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LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 16, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Labor Solidarity Guarantees Strike Victory

SEAMEN TAKE LEAD IN WAGE FIGHT!

AN EDITORIAL

Labor's Power Is Demonstrated

The solidarity of the sailors and the waterfront workers in the present strike of the Seafarers' International Union is an indication of the power of the working class when it unites its forces and presents a unified front to the capitalist employers and their government. In the midst of all the enmity and antagonisms which prevail between the AFL and CIO, we see a CIO union giving support to a strike conducted by an AFL union. While it is true that the solidarity is not complete, what has occurred is an indication of what can be done and also an indication of what needs to be done.

It is important to emphasize that this strike is no small and relatively unimportant struggle. It is a contest between a powerful group of employers and an important section of labor. It is more than this, however. It is a struggle between labor and the government at Washington as represented by the Wage Stabilization Board. The SIU had already reached a substantial agreement with the ship owners on the question of wages. The WSB, representing the government at Washington, stepped in and rescinded the agreement. It was this action of the government which precipitated the strike. This is what gives this strike its real significance and gives genuine importance to the united front between the AFL and CIO maritime unions.

This Collaboration Is Urgent

The capitalist press, in its discussion of the strike, has deliberately obscured the real cause of the action. This very class conscious press has not made it clear to its readers that the employers and the union had reached an agreement on wages and that the agreement was revoked by the government. The capitalist press plays up the difference between the CIO and AFL unions and talks about the feeling of the "rivals" not having reached "an actual rift, but there were indications that a parting of the ways might come early this week..."

It is the business of the leaders of the AFL and CIO, or the leaders of the SIU and NMU not to let this happen.

All differences arising out of the bureaucratic interests of the top leaders of the AFL and CIO are fundamentally trivial when compared with the interests of the thousands of maritime workers and of labor as a whole. These unions have made a start at collaboration. This collaboration is urgent in the present concrete situation. The collaboration itself is the result of the need for greater unity in the labor movement. This unity is a primary prerequisite for confronting the anti-labor schemes of the employers and the actions of the government in alliance with the employers.

It is therefore disquieting to read that SIU officials on the East Coast have refrained from meeting with the NMU to discuss and agree on a policy for collaboration in the conduct of the strike. Of course there are differences between the two unions and joint action may be difficult to accomplish. But that is precisely the function of leadership; to accomplish what is necessary and indicated no matter how difficult.

Demands Support of All Labor

Everybody who knows the situation is well-aware what the difficulties are. They reside first of all in the general organizational conflict between the AFL and CIO. Also there is the question of the Stalinists who are in control of the National Maritime Union. But Curran, the president of the NMU, has from time to time demonstrated some degree of independence of the Stalinist Party. The leaders of the SIU should bear in mind that all of the members of the NMU are not Stalinists. There are thousands of militant workers in this union who are ready to give full and unflinching support to the present struggle being waged by the AFL Seafarers' International Union.

By the same token, the thousands of militants in the SIU will be ready, with proper education and explanation, to join forces with the workers of the NMU. These workers know or ought to know that if the SIU can win this fight against the government, such a victory will open the way for higher wages and improved working conditions for the NMU.

This is not all. The kind of struggle which this strike is, can only be successful through the support of the whole labor movement. The action of the WSB, as representative of the government, is a direct attack by the government on the independent existence of the unions. The WSB by its decision comes immediately to the assistance of the capitalist employers. What has to be watched also is connivance between the ship owners and their government. Capitalist employers have pathways to the government which labor does not have.

A Magnificent Example of Solidarity

It is imperative that the leaders of the maritime unions understand these things. Without understanding these things and explaining them to the rank and file, any talk about "general strike" and other such mass actions on the part of labor, is only wind-jamming. It is very difficult to effect over-all mass action while refraining from or refusing to get together for the adoption of a unified strike policy in a strike which is actually in progress. This is something for all the union leaders involved in this strike to think soberly about.

We say again that this strike is a magnificent example of working class solidarity. The unions have the ports tied up tight. They should be kept that way until the WSB reverses its outrageous decision. The quicker the leaders of the maritime unions get together and merge their forces the sooner will this little government board make an about face.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION give full and unconditional support to this strike. We hail this exceptional solidarity of the maritime workers. They are right. We want them to win and they can win.

Sailors Are Confident They'll Win

By LABOR ACTION REPORTER

NEW YORK, Sept. 8.—Today I visited the pickets of the SIU-SUP at a dozen places along the waterfront. I found them parading up and down the piers, determined to defend their hard-won wage raises against the high-handed decision of the Wage Stabilization Board.

These men report to their assigned piers every day at 7 a.m. and sweat it out "on the bricks until sundown. Nobody had to sell them a bill of goods or force them to do this because months ago they held a democratic vote up and down the coast and decided overwhelmingly to "pull the pin" and hit the picket line if the shipowners didn't see it their way. The general feeling expressed in front of every pier is "We'll be here 'til we get our cabbage."

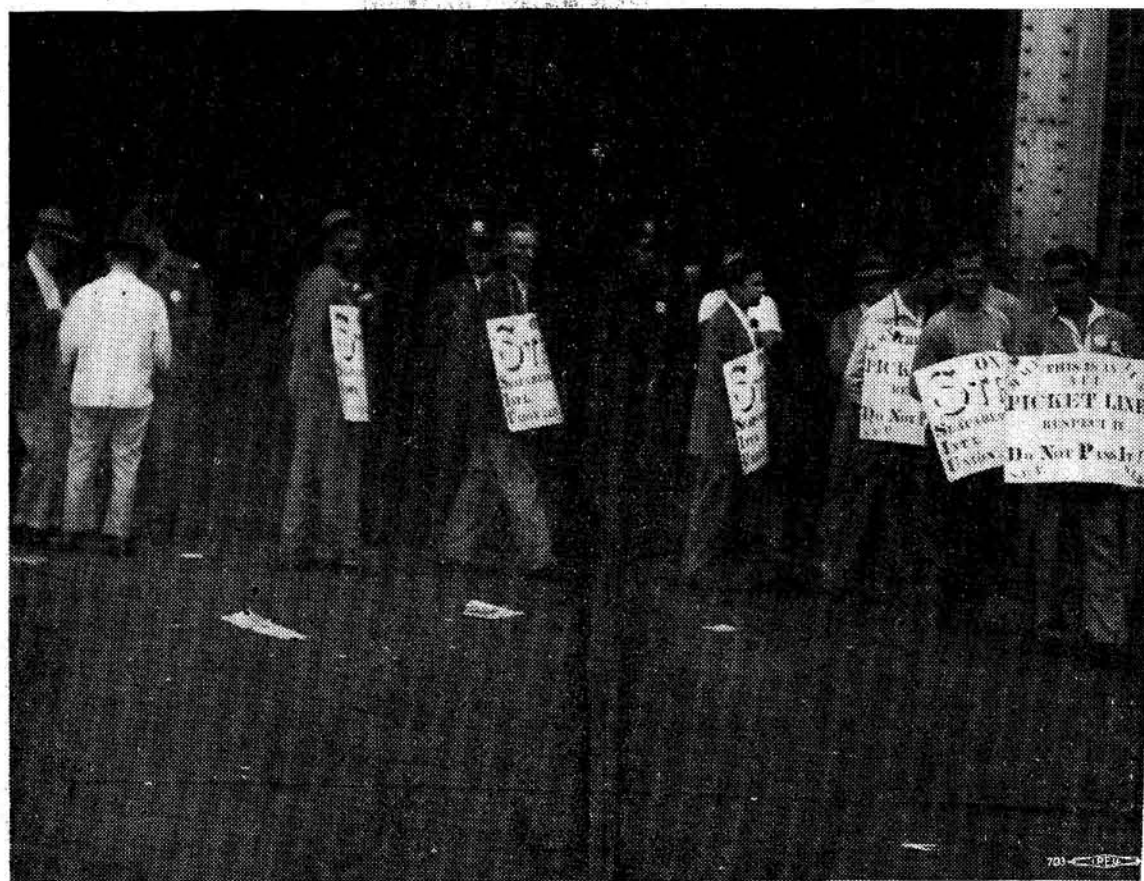
One picket, wearing the traditional "West Coast" white cap, told me: "We pulled many a job action in the last few months 'til we finally forced the shipowner gang to give in to our wage demands. We'll be damned if we'll let some government-shipowner board wipe out our hard-won gains."

NMU'ERS FEED PICKETS

Since many of the piers affected have NMU and unorganized ships tied up to them, these vessels often have crews aboard. The seamen on many of these have declared their solidarity with the SIU-SUP strikers by refusing to sail their ships and are feeding the pickets at those piers.

One NMU ship, the SIU'ers reported, fed all 15 pickets on their dock. At another pier, the crew of an unorganized Isthmian Line

NO SCABS WILL PASS THESE MEN!



Courtesy of Seafarer's Log

Teamsters Defy Threats, Hold Strike Lines Solid

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 10.—Thirty thousand truck drivers entered the second week of their strike in this city, their picket lines solid and tight despite the threat of Mayor O'Dwyer to install 2,000 additional policemen to "preserve order." Fighting mad in their determination to gain the 30 per cent wage increase for which the strike was called, the truckers, members of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, had previously rejected a recommendation of the union leadership to accept an 18½ cent per hour raise instead of the demanded 30 per cent.

What with the seamen "hitting the bricks" on the waterfront and the truck drivers patrolling the highways leading into the city, New Yorkers were treated to an impressive display of the strength of organized labor: a demonstration that the organized labor movement was in a position to paralyze industry in its struggle for a decent standard of living.

REJECT COMPROMISE

At their jammed membership meeting on Sunday, September 8, the truck drivers rejected by an overwhelming vote the proposal of the leadership of Local 807, the most important teamsters' local in the strike, that they accept Mayor O'Dwyer's so-called "compromise." On analysis, this "compromise" was shown to be shoddy and worthless.

The principal objection to the O'Dwyer plan, as expressed by members of the rank and file, was that it would provide for the driver of a trailer-truck \$65.55 for a forty-hour week, as against the old wage of \$64 for a forty-four-hour week. The men said the minimum they would con-

sider favorably would be \$71.40 for a forty-hour week. So powerful was the rank-and-file resentment against the proposal of John E. Strong, head of Local 807, to accept O'Dwyer's "compromise," that they shouted down his proposal for a drawn-out and formal ballot, and instead defeated it by an overwhelming voice vote.

O'DWYER'S THREAT

In the meantime, a sinister note was injected into this tense situation by Mayor O'Dwyer's announcement that he was planning to inaugurate 2,000 additional cops whose job it would be to prevent truck drivers from preventing out of town truckers from bringing loads into New York City. This threat foreshadowed the possibility of a bitter battle between O'Dwyer's deputized cops and the pickets, who expressed their determination not to let any commercial vehicle enter the city limits. And everybody knows that the truck drivers are the kind of men who are ready to back up their demands by every means of persuasion.

O'Dwyer's threat to deputize possible strike-breakers, as well as his

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Sept. 11.—Bending under the pressure of the bosses, Mayor O'Dwyer today denounced the truck drivers' strike as being inspired by "Communists." This familiar technique of red-baiting, often used by bosses when in desperation, has been contemptuously rejected by the strikers as an attempt to obscure their just wage demands. They intend to fight, no matter what O'Dwyer calls them.

WP CANTEN

A canteen car, providing free coffee and doughnuts to the striking seamen, has been sent out to the waterfront by Local New York of the Workers Party. Pictures and a fuller report will appear in next week's LABOR ACTION.

NEW YORK, Sept. 9.—The most complete tie-up in maritime history has completely paralyzed American shipping. Spear-headed by 65,000 AFL seamen, almost half a million workers are engaged in an all-out effort to establish once and for all that American labor will not accept the intervention of boss-dominated government boards into their negotiations with employers.

Here in New York nearly two thousand pickets were dispatched this morning to patrol the entire waterfront and maintain a complete blockade of maritime activity. Everywhere, teamsters, longshoremen and the seamen belonging to the NMU have respected and supported these lines. The widest labor support has been demonstrated in the course of this strike action.

Late Bulletins

September 11.—The Joint Strike Committee of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union, AFL, has sent a wire to William Green, AFL president, asking for a national work stoppage in case the Wage Stabilization Board fails to reverse its previous decision denying the seamen the wage increases they had won in negotiations.

September 11.—As we go to press, no word has yet come from the Wage Stabilization Board, before which the seamen's wage claims have been heard. In the meantime, the strike is solid; the waterfront closed down tight as a drum. The Marine Firemen have threatened to join the strike in support of the seamen, if their demands are not granted.

FLASH! Nine carloads of SIU men invaded and broke up on September 10 a hank-herding camp at Belvedere Junction, New Jersey, which had been set up by the Calmar Line, a Bethlehem Steel subsidiary. At the approach of the SIU "Educational Committee" who had come prepared to give the would-be strike-breakers a thorough education, the hanks scattered to the four winds. The records of the scab-herding camp were seized by the SIU men.

For the first time in maritime union history, an official of the AFL seamen—Paul Hall, port agent of the SIU—spoke at a membership meeting of the CIO National Maritime Union. His call for support of the AFL seamen's strike was greeted with cheers and applause, as was his thinly veiled denunciation of those sections of the NMU leadership which were under the influence of the Stalinists or played ball with them.

Reuther Airs UAW Dispute At Milwaukee Conference

By KEN HILLYER

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 8.—Walter Reuther, International President of the UAW, brought the bitter personal faction fight within the top leadership of the UAW out into the open, in a speech delivered to the Regional Conference held in Milwaukee Sunday, September 8.

