeem the campaign pledge of his Republican Party and also to make clear his own stand.

It is, however, very unlikely that Gov. Duff will call a special session for an FEPC law. There is very good reason to believe that Duff does not and cannot act as an individual, regardless of his private sentiments. That is where the crimes of Pennsylvania's Negro leaders come in. That is where the editorials and articles of the Philadelphia Tribune and of the Pittsburgh Courier prove to have been false and misleading. They

urged continued reliance on Governor Duff. They wrote beautiful logics to the Republican politician as if he were the new Messiah. Single-handed he alone was going to "redeem his pledge" to the Negro people.

The truth, however, was told by the Harrisburg reporter of the Pittsburgh Courier, who wrote: "Fair employment legislation is being sidetracked—through a well organized plan—and is no accident. And whether Governor Duff realizes it or not, he is just as deeply involved as members of the General Assembly."

Now that FEPC is dead and the Legislature has adjourned, the Courier is no longer talking about Duff's sincerity but tells a bit more of the truth in its issue of June 28: "There is no evidence that anyone among the Republican high command was willing to fight for an FEPC. Governor Duff might have been less hostile to this measure than several other of the leaders, but he was certainly not a champion or an advocate."

Reliance on Duff is now proved a dud. The reason is that Duff is a tool of the Republican machine. He has neither the power nor will to act on his own desires, if he wishes to remain in Republican politics, that is, the politics of the steel, coal and oil monopolists who own this state. Duff is a cog in the wheel, a man who takes the orders of the Grundy-Pew corporation interests.

JUDASES RESPONSIBLE

It is these interests who organized the defeat of FEPC. They did it through their control of the Labor Committee majority and its chairman, Adam Bower. And they brought their pressure to bear on their own tools in the state apparatus. At the last minute, William Upshur, Negro Republican from Philadelphia's 30th Ward, and an original sponsor of the FEPC bill, became frightened that the session would end without the bill's passage. He then decided to try to discharge the bill from the Labor Committee's consideration, thereby obtaining a floor vote in the House. But before Upshur dared present his

motion to discharge the bill, he called his boss, Philadelphia Republican leader David W. Harris.

But Harris asked Upshur not to present his motion because "this would put the Republicans 'on the spot.'" William Upshur, Negro and Republican politician, then proved that his allegiance to the Republican Party came first by not presenting his motion. And Upshur had good reason to listen to Harris because Harris had just used his influence to get Upshur elected chairman of the Republican 30th Ward machine.

This is how the Republican Party operates its politics: in return for individual favors to a Negro here or a single Negro there it demands the Negro's assistance in selling the entire Negro people down the river. FEPC was killed by Republicans with the connivance of the Negro Judases whom they control.

Another article will appear next week on the interests which operated behind the scenes to defeat FEPC.

With the Workers Party

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures, and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY, INTERNATIONAL and LABOR ACTION. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

- AKRON - Write to Box 221.
BALTIMORE - Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8 p. m.
BUFFALO - 639 Main St., 2nd floor.
CHICAGO - 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor.
CLEVELAND - Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8 p. m.
DETROIT - 6341 Gratiot, Room 10.
LOS ANGELES - 3214 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7, Cal.
LOUISVILLE - Write to: Robert Durant, Box 1181.
NEWARK - 243 Market St.
NEW YORK CITY - CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St.

- a. m. to 7 p. m. Wednesday and Thursday until 10:30 p. m.
BRONX BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.
HARLEM BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p. m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave.
CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p. m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St.
CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St.
INDUSTRIAL BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St.
B'KLYN - DOWNTOWN BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 276 Fulton St., Brooklyn, 2nd floor.
B'KLYN - BROWNSVILLE BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p. m., at the De Luxe Palace, 538 Howard Ave.
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Friday, 8:15 p. m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 276 Fulton St., Brooklyn, 2nd floor.

- PHILADELPHIA - 1139 West Gerard Ave., 3rd floor.
READING - Write to P. O. Box 1671.
ST. LOUIS - Write to: Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbett Ave., University City 14, Mo.
SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA - Write to: Labor Action, 466 Teath St., Room 206 Oakland 7, Calif.
SEATTLE - Write to: P. O. Box 29, University Post Office.

Read and Subscribe to LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

INTRODUCTORY OFFER TO LABOR ACTION 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Please enter my subscription to LABOR ACTION as follows: 6 month subscription (26 issues) for 50c. 1 year subscription (52 issues), together with pamphlet "Plenty For All," to be mailed to me, for \$1.00. Name Address City Zone State

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

The Four Freedoms And Imperialism

Mr. Editor: The Democratic and Republican Parties adopt certain planks in their platforms in order to catch the suckers. There may be a popular plank which is enthusiastically supported by the people and thus becoming a recognized principle of the party, even though party leaders betray the principle.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, on January 6, 1941, in an address to Congress, enunciated the principle of the Four Freedoms. The fourth freedom: Freedom from Fear, which can be translated Freedom from Alien Rule. On August 14, 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill gave to the world the principles of the Atlantic Charter as the policy and aims of the United States and Great Britain. Second article of the Atlantic Charter: "They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." Which plainly means, Freedom from Alien Rule.

It matters not whether these pronouncements were made in sincerity or whether crooks, out of hatred for Franklin D. Roosevelt, are attempting to ignore the principles in order to make it appear that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter were given out to catch the suckers. It remains a fact that the vast majority of the American people believe in and support these principles, thus making the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter the true American foreign policy.

All Europe is suffering from vengeance and incompetence in government. Never in the history of the world, until now, has the collaboration of defeated patriots been recognized as a crime.

In Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Germany innocent people have been driven from their homes and their homes given to aliens. General MacArthur has committed no such crime against the Japanese.

The American government should discharge every employee of the State Department who has in any way advocated or supported the placing of any nation under alien or foreign rule.

The United States as a republic is no more justified in supporting Saxe-Coburg-Gotha royalty in Norway, Sweden, Serbia, Rumania, Greece and Belgium than supporting communism in Russia or supporting Mohammedanism in Arabia and India.

Self-determination should be granted Slovakia, Transylvania, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Epirus and Kurdistan. If the British government was sincerely in favor of justice, and peace, it would withdraw its armies from Ireland, Greece and Greek islands, Palestine, Egypt and India.

Patrick N. H. O'York, Limerick, Me.

Our contributor is absolutely right in demanding "Freedom from Alien Rule." Where he errs, however, is in believing that the policy he attacks is the property only of a few individuals in the government and that it is in contradiction to the policies of

"Where the Hell Is John L.?"

Editor: I am writing this on the night of June 25 from... W. Va. Since they passed the Slave Labor Bill last Monday many of the miners over the United States have struck against the bill as we think that conditions will get as bad as they were before the union came when it is a God's fact that men worked hard from sun up to sun down for a dollar and a half a day.

Tonight the radio says that almost all of we miners are on strike. We are striking against that bill. We are fighting to save the union. We know that unless we can show the capitalists and the Congressmen that we are stronger than they are, they will break the UMWA and every other union in the country.