At an executive session where the press was excluded, Reuther stated his case against Thomas, Addes, and Leonard, accusing them of unprincipled machinations.

REVIEWS DISPUTES

Starting with a review of the Atlantic City convention, and tracing it through the Chicago Board meeting, Reuther produced flashing headlines in the press of Thomas' speech before the Stalinist dominated Local 453 of Chicago. He referred to: the policy statement of Thomas, Addes and Leonard at the Chicago Board meeting which was presented to the press before bringing it into the committee; the petition circulated against Reuther because Emil Mazey had fired a member of the veterans committee; and some money-business around the late and unlamented Labor-Management Conference which he called.

He further stated that the baiting is not only done by the UAW leaders but has been picked up by the Stalinists in the Farm Equipment Division of the CIO (Stalinist). He waved copy after copy of the FE paper with its personal attacks on the UAW and Reuther as part of their campaign against old Buick Local 60, Melrose Park, Illinois. He finally brought it down to this last board meeting, and discussed the financial situation of the union and the row over cutting the staff. In the course of his remarks he informed

The strike was caused by the decision of the War Stabilization Board to reject the wage increase recently forced from the shipowners by the Seafarers International Union and its sister union, the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The WSB gave as its reason that these wage increases exceeded those given to the NMU, a CIO affiliate. At mass meetings up and down the coast the members of the SIU-SUP said that since the action of the WSB left them without an agreement, they would go out on strike and stay out on strike until the board rescinded its decision.

OUT TO BREAK WSB

On Thursday, September 5, the seamen walked off the ships and established a picket line at every pier in the country where a ship was tied up. Utilizing the best techniques of strike organization, food kitchens and dormitories were established, publicity committees set up, and picketing dispatchers worked around the clock. The net result was the most effective maritime tie-up in American history.

Feeling among the seamen ran high. To a man they felt that this last decision of the WSB was the straw that broke the camel's back. To be deprived of their hard-won gains by a government board convinced them that no gains they might make against the shipowners would ever be secure until the Wage Stabilization Board had been banished once and for all from the position where it could dictate the conditions under which American labor must work. In conducting this struggle they felt that they fought not only for themselves, but for all labor.

LABOR SOLIDARITY

From all over the world have come messages of international solidarity. From the workers of Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Greece and India came word that no vessel loaded or moved by scab or military labor would be serviced in those countries. From the dockers of Liverpool came a telegram that they stood solidly behind their brother unionists in America. From a hundred other points labor demonstrated in a most inspiring fashion.

On Thursday morning, teamsters arriving with their trucks at the piers found picket lines in operation. Almost without exception they saluted the pickets in a friendly fashion and turned their trucks around and returned them to the warehouses. Those who belonged to Local 807 of the Teamsters Union spoke of their own strike now taking place in New York. Many of the longshoremen who came to unload the ships remained to help picket, and NOWHERE did they

(Continued on page 7)

Strike Kills Jim-Crow

Dear Brothers:

We would like to report to you a most heartening development. We are both members of the Seafarers' International Union. Our union, as you know, has long practiced racial discrimination within its ranks. These practices have greatly hindered our union by impairing relations among its members. Up until last week the New York union hall, for instance, had a separate hiring hall for Negroes. Its Negro members were not allowed to sail on deck or in the engine room. They were restricted to the Steward's department and then to an all Negro Steward's department. Added to all this the number of ships allotted to them grew fewer and fewer.

And suddenly a great change came! When the strike call was issued on September 5, the Jim Crow hiring hall was abolished and became the headquarters of "the educational department." The non-Negro dispatch hall became a general picket dispatch hall for all members regardless of color. Old time Negro and white seamen greeted each other like friends who hadn't met for many years. The Negro members, in spite of the antagonisms which existed and the humiliations which they had been subjected to for years, rallied 100 per cent, as they have in the past, to the fight we are now engaged in with the shipowner-government bureaucrats.

It seems to us that only a completely artificial attempt on the part of the reactionary elements within the union can restore the treacherous old Jim Crow setup.

Signed: Two SIU members.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Report on Operation Dixie

By CHARLES KENT

WITH OPERATION DIXIE, Aug. 19—Last night this writer attended his first union meeting in the South. It was a shop stewards' meeting of a local in a large Southern industrial city.

Attending the meeting were twelve white workers and nine Negro workers. The chairman and secretary were white.

The meeting was opened with a prayer delivered by an elderly Negro worker who, aside from his years in the field and factory, had served his people as minister. The black workers often joined in with their leader and the white remained in respectful silence. These Southern workers wanted God on the side of their union, which for most of them has assumed an all-important role in their lives.

WATCH THE FINANCES

The order of business was the same as any other executive board meeting in the country. Things went smoothly until the reading of the financial report, when things started popping.

Every penny expended had to be accounted for. Two elderly white workers who had evidently assumed the role of "watchdogs" of the treasury, moved up front and sat beside the chairman. The local's account books were demanded to supplement the typewritten report. Why was the telephone bill so high? Hadn't a bill for the printing of the local constitution been read and approved at the last meeting? Why was there another one? Why did the president receive five dollars in "time off" pay? All of these questions were explained and answered in the absence of the business agent and international representative, who were out organizing, by the local's president, who was thoroughly familiar with the business of the local.

This was not a sign that these workers did not trust their leadership, but rather of a healthy interest and concern with the business of the local.

Interest in the union did not stop with finances. A tall Negro worker

arose from his chair and went to the front of the room. A new shop had been organized in the suburbs and had not been properly serviced by the business agent. A meeting had not been conducted in two months. The Negro workers of that local were not receiving "true value" from the union. Why hadn't this been taken care of?

WANT "TRUE VALUE"

The chairman answered that the business agent had been either organizing vitally strategic shops or conducting strikes. (It might be remarked that despite the money appropriated by the CIO, THERE IS STILL A CRIPPLING SHORTAGE OF TRAINED ORGANIZERS and business agents in the South.) Already understood by the membership, this was explained by the chair and it was announced that a meeting would be held in two weeks for the members of this shop.

A white worker arose. This wasn't soon enough. A meeting should be held this week. If the organizer couldn't go, a committee from this meeting could; and would teach these inexperienced brothers how to run their own meeting. Hadn't the members present learned this in a very short time? This suggestion was met with approval from all sides and a volunteer committee was formed.

The chairman then proposed an expenditure of \$20 to throw a party for a large shop of unorganized factory girls which the organization committee had been unable to contact. It was felt that this was the only way it could be done. Some of the members objected. The union hadn't needed to throw a party to get them in. They had welcomed the union. These girls ought to know better. The money was appropriated, however.

BLACK AND WHITE UNITY

The above is just a sample of the three-hour meeting. Other business was taken up, as at any other union meeting in the country.

There was something grand and wonderful, though, about the way these workers, black and white, were working and fighting together. They

did not know it, but they were beginning the first phase of a revolution in the South. Among themselves, at least, the revolution had already begun. They have learned that black and white workers are class brothers; that as individuals they are dirt under the bosses' feet; that by joining hands they can accomplish things they had never dreamed of attaining before. For them the iron curtain of generations standing between white and black workers had been pushed aside.

Bitter AFL - CIO Struggle Erupts in West Coast Lumber

SEATTLE—While CIO and AFL maritime unions are waging jurisdictional battles in Pacific Coast ports, these rival sections of organized labor are headed for a showdown fight in the lumber industry of the Northwestern states.

Speaking before the recent convention in Seattle of the Puget Sound District Council, Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (AFL), Kenneth Davis, executive secretary of the Council, declared an all-out war on the CIO International Woodworkers of America. He said it will begin "as soon as the housing emergency is out of the way."

ASSAIL EACH OTHER

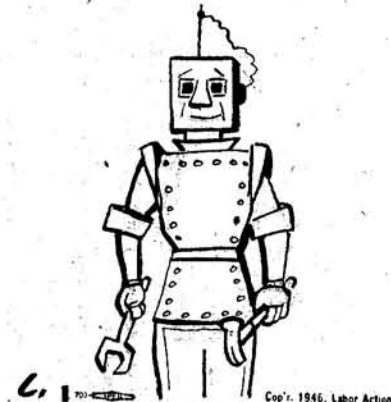
For years these organizations have been "taking" each other in bargaining-agency elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. But the bitterness began to tighten during the five-state strike conducted last fall and winter by the LSW-AFL. Members of the dual union not only refused to recognize AFL picket lines, but IWA leaders joined with operators of mills under CIO jurisdiction to secure injunctions against picket lines of the Lumber & Sawmill Workers Union thrown around these plants.

"If it hadn't been for the war, the IWA-CIO would have been out of the picture," Davis told the convention delegates. "and you would be working for a hell of a lot more money than you are now getting."

The official declared that during the war the union deferred to the

The Boss's Dictionary

Loyal Worker



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One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

Congressman Powell was defeated in the Republican primary in Harlem. Commissioner Grant Reynolds and the Amsterdam News hail this as a great victory. But the People's Voice points out that the Congressman is certain to be elected on the tickets of the Democratic Party and the American Labor Party. The Congressman's supporters say that he gained numerous jobs for Negroes. In my last column I showed that Governor Dewey, Republican, had also given a lot of jobs to Negroes.

The Congressman's supporters have another argument. They say that he introduced into Congress a permanent FEPC bill. He introduced into Congress an anti-lynching bill. What happened to these bills, they do not say. But everybody knows. They were thrown out. They were thrown out by the activities of the same Democratic Party which Congressman Powell is representing.

In other words, the Democratic Party, as represented by Congressman Powell, brings in a permanent FEPC bill and an anti-lynching bill, and the Democratic Party as represented by Bilbo, Rankin and Pappy O'Daniel, throw these bills out.

It hasn't happened ONCE. Congressman Powell is not the first who has brought progressive legislation dealing with Negroes into Congress. The Democratic Party throws them out. The Congressman sounds progressive and powerful and even, at times, revolutionary, in Harlem. In Washington he acts as a sort of safety valve. He speaks, the people are told what he says. It sounds as if something is going on. But sure as day the Democratic Party axe falls and the Negroes remain just where they were.

ACTION ON THE FEPC

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have been, are and will be tireless in the exposure of the fraud and deceptions which characterize the procedure of the Democratic Party and its promises to the Negro people.

We say: In 1941 the first FEPC bill was passed. We say that it was won by the mobilization of the Negro masses in the March on Washington movement. The mere threat of dis-

ciplined mass action caused Roosevelt to force the bill through. He was faced on the one hand with the pressure of the Southern Democrats (and some Northern ones too); on the other hand he had the Negro masses. The bill was not much good, but at any rate it was a beginning.

In 1943 there was the tremendous explosion of the Negro masses in Harlem, known as the Harlem riot. Conservative journalists and politicians have acknowledged that this action so frightened the ruling powers and so stimulated labor that the result was a new FEPC, the Ives-Quinn bill.

Is parliamentary action, then, useless? Not at all. But parliamentary action on behalf of workers and the poor and oppressed needs two things to be effective. First, it must speak the naked political truth, so as to clarify the masses. Secondly, it must be backed by the mobilization of the people. Congressman Powell can do neither. How can he? The raw truth about Negro persecution and deception of Negroes by politicians is that today the course and fountainhead of Jim Crow is the ruling Democratic Party and the power it wields as ruler of the United States.

This party has been in power for the last fourteen years. For the Negroes it has done nothing. Therefore, the first task is to denounce it, to expose it, to lay bare its hypocrisy and its trickery. But Congressman Powell cannot do it. He is a member of the party.

JOB FOR LABOR PARTY

The Workers Party has, as its main political slogan, the formation of a Labor Party—a party of the workers. Such a party, even if it had only three members in Congress (and there is no reason why it should not have 300), could exercise enormous influence. Why? Because it could do the first and most important thing—unremotely place the responsibility for Jim Crow where it lies—at the feet of those who rule this country and control both the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

Secondly, the mobilization of the Negro masses themselves to express their hostility to the existing order and their readiness and determina-

tion to change that order. A Philip Randolph made a fine beginning in the March on Washington Movement. We believe that a Congressman, elected by a predominantly Negro community, should use his position in Congress to denounce both the Republican and Democratic Parties, and from there to speak in a loud, clear and rousing voice to the masses of the people, both Negro and white. This is what we conceive to be the duty and possibilities of a Congressman representing the masses of the people in Harlem.

How can Congressman Powell fill this bill? He cannot do it. He cannot try to do it. He is tied hand and foot to the Democratic Party. The Mayor of New York, O'Dwyer, is a Democrat. His police brutally attack the Negro people. His sole purpose in Harlem is to keep the Negro people in Harlem quiet, by alternately bulldozing them with soft words and battering them with police batons. Congressman Powell has O'Dwyer on one hand and Bilbo and Rankin on the other. Nothing of any value can come from a politician so placed.

WP'S PROPOSAL

The Workers Party's proposal is clear and simple. We propose that the Harlem people elect a candidate whose principles are as follows: (1) Nothing can be got by the Negro people from the Democratic or Republican Parties; (2) The federal government and all its allies, big capital and the landlords, are the main source of Jim Crow and Negro oppression; (3) The Harlem representative must use his position in Congress to proclaim these truths to the whole nation; (4) His aim should be to mobilize the people for mass action so as to make the government and Congress recognize that they have to deal with the militant, organized, disciplined but burning wrath of the Negro people and their friends.

That is our concept of a Harlem Congressman. If he had ten times his energy and ten times his ability, Congressman Powell could not satisfy that need. His political basis is false and therefore his activity can result only in the demoralization and confusion of the Negro people.

JERSEY TITFLEX STRIKERS ANSWER ANTI-UNION CORPORATION ATTACK

NEW JERSEY—The workers of UAW-CIO Local 260, Titeflex, Inc., who, even in the face of fly-away prices, were not awarded the 18½ cents given to most of the CIO unions several months ago, have been on strike for the past six weeks as answer to a vicious anti-union attack by the corporation.

Using the legal larceny of wartime excess profits tax rebates, Titeflex Corporation is actually being financed by the government while it refuses to give the 18½ cent raise that government "fact-finding" boards "allowed" the GM, Steel, Electrical and other workers even before the latest price spiral.

Hugh Caldwell, president of Local 260, in an interview, explained that although they had been wrangling with the union for three months over the wage grant, the company confronted the negotiating committee with a union-busting contract as the price for granting a five-cent increase. There had been no discussion or notification about this contract until it was suddenly produced.

Some examples of its suicidal provisions are: grievance procedure

time limited to a half hour; the union denied the right to set production norms; permission of foremen necessary before leaving the job for any reason. Another clause would force the union to finance union men for any negotiations which were not concluded within ten days.

The workers have answered with determination that they will remain on the picket line until they are granted their just demands for a raise and the retention of the June, 1945, contract.

The solidarity of other UAW locals was demonstrated at a rally in Lincoln Park last week when \$700 was raised and \$800 more was pledged for the strike fund. The Ford, Ronson, Wright and Chevrolet-Bloomfield locals promised to deliver ten tons of canned food to aid the strikers in their fight.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO LABOR ACTION AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Vet Housing Cut

"Veterans' Housing Faces New Slash"—(Headline, New York Times, September 7).

Five years ago the boys went off to Camp Dix and to Sampson and didn't have any housing problem. When billets were needed, hundreds of thousands of them, they seemed to get built overnight.

During the war every available apartment in the city was snapped up by an apartment-hungry public, and thousands of decrepit tenements long overused toppled and were razed by the city.

Some of the boys came back. On V-J Day they were promised a housing program that would give vets and their families a decent place to live.

When the actual program came out for New York it called for a pitiful 9,000 dwelling units. On August 15, 400 were cut out. This week a new slash was announced in Washington, "made necessary by increased construction costs," according to the government.

At Fort Dix and at Sampson the same government decided how many barracks were NEEDED, how much it would pay for them, and BUILT them.

The conclusions are obvious—and the vets can do something about it.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

Big Business, now that it has dynamited the government's price control program, is laughing behind its hand at the "revived" OPA. It has a telling simile for the present OPA law—"like trying to wrap 50 pounds of nails in a wet newspaper."

The N. Y. Journal of Commerce can't take seriously the talk of a war between the United States and Russia. Termining such an event "a very remote possibility," the paper lists the following reasons: The great technical superiority of the western nations over Russia; the war weariness which pervades the world; and lack of evidence that Russia's foreign policy involves "inevitable conflict with the basic vital interests" of the United States.

The Argentinian bourgeoisie are stepping up their drive to oust foreign imperialism. The Peron government has established itself by decree as the sole sales agent for the \$350,000,000 annual meat export business. The decree establishes prices the government will pay to foreign-owned packing plants for export meat. Previously the meat had been sold by the packing plants through their New York agents; the decree eliminates the New York factors. Argentina has not renewed the recently-expired British contract to buy all the former country's export meat. . . . The Argentinian government has completed arrangements to purchase from the International Telephone & Telegraph Co. its Argentine subsidiary, United Telephone Co. of River Plate, for approximately \$95,000,000. I. T. & T. will continue as technical advisor in the operation of the Argentine properties for 20 years and will supply the necessary equipment for operation of the facilities.

The increasing industrialization of Iran has got the Persian rug importers worried. They say that weaving has been seriously curtailed because weavers are leaving their small communal groups and heading for the cities where considerably higher wages are being offered.

Real income at the start of July, 1946, was at least .11 cents on the dollar lower than a year earlier, according to a recent study by Investors Syndicate. "The typical American consumer, on the average, nationally, in June had to pay at the rate of \$1.04 for essential goods and services which were purchased at the rate of \$1 in June, 1945," the study stated, acknowledging the impossibility of gauging the even higher prices paid on the black market. "Wage payments in June were at the rate of 86 cents, compared with \$1 in June, 1945."

Insurance underwriters are now becoming worried about the increasingly serious fire hazard created by overcrowding of dwellings. The city building inspector in Minneapolis blames overcrowding for a recent fire which took the lives of two persons. He says there are many such potential hazards in the city. His office has received hundreds of complaints of landlords crowding in twice as many, and in some cases three and four times the families for which permission has been granted. They are hailed into court but revert back to the practice as soon as the inspectors leave, stated John Nelson, the inspector.

The Wall Street Journal expresses disgust at some of the dodges used by veterans to continue drawing

their \$20 a week unemployment compensation. In San Francisco, it is reported, the USES has many listings of GIs who say they are diamond cutters. There is no use for such a skill in that city. On the other hand, many veterans who say they have no skill at doing anything are proving a problem for the USES, reports the above paper. Some even claim unfamiliarity with a shovel when sent out on a common labor job. The Journal omits to say that if there were jobs at decent wages available, few veterans indeed would cling to the meager \$20-a-week.

Rebuffed in attempts to negotiate air agreements with Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Bulgaria, the U. S. is doing its best to persuade Brazil, China, Australia, India and South Africa to sign aviation pacts permitting U. S. air lines to acquire landing rights. Rumania and Hungary have formed aviation companies jointly with the Russians, with 50 per cent of the ownership vested in Moscow and with a Stalinist director.

Though Henry Kaiser has yet to place an automobile on the market, the Kaiser-Frazer Export Corporation is already constructing factories in Ahmedabad, India, and Stockholm, Sweden, for production of the two cars. Kaiser cars will also be produced in Melbourne, Australia, and will be assembled in Argentina.

The Army-Navy Munitions Board is reported discussing a system of industrial mobilization that would operate on a virtually a push-button basis in case of war. Principal features of the plan are: (1) Two production lines in each important factory, one with peacetime products, the other with a small amount of wartime products; (2) special Munitions Board purchasing, engineering and supervisory staffs in the plants of major prime contractors, suppliers, subcontractors and primary producers; (3) retention of war-built facilities from more than a score of industries for standby purposes; (4) stockpiling of vast quantities of metals, minerals, and materials for any future emergency.

The New England textile machinery industry is enjoying its greatest boom in history, with some manufacturers speaking of potential orders so huge their plants will be busy for a decade. Buyers from throughout the world want to replace war-destroyed machinery or to equip new textile industries in their countries. American textile machinery makers aren't accustomed to such foreign demand. Before the war, England was the exporter of looms, Germany of knitting machinery. England has not yet reconverted her machinery-making plants from war production, and German plants in Saxony have been either destroyed or grabbed by the Russians.

Want to know one reason why cotton goods are hard to buy? In 1937 American cotton farmers harvested the largest crop on record when a yield of approximately 19,000,000 bales was reported. They realized an average price of 8.5 cents a pound, or about \$807,500,000. The 1946 crop promises to be about 9,000,000 bales, for which farmers should realize an average price of 36 cents a pound, or approximately \$1,620,000,000. In the space of nine years, the income of cotton farmers has doubled, although actual production is cut in half. The larger farmers in particular have profited from the government program of planned scarcity.

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WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

You Will Want to Read This Pamphlet Written by Irving Howe for N. Y. Election Campaign

Order from Local New York of the Workers Party 114 W. 14 N. Y. 11, N. Y.

Hollywood Terror Films Mirror of Social Decay

By IRVING HOWE

Even casual movie-goers have probably noticed the greater stress on violence, horror and sadism in the pictures recently produced by Hollywood. These "shockers" have been among the most financially successful of Hollywood's recent productions. They can hardly be MERELY contrived by Hollywood planners as part of their continuous search for fresh material; and even if they are that, there must still be something about these movies which touches areas of response in the minds of the millions who view them.

Hollywood has always gloated in violence, always been fond of the strange, the grotesque and the horrible. It has always skillfully, though crudely, appealed to the subterranean areas of its audience's minds where fear and fascination for terror are inextricably mixed. Thus, the success of such actors as Bela Lugosi and Boris Karloff. But these films usually make it abundantly clear that their locales were unusual, that they were concoctions of weird imaginations, and that they had no relationship to ordinary life as experienced by the people who paid their money to enter the dream-world of the screen's shadows.

Today that has all been changed. Instead of vague castles, mythical laboratories and Roman amphitheaters, movie terror is shown in most usual environments. Where in the past the Frankenstein monster made one shudder at first sight, today the villain is an unrepentant young man, often slight in build, who engages in typical American small town or cities. (For instance, the films *Shadow of a Doubt* and *The Stranger*.)

As one critic, Siegfried Kracauer, writes: "Thus, the weird, veiled insecurity of life under the Nazis is transferred to the American scene. Sinister conspiracies incubate next door, within the world considered normal—any trusted neighbor may turn into a

demon." (Commentary, August issue.)

The same critic notes the penchant for unrestrained and deliberate physical brutality in which this type of film indulges. He points to the film, *Dark Corner*, in which a private detective smashes the hand of a gunman to make him confess and is then himself assaulted by the gunman, who knocks the detective down and "steps with the full weight of his body on the hand of his unconscious victim." An even better example is found in the series of pictures made from Raymond Chandler books and in those which star Dick Powell and Humphrey Bogart: for instance, the scene in one Powell picture in which he beats a man to death with his fists and the scene in a Bogart picture in which he contemptuously refuses aid to a group of drowning German aviators.

This tendency toward obsessive concern with physical brutality—in a world which seems to have lost all rational meaning, is not physical power the decisive arbiter?—is combined with the suggestion of a constant eerie feeling of uncertainty and insecurity. The films directed by Alfred Hitchcock are extremely effective instances.

As Kracauer writes in the previously mentioned article: "Apprehension is accumulated; threatening allusions and dreadful possibilities evoke a world in which everybody is afraid of everybody else, and no one knows when or where the ultimate and inevitable horror will arrive. When it does arrive it arrives unexpectedly; erupting out of the dark from time to time in a piece of unspoken brutality. That panic which in the anti-Nazi films was characterized as peculiar to the atmosphere of life under Hitler, now saturates the whole world."

What is the explanation of this emphasis on horror, physical brutality, psychological destruction of personality, and pervasive feelings of insecurity?

An answer to this question involves many factors. For one

thing, all of life under a decaying capitalist society is increasingly insecure, many pretenses of morality and order are being dropped in political life. This tendency toward open power domination, toward domination of masses by terror and pressure propaganda, is transformed on the screen into images of more personalized insecurity. What is especially noteworthy is that so much of the brutality and horror of these Hollywood pictures is without meaning or purpose beyond the mere accidental existence of some particularly evil individual—this very meaninglessness, incidentally, making it all the more terrifying. Hollywood refrains from associating terror with current social and political life, even to the degree that such a foreign film as *Open City* does. Unable or unwilling to connect the feelings of terror which seem so strongly rooted in contemporary life with their social setting, Hollywood can therefore produce only grotesque portraits of horror, ultimately boring in their viciousness.

There is still another important reason for this series of films. During the war, most "war pictures" were, to the surprise of their producers, not especially popular. People felt that they had enough of the real thing; soldiers universally scorned the sugared versions of war which most of the "war pictures" presented. Yet all of the emotional antagonisms, the accumulations of aggression, the bundles of tension which war produces in men required some outlet for release. This, I think, the horror films are doing.

The films produced by Hollywood can serve as barometers of the moral and ideological climate of capitalist civilization. When that civilization is distinguished by an increasing sense of individual helplessness in a brutal, meaningless world; when mass murder and terror are everyday events; when psychological disintegration is the result of social decay—then the pictures made in Hollywood will reflect, in however distorted a form, that very situation.

A Stalinist Swine Insults The Working Class of Italy

By MAX SHACHTMAN

You would find more honor, decency and sincerity at a convention of cattle rustlers assembled to share out their loot than can be found at the



Max Shachtman, Chairman of the Workers Party

Paris Conference of what is called, ironically, of course, the United Nations. For sheer banditry, cynical trading in human beings and defenseless nations, and vicious chauvinism, however, the representatives of Stalinist Russia have easily caught up with and outstripped their older imperialist colleagues.

One of the most important pieces of live loot which every one of the war victors is trying to keep his rapacious talons sunk into, is Trieste. In an appeal before the Conference's Italian territorial commission for his country's claim to Trieste, Ivanoe Bonomi, the Italian delegate, advanced the argument that during World War I Italy had contributed to the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and thereby to the subsequent creation of an independent Yugoslavia.

VYSHINSKY RECALLS CZARIST EXPLOITS

On September 5, Bonomi received his reply from Andrei Y. Vyshinsky, representative of Russia, which is the patron, sponsor, protector and boss of the other Trieste claimant, Yugoslavia. Vyshinsky dismissed the assertion that Italy had helped defeat the Austrian Empire in the First World War. On the contrary, he said proudly, it was the offensives of the Russian Czarist armies that had overturned the Austrian Hapsburgs. Then, according to the N. Y. Times of September 6, he proceeded to pay tribute to the old Russian Czarist General Alexei Brusilov as "one of the greatest generals of his time."