The radio says that the FBI is investigating the strike. We know that it is a strike against the government but it is one fight we have to fight for our rights. The miners all know this but what we don't know is where the hell John L. Lewis is and why he doesn't stand up and lead us. Doesn't he know that unless we fight for our rights the union will be destroyed? Aren't we paying him to lead us?

Some of the District men from Fairmont sent a lot of the miners in this county back to work. Some of us think that they are strike-breakers and we told them so. We can't understand why these people lead our union and why John L. doesn't get out like he used to. Is he getting old or what? Maybe you could tell us, Mr. Editor, Where the Hell is John L.?

A Miner, W. Va.

The New INTERNATIONAL A Monthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Six Issues — \$1.25; Twelve Issues — \$2.00 Enclosed is \$1.25 — \$2.00 for Six Month — One Year Subscription to NAME ADDRESS CITY ZONE NO. STATE

Editorials

At the NAACP

The President is in a speaking mood these days. Immediately after receiving his tenth college degree and delivering himself of another speech, this time in favor of universal military training to prepare for the next war, he appeared before the 38th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Truman then spoke his mind on the subject of freedom and equality. But it was really nothing to get excited about. Perhaps some Southern senators and representatives, and their like-minded colleagues south of the Smith and Wesson line, may have found it disagreeable to see the President of the United States appear before a conference of colored people, but they had no real need to worry.

The President's appearance at the NAACP was more protocol than anything else. Certainly he spoke about freedom and equality for "all Americans." Certainly he spoke about the constitutional guarantees of social, political and economic rights for "all Americans." But it doesn't take much thought to realize the speech was only a formality. At a conference of Negro people, you speak about democratic rights, but it doesn't mean you have to do anything about it. The facts of life bear that out.

Mr. Truman has been President for more than two years. Within that period there has been no end to discrimination, lynching and Jim Crow. In this same period, the President did not distinguish himself by any known effort to put an end to these conditions. As a matter of fact, he has hardly taken notice of them. We are certain that the feelings of the Negro people will not be improved when they learn that Mr. Truman pledges himself to defend their rights, even if he adds that he will do this vigorously. They will learn that uniting his party of Northern industrialists and financiers and their Southern Jim Crow brothers for elections is a great deal more important to him than the rights of the Negro people.

If the Negroes think that Taft is a better representative of their interests, they will learn, if they have not already learned it, that Taft is more interested in preserving the profit rights of his capitalist masters than he is in the conditions under which the Negroes live. During the recent lynching wave in the South, this leader of the GOP was as silent as his party. But he did as much harm, and more, to the Negro people with his rotten anti-labor bill than the lynchings of Greenville, S. C.

The fight for Negro rights, for complete economic, political and social equality, will be won not through the capitalist politicians and their parties, but by the Negro people in alliance with the labor movement, with all the workers of this land. It is only through unity with their white fellow workers, organized in their powerful unions, that progress lies. That is why it was not a little sad to note that the organizers of the NAACP conference did not have a single outstanding representative of the American labor movement speak to the conference.

China's War

Someone on the subway remarked after reading the front page of a newspaper: "China is certainly in a mess." There is no doubt about it. China is in a mess. But the Chinese people had nothing to do with this mess, for they can hardly call the country their own. All their hopes that a new and better country would arise out of ten long years of war which they suffered were dashed the day the big, official war ended. For no sooner were the Japanese removed from China, when the internal war between the government of Chiang and the so-called Communist (read: Stalinist) armies broke out.

China has ever been the battleground of imperialism which regarded that enormous land with its hundreds of millions of people as a most fruitful field of exploitation. China's need for independence and the construction of a national economy has long been apparent. But it has also long been apparent that this independence and the construction of a national economy could never come unless foreign control and exploitation were ended finally and completely.

But China is also a land of betrayal. It is ruled by what is unquestionably the most corrupt régime in the world. Chiang and his gang of racketeers have a grip on China which is choking it to death. Maintaining power with a ruthless police régime of gangsters and cut-throats, this band of bankers, industrialists and plain black-marketeers, milk the country and its people for all they are worth. Even the United States is embarrassed by the plain hi-jacking of this régime which it supports and finances.

But the fight of this government against the Stalinist armies is not a fight between reaction and progress. For the Stalinist armies represent the brutal slavery of Stalinist Russia which would turn China into a cruel slave labor camp distinguished from Siberia only by its geography and climate. The fight between Chiang and Mao is not a struggle between a native ruling class and a national revolutionary socialist movement seeking a social change in the interests of the people. No, their fight is a specific Chinese reflection of the imperialist struggle between the United States and Russia for domination of China.

And because of this imperialist struggle over China, the people suffer dearly from homelessness, hunger, joblessness and the ravages of a cruel and internecine war. The real fight of the Chinese people has not yet begun. That will begin

when the tens of millions of people rise not only against the brutal totalitarian régime of Chiang, but the equally totalitarian Stalinist armies from the north. If there is any sympathy of Chinese workers and peasants for the régime from the north it is only because of the foul nature of Chiang's régime and because they have not yet tasted life under Stalinism.

Hungry World

On midnight of June 30, UNRRA "ended its four-year program of supplying emergency aid to countries in Europe and Asia." No, it didn't end its program because the men, women and children who suffered the ravages of war no longer needed such aid as was given them in the \$3,000,000,000 spent in seventeen countries. For countless millions of people, the need is just as great as it ever was. But a four-year program is a four-year program! It matters not if tens of thousands are starving and will die if relief is not immediately forthcoming. The International Relief Organization presumably is to take over the general function of UNRRA. But no one really knows exactly what it will do and what its functions will really be, or when it will begin its operations.

A more solid substitute for UNRRA is supposed to be the new Marshall plan, to assist in the economic reconstruction of the war-devastated countries. But this plan is primarily a political-military plan and its adoption and execution depends largely upon the settling of "differences" among the big powers who dominate the UN. Weeks, and perhaps months will pass before it is adopted and made practical so that aid can actually be sent to the many countries who are in need of it. In the meantime, the people are expected to tighten the belts around their lean bodies and hope to last it out.

According to UNRRA only two countries will be able to go it alone in the post-UNRRA period. But this is not true for the other fifteen nations who have been receiving assistance. Yet a glance at the daily press will reveal that their fates depend largely upon a working out of the inter-imperialist rivalries in preparation for a new war which nobody doubts will come.

The starvation of a large part of the world is a product of a decaying capitalist system. If anyone should pride himself that this country is still strong and wealthy, let him remember that it rests largely upon the misery and decay of the rest of the world which will drag this country after it. Capitalism shows that it cannot feed its people; it cannot create a functioning economy any longer; it has outlived its usefulness.

The real future of mankind depends upon the abolition of capitalism and its replacement with a society based upon production for use, for the needs of the people; it depends upon socialism, a society of plenty for all!