This tribute from the servant of the present Czar of all the Russians makes sense. The contemporary feels a certain kinship with his forerunner.

Brusilov, as one of the many not very outstanding generals of Czar Nicholas, was commander of the Armies of the Southwest in the First World War. For a time, he did indeed overrun a considerable part of Austria in the Czarist war of plunder aimed at bringing the "Slavic brothers" of the Balkans, the Serbs in particular, under the autocratic rule of the Romanovs and the State Church. His success was facilitated not only by the concentration of the Central Powers' armies in the West, but by the policy, in which the Czarist régime excelled, of pouring millions of troops into the slaughter with the indifference that others pour muck into a sewer.

But how is it possible for a representative of the "Bolshevik Government" today to speak with such pride of the exploits of a Czarist General in the first imperialist massacre?

Brusilov was indistinguishable from the rest of the Czarist military camarilla in point of reactionary outlook. Early in 1917, when the wave of the first revolution against Czarism, and against the futile slaughter in the war, was sweeping through the Russian armies, Brusilov,

as commander-in-chief of the Southwestern front, kept sending telegram after telegram calling for "the most vigorous measures" against the "disorganization and anarchy" creeping into the army.

As late as June 23, 1917, after the first revolution, Brusilov sent an urgent wire to Kerensky, head of the government, saying: "I consider that the purging of the army can be effected only after the purging of the rear and after the propaganda of the Bolsheviks and the Leninists has been proclaimed criminal and punishable as high treason."

HOW EXPLAIN VYSHINSKY SPEECH?

In August, 1917, Brusilov was prominent among the militarists, bankers, manufacturers, and landlords—monarchists all—who set up what was known as the Council of Public Men, for the purpose of backing the ultra-reactionary General Kornilov's bid for power in Russia. Kornilov wanted not only the physical extirpation of all the Bolsheviks but the overturn of the moderate Kerensky government, as a prelude to the restoration of Czarism.

After the failure of Kornilov and the victory of the Bolsheviks, Brusilov was one of the reactionaries arrested by the Soviet power. The workers had to be restrained from doing him in as one of those chiefly responsible for the butcheries of the war.

How, we ask again, explain Vyshinsky on September 5, 1946?

It is not hard. In the first and most important place, he no more represents a Bolshevik, or workers' government, than the generals of the old Czarist armies represented, let us say, democracy. But there is more to the explanation.

Vyshinsky may not have been a supporter of Kornilov in 1917, but as a hard-shell conservative Menshevik he was nonetheless a violent enemy of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. It is true that after the Bolshevik Revolution had consolidated itself, Vyshinsky leaped nimbly on to the bandwagon and proceeded to make a career for himself. But even in this he was not Brusilov's superior.

When the Pilsudski régime in Poland attacked Soviet soil in 1920 without even a declaration of war, a patriotic fervor gripped even the non-Bolsheviks in Russia. Old, crippled Brusilov—a reactionary but an honest patriot as he understood it—came out of hiding and offered his services in the defense of Russia from foreign aggression. He offered them to the commander-in-chief of the Red army, Leon Trotsky, and he appealed so successfully to the honorable feelings of former Czarist officers to do likewise, that Trotsky appointed him president of a special Council of War attached to his own staff. Later, Brusilov continued his services to the Workers' Government as an inspector of cavalry from 1922 to 1924. A year later he died, a confused patriot, but not a cheap careerist. He was given an official state funeral.

But it is not Brusilov, the Russian patriot who gave his last years to the Workers' Republic, that Vyshinsky remembers with such adulation, but Brusilov the servant of autocracy, Brusilov the incarnation of semi-feudal militarism, Brusilov the instrument of Russian imperialism.

What Brusilov, in the latter capacities, did against the Russian people, the Russian revolution, and particularly against the Russian Bolsheviks, would bring down upon his memory not Vyshinsky's curses but, if anything, a nostalgic

admiration. What Brusilov, and Kornilov, and all their kith and kin could not accomplish, Stalin and his kidney, Vyshinsky prominent among them, did succeed in doing. They wiped out all the achievements and remnants of the Bolshevik Revolution, and beginning with the Moscow Trials which Vyshinsky prosecuted, they wiped out physically all the Bolsheviks, all the genuine revolutionists, all those who were a living rebuke and a menace to the likes of Vyshinsky and the rest of the wretched retinue of Stalinist despotism.

So we see things are not really out of order when the Stalinists glorify the ancient Czars and old Czarist generals like Suvorov, the assassin of the Polish people, or Khmelitsky, the ancient Ukrainian Cossack assassin of the Jewish people, or Brusilov—not the assistant of the Red army, but Brusilov of the Czar's imperial adventures.

And things are still in order when Vyshinsky follows his glorification of the old reaction by a swinish attack, not on Italian imperialism, but on the Italian people. In the same speech, we read in the Times, Vyshinsky expressed himself on the fighting ability of the Italians: "Everyone knows they are better at running than at fighting."

The only "fighting" we ever heard of Vyshinsky doing was his fighting against the young Bolshevik Government, and that only when he felt that it could be licked by the united forces of world reaction. His only other claim to fame was the management of the Moscow frame-ups which sent the flower of the Russian working class and revolutionary movements to its death, and that, too, only when he felt backed up by the Luegers of the GPU.

HOW EXPLAIN VYSHINSKY SPEECH? THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ITALIANS

As for the Italian people, they never signed a pact with fascism as Vyshinsky's masters did with Hitler in 1939. On the contrary, they gave their lives by the thousands in years of battle against Mussolini's Blackshirts and took the first favorable opportunity to string Il Duce to a lamp-post and drive his minions into holes. If they were unable to do this earlier, ONE of the reasons undoubtedly is the fact that Vyshinsky's masters were the only ones to continue supplying fascist Italy with Russian grain and oil with which to help prosecute successfully its war against the Ethiopian people.

And finally, if the Italians showed that "they are better at running than at fighting" under Victor-Emmanuel in the First World War and under Mussolini in the Second World War, they are to be complimented, and not abused. They are to be congratulated for refusing to "fight well" for Italy's imperialist aims in both world wars. They are to be congratulated for their good sense in not allowing themselves to be driven to the slaughter like cattle—as the Brusilovs drove the Russians in the First World War and as more than one Stalinist Brusilov drove them in the war just ended.

This disgusting chauvinistic insult grunted out against a people which has such a rich history of civilized achievement, a people with such a proud record of more than a century-old struggle for democracy and for socialism, a people which cannot now successfully defend itself against the armed night which overwhelms it—properly belongs on the lips that uttered it, the lips of a Stalinist swine.

Northern Monopolists Pull Strings of Southern Economy

By DAVID COOLIDGE

There is a great deal of propaganda and agitation in the South concerned with industrialization. Before the industrialization outburst, many in the South had become convinced that in order to prosper and feed its population, it would be necessary to this region to escape from the practice of putting all of its eggs into one basket. Many leaders took the position that for prosperity it would be necessary for the South to resort to a system of diversified agriculture and produce foodstuffs for the population. A great deal of progress has been made along this line but the area is still overwhelmingly covered with cotton. Not only that, but the cotton producers have resisted the mechanization of cotton growing. To date there is not even the beginning of technological improvement in the growing and harvesting of cotton such as has taken place, for instance, in wheat planting and harvesting.

This is to be accounted for not only by the difference in the technical problems involved, but also by the differences in the labor supply and the social and political contrasts in the cotton and grain regions. The Western states are scarcely populated and it is necessary to use a migrant and mobile labor force. In the South there are millions of Negroes and "poor whites" ready to hand for year-in and year-out labor in the cotton fields. In the South the labor force lives on the plantation or in communities adjoining the big plantations.

DOWN AT THE HEELS, BUT A CAPITALIST

There is another reason, however, why the South resists the advances of modern technology: the lack of the necessary capital for experimentation and the introduction of mass production machinery. Furthermore, the cotton planter has at hand a source of "cheap" labor. When cotton is selling at from 20 to 30 cents a pound and the planter gets it picked for \$3.00 a hundred, for \$1.00 the hundred or in any number of instances for what amounts to actual or mere subsistence, in a very practical sense, he is not likely to think seriously about mechanization and the introduction of the mechanical picker.

What must be understood is that the Southern cotton planter is really a capitalist, quite often a sort of be-draggled and down-at-the-heels capitalist, it is true, but a capitalist. The cotton economy is part and parcel of capitalist production in the United States. The planter therefore is primarily concerned with capitalist profits. He functions in a similar way

to the Northern manufacturer; for instance, he does not change his method of production until he becomes convinced that the change will be profitable in a very concrete way. He, like the manufacturer, will be concerned with the return on his investment, the per cent of profit and the demands of the market. Also, just as with the manufacturer, he will be influenced by such a factor as the availability or the scarcity of labor. The fact that the cotton planter

today is faced with an acute labor shortage may do more than all the sociological golden texts to turn his thinking toward the mechanical cotton picker.

In order to attempt to escape from the dilemma in which they find themselves, the Southern "liberals" of the type of Governor Arnall and other latter-day Henry Grays, fight against freight differentials and proclaim the necessity for industrializa-

(Continued from page 3)

"How Much Is \$41 Billion?"

National Budget Reveals Growth of Militarism

By ALBERT GATES

"How much is \$41 billion?," asks the Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York, one of the largest financial institutions in the world. The \$41 billion in the question, represents the new government budget for the year ending June, 1947. Its significance may be made clearer when it is realized that the little noticed budget report made by President Truman for the "single peacetime year ending June 30, 1947" contemplates

"expenditures... more than" in the THREE YEARS of World War I, more than in the entire DECADE of the twenties, and more than in the FIVE YEARS of liberal spending just before the outbreak of World War II. It is twenty-six per cent of the estimated total national income, and imposes a tax burden of around \$1,000 on the average American family." (Emphasis in the Bulletin.)

Of course, the \$1,000 average does not mean that every American family pays such a tax, although taxes for the average American are vastly higher than they have ever been, higher than even the highest paid worker can afford to pay. But it does mean that the taxes on big business, the monopolies, corporations and all enterprises, as well as upon individual capitalists and those with high incomes, are not reduced to levels which they desire.

NEW ROLE OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

The present boom in economy, featured by a high level of employment, high production, high inventories and the maintenance of the national income at near war-peak levels, has caused the proposed expenditures in the budget to be overlooked. Yet the division of the budget reveals concretely the new role of American capitalism in the world of today and how it is reflected in domestic policy.

One can extract from its figures the drift of American foreign policy from isolation to intervention in world events and the dependence of its economy on that of the world. The cause for the changes in the budget is due to that more than anything else. For the budget, the largest in the peacetime history of the United States, is concentrated on military expenditures in preparation for new economic, political and military struggles on a world scale.

For example, the budget for the year 1939 was \$8,707 billion. For 1947, it is \$41,539 billion, or an increase of \$32,832 billion. The Bulletin aptly says: "With the wartime experience so close behind us—when public

funds were poured out in profusion... our sensibilities have been dulled." They certainly have. The tremendous expenditures which are called for are not for the purpose of vast public works, unemployment relief, i.e., for plugging the breaks in a collapsing economy. This is a budget based upon an existing economic boom, irrespective of its artificial and temporary character.

EIGHTEEN BILLION FOR "NATIONAL DEFENSE"

Of the \$41,539 billion, a little less than half, or \$18,505 billion is for "national defense." Over \$4 billion is for international finance, indicating the involvement of American imperialism in the world economy. Here is a summarized table of comparison in the national defense budget of 1939 and 1947, the year of peace.

	Fiscal Years ending June 30	
	1939	1947
War Department	\$490	\$8,060
Navy Department	673	5,150
Terminal leave personnel	0	2,418
U. S. Maritime Commission	44	290
War Shipping Administration	0	412
Other (including UNRRA)	0	2,178
National Defense subtotal	\$1,206	\$18,508

Other elements in the budget show that veterans pensions and benefits have increased from \$557 million to \$6,505 billion. This is an item which properly belongs to "national defense" and war expenditures to which it is entirely related. The same can be said of \$4,168 billion for international finance (nothing was spent in this field in 1939) which is a reflection of the new world position of the United States. It is an item which not only emerges from the political and diplomatic problems of the war, but is intimately related to the drive of the imperialists toward a new war.

Add these respective figures together and you will find that the new budget calls for an expenditure of \$28,881 billion for "national defense" and war out of a total budget of \$41,539.

Why should it be necessary for the government to expend almost three-quarters of the largest peacetime budget in American history for "national defense" after the war has been fought and won? For the simple reason which LABOR ACTION has repeatedly suggested: this was no war for democracy or peace; it was a war between imperialists struggling for a new re-division of the world. The military phase of the war be-

tween the powers has ended. But just as World War I did not and could not solve the problems of imperialist capitalism, so this war did not solve them. No sooner had World War II ended when the erstwhile Allies, organized in the so-called United Nations, began the terrible new struggle for world domination. And because war has not been eliminated as "a way of life" of capitalism, the powers have begun preparations for the next war.

This does not mean that the war will break out tomorrow. But it does mean that preparations for the next war are not being postponed; each power waits in readiness for it.

AND TWO BILLION FOR PEACETIME USES

In contrast to the especially high expenditures for national defense and war is the declining expenditures for peacetime purposes. Here are some of the figures:

	Fiscal Years ending June 30,	
	1939	1947
Social security, relief and retirement funds	\$2,984	\$1,252
Housing (civilian)	0	202
General public works program	1,000	887
	\$3,984	\$2,341

In anticipation of a lasting boom and prosperity, the budget pared off expenditures on public works, social security, relief and retirement funds. Housing, which remains the most acute problem for all the people, especially the veterans, is to be allocated the miserable sum of \$202 million. Compare this with the sum of \$18,508 billion to be spent directly for national defense and you can readily see what is wrong with the government housing program.

But suppose the boom and prosperity does not last beyond a year or two (something which is already indicated in the present economy). Obviously, then, the government will be forced to do what Roosevelt did in the Thirties: to make enormous expenditures for relief and public works. Will this mean a sharp decline in military expenditures to compensate for the increase in public relief funds? Only in part.

After the first year's budget has enabled the War and Navy Departments to organize their new post-war war programs, there will be some decline in expenditures until a new war occurs. The national budget as a whole will decline somewhat after 1947, but even with

its decline, it will remain abnormally high in comparison to previous peacetime history. This is due principally to the part that the war danger remains a permanent disturbing factor under imperialist capitalism. It will mean that the general burden of the masses who work in order to live will be heavier—not only for the present generation but of those to come.

INTERVENTION IN WORLD ECONOMY

The war merely accentuated a tendency that was already inherent in American capitalism: intervention in the world economy. In contrast to the Twenties, American economy has become completely interlinked to the world economy. Its hope for long lasting economic prosperity, given its present expansion and great productivity in a historically shrinking national market, lies in the economic domination of the world economy, the world market and sources of raw material.

Isolationism, a political phenomenon which reflected the little dependence American economy had upon the world market, is dead today. This is finally recognized by all sections of the capitalist class. And it is precisely for this reason—world economic domination—that the United States has become deeply involved in all the political, diplomatic and economic struggles of powers. To withdraw from these struggles, to hide behind the borders and coast-lines which surround the United States, is to deny the inherent tendency of the economy toward world expansion.

But international expansion in a world drawn closely together by modern invention, in a world whose market is itself shrinking, means the intensification of the conflicts with rival capitalist powers who need and seek the same things as American capitalism. These economic rivalries produce sharp political and diplomatic struggles which represent a prologue to war. In recognizing what the other powers have known for a long time, American capitalism has adopted the internal political policies similar to those existing in the older capitalist nations.

Conscription of servicemen after a war takes place for the first time. Tremendous military expenditures indicate a preparation for war. The military elements of the country and the bureaucracy have a stronger weight in government and in the social life of the country. Thus, what was theoretically foreseen by Marxian socialists as the inevitable outcome of this war if capitalism survived, is now a reality. And this change is revealed unobtrusively, as though it were a natural phenomenon, in the new budget of the Truman administration.

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WORLD POLITICS

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

Stalinist Terror in the Balkans

Two interesting reports appeared last week on the spread of Stalinist terror in the Balkan countries. One was written by Bogdan Raditsa, former head of the foreign press department in the Yugoslavian government of Tito, and appeared in The New Republic; the other appeared in Colliers and was written by Reuben Markham who has for many years been Balkan correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and is known as a responsible journalist.

The two articles do not tell us anything especially new about Stalinist rule in the Balkans, but they do provide considerable information which confirms again the reports that the Russian occupation forces have spread terror and disorganization wherever they have gone.

Raditsa's article offers a picture of how Yugoslavia is actually ruled by OZNA, the secret police of the Stalinist rulers. While the new Yugoslavian constitution, like its Russian model, offers wide theoretical guarantees of freedom, the actuality is much different. Raditsa writes:

There are, of course, paper guarantees of freedom of speech, assembly and religion. But in fact, the people are afraid to talk. No opposition press exists. In the pre-election period an opposition paper, DEMOCRAT-IJA, published by Milan Grol, was temporarily permitted to appear, but when it became popular it was suppressed. The same happened to NOVOSTI, published by Dragoljub Jovanovich, and to GLAS NARODA, published by Marija Radic. In the first issue she published two poems by Vladimir Nazor, now president of Croatia, to expose his opportunism. One had been written during the war and was dedicated to the fascist collaborator, Ante Pavelic. The other was dedicated to Tito. For her rashness, a bomb was exploded in the paper's bookshop.

The Stalinist oligarchy has established a system of local Vijece (Peoples Councils) the function of which is to dominate local life in behalf of the government. "Each council," writes Raditsa, "has its 'denunciation' office, which issues a karakteristika, a secret report on every citizen within its territory. If anyone moves elsewhere, the report is sent on." That is Stalinist "liberation" at work.

IN DICTATOR TITO'S JAILS

Raditsa, who was on the inside of the Tito government and knows the facts, charges that after Tito assumed power, "Zagreb's jails held 70,000 prisoners. . . . And just as the opponents of Stalinism are terrorized, regardless of which political point of view motivates their opposition, so those on top, the Stalinist functionaries and bureaucrats, live a life of comparative privilege. They alone get enough to eat, and adequate clothing. They are well housed. Tito inhabits the King's palace, Kardelj (another Stalinist leader—Ed.) the old Stoyadinovich villa. When I was entertained by state

and party functionaries during my trips I always had plenty of food. On going back to my friends, I sometimes found they had been without food for days." That is the picture of Tito's Yugoslavia.

A similar picture of Stalinist terrorization in Rumania and Bulgaria is painted by Reuben Markham in his Collier's article. In these countries the Stalinist rulers have made alliances with former fascists and reactionaries. In Rumania "The Foreign Minister, George Tatarescu, has committed practically every political crime that Communists the world over exorcise. In the past, he directed and subsidized pogroms, against Jews, suppressed Peasant and Communist leaders, helped King Carol establish a dictatorship on a fascist model and conducted Rumania's worst elections. He also concluded the first major agreement in the series of treaties delivering Rumania to Nazi Germany." Today this man works hand in glove with the Stalinists.

TERROR IN BULGARIA

The same situation holds in Bulgaria. The Prime Minister of that country, Kimon Gueorguieff, despite his present alliance with the Stalinists, was a leader in the bloody suppression of workers on June 9, 1923, and again during 1934 when a military clique seized power in Bulgaria and suppressed all working class opposition.

Markham's article is interesting not merely for its revelation of the mechanisms by means of which Stalinism maintains its terror in the Balkans, but also for the description of the policies which it has pursued. He describes the failure of the Stalinist policy of land distribution:

"The land was given out in a haphazard way. Groza (the Rumanian Stalinist leader—Editor) confiscated property and used it to attract followers. A peasant stood a poor chance of receiving anything unless he joined Groza's Plowman's Front, whose membership soon jumped from a few thousand to a million and a half. But the peasants received inadequate amounts, under five acres each, with no machinery, stock or credit.

"Also hundreds of thousands still remain without land, because there isn't enough to go around. The larger farms that were once well cultivated are now broken up into little pieces which are poorly cultivated; production has fallen and the peasantry as a whole is poorer than ever. No basic problem has been solved, peasant poverty remains, dissatisfaction mounts and eventually the autocratic leaders must resort to some drastic reform measure.

"That has already begun in Bulgaria where the Communists in many villages are gathering the peasants' fields into big 'blocks'. . . . The peasants, while the owners are formed into work brigades, directed by brigade bosses."

This is the pattern of Stalinist occupation in the Balkans—and the mockery and tragedy is that it even proceeds in the name of socialism to which it is completely antithetical.—I. H.

Editorials

A Return to the Strike Weapon

During the war the labor officialdom adopted a "no-strike pledge" which immobilized the unions at a time when they should have been free to fight against the bosses' offensive. As a result they postponed until the post-war period struggles which should have been fought during the war. Their wartime policy revealed that without the strike weapon, the labor movement is without its most potent weapon.

so great that months go by before union petitions for election are acted upon. Business Week points out how a typical case works: The CIO carries out a drive at a plant. At its height, the NLRB is petitioned for an election. The case joins the pile-up of cases. Months go by and the drive begins to lag. No action is taken. Often, when an election is held many months after a drive, it is lost by the union because of an inability, under such conditions, to meet the promises made to workers.

Union organization, wage increases, shorter hours and the improvement of working conditions were always won on the picket line. In the final analysis it is the picket line which enforces union recognition, contracts and gives force to any political activities of the labor movement. The living proof of this is nationwide post-war strikes which the unions have been compelled to wage to fight for their most elementary demands.

As a result, says Business Week, "both CIO and the AFL are being forced to find other means to bring an organizing effort to a successful conclusion. They are returning to the strike weapon. . . ."

We say: it is high time! Labor legislation, forced upon Congress by a powerful and militant labor movement can be valuable only as long as the labor movement maintains an unceasing pressure upon the reactionary legislative houses in Washington. But legislation is never a guarantee for labor. Legislation by capitalist politicians can never solve the great problems of labor. The war years have proven that the strike weapon is labor's most potent arm and that its surrender is crippling to labor.

"They are returning to the strike weapon. . . ." And we repeat: it is high time!

A case in point, which only adds emphasis to reasons why the union movement should never surrender the strike weapon, is the trouble encountered in the organization of plants and small shops in the South—a problem which was met in other parts of the country. While Congress did not succeed in revising the Federal Labor Code, it did slash the NLRB budget to \$700,000, thus producing the effect it desired: holding up plant elections for union recognition. The back-log of cases is

A New Wrinkle in Exploitation

We've heard of a good many weird ideas about the relations of capital to labor which come from professors, business advisors and other such, but here's one that takes the cake. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Henry Prince of St. Stephens Episcopal Church, New York, has proposed the introduction of a factory chaplain system in American industry. He thinks that the chaplains would emphasize "the spiritual side of being busy" and would help prevent "strikes and similar labor troubles."

your beef, you'd go to the chaplain who'd thereupon tell you to turn the other cheek (so that the boss or foreman could smack it again) and read you a few verses for spiritual solace. But the beef. . . . Well, then he'd give you a little lecture on selfishness.

Those of our readers who were in the army will remember just how useful chaplains were: they might have held your head but they didn't solve your problems. But in the factories there's one thing the workers have which the GIs didn't have in the army—and that is unions with which they can defend themselves.

The Rev. Dr. Prince says that the factory chaplains would oppose the current "idealization of short hours." Add that to his statement about "the spiritual side of being busy" (which sounds remarkably like grease with which to smear the speed-up) and to his talk about preventing strikes—and you get a picture of what such a chaplain would be. He'd do the same job for the boss that he did for the officer caste: make pious excuses for injustice.

For our part we think that what the workers need is not sky-pilots but more, better and stronger unions. After all, you never won a raise by praying. . . .

Just imagine it. Instead of going to your shop steward to put up a fight about

Forced Labor in the Balkans

The hated system of piecework—which most American as well as European unions have always opposed—has been introduced into several Balkan countries which are under Stalinist domination.

The same situation holds in Hungary, where the Russian occupying troops have an effective veto over the government. Ross reports that "Hungary must keep the urban standard of living down to about 60 per cent of the pre-war figure to have a large surplus available to engage in essential reconstruction, pay reparations and occupation costs. . . ."

In Czechoslovakia 85 per cent of industry will be put on a piecework basis. The efficiency of Czech production is only about two-thirds that of 1937. Like American "efficiency experts" in the employ of the big corporations, the Stalinist rulers of Czechoslovakia are trying to speed up production by means of the piecework system. In the N. Y. Times of September 9, the correspondent, Albion Ross, reports that "the workers' morale has been low since the new Communist Premier, Klement Gottwald, called for a 40 per cent increase in the present production level."

The workers of eastern Europe are discovering first-hand what Stalinist domination means. They are having their standard of living cut because Stalinist Russia is exacting its imperialist toll in reparations; they are writhing under piecework, the worst form of speed-up exploitation, to batten the power and purse of the Kremlin.

The September Issue of The New International A Trotsky Memorial Issue Notice to Readers, Subscribers and Agents of The New International: The regular monthly appearance of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, on time, is now guaranteed. The September issue, just published, promises to be a complete sell-out, so order your copies now.

Books You Should Know...

THE GREAT GATSBY, by F. Scott Fitzgerald. Bantam Books, 25c. Reviewed by JUSTIN GRAHAM

F. Scott Fitzgerald gave the world two moving tragedies; his novel, The Great Gatsby, was one and the other was his own life. Each unfolds itself against the background of the twenties. Each contains within it the element of success in life, as success was known in that period; and each portrays an underlying tragedy, as tragedy has always been known. For Fitzgerald was a voice of his generation, and in Jay Gatsby, who was also of that generation, he found a vehicle through which to extend his understanding of his world, and of the men who made that world. Being one of those men, Fitzgerald had only to search his own soul to find. . . . Gatsby.

He manages to arrange for Daisy's presence at one of his parties. She comes and they have an affair. But it is an affair which can only end badly. Gatsby tries to recapture the past in a world far different from that in which he and Daisy first met. He thinks that it should be easier for her to love him now than it was before. When they first met he had been a nobody; she was his social superior. Now the situation was reversed; he had made his fortune. But it was all a lie, and Daisy could not live by this lie. Her life had been molded in these five years; she had spun her own web. Gatsby, in attempting to have her once again, became tangled in this web and it killed him.

recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that's no matter—tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther. . . . And one fine morning—" "So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past."

"He had come a long way to this blue lawn, and his dream must have seemed so close that he could hardly fail to grasp it. He did not know that it was already behind him, somewhere back in that vast obscurity beyond the city, where the dark fields of the republic rolled on under the night.