FORM LABOR VET GROUP AT AVC CONVENTION

As reported in last week's LABOR ACTION, a Labor Veterans Group was formed at the recent Milwaukee convention of the AVC. Below we publish one of the statements issued by this group during the convention and signed by delegates from Buffalo, Newark, Cornell, Oakland, Brooklyn, Manhattan and Philadelphia:

The first day's sessions of our AVC convention witnessed the rise and fall of various attempts to organize a mass middle-of-the-road caucus. We all know the discontent of hosts of delegates with the present situation in the leadership. The absence of any real difference in program has reduced the fight to what seems to be a fight over personalities.

We of the Labor Veterans Group have come together to fight not over personalities but for a militant program of action that orients toward the labor movement. We believe that this is what should occupy the convention's time.

We want to see an AVC that concentrates on the building of chapters in working-class and Negro neighborhoods, that campaigns among the progressive unions for the setting up of labor chapters.

We want the AVC to work closely with labor in all its battles—housing, anti-discrimination, health, education, veterans' rights. We think that this is the key to AVC recruiting. No caucus has introduced a program along these lines.

We propose to enter a campaign for our kind of AVC around the following three-point program:

1. For a national bonus and for cash payment of terminal leave bonds.
2. For support of the building of an independent labor party.
3. For organization of tenants' leagues and joint anti-eviction squads with other organizations to offer mass resistance to the coming rent gougers. Here the flying squads set up by the UAW last year, when they thought rent control might end, can serve as an example.

We hoped to push such a militant labor program among the independent delegates. The refusal of Smollens, Straight and Co. to discuss program and their confining of their campaign to the production of a dubious center slate makes their group worthless.

Because we oppose the threat of domination of AVC by the totalitarian Communist Party and because we consider the Borden caucus to be dominated by that party, we propose that all militant labor delegates join the Independent Progressive Caucus.

But we join that caucus not to abandon our ideas but to fight for them. In the panels in the platform sub-committee we will push our own program.

There are some delegates already in the Independent Progressive Caucus that agree with some aspects of our program. We hope that they will contribute effectively to the discussion.

Only by pushing a militant program and by activating ourselves in the Independent Progressive Caucus can we contribute NOW to the assurance of a democratic AVC and ULTIMATELY to a more militant labor-oriented AVC.

To explain our program more fully, the Labor Veterans Group has called an open meeting. We urge all those interested in pushing principled, programmatic discussion at the convention to attend.

WORLD POLITICS

NO PEACE FOR ASIA, by Harold R. Isaacs. Macmillan. \$3.50. 295 pp. Reviewed by Irving Howe

To no section of the world has the second world war brought as much turmoil and struggle in its wake as the Far East; in no section of the world have the formal promises of the victorious imperialist powers been as openly flouted as in the Far East. The tragic story of the attempt of colonial peoples to gain their freedom while the imperialist powers did everything to destroy it has been told in this book which is by far the best popular study of the subject.

Isaacs has intimate knowledge of the entire Asiatic situation; he has been a correspondent there, but much more important, before his term as correspondent, he was a close student of the Asiatic nationalist and Marxist movements. He is the author of a first-rate study of the betrayal of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 by the Stalinists; *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, for which Leon Trotsky wrote a laudatory introduction. Though this latest work is by no means as scholarly or theoretically grounded a work as his other book, it is still a highly dramatic popularization. On the whole it is based on a Marxist analysis of Asiatic events—though there are one or two aspects of it that require discussion.

The first section of Isaac's book is a disheartening account of the role of the American soldier in the Far East. This is a record of provincialism, of narrow insularity, of American soldiers quickly adopting the worst Sabit attitudes of British imperialism. American soldiers in Asia did not understand the countries in which they were forced to stay. From the reservoir of American racialism, they brought prejudice and hatred; little wonder that they could not feel the slightest sympathy for the aspirations of the colonial people. They had been effectively poisoned by imperialist prejudice and American provincialism.

Isaacs then details what happened in Asia after Japan collapsed. He gives a highly dramatic account of how imperialist power was gradually reasserted and the colonial peoples thrust back into the old ruts of inferiority and exploitation.

He begins his account with a chapter on China, the country he knows best. There is a mercurial description of Chiang Kai-shek, of his incredibly corrupt régime manipulated by American dollars. Isaacs offers a brief but valuable summary of the development of the nationalist movement in China, the conflict between Chiang Kai-shek and the rising revolutionary movement, the betrayal of Stalinism and the gradual totalitarianization of the area held by the Chinese Stalinist armies. The ugly story of the intervention of the Americans in China—the famous Hurley mission which helped bolster Chiang's régime—is told in detail.

Isaacs then proceeds to describe the Korean situation. Here is a little country which suffered indescribably under Japanese rule and which expected its freedom after the war. But for some unspecified reason, it was occupied, half by the U. S. army and the other half by the Russian army. Between these two occupying forces the country has been paralyzed economically and politically; its hopes for independence crushed; and its resources drained. As Isaacs writes: "Korea's misfortune is its geography. Its unhappy lot is to be a small country occupying a crucial corner of the cockpit of Asia. . . . Between two such titanic forces (Russia and the U. S.), the Koreans—like the Chinese and eventually the Japanese—will be squeezed and driven. There is no room in this baleful competition for such trivial things as the national independence or free growth of subject peoples."

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Isaacs then turns to the most valuable section of his book: the story of the national independence movements in Asia. He has a short but pithy chapter on India in which he manages to cram into a few pages the basic outlines of the rapacity of British rule in that country. His analysis of British maneuvers in attempting to maintain some sort of control of India while being forced to grant it a modicum of formal independence, accurately anticipates the actual development of events.

Quite the most exciting chapter in Isaacs' book is that describing the Indo-chinese revolt. For nearly two centuries the French have exploited this colony and suppressed the intermittent nationalist revolts. They

have ruled through puppet kingdoms and by force of arms. "Long before the days of Hitler, they employed the method of wiping out whole villages and towns in reprisal" for native rebellion. Isaacs offers a few figures on the French colonial régime:

"In 1943, the colonial government spent 30,000 piasters for libraries, 71,000 piasters for hospitals, 748,000 piasters for schools . . . and 4,473,000 piasters for the purchase of opium distributed in the country through the official opium monopoly . . . the French built thirty-one hospitals in the colony and eighty-one prisons . . . the manual laborer in the colony earned an average of 50 piasters a month . . . the French concierge of the University of Hanoi—a slightly glorified sort of janitor—earned 1,404 piasters per month."

The nationalist movement of Indo-china has been struggling for decades against this corrupt and brutalizing régime. When the Japanese took over during the war, the French colonial administrators were their most abject collaborators. This seemed an excellent opportunity for the Indo-chinese to build their own movement, so they set up armed detachments in the interior which raided Japanese supply dumps to gain ammunition. At the end of the war the Indo-chinese, through their Viet Nam independence movement, seized control of large sections of their country.

Then the imperialist powers got to work. The British played the same role as they did in Indonesia; they occupied the southern half of Indo-china waiting for the French to come, in the meantime suppressing Indo-chinese authority and refusing to deal with it. In northern Indo-china, the Chinese occupying force did "recognize" the Indo-chinese but turned the whole affair into a profitable business foray. When the French returned, both the British and Chinese withdrew; and open warfare broke out between the French, intent on regaining their former imperialist privileges and the Indo-chinese, intent on securing their freedom. Though the French used Japanese troops against the Indo-chinese, they did not hesitate to slander the independence movement as a "Japanese puppet."