In The Great Gatsby, F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote a chapter of the American success story. It was the story of part of his generation, which came back from war to find an unbridgeable gulf between itself and its lost, happy youth. Society had been shattered, and this generation sought to escape it by returning to its youthful ways. It could not go back; it became not more youthful but more childish, and in its childishness it learned to live as children live: in a world of dreams and make-believe. It was forced by the world that did exist to live in a world that didn't. Fitzgerald died like Gatsby—with the same dream. We must understand Fitzgerald's dream to understand his generation.

"Gatsby believed in the green light, the orgiastic future that year by year

It was a dream of a life of grace and charm, of ease and loveliness which history was to make impossible.

London Homeless Families Occupy Luxury Dwellings

"LONDON, Sept. 8—Nearly 2,000 of London's 'homeless' installed themselves today in an empty seven-story building of luxury apartments and nine other dwellings in the climax of the 'squatters movement' that has been spreading across Britain in the last few months.

"In an operation planned in great detail, the squatters first took over the huge Duchess of Bedford house in the fashionable West End district of Kensington.

"When they had filled this building they seized nine more places in Kensington and in the nearby Marylebone district."

For many months now LABOR ACTION has been calling attention to the scandal of huge empty residence owned by people who live much of the year in large homes elsewhere. The example of our English brothers in London reported in these lines speaks more eloquently than a page of type!

The Thieves Are Falling Out!

You can buy dynamite at the drug stores these days. It costs ten cents. All you do is ask for "Look" magazine. The dynamite is inside!

It's contained in a series of articles by Elliott Roosevelt, the son of the late president, condensed from his forthcoming book, "As He Saw It." Buy a copy of the magazine. You'll never get dynamite cheaper.

Read part two of the series, called "Quarrels at Casablanca" and published in the September 17th issue of the magazine.

Here, told by an eyewitness who was in an exceptional position to know, is a partial glance into the reality which lay behind the holy crusade against fascism. Every line virtually shrieks: "Remember what we told you four years ago? It was a lie! It was all a lie!" You can almost hear the cynical laughter ringing through the text.

What, according to President Roosevelt, caused the war? "The thing is," he said, "the colonial system means war. Exploit the resources of an India, a Burma, a Java—take all the wealth out of those countries but never put anything back into them—and all you're doing is storing up the trouble that leads to war."

But what of Germany whose aggression, we were once told, set off the carnage? There is literally not a syllable on the subject in the article!

Roosevelt is quoted further: "Don't think for a minute that Americans would be dying in the Pacific tonight if it hadn't been for the shortsighted greed of the French and the British and the Dutch!"

And the Japanese? Pearl Harbor? Again— not a syllable!

HISTORY IS REWRITTEN

Those statements, recounted by Roosevelt's son without the slightest tremor, as if they were common knowledge, are genuine stunners. For what is being said is that the war was caused by England, France, and Holland. And we fought on their side! That wasn't what we were once told!

France, to whose Liberty, Egalite, and Fraternite so many ringing references used to be made, is not spared the lash. "Father remarked," says Elliott Roosevelt, "on how British and French financiers had dredged riches out of colonies. . . ." He continued later, "How do they belong to France? Why does Morocco, inhabited by Moroccans, belong to France? By what logic and custom and historical rule?"

Those are brutal words—easily classifiable as German propaganda five years ago.

Churchill and de Gaulle, but yesterday held up to us as the finest representatives of their times, are portrayed as scoundrels. Churchill is described as a man constantly conniving to get U. S. arms to rescue the whole floundering imperialist British empire. ". . . de Gaulle," Roosevelt bluntly remarked, "is out to achieve one-man government in France. I can't imagine a man I would distrust more."

We have a candidate. . . .

WHERE DOES THE TRUTH LIE?

Was the war caused by Germany, Italy, and Japan as was so furiously beaten into our brains but a few months ago? No, that was a lie, as we so often explained. Was it caused, then, by England, France, and Holland, and as we are now so blithely informed? No, that is a lie too.

War is caused by capitalism—German, Japanese, Italian, English, French, Dutch, and American capitalism alike. For all must expand or die. And expansion means war. That is the law.

Then what is the meaning of this sudden attack upon England and France? Elliott Roosevelt reveals that, too:

"Father remarked on how British and French financiers had dredged riches out of colonies and raised the question of possible oil deposits in Morocco. He mentioned that the Sultan might engage firms—American firms—to carry out a development program. . . ."

And later Roosevelt, saying good-bye to his son said, "This time I've tried to make it clear to Winston that while we're their allies, they must never get the idea that we're in this war just to help them hang on to archaic, medieval empire ideas. I hope they realize that we're not going to sit by and watch their system stultify the growth of every country in Asia and half of Europe. Good-bye, son."

And "good-bye, British Empire," he might have added. That is what Roosevelt was saying. For through him United States capitalism was notifying England, its closest capitalist rival, that it intended to assume the undisputed mastery of all the countries of the globe.

What Roosevelt said about England and France is quite true. Marxists have been saying it and much more for fifty years. But to say it during the war was almost treason. U. S. capitalism then needed the aid of these countries to defeat the major enemies, Germany and Japan.

With the Axis powers now prostrate, American capitalism is once again licking its chops and turning greedy eyes on England and France and their colonies. What Roosevelt and his son are saying here is that the day of England and France as independent powers is rapidly coming to a close. They are to be subjugated to U. S. imperialism in its drive toward world mastery just as surely as Germany subjugated most of Europe when it made its bid.

What the "Look" article seeks to do in its revelations is to prepare the moral basis for the step. In doing so it says that the last war was not what we were told it was at the time, but a colossal swindle, a swindle whose stakes were the dearest in the world—human lives.

Who dares believe what they say today any more than what they said five years ago? They lied then. They lie now.

HISTORICAL MOMENTS DEPARTMENT (Big Moments in Little Lives Division) "I was invited to Churchill's country home for the week end, and on the morning I was to leave to rejoin my outfit I was summoned to his room to say good-bye. He was talking about the room, glad only in a cigar. Ho! I thought. Here's something to tell my grandchildren about!" ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT.

The Sudeten Trek: How Benes Copies Hitler

By EUGENE VAUGHN

In a recent pamphlet called "Tragedy of a People—Racialism in Czechoslovakia," published by the American Friends of Democratic Sudetens, the undemocratic and inhuman treatment of the German and Hungarian minorities by the present "democratic" Czechoslovak government is presented in vivid detail. Forced migration of millions of innocent Germans and Hungarians from their homes in Bohemia and Moravia in which they and their ancestors have lived for hundreds of years is the latest method of the "liberated and

democratic" Czechs toward the solution of minority problems. It is a leaf out of Hitler's book.

Two destructive and annihilating wars have been fought within the lifetime of one generation. A victory of the United Nations in the war was to have been the solution of the problems of national freedom! Today capitalist society stands not one bit closer toward the solution of this chronic illness of capitalism. Freedom for nationalities is as far off as it was during the reign of Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary.

For many years Czechoslovakia was

pointed to by all so-called liberals and democrats during the period between the two wars as the brightest example of a truly free nation. Thomas G. Masaryk, the first president of that country, once characterized it with the following words: "The Czechoslovak Republic is a state where human love prevails. We extend friendship to all oppressed. . . . Everybody ought to know that he is safe and free within our borders."

JUDGING THE "DEMOCRATS"

One of the ways in which to judge the progressive character of a coun-

try is to observe the manner in which it treats its national minorities. For example, one of the first acts of the newly established workers' state in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution was to grant real freedom to its oppressed peoples. Self-determination in practice, and not merely lip service, was on the order of the day. The Ukraine was granted self-determination; Finland was granted freedom; the Baltic states were freed from Czarist national oppression and were granted their independence. A union of autonomous Soviet Republics was established.

In the First World War, the Allies were also for self-determination of national minorities. They presented the war as a holy crusade for the democratic and national rights of Europe's oppressed minorities. After the war was won they proceeded to implement their high sounding phrases with specific treaties and acts. Czechoslovakia was given two minorities to rule over and oppress. Rumania was given the right to oppress Magyars, Ruthenians and Ukrainians. Yugoslavia was granted the right to oppress Croats. In capitalist Europe, the new governments won their "democratic" right to oppress Jews. Thus, who oppresses whom became an internal matter for each particular government to decide. No outside interference was tolerated.

Then came Hitler with his own exclusive method of oppressing minorities. Slave labor, mass physical annihilation, denial of political and civil rights, and sterilization of undesirable minorities were some of the scientific contributions he made. Some he copied; others were copied from him. Today, a new forced migration of vast indigenous populations is added to the arsenal of methods for treating oppressed nationalities.

Of what are these people guilty? Of being Germans and living in Bohemia, which has been assigned to the Czech state by the vote of the Council of Foreign Ministers; of being Germans and living in East Prussia and Silesia, which now becomes Polish in compensation for Polish land seized by Russia. The all-powerful steal from the weak! The weak steal from the defenseless!

THE NEW BARBARISM

The vicious argument used in justifying the treatment of Sudeten Germans is that all Germans are equally guilty of Nazism and therefore the war victors have a right to their revenge. Yet, who is more guilty of Hitlerism, a factory worker of the Sudetenland, or Henry Ford, who spent substantial sums to support Hitler to power? Who is more guilty of Hitlerism, the several million Sudeten Germans, who were never granted equal national rights with Czechs or Slovaks, or the "democratic" governments of the world, which from 1933 to 1939 looked on or assisted while Hitler gorged himself on the small countries?

Czechoslovak President Benes,

whose brand of democracy has changed from the Western capitalist style to the Stalinist brand, justifies his inhuman policy of mass deportation by the claims that all Germans are intolerable. "It has become impossible for us to continue by their side and therefore they must leave the country." Yet from his Chicago haven, during the early days of this war, he stated: "I know that these Nazi ideas are not the principles of the whole German nation. The German nation itself is subjugated." Today, Benes cannot tolerate Sudeten Germans. Yet in 1935 it was the support of the Sudeten German Democrats which helped him into office.

Dr. Hubert Ripka, Benes' Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote in an early book published in 1939 and called "Munich, Before and After":

"If it has been true that the majority of the Sudeten Germans really regarded Hitler, represented among them in the person of Heinlein, as their leader, one might have expected them to grasp eagerly at this opportunity to revolt and free themselves from the Czech yoke. In actual fact, however, it was only a minority composed mainly of inexperienced youth, who showed enthusiasm for pan-German slogans of the Nazis for the unification of all Germans. . . . Apart from a few isolated exceptions, the Sudeten Germans obeyed unhesitatingly their mobilization orders. The anti-Nazi Germans did so well as the Czechoslovaks themselves."

What about these democratic Germans who helped Benes into office? What about those Sudeten Germans who sided with the Czechoslovaks against the Nazis? What about those Sudetens who were members of the Communist and Socialist Parties? They, too, are to be deported, insists the "liberal" Benes.

The forced migration is carried on in the most brutal manner. People are herded onto trucks and trains.

They may take only a minimum of baggage. They must leave behind whatever movable property they own. Their land no longer belongs to them and there is no compensation for their losses. They wander into a strange land without any prospect of a livelihood. Industrial workers among them can find no employment

as they are the last ones to be hired in a country with mass unemployment. In the meantime, the land which they have left behind is depopulated. The vacuum is not filled in by migration of Czechs and Slovaks onto the land. On a continent where every spare piece of land is needed to feed the hungry, the lands of these Sudeten Germans lie fallow.

Minority oppression is part and parcel of the world system of capitalism. It is also the weapon of Stalin's bureaucratic collectivism. When Hitler ruled over the European continent, he monopolized the privilege of oppressing minorities. Today, Hitler's heirs, Stalin, Benes and others, oppress minorities. Nothing has changed.

Stalinists Organize Army After the Prussian Pattern

The following facts on the situation in the Russian army were largely published in the Swiss capitalist press. What follows is an extract from one of these papers, "The Army and the People."

Recruits undergo two years of training in the military schools of the sixteen Soviet Republics. (Actually, they are neither Soviet nor Republics.—T.R.). For the first six months they learn only to salute, and engage in physical training. They are trained in a special school where the laws of military discipline in general are taught. They begin to learn the manual of arms at the end of six months at which they receive practical, and later, theoretical training.

MODELLED ON PRUSSIAN SYSTEM

The "Military training" is modelled after the Prussian system. The Russian soldier must be able to stand at attention for hours and hours without moving. We can get an idea of the training methods from the response of a Russian officer who was asked his opinion about the Swiss army. He answered: "We will repeat it twenty-five times before everybody and anybody should a Russian soldier salute like a Swiss soldier." In Russia, as in the German army, non-commissioned officers are saluted by the enlisted men.

When a subordinate has to address an officer, the Russian military code requires that he (a) take three steps "stetschschritt" (a kind of goose step), (b) remain at attention, (c) make his report when the officer gives him "at ease," after which he must make a quarter turn to the left (whoever makes the mistake of turning right is severely reprimanded or punished). After which the soldiers exit in three goose steps. When a subordinate and officer meet, the former must goostep for five paces, and salute in turning his head. The left hand must be extended along the seam of the trousers. In garrison, special patrols watch saluting. The rules apply as well to junior officers and senior officers, etc.

When soldiers and officers leave the army, they must surrender all their equipment. On pass, bayonet and all arms must be left behind; only the officers can carry a revolver. An officer may also wear civilian clothes; something a soldier can do only after two years of service.

Officers and non-commissioned officers leave the training school to the recruits at the beginning of four months and undergo a special training for three months. All forms of fraternization between officers and troops are formally forbidden. Only in special cases, when one is a personal friend of a Communist Party member, can the familiar "you" be used (In Russia, as in most European countries, "thee" is used in speaking with friends and "inferiors," "you" in

formal conversation.—T.R.). In the revolutionary period of the Red Army, the familiar "you" was always used.

GROWTH OF MILITARY CASTE

About ten per cent of the non-commissioned officers are members of the party. Ninety per cent of the officers are party members. The political commissar no longer exists in the old way. Formerly he had the same grade and responsibility as the commanding officer. Today the political commissar is continued as an adjutant to the commander, and is under his orders. This adjutant is responsible for the political and cultural education of the troops. His function is similar to the officer in charge of information in the capitalist armies.

WAGE SCALE (in rubles, per month)

Infantry soldier	10
Corporal	100
Sub-Lieutenant	650
Lieutenant	800 to 900
Major	1,200
Commander	2,500
Brigadier General	3,500
Artillery soldier	15
Bombardier	150
Artillery Lieutenant	750
Captain	1,000
Superior Officer	1,500 to 2,000
General	3,000

That is the peacetime scale. It is necessary to add that now officers' wages are tax exempt, and that the officers have the right, according to a law recently promulgated, to permanent orderlies.

The above facts have never been answered or denied by the Stalinist leaders, although they have been public for several months.

Many simple conclusions can be drawn from these facts, but space does not permit us to make them. Note, however, that the facts demonstrate the extraordinary growth of the military caste which has introduced the most reactionary military code there is. The fact that Zhukov has been reduced to a second grade officer is an indication of the conflict between the all-powerful military caste (which had its liberty of movement during all the years of the war) and the other forces, particularly the bureaucracy, inside the Russian state.

(Translated from *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, Belgian section of the Fourth International.)

Excerpts from a Forthcoming Pamphlet on WP-SWP Unity, by Albert Goldman

TROTSKYIST UNITY AND THE NATURE OF THE PARTY - VI

The greatest number of SWP members has been recruited since Trotsky's death. They have been educated on Cannon's concepts of organization and on Trotsky's polemical exaggerations against the Minority of 1940. Very few of the members know of *The New Course*, where Trotsky presents a picture of what a real Bolshevik organization should be. The members are devoted revolutionists but one could also say that of the "third-period" Stalinists (between 1929 and 1934). They are militant, aggressive, self-sacrificing. But they do not have the critical attitude that should prevail in a revolutionary Marxist party.

BUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The task that confronts us at present is the same that faced the revolutionary Marxists in the last quarter of a century—the building of a revolutionary party. We start from the basic premise that for a successful struggle for socialism the working class must have its own party composed of the most conscious, the most militant elements of the proletariat. To look for a victorious struggle on the part of the working class in spite of its subjection to the degrading influence of capitalism, without the leadership of a party that is composed of those elements who have to a certain extent freed themselves from those influences, is utopian.

The party that we want to build must base itself firmly on the fundamentals of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. But it must be a party where the statements of the great teachers of socialism are not to be considered as sacred dogmas. Our party must be one where one can feel perfectly free to introduce new ideas and challenge old ones; where new ideas will be met on the plane of argument and not of name-calling. We want a party which will consider the facts of life much more important than any theory. In the party that we want to build controversies will not be settled by quotations but by an analysis of all the existing factors.

In the party we want to build discussion will not be considered as "kibitzing" but as a vital necessity for the solution of problems and for the education of the membership. Discussion should not be counterposed to activity; it is part of

the activity of a party. It cannot monopolize the life of the party but without it there can be no purposeful activity.

The backbone of a revolutionary party must consist of militant proletarians. But we must reject the concept that their task is only to follow the leaders. We must consciously aim to educate the workers who join the party to have a critical spirit. We understand very well the difficulties which confront every worker in his attempt to educate himself in the principles of Marxism. He works too hard under capitalism to be able to devote many hours to reading and study. But from the very moment he enters the party a worker must be made to feel that while he is educating himself he must listen to arguments carefully and make up his mind to the best of his ability on the basis of the arguments. A critical attitude on the part of the rank and file is essential to a revolutionary party.

Our party must be a disciplined party but its discipline is not based on rules and regulations. It is the discipline of comrades devoted to a great cause and conscious of the fact that without discipline in action they can achieve nothing. It is a discipline based primarily on the correctness of the leadership and not on the ability of the leaders to order people. A living, thinking party is not an undisciplined party; it has a higher form of discipline than the monolithic party.

Particular ideas and practices which now prevail in the SWP and which may be termed "Bolshevism-a-la-Cannon" must be rejected as alien to a revolutionary party. There must be no build-up of leaders. An opponent party must not be considered an "enemy party" when it is close to us in program and activities; comrades who for some reason split from us are not to be considered "renegades," when they are loyal to the revolutionary movement, and our members must not be filled with hate toward such comrades.

Distortion of an opponent's position must not be tolerated; the position and arguments of an opponent must be presented with the greatest honesty.

The Cannonite practice of discussing all important political and organizational questions in a secret bulletin must be rejected. All good discussion articles on all important questions should be included in the public theoretical organ; and the discussion bulletin should be available to all those

who are interested. A revolutionary party is part of the working class and has no secrets from the workers.

Our very existence is based on our confidence that the kind of a party we want to build can be built and will be built. Our confidence stems not only from the fact that such a party is necessary but also from the historical fact that such a party was actually created and succeeded in leading the Russian workers to a successful revolution. I am firmly of the opinion that the Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky was the kind of a party that we want to create.

This does not mean that we defend every act of the Bolshevik party. There is room in our party for those who think that in such and such a particular case the Bolsheviks were wrong. To me Bolshevism means the theoretical, strategical and tactical ideas by which the Russian masses were mobilized for a successful assault on the Russian capitalists and landlords. Ninety times out of a hundred they who sincerely attack Bolshevism on some organizational or theoretical question confuse Bolshevism with Stalinism. Cannonism has furnished another weapon to those who do not understand but wish to attack Bolshevism.

One idea that we must put forth and which the Bolsheviks never thought of mentioning is the necessity to guard against a bureaucratic degeneration, such as the Stalinist degeneration. Trotsky once stated that it is not the aim of a revolutionary party to guard against degeneration but to make the revolution. I cannot accept that idea.

One of Trotsky's great contributions to Marxism is his explanation for the Stalinist degeneration. He showed that it was due to the backwardness of Russia and the failure of the world revolution. The terrible lack of goods with which to satisfy the needs of the masses created the conditions necessary for the usurpation of power by the bureaucracy of the workers' state. It now appears most likely that the taking of power by the working class will be followed by a period of scarcity or, under the best of circumstances, a period of difficult readjustment. The danger of a bureaucratization of a section of the party is very great. It is too risky to depend solely on favorable economic conditions to prevent degeneration. We must depend also upon a party of alert and independent revolutionists who will offer the greatest resistance

to any attempt by any section of the bureaucracy to usurp the power of the workers.

Our party must educate its members to be aware of the close connection between the great aims of socialism and the means used to build the party and achieve those aims. The revolutionary socialist who constantly keeps the ultimate aims of socialism in view will inevitably reject clique politics, petty maneuvering and distortion of an opponent's position as methods hostile to the achievement of our aims, as methods laying the basis for a future degeneration. The methods of Cannon are methods of people who see in the organization an end in itself and who forget the great aims of our party.

THE WORKERS PARTY

A few days after we left the SWP and joined the WP, the latter party had a national convention. The delegates showed an independence that is impossible to conceive of in the SWP. The constant shifting of delegates, depending upon the issues and the arguments showed an open-mindedness and independence that are practically inconceivable in the SWP. In speaking to the delegates one did not feel as if he were arguing with a stone wall, a feeling that comes over one when speaking to a gathering of members of the SWP.

It is true that the SWP at present has greater connections with the trade unions and has more members and more proletarian members. But the Stalinists have still more members and more industrial workers who are members. We have supreme confidence that in the end a living, thinking membership will attract to itself the best elements among the workers, and by virtue of a correct political line which can come only as a result of tackling problems on a Marxist basis, will succeed in winning the masses.

We have received a severe blow because the SWP leaders have rejected unity. We do not give up our hopes for ultimate unity. But if there is no unity then we shall continue to build our party, firmly convinced that the principles upon which it is built and an independent revolutionary membership will contribute enormously to the victory of socialism, which to us is impossible without democracy and freedom.

(THE END)

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THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTION - I

By IRVING HQWE

One glaring paradox characterizes our capitalist society: it has developed, to a degree never before dreamed of, the means by which to produce the necessities and luxuries for which men yearn and at the same time it has tragically failed to utilize those means in order to provide a decent life for humanity. This paradox is especially true for America, which boasts the most highly developed technology in the world.

Millions now ask the question: If America could produce so quickly and in such vast quantities for war, why then is it not able to do at least as well for constructive peacetime purposes?

In this article and those to follow, we shall not answer this question directly; we shall not here try to explain the workings of capitalist economy which produce the tragic paradox. Rather, our aim will be more modest: to examine a few recent developments in American productivity, to discuss the effects of war production on the American economic organism and to see what possible effects the recent changes in American productivity will have on the American people.

In no other country has the development of capitalist economy and the increase in productivity reached the degree that it has in America. This economic preponderance of American capitalism was most sharply demonstrated in the war. In 1944 the U. S. outproduced the Axis powers in combat munitions by more than 50 per cent, made over 40 per cent of total armament output of all belligerent nations. This domination in war production merely reflected a general economic superiority.

In recent years, there has been a steady increase in productivity—that is, output per man-hour in a given industry—even though the capitalist system has failed to make the fruits of that increased productivity sufficiently available to the masses. The output per man-hour in manufacturing has more than doubled between 1919 and 1939. In auto, productivity tripled during those years; in oil refining it increased fourfold.

THE INCREASE OF PRODUCTIVITY

This increase in productivity did not stop when the war broke out; quite the contrary. The economist Fritz Sternberg writes:

"According to the Federal Reserve Index of industrial production (1935-39 equals 100), American output again reached the rate for 1929 (110) in 1939; this was because of the great increase in defense appropriations and the stimulation of production by the war in Europe. In 1940, with the draft and beginning of Lend-Lease, the index reached 123, an increase of 13 per cent over 1929. And since 1940, American production was swelled by ANOTHER 50 PER CENT, even though twelve million of the most productive workers had been shifted from the labor market into the armed forces." (COMMENTARY, July 1946.)

Such startling increases in both productivity and total production have been made possible by a number of causes. There have been certain special devices used during the war years, such as the use of child and "marginal" labor; the reckless exploitation of natural resources (e.g., in the Mesabi iron range in Minnesota); excessively long working hours, etc.

But the increase of productivity preceded the war and cannot be explained by it primarily. It is due largely to the continued development of science and research, which makes possible the production of new time-saving machines, new tools and techniques, new and cheaper sources of power, new synthetic products and now, for the first time, perhaps even atomic power. These developments, often prompted by capitalist enterprises frantically in search for new devices to make possible cheaper production and thereby greater profit, are of first importance. They warrant the boast made in a Department of Commerce report as early as 1928 which said: "There is taking place in the U. S. a new industrial revolution, which may far exceed in economic importance that older industrial revolution which occurred in England in the eighteenth century. . . . We are witnessing what is perhaps the most remarkable advance in productive efficiency in the history of the modern industrial system."

This "new industrial revolution" made possible the tremendous productive expansion which characterized the war years. By 1944, the U. S. was producing \$200 billion in goods and services—nearly twice the dollar total of 1940. Once the adjustment in the value of the dollar is made, the gross national output amounted in 1944 to approximately \$150 billions with the dollar having the same value as in 1940. This is still 50 per cent more than in 1940.

How was this tremendous expansion in productivity made possible? And what are the prospects for future expansion in productivity? These questions we shall answer in articles to follow.

National Unrest in Ukraine Behind Stalin's 3 UN Votes

"for internal reasons" he had to have two extra votes for the Ukraine and White Russia."

Had this been reported at the time, there would have been reason for the average person not to take this seriously. But in the light of what is happening in Russia today, particularly in the Ukraine, it is obvious that in addition to the undoubted advantage it would give Russia in the Councils of the UN, Stalin needed this concession in order to strengthen his position in the Ukraine. Undoubtedly the country seethed with resentment against the Moscow régime.

All the reports on the new vast purge reveal that it is most severe in the Ukraine, not for reasons given by the régime in other parts of Stalin's domain, but for particular reasons which have been of long standing in that country.

FOR INDEPENDENCE

The October Revolution had promised the long-suffering Ukrainians a new life in a new social milieu—complete national freedom in a federation of soviet states. Special concessions were given to a country which gave birth to many national movements and many forms of the national struggle for independence. These rights, which the régime of Lenin and Trotsky gave freely, in-

clude the right to use the Ukrainian language and to develop their folk lore, theater and history. With the advent of Stalinism, the Krenfin carried on a reign of national, cultural and intellectual terror against the Ukraine. The present campaign against "bourgeois nationalism" in the Ukraine is merely a cover for imposing on it "Great Russian" nationalism.

Stalin's demand on Roosevelt and Churchill revealed that the struggle in the Ukraine was as continuous as it was widespread. The demand for a Ukrainian vote in the UN was an attempt to show the Ukrainian masses that they were an independent nation recognized even by the powers of the world. But this formal "concession" to Ukrainian nationalism is unavailing, for the people of the Ukraine understand as well as anyone else that the votes cast in their name by Stalin's handpicked "leaders of the nation" have nothing in common with their independence.