A revealing part of this chapter describes the wretched role of the French Stalinists in Indo-china who, by and large, took the same position as their counterparts in Paris: they sided with French imperialism, despite verbal flim-flam about being for "eventual independence." Isaacs says that the Indo-chinese Stalinists have become disillusioned with their French comrades, as well as with Moscow, and that they act largely on their own. This is a point about which we should like more information; it is very important if true; but Isaacs does not fully substantiate it.

A SOURCE BOOK ON IMPERIALISM

There are other important sections in the book, but space does not permit summary. The chapter on Indonesia is especially worth mentioning. On the whole the material in this book is indispensable for any socialist. Only a few points of criticism may be raised.

Isaacs equally exposes all varieties of imperialism in the Far East, U. S., British, French, Russian. He does not at all seem to have succumbed to the disastrous notion that Russian imperialism is in any way "better" or "more desirable" than its competitors. Nowhere in his book is there any talk about that political monstrosity, "defense of Stalinist Russia." But though he is vigorously anti-imperialist in his description of the results of the war, there is a certain ambiguity in his attitude toward the war itself. He attempts no definition of its character or of his attitude toward it—whether because of his own uncertainty or because of restrictions imposed by commercial publication I don't know. In any case, this is a serious weakness, the most serious of his book.

Also, this reader at least would have liked more information about the internal political composition of the nationalist movements in the Far East, as well as a more detailed analysis of their tactical and strategic problems. Isaacs mentions a discussion of the theory of "permanent revolution" with Ho Chi-Minh, Indo-chinese nationalist leader, but does not elaborate it. Perhaps this omission is the price one has to pay for popularization.

Nonetheless the book deserves wide circulation; it is an excellent source book for socialists and makes equally excellent material with which to convince people of the disastrous role of all varieties of imperialism in the Far East. It should be examined by every reader of this paper.

Why We Stress Labor Party -

(Continued from page 1)

by authoritative spokesmen, would meet with instant response. Yet, for all that we cannot mechanically create a Labor Party, it is our principal need. Hence we stress it constantly, without in any way detracting from other immediate forms of struggle, but rather in supplementing these in the fullest way.

Why? Year in and year out, day in and day out, we see demonstrated the consequences of our political weakness. Weakness because we are not organized politically. Weakness made doubly apparent because there resides in us the possibility of such tremendous strength.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

Imagine what the situation would have been had we had a Labor Party speaking for the sixteen millions of organized workers in this country. A Labor Party speaking through its democratically chosen representatives for the working class, and attracting to it the support of the majority of people.

Would the capitalists have been so bold in their offensive against us at this moment? We doubt it. And if they had dared, we would have had an instrument which, together with our incomparably powerful unions, would have set them rocking on their heels.

How many times must we see it demonstrated that politics and economics can no longer be separated, if they ever could be. The government is the political arm of a class, in this case of the capitalist class. In waging our political battle, we must obviously have a political instrument.

Our problems are not solved automatically by the formation of a Labor Party. Not by a long shot. A party must have a program. A Labor Party with such a program as that of the

British Labor Party would be far from adequate to our needs. It would be necessary to strive incessantly to infuse the program of the Labor Party with a socialist, a revolutionary content designed to oust the capitalists, aimed at the establishment of a Workers' Government. Our problems will only be solved in contest with capitalism, in the creation of socialism.

We say it flatly that such would be our aim in a Labor Party. However, we cannot even begin if we do not have the party. Today, the working class is politically dependent on favors offered us by our "friends" in return for votes and for submission to the decrepit, murderous, outlived system of capitalism. We must become politically independent as a class, unite our political and economic aims in a comprehensive program of social progress for the mass of people.

WIN MIDDLE CLASS

It was part of Taft's strategy in putting forward his bill to win the support of the middle-class in the next elections, as the Republican Party won it in the last election. But there is no reason on earth why labor cannot win the small farmers, the little shopkeepers, the harassed professionals to its side—if it puts forward a program to benefit the mass of people, if it demonstrates that it is not only able, but willing, to assume leadership.

Big Business, not only oppresses the laborer, it also grinds down the poor farmer, the underpaid teacher, and so forth. These can easily be won to labor's side if labor shows that it speaks for them as well. The Tafts tell them that labor is responsible for their ills. It is a fraud. However, the fraud must be counteracted in demonstration. Were not all of these little people behind the General Motors

workers when they demanded wage increases without price increases?

They cannot rally to our side if we are on the defensive, if we are apathetic, if we refuse to challenge the bankrupts of capitalism, who care not one whit whether the starved millions go without shelter so long as their yachts carry them to whatever vacation spot is seasonable, so long as their profits give them the luxuries for which others must suffer.

To challenge them we must issue OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. If a Labor Party will take some time to form, work on it must begin today, this minute. No other lesson stands out as prominently from the experience of the Taft-Hartley Bill. We must carry it into our unions, organize committees—for a Labor Party, press for action. Now is the time to begin working for the formation of a Labor Party.

One way in which we can begin is to demand that PAC be turned into a Labor Party. As PAC stands now, it is useless, even dangerous. In an editorial last week we examined PAC and its inadequacies. However, it is part of the CIO, though in practice it primarily does the work of the Democratic Party. We must demand an end to this. Because it is part of the CIO, members of the CIO can make a start toward independent political organization by raising the cry: TURN PAC INTO A LABOR PARTY.

For a Price List of Marxist Literature in English and Other Languages Available Through Labor Action Book Service, Write to
LABOR ACTION
4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y.



TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

U. S. IMPERIALISM'S DRIVE FOR THE WORLD

Remember the analyses by Lenin and Trotsky tracing the shift of world economic power to the United States during and following the First World War, to the detriment of rival powers in Europe. Were Trotsky alive today, he would probably have renewed his analysis to show the enormously increased relative economic superiority of the U. S. to its rivals during and following the Second World War. Here are some of the raw figures that would have been at his disposal:

In 1939 the U. S. had a little more than 14 per cent of the total exports of the world, and slightly more than eight per cent of the imports. In 1946 American exports were \$15.1 billions while imports were \$7.1 billions. According to a Department of Commerce compilation, the U. S. recorded 37 per cent of the 1946 exports and 20 per cent of the imports. Thus since the war, the U. S. share of the world market has increased from 14 per cent to 37 per cent. For 1947, according to officials of the National Foreign Trade Council, U. S. exports are expected to rise to \$18-\$20 billions, and imports to \$8-\$9 billions.

While these figures indicate the great relative economic power of Wall Street, at the same time they reveal a fatal weakness—the gross imbalance between exports and imports. As William S. Swingle, executive vice-president of the above council, stated recently in Chicago: "This situation cannot continue indefinitely because the well will run dry eventually. In spite of foreign demand for American products of all kinds, and in spite of the tremendous productive capacity of the U. S., American export trade will suffer a drastic shrinkage unless foreign countries can get the means of payment. Foreign countries cannot be drained of gold and dollar holdings and still continue to buy from us."

Swingle's solution is for the U. S.—as the workshop of the world—to use the rest of the world primarily as a source of raw materials, to import such commodities as lead, copper, zinc, tin, antimony, tungsten, rubber, cobalt chromium nickel, vanadium, bauxite and fissionable materials. He would also establish a "national program which will permit American loans and investments abroad which will be properly serviced and repaid." This is a sleazy way of advocating maintenance of a huge world police force by the U. S.

This spread between U. S. exports and imports is causing endless worry in Washington and Wall Street, and is one of the major factors behind the Truman Doctrine and the current Marshall program to spend about \$25 billions abroad during the next five years.

As the Wall Street Journal recently reported, the growing dollar "famine" abroad is preparing to hit the American businessman hard. U. S. exports currently equal nearly ten per cent of national income—the top ten per cent that could mean the difference between prosperity and trouble. . . . Foreign nations are not producing and selling to the U. S. enough goods to pay for U. S. goods shipped abroad. In short, exports are siphoning American dollars out of world markets faster than we pump them back by buying abroad."

Already Britain has run through half of her \$375 billion loan. France expects to spend all her \$250 million loan from the World Bank by autumn. Almost every country in Europe, except Switzerland and Belgium, is starved for dollars. Most countries in Latin America will be pinched by next winter or spring.

The spread between U. S. exports and imports has grown vastly in recent years. Between 1926 and 1930, the U. S. exported only an average of \$743 million more than it bought abroad. Since the late 1930's the spread has grown. During the war it was concealed by the exorbitant U. S. lend-lease and military program.

The tendency of many popular economists is to assume that the Truman program of tossing money to Europe at the rate of about \$5 billion a year will keep the U. S. economy on an even keel. But for how long? What after five years? What about the inflationary affects of such gift loans? What about the higher and higher U. S. taxes that such a program implies? What if the rest of the world does not wish to be regarded mainly as a source of raw materials to be exploited by U. S. finance capitalism? What if such a program, large-scale as it is, proves inadequate to revive the dead capitalist system in Europe?

In the meantime, the first part of the U. S. program to revive world trade—through an International Trade Organization, now being discussed at the international trade conference in Geneva—has fallen flat. Delegates, it is reported, evidence an unwillingness to prejudice, however remotely, their national interests. Economic nationalism has blocked all tariff negotiations, and insists upon leaving all sorts of loopholes in the charter which would justify "practically any kind of trade-restrictive practices," according to the Wall Street Journal.

Isn't it clear that world capitalism cannot organize a functioning economy, cannot patch up an earth that has been devastated by capitalism's wars? The only alternative is world socialism. In the coming months it will become increasingly obvious that Wall Street and "all the King's men" cannot put the old world together again. The alternative of a world socialism government, organizing production and distribution throughout the earth, will have an increasing attraction.

ECONOMIC NOTES

Net corporate profits in 1946 were at a record high of \$12.5 billions, \$2 billions over the previous peak set in 1943. The 1946 figure does not include tax rebates but does reflect an increase in the dollar value of inventories, estimated by the Department of Commerce to account for \$4.55 billion of the increase in inventory holdings.

WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your program and how I can become a member.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR
Published Weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Ass'n
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
General Offices: 4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117

Vol. 11, No. 27 July 7, 1947

EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor
EDITORIAL BOARD
ALBERT GATES HENRY JUDD
IRVING HOWE

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Mos.
\$1.25 and 65c for Canada, Foreign. Re-entered
as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1946, at the Post
Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of
March 3, 1874

Legislation Voted Against Labor's Interests Is Also Against the Negro People's Interests

B. E. R. MCKINNEY

The Eighth Annual Convention of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, at its recent meeting in Detroit, passed a resolution on civil rights containing the following: "The members of the association in convention assembled agree to continue a united fight for the political, social and economic rights of Negroes and to support with all the means at their disposal all constructive attempts to obtain the passage of legislation bearing on fair employment, the poll tax, lynching, civil rights, aid to education, social security, housing and other related matters which effect the welfare of the Negro citizens as a group and Americans as a whole." This is a good statement. But after passing a resolution with such a forthright and correct statement, the NNPA directed that a telegram be sent Senator Taft in support of the Taft-Hartley Bill. The NNPA took the position that the bill should be passed over the President's veto.

We are glad to report that at least one prominent Negro paper opposed this very stupid and uninformed attitude of the majority of those voting for the sending of the telegram to Taft. The Pittsburgh Courier carried an "Editor's Note" in its edition of June 28, which said in part: "The Pittsburgh Courier opposed the resolution of the Negro Newspaper Association to wire Senator Taft to over-ride the veto of the Taft-Hartley Bill and maintains that it does not represent the point of view of the Association." The Courier then reports that the vote to send the telegram was passed at the final session when the representatives of only ten papers were present. The vote was six for sending the telegram and four against.

COURIER STATEMENT

The Courier goes on to say: "We do not believe that the six votes represent the considered opinion of the Negro press as a whole, or the Association as a whole. We further believe that the use of the 'little FEPC' item as justification is pure deception. . . . The labor movement in recent years has offered the only beacon light for progress to the Negro people in this country." (Our emphasis.)

We hope that every Negro editor and reader will ponder that last sentence from the Courier statement. We hope that the Courier will never forget that statement. That is the real answer to those Negro editors who supported the Taft-Hartley Bill.

The overwhelming majority of Negroes are wage-earners. Despite all the prejudice and discrimination by the unions, the natural ally of the Negro therefore is the white working class. Very few Negroes are editors, doctors, lawyers, manufacturers or bankers. Perhaps 95 per cent of Negroes are wage-earners and of this number the great majority are unskilled workers. If they make progress, it can only be done in and through the organization of the working class: the trades unions. Where do Negro editors think that Negroes get the money from to buy their papers? From dividends and interest? From big salaries as corporation executives?

For the NNPA to pretend that the motivation for supporting the Taft-Hartley Bill is that this bill contains some FEPC benefits is pure humbug or something worse; dishonesty or incompetence. The Republicans inserted those so-called FEPC clauses

as bait to catch Negro votes. They inserted various so-called democratic clauses to catch unwary white workers also. If the Republicans, or the Democrats for that matter, are so strong for fair employment practices why don't they pass a real FEPC bill and enforce it?

LABOR AND NEGROES

The Taft-Hartley Bill is an anti-labor bill. It is therefore an anti-Negro bill. Any legislation which is inimical to the interests of labor, or labor organizations, is against the interests of Negroes. When will Negro leaders begin to have even some elementary understanding of the facts of modern capitalist society? If they are not sufficiently advanced to grasp the situation in its theoretical aspects they might, at least begin to understand the situation from practical observation.