For the many reasons given in our article of last week the slogan: For the Independence of Ukraine! remains a living and vital slogan in the interests of its people. It is a crucial issue in the struggle against Stalinism and one of the most formidable slogans in the fight for socialism. —A. G.

Northern Monopolists Pull Strings --

(Continued from page 3)

tion. This is the real inner content of Southern liberalism. They want a greater democratization of the South, increased participation of the people in the political affairs of the region. They are against the poll-tax for this reason primarily. They seek to form an alliance with the masses against the socially backward planters who today wield the political power.

RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

These white Southern liberals face more than one difficult problem in their industrialization program. While it is they who will eventually come over to the unionization program of the CIO, because they will become convinced that such a step will be a necessary one for industrialization, they will incur the increasing enmity of the planters and landlords. Every concrete step in industrializing the South is an attack on the plantation system. The workers will leave the plantations and swarm into the factories. The planters will be forced to pay higher wages for production in the hand economy or be forced to resort to mechanization which will tend to transform the old-fashioned plantation into a "factory in the field." This would make organization easier and also necessitate the payment of higher wages.

The main problem, however, is the poverty of the South. Also, leading Southerners are divided on what is the proper manner of attacking the problem of industrialization. There are the patriots who want the industries to be indigenous. This group desires that the industries be owned by native Southerners in order that the wealth may remain in the South. The other group are the economic and political deputies of Northern monopoly capitalism. It is this group which is in the best position to prosper and make economic headway. It is in this group that one finds the representatives of the great Eastern public utility holding companies, banks and insurance companies, the representatives of Northern manufacturers, of U. S. Steel, of railroads owned in the North.

These managers for Northern monopoly capitalism are concentrated in Atlanta, Dallas, Birmingham and other large Southern cities. They are the defenders of the high tariff, freight differentials and low wages, and they are the financiers of the horde of anti-labor proto-fascists and equally anti-labor religious mountebanks who infest every corner of the South. "He commands the colonial outposts for Northern overlords who have never been averse to the maintenance of the entire South as a slum area, a gigantic sweatshop dedicated to Northern profit." The manager for his Northern employer "knows the whys of the eighty-five per cent ownership in Georgia, the meaning of the fact that fifty cents of every dollar on deposit in Georgia banks is owned in the North."

NORTHERN MONOPOLISTS PULL SOUTHERN STRINGS

The Southern demagogue and political rabble-rouser is often as not in league with the Northern monopoly capitalist through his deputy in the South. It was revealed, for instance, that Talmadge was financed by the Georgia Power & Light Co. The only thing Georgian is the word Georgia. It is an operating subsidiary of a Northern holding company. The congressional tie-up between certain reactionary and blatant Southerners and reactionary Northern Congressmen is not an accident of history or a bloc made, for instance, to keep Roosevelt from becoming a "dictator." Both of these groups of Congressmen are the political fronts for Northern monopolists. The lineal de-

scendants of Northern abolitionists can and do make such blocs for the reason that not only do their general class interests coincide, but also because they often share more objective economic interests. And so a relatively cultured Taft can find himself in arm with stupid and ignorant clowns such as Bilbo and Rankin.

Right now, therefore, it is of no concern to the Northern capitalists that one of every four citizens in the South is denied real political rights. They are not aroused over the fact that Bilbo was elected by only 15 per cent of those of voting age voting. They know that the South has 40 per cent of the natural resources of the country, but produces only 12 per cent of the manufactured goods. The owners of U. S. Steel know the value to them of the Alabama poll-tax. It

helps to keep both taxes and wages low.

In the Southeastern states, eight per cent of the people can neither read nor write. Forty-five per cent of the youth below 24 in Mississippi do not attend school. Northern monopoly capitalism is not disturbed by this, for all of these people can pick cotton, cut lumber, mine sulphur and iron and do the many other unskilled tasks of a region used primarily for the production of raw materials. Furthermore, even though a man is illiterate, he is nevertheless a part of the great national market.

Monopoly capitalism today is not disturbed by the high disease and mortality rate of the South. Even here a profit can be made. All the medicinals (except the quack nostrums) and the coffins are made in

the North. While the government was disturbed by the fact that 16 per cent of the men rejected for the Army from the South were rejected because of syphilis and only 9 per cent from the North were rejected for the same disease, such things do not disturb the capitalist marketeers, bookkeepers and bondholders.

These are a few of the problems which the labor movement must face and deal with as it moves into the South. The Southern manager who conducts the negotiations with the unions can sign no agreements until he has telephoned New York. The champion of locally owned industries cannot go far because he too must deal with Northern monopoly capitalism with which he is confronted.

The Second of Three Articles on the Brotherhoods

What Next for Railroad Labor?

By GORDON HASKELL

(In the previous issue of LABOR ACTION it was pointed out that since the railroad strike last May the railroad unions have been seething with discontent. The article ended by stating that the new element in the railroad labor picture was the announcement last May that the United Railroad Workers of America-CIO, was starting a drive to organize all workers on all roads leading into West Coast terminals, regardless of craft. This article is the second in a series of three written specially for LABOR ACTION by Brother Haskell who is a locomotive fireman.)

It is difficult to estimate the full extent of the revolt in the brotherhoods since the strike. Labor and the brotherhood magazines either give no publicity to what has happened, or refer to it in vague terms. On the other hand, such is the cut-throat competition among the different rail unions, that the representatives of each seek to exaggerate as much as possible the disaffection in the ranks of its rivals.

To the personal knowledge of the writer, several lodges of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in northern California passed resolutions demanding the resignation of Whitney. Estimates run from one to several hundreds in this area alone, of the firemen who left the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers and joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers because of the role they believed Robertson to have played during the strike. It was also due in part to the propaganda by the BoLE to the effect that by joining it firemen were promoting the cause of one union for all engineers. (It should be born in mind that the largest lodge of the BoLE on the Southern Pacific has under four hundred members.) If these instances have been repeated on a national scale, it can easily be seen that the movement is of tremendous proportions.

In the labor movement when full and accurate information is not available, a good way of estimating the sentiments of the ranks is to watch the reactions of the leadership. It is true that the conservative and bureaucratic union leadership does not express the will of the membership. But when feeling among the ranks runs too high, the leadership will often attempt to institute measures which it hopes will quiet the discontent and run it into "safe" channels—that is, channels which will in no way disturb the control and domination of the leadership.

POST-STRIKE REACTIONS

Judging from the response of the leadership in the railroad unions, the pressure from the rank and file must be at the bursting point. No sooner was the rail strike sold down the river, than the leaders began making what for them were very strange noises indeed. Whitney began issuing statements to the effect that the days of the independent brotherhoods were numbered, and that the BoFRT was going to affiliate with one of the great national labor organizations. He appeared arm-in-arm with local and national CIO leaders on a platform at a New York City demonstration to protest the anti-labor laws pending before Congress.

Robertson began singing his old tune of amal-

gamation with the hogheads—and this time it was more than a song. The August issue of the BoLE magazine contained a referendum ballot on which the membership could vote for or against consolidation with the Engineers. Rumors fly thick and fast that the Engineers are also for consolidation or, for affiliation with the CIO, or both. At the same time that they issue these statements and give wings to these rumors, the brotherhood chiefs are proceeding with their usual vigor against any INDEPENDENT agitation from the ranks for amalgamation among the unions or affiliation with the CIO.

Among the non-operating unions the reactions are less obvious, but equally intense. Labor tries in every issue to prove to the men that the "fried and true" policies of the leaders and of the AFL in general are to the greatest benefit of the men. Actually, the leaders of the non-operating workers have less room in which to maneuver than do those of the operating brotherhoods, for they are firmly wedded to the AFL craft union policy as well as to the AFL organization. Their propaganda has to be along the traditional lines of the AFL's attacks on the CIO—that is, to incite the skilled workers against the unskilled, to arouse and foster craft prejudices, prejudices against women workers and particularly against the Negroes.

CIO ENTERS FIELD

The announcement by the United Railroad Workers of America (URRWA-CIO) that they were going to start organizing railroad workers of all crafts on roads leading into West Coast terminals hit the railroad unions like a bombshell.

Previously the URRWA had confined itself to organizing non-operating workers and these chiefly on roads where company or independent unions had the contracts. They had won a collective bargaining election for all Maintenance of Way men on the Santa Fe in a contest with the AFL union. The fact of the matter is, however, that the issue in the Santa Fe election was mainly whether the existing "independent" union would go over to the URRWA-CIO. On the Pennsylvania, the URRWA had won three crafts out of eight in the shop and maintenance of equipment departments, but there the contest was mainly with the company union which had never been replaced by an independent labor organization. At the present time the URRWA-CIO is conducting another organizing campaign on the Pennsy for the remaining shop and maintenance of equipment crafts and is being opposed by the company union as well as by the shopcraft unions of the AFL.

But this campaign on the Western roads was, apparently, to be an all-out battle for a real industrial union from top to bottom waged against all the old-line organizations. Workers who know the situation in the railroad unions greeted the announcement of the URRWA drive with high hopes. They knew the dissatisfaction among the men, the strivings for one powerful railroad union embracing all the men, which would put an end to the constant bickering, friction and inter-union conflict which have led to the partial defeats of one wage movement after another. But they also knew that the rail union chiefs are men

grown old in the experience of railroad unionism who would put up a terrific battle, with no holds barred, before they would permit themselves to be replaced by a democratic, rank and file controlled, militant industrial union on the rails.

The most progressive and intelligent railroad workers therefore hailed the announcement of the CIO drive with cheers, and naturally expected it to be immediately followed up by the kind of organizing drive of which they know the CIO is capable when it means business. They also expected the old-line unions, and particularly the operating ones, to descend on the West with dozens of organizers and hundreds of thousands of dollars to try to combat the CIO drive.

DRIVE SLOWS TO NOTHING

But weeks went by, and then months, and, neither happened. Those on the inside soon found out that the URRWA-CIO was operating on what amounted to a shoestring, depending almost solely on what it could collect in initiation fees and dues to finance the Western drive.

The whole West Coast was provided with just one (1) representative from the national offices in Chicago, supplemented by a couple of very brief visits by A. B. Martin, National Director of the URRWA, and later by D. B. Anderson, National Secretary-Treasurer. It further turned out that there was no agreement among the recognized leaders of the CIO on the West Coast on this drive. Railroad workers, enquiring of state and local CIO Councils about the drive, were told that it was not authorized by the national CIO and was contrary to national CIO policy. Letters to this effect were sent by Mervyn Rathbone, Secretary of the state CIO Council, to brotherhood representatives which were then posted in the shops and yards and distributed among the workers. Finally, at the July meeting of the State CIO Council a formal resolution was passed condemning the drive and stating that it was not authorized by the National CIO.

On the other hand, the brotherhoods confined their opposition to the drive to posting these letters. Not a single organizer was sent into the field to combat the drive, and, to our knowledge, not a single piece of literature was distributed to the men attacking the CIO (except for the letters from Rathbone mentioned above). On July 3, 1946, a copy of a telegram from A. F. Whitney to one of his local henchmen was posted in which Whitney informed this man not to worry about the organizing activities of the CIO among members of the BRT. Whitney stated that he had just had a conference with Allan Heywood, National Director of Organization of the CIO, and that Heywood had promised him that he would put an end to such organizing activities at once.

(Next Week: What happened to the CIO drive to organize all railroad workers? Why did the URRWA-CIO change its policy, and what is the real policy of the national CIO toward railroad workers? Should progressive rails support the URRWA-CIO and work to build it, or should they seek a different approach to their union problems? Read the answers to these questions in the final article of this series on railroad labor in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.)

WHAT STALIN DEMANDED

Many readers will recall that when the United Nations was organized at San Francisco it had before it a proposal to grant Russia three votes on the ground that White Russia and the Ukraine would be represented as independent nations. At that time the only explanation given for this demand accepted at Yalta by Roosevelt and Churchill, was that it gave Stalin a larger vote in a body in which voting blocs were stacked against him.

But last week, James Reston, New York Times correspondent at the UN meeting at Lake Success, discloses that Stalin gave another reason for his demand. As he related the story, Reston writes that when Stalin first raised this question, Roosevelt said that if this demand was made, he (Roosevelt) would demand forty-eight votes for the American States. Stalin is reported to have walked around the table and said, "I demanded Roosevelt again and said,

SWP, Please Note: How French Trotskyists Fight High Prices

By SAUL BERG

It is high time that the superorthodox Socialist Workers Party began to catch up with the French section of the Fourth International, which shows more and more a gratifying independence from the sectarianism of the American SWP.

A few weeks ago LABOR ACTION reprinted a short article from La Vérité, the French Trotskyist organ, in which the French comrades explained their use of the slogan "Workers' Control of Prices." Until that time the SWP had successfully resisted any attempt to react to the price situation with anything but the sliding scale of wages demand (a demand good in itself, but not enough). Since then, in their typical mealy-mouthed fashion, they have shipped some price control slogans into their program, without admitting any change. But they continue to denounce the Workers Party slogan based on the original program of the General Motors strikers—"Wage Increases Without Price Increases." Why? Because such a demand is not achievable under capitalism, you see, and thereby creates illusions among the workers.

Our answer to this profound argument was two-fold: first, many portions of the Trotskyist Transitional Program, which they endorse, are not achievable under capitalism; second, it is not demonstrable that in an epoch when prices are kept artificially high by the development of capitalist monopoly, it is impossible for the workers to wrest wage increases without price increases through a determined and unified struggle.

FRENCH