For example, At one time there was a wage differential between North and South in the coal indus-

try. The South had a base pay of \$6 while the base pay in the Northern mines was \$7. This gap was closed through the activity of the miners union and the scale of the Southern miners was raised to \$7. This meant that thousands of Negro miners in the South got paid \$7 a day and not \$6.

Another illustration. The CIO appeared in 1936 and organized those industries in which most of the Negroes worked. Is the NNPA unaware of what has taken place in the economic, political and social life of Negroes during the past ten years due to the existence of the CIO and the presence of Negroes in its membership? Is the NNPA aware of the fact that the CIO is now organizing the South and that they must organize Negroes?

Do these editors know that the AFL is also organizing in the South and that both the AFL and CIO must take in Negroes? Do they know further that it will be impossible for

even the AFL to continue its present discriminatory policies against Negroes? Have these editors heard of the AFL organization meeting at Asheville, N. C., last year where the Negro delegates refused to be Jim Crowed in the hall and took seats among the delegates like every other delegate?

SIGNIFICANCE OF CIO

Do Negro editors and other leaders understand the significance of the fact that Negro workers today are not organized into separate Jim Crow labor organizations; particularly those in the CIO, as are Negro editors, doctors, lawyers, clergymen and businessmen? Do they understand the real significance of the fact that there is no Jim Crow section of the PAC, while there are Jim Crow sections of the Republican and Democratic parties?

It is interesting too that the Negro publishers took the same position on the Taft-Hartley Bill as the

white publishers; while they were meeting as a separate publishers association, separated from the white publishers with whom, however, they were in agreement.

It is our opinion that a little partisan politics is involved in this decision to send Taft a telegram in support of a veto. If not why wasn't the telegram addressed also to some of Taft's buddies among the Southern senators? The Southerners are die-hard supporters of all such bills as the Taft-Hartley Bill. If Bilbo had been present he would have raised both hands in support of this bill.

We suspect that the main supporters of the telegram to Taft are either partisans of the Republican Party or publishers who are considering supporting the GOP in 1948. It is our opinion that they were not at all primarily concerned with the problems raised by the bill itself, but with factional considerations in connection with next year's elections.

POLAND'S EXILES: A TRAGEDY THAT BLEEDS

We Must Raise Our Voices in Protest!

By A. RUDZIENSKI

(Continued from last week)

For its part, His Majesty's government tries to play the Polish government and army off against Moscow for its own political purposes. But of late, in order to alleviate Russian pressure on British possessions in the Mediterranean, the "Socialist" Bevin, with the same cynicism and "good business sense" as his predecessor, the Conservative Churchill, proceeded to publicly auction off the remnants of the Polish National Resistance.

BEVIN AIDES RUSSIAN SCHEMES

The Polish soldiers were forced to enter a "Resettlement Corps," a kind of forced labor camp, and those who refused to do so were deported to Germany to be put into the Displaced Persons Camps and handed over to Russia. The régime in the "Resettlement Corps" is a slave régime, and even though milder than the camps of Hitler and Stalin, has the same essential character. The "heroes" of Narvik and Tobruk, the veterans of Africa, Italy, Flanders and Mount Cassino, now work like slaves on the estates of the British nobility, on public works, cleaning roads and streets without receiving a worker's wage, receiving only the low pay of a rank and file soldier under military discipline. The intellectuals, not always apt in such matters, are also being compelled to do the same kind of work.

Given the experience of such rough treatment at the hands of their allies, many Polish soldiers decide, though with heavy hearts, to return to Poland under the whip of the GPU. The first to do so are "Westerners," the Silesians, the Pomeranians, who do not know the Russian prisons, those branded by the GPU as "Volkdeutsche." Others who also do so are the Polish emigrants of France and Belgium, the hostages of Hitler, liberated by the Allies, the "Fremdarbeiter" of Germany, the Westphalian miners persecuted by the Allies as Germans. But resisting all pressure are the ex-prisoners and ex-hostages of Stalin, those who experienced "Stalinist re-education" in Siberia, those who suffered the scars inflicted by the dogs of the GPU, the whiplash of this "humanitarian institution," the joy of "Socialist labor" chopping down trees in snowy Siberia.

A friend who trod the "road of death" from Tarnopol to Tomsk writes me that he was condemned to five years of prison for the crime of having crossed the Russian-German "frontier" of 1939 with the hope of finding Russian "protection," that he was miraculously saved from sure death because he could not chop down the prescribed quota of trees, and that he prefers to break stones in England or anywhere else before returning to the 17th Soviet Republic (Poland). For the sake of facilitating some business deals with puppet-Poland and easing Russian-British tension (for a short time only, however), the government of His British Majesty, presided over by "Comrade" Attlee and under the pressure of the "Left Laborites" is turning these human

beasts of burden over to the highest bidder, Stalin.

UNRRA TERROR AGAINST DISPLACED PERSONS

Aside from the 200,000 Polish soldiers in Great Britain, there exists the problem of the displaced persons, estimated at a million and a half on the European continent. These unfortunate beings, torn from their homes by the war, carried off to forced labor by the Nazis, are kept in the Displaced Persons Camps. The majority of these are Poles also (estimated to number between 350,000 and 700,000); next are the Polish Ukrainians and White Russians, now Russian citizens, whom nothing in the world can persuade to accept their new boss, Stalin; the third group is made up of Balts, Lithuanians, Letts, Latvians and Finns; etc.; the fourth group, the Jews, who succeeded in escaping from Russia and Poland with Palestine and the United States as their goals.

The UNRRA, which was created to protect these people, has unleashed a wave of terror against them. Many of its administrative organs, penetrated by the Stalinists, treat the displaced persons from Poland and the Baltic countries as fascists. The terror of the UNRRA increased under the auspices of LaGuardia who promised the quislings of Warsaw that he would force the displaced persons to return to their country. LaGuardia has done everything possible to fulfill this promise. The American Military Police have attacked the displaced persons camps compelling them to register for the return to Poland by force, depriving them of their food rations and lodging.

Thousands of displaced Poles have chosen to chance an illegal existence or to seek the protection of the German authorities rather than submit to the pressure of the "humanitarian" UNRRA. All cultural organizations, the press, schools, occupational training courses, organizations of the displaced Poles succeeded in building only because of their anti-Stalinist spirit, have been attacked and liquidated under Russian pressure. Stalin's GPU fears these displaced people as the devil is said to fear holy water, and insistently demands their surrender. The Russian tyranny fears they will form nuclei of anti-Stalinist opposition, composed of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Finns, all the races and nations who know the hell of Stalinist Russia, that modern prison of the peoples.

FEAR CENTERS OF OPPOSITION

In spite of the fact that the governments of Argentina and Brazil, of almost all the South American republics, offer asylum to the displaced, the British government is in no hurry to transport these unfortunates to lands where they might be able to reconstruct their lives. The British government fears the displaced, first of all the Poles, would form centers of opposition not only to Stalin's Russia but to the British Empire as well, because of the treatment, "so humanitarian," which they received at the hands of Attlee's "Socialist" government. For this reason His British Majesty's government strives to di-

vide the displaced into two groups; one that is to be forcibly handed over to Russia in exchange for some economic and political advantages, and another that is to be reduced to the level of British slaves for the greater glory of His Majesty and the Empire, with the most holy blessings of that great "Marxist" and friend of Stalin, Harold Lasky.

In the face of such infamy, we may ask why the Polish government in London and General Anders' staff do not shout their protests to high heaven, accusing those responsible of the crime of "lese humanity?" First of all because the Polish government-in-exile is reduced to the miserable role of an inferior employee of His Majesty, who is paid out of the British treasury, and is at the moment fixed away to gather dust in the political archives, to be taken out, dusted off, and used on a more favorable occasion. To put the matter even more plainly, they dare not speak as they are kept under close watch. Besides they have no desire to speak since their economic situation, quite different from that of the rank and file soldier and the displaced, is endurable. The generals, the ministers, the editors and writers have their respective salaries or pensions. Reasons of "high policy" always induce them to wait for a "better opportunity." Another very important reason for silence is to be found in the penetration of the Polish emigration by the GPU, among the displaced, among the soldiers, and it is even said, in the London hierarchy. A penetration that was so magnificently facilitated by the UNRRA, by the British and the Americans, in order to jointly crush the centers of Polish opposition to the imperialists.

But even if these reasons were non-existent, even if the exiled Poles wished to speak, no one would listen to them. They have no international press at their disposal, and for the moment they are without weight in the political balance, they do not count.

The remnants of Polish national resistance, those who saved their necks from Stalin's Mausems, and their lives from the crematoriums of the GPU, are being reduced to the "scum of the earth." The tragedy which still continues to bleed has neither defenders nor spokesmen. . . . It is a profoundly human tragedy which weighs down upon us all, and he who writes these lines does not set them down because he is a Pole, but because he knows best this segment of "human scum," of humble humanity enslaved for the benefit of the totalitarian and imperialist régimes.

It is the duty of class-conscious workers, of Marxist intellectuals, to raise a voice of protest against this infamy in our times. It is not only a moral duty, but to the political interest of the revolutionary workers movement to defend what remains of the crushed and annihilated Polish national resistance, which instinctively and because of its historic situation is compelled to struggle on two fronts against totalitarian Stalinism and capitalist imperialism, in this way supporting the formation of the third front, the front of the world Socialist revolution.

French Socialist Youth Win Support in Fight Against SP Leadership

By RICHARD

PARIS—The month of June, 1947, has been a decisive one for the socialist movement in France. The national leadership of the Socialist Party, leading the capitalist government's offensive against the working class, struck out against its internal opposition by expelling virtually the entire National Bureau of the Socialist Youth.

The heightened strain in the socialist movement broke out in public on June 1 at the demonstration in honor of the Paris Commune of 1871. Prime Minister Ramadier and other SP members of the government were roundly hissed by left-wing Socialists, most of them youth, who were fed up with the Ramadier line of strike-breaking and war against the Indo-Chinese people. Three days later the SP leaders struck back; they dissolved the National Bureau of the Youth, and set about trying to split the Youth all over the country.

Since the national convention of the Youth, held Easter week in the Paris suburb of Montrouge, the scrap between Party and Youth leaderships has been growing constantly more violent. Six months earlier, at the 1946 convention of the Party, rank and file discontent with the reformist leadership had culminated in a majority for the "leftists" led by Guy Mollet and seconded by Marceau Pivert. These "leftists" however, soon showed their true stripe by capitulating right down the line to the old Blum leadership. They made peace by giving in. This the Youth leadership refused to do.

DEFY THREATS

The Youth convention, like the adult one, passed resolutions against the class collaboration and imperialist colonial government policy. The "leftist" leaders of the Party, having already given in on these questions, tried to frighten delegates at Montrouge out of voting their resolutions. When that failed, they ordered the youth not to publish their resolutions in their weekly, Drapeau Rouge (Red Flag). The Youth, determined to avoid a split as long as possible and to try to convince as many as possible of the adult left-wingers of the necessity of a joint stand against the Ramadiers, allowed that to go by. Much to Mollet's annoyance, however, the Youth leadership issued internal bulletins explaining to the membership exactly what was happening and why. Then came the Commune demonstration. On the eve of announcing their plans for propping up tottering French capitalism by putting heavy new burdens on the backs of the workers, the right wing and their fake leftist satellites struck at the youth.

Despite all sorts of threats and demagogic pleas, the overwhelming majority of the National Bureau of the Youth held on to its principles. Nine of the eleven members had been elected by the Montrouge left wing—and all nine stuck. When the National Bureau was dissolved the nine were still given a "chance" to capitulate and get back their posts—under party control. Refusing, they were all expelled. The charges for the dissolution were threefold: breaking of discipline (by the internal circular informing the membership what was being done by its elected leaders—and this while nothing was done to Ramadier and the others who defined the entire line voted by the party convention), contact with the leadership of the Trotskyist PCI (after all the whispering about Trotskyist "boring from within" this "contact" turned out to be a meeting with PCI General Secretary Yvan Craipeau to arrange for united front

activities which have been going on with the party's knowledge for a long time), and thirdly—propagation of slogans contrary to the party's line (slogans such as the "sliding scale," stopping the war in Indo-China, etc., which although in line with the aspirations voiced at the party convention as well as at that of the youth are contrary to the reactionary line of the SP cabinet members).

The dissolution was opposed by only three members of the party National Bureau: Jean Rous, Suzanne Charpy and Yves Dechézelles; the latter followed up his vote by courageously breaking with the unprincipled Mollet and Pivert and resigning his post of assistant national secretary of the SP. The other members of the Bureau all followed Mollet in joining with Blum and Ramadier against the Youth. Hoping to starve the Youth into submission, the party "gauleiter" in charge of youth work, Jean Courtois, went into the youth office and stole 107,000 francs out of the cash box.

SUPPORT OF PARTY RANKS

The SP is now trying frantically to split the youth away from their revolutionary leaders, but in vain. While the entire reactionary press hails the expulsions as proof of the "courage" and "common sense" of the rightist SP leaders, scores of letters and telegrams are arriving at the Youth headquarters from branches and federations all over the country in support of both the anti-capitalist political line and the leadership voted in by the overwhelming majority of the Montrouge convention.

Even some branches of the party are supporting the Youth in their fight, although the fact that the fake leftists like Mollet and Pivert have been acting as the right wing's hatchet men against the left has impeded that development in many places. Several sections of the Party in the proletarian Seine-et-Oise suburbs of Paris have passed resolutions backing the Youth, as have a number of other sections.

In the Youth the response was overwhelming. Entire departmental (the equivalent of states in the U. S.) federations, in the South, in Lorraine, in Corsica, in the mining North, in Brittany, almost the entire Paris region, including the Renault strike, are all backing the National Bureau against the rump movement that the SP leaders are trying to set up with the two reformists who were on the National Bureau.

This expulsion drive of the SP reformists is having international repercussions. The Youth section of the Italian PSLI immediately wired their support. The following morning, the reformist Saragat leaders of their party threatened THEM with expulsion, which was only avoided because the Italian centrist friends of Pivert—although no more revolutionary than he—are less stupid and realized that without the youth they would be at the mercy of the right wing. Since then the French Socialist Youth have received a letter of support from the Belgian Socialist Youth as well.

The French Socialist Youth have for some time been fighting earnestly alongside the Trotskyist JCI (Fourth Internationalist Youth) for the workers' interests—against the fascist hoodlums, in support of the Renault strikers in the face of government (SP) and Stalinist strike-breaking, against the hunger program of the Ramadier government and against the colonial wars. Now the way is open for further fruitful collaboration and eventually for the unification of the revolutionary forces among the French proletarian youth.

By V. I. Lenin:

Letters from Afar 20c
On the Eve of October 20c
Paris Commune 25c
The Proletarian Revolution

and the Renegade Kautsky. 35c
Tasks of the Proletariat 20c
TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX. 25c
The Young Generation 20c
War and the Second Internat'l. 25c
War and the Workers 15c

Prices include cost of postage and handling.

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, N. Y.

New York Picnic

TIBBETTS BROOK PARK
SUNDAY, JULY 13
10 a.m., Field PP2

Take Van Cortlandt Park train to last stop and change to Tibbetts Brook car. Or take Lexington Avenue/Woodlawn subway to last stop and change to bus.

Games. Nearby swimming facilities. Refreshments and food provided.

Advertising and Entertainment on the Quiz Programs

By SUSAN GREEN

The spectacular growth of the radio as a selling and advertising agency for all products from soap flakes to steel, leaves one open-mouthed and gasping. Most amazing of all is the mushrooming of all kinds of quiz programs. The best commentary on quiz program is the radio program "It Pays to Be Ignorant," which parodies them by specializing in questions such as "After what first President of the United States was the George Washington Bridge named?"

Yet this type of program is not to be taken lightly. One might say that it is a "cultural" device to enlist thousands and tens of thousands of citizens as selling agents for business—and to make them like it. Quiz programs have been developed to a fine art to play on various of the normal human instincts. This is true especially of those quizzes which cull contestants from the studio audiences.

Most people crave to do something novel and thrilling; appearing on the air is exciting to them. Always the master of ceremonies of the program is a suave gent who eases the nervousness of the contestant by calling him or her by the first name, asking personal questions, introducing an ample seasoning of humor. This in turn satisfies the desire for

recognition. Unfailingly the m.c. finds something to praise. If the contestant is young, then that is underscored. If a grandmother is before the mike, then she is given a big hand for her sprightliness. Thus thousands get an opportunity to strut and fret a few minutes before the mike, be fussed over and applauded in public.

ADVERTISE THE PRODUCT

But it is the acquisitive instinct that is capitalized above all. The desire for nice things to have as one's own is played upon; and, of course, the itch to get something for nothing, be it cash or commodity, the same itch which motivates the gambler. The lure is certainly there because much cash and many things are actually given away. One can win tens, hundreds and even thousands of dollars. In commodities one can haul away anything imaginable: toasters, mixers, pressure cookers, electric irons; silverware, dishes, linens; lamps, curtains, furniture; refrigerators, radios, washing machines; suits, dresses, shoes, accessories, jewelry, including diamond rings; luggage, camping outfits. Nor is this list complete. A fortunate winner can take away several prizes; very fortunate ones win enough to outfit their persons and furnish their homes. Yes, the lure is there.

The desire to compete, to show how smart one is, is also carefully

cultivated by the planners of these programs. Sometimes the competition is legitimate and a contestant has really to excel in general knowledge of small things in order to be a winner. But more often the answer is put into the mouth of the contestant by the m.c. For no contestant must go away feeling let down, or like a dope. No one is ever a loser for there are praise, flattery and often prizes also for the less lucky contestants. The whole psychological citadel on which these programs are based would fall if contestants did not go home not only laden with loot, but also with a feeling of enlarged importance.

For these fleeting and shoddy satisfactions—and for a mess of pottage—thousands of people unwittingly become advertising mediums. This is how it works. If the program has a sponsor, usually the prizes are cash plus gifts of the product advertised, which latter also as a rule go to losers. Thus a lucky winner goes home to tell everyone who will listen what he or she won on, say, the Chifon Soap Flake program. Thus, by word of mouth, the product is advertised. Not only that, but people who have never used the product get a supply of it and start being users. If they are generous souls they will pass samples around among their friends, who start using the product.

If the program is conducted by the radio station unsponsored by any

specific manufacturer, the advertising takes this course. A number of manufacturers send one or two of their items to be given away on the program. These beautiful and enticing specimens are either on display before the studio audience throughout the program, or they are taken out of the treasure chest at the appropriate moment, amidst the ecstatic exclamations of the winner and the ahs and ohs of the audience. Of course the m.c. or the announcer describes the item and emphasizes the maker for the benefit of the listening audience. The hankering for these identical things is thus created both in the studio audience and in the larger listening audience. But the advertising does not end there. The winner gets his or her winnings home. They are exhibited to family, friends and neighbors much more enthusiastically than would ordinary purchases be; because connected with the pressure cooker or electric iron is the wonderful experience where the winner was thrilled before the mike, was fussed over and applauded, and showed off his or her knowledge.

SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECTS

This is indeed clever advertising by business. There are subtle sociological effects of this involvement of the public in the advertising business via radio programs. What happens to

the minds of people thus enmeshed in commodity selling "cultural" activities? The ingratiating entertainment, flattery and bribery so cleverly used directly on contestants and on the studio audience and indirectly on the listening audience, are hardly conducive to thinking, certainly not to adverse criticism of this whole profit-motivated advertising structure which merits only condemnation.

The simple economics of this advertising game is never given a thought by the public so unscrupulously used by business to further its ends. Obviously, the cost of advertising via quiz programs, expensive entertainers, newspapers and magazine ads, etc., etc., is added to the price of the commodity by the manufacturer. Thus, while a very few may get something for nothing, the masses who need so much of everything are even further away from what they need because fancy prices are made even fancier by the high cost of advertising.

Again, more basic than the wastefulness of advertising is the abysmal wastefulness of competitive production for profit which drives each manufacturer to present his product to the public as better than all others. The public is entertained, cajoled, bribed and in general stupefied into an acceptance of the silly lies about a dozen kinds of soap flakes, tooth pastes and everything else, so that

people may not ask the obvious question: "Why can't we get the best possible product that science and industry can produce, and be done with all this nonsense?" A dangerous question indeed for competitive business, for it strikes at the very roots of the capitalist system!

So what seems superficially like innocent entertainment is not that at all. Quiz programs are part of the scheme of business to sell at the highest prices and profits, and so to enmesh the public that it will accept capitalist competition with all its evils.

Notice to Readers of

The New International

The July issue of the magazine is now on sale. Subscribers' copies are now in the mails.

Due to technical and financial difficulties we are skipping the May and June issues of the New International this year.

With your support we hope to have the magazine come out on time each month.

Single copies, 25c Six Issues—\$1.25
Twelve Issues—\$2.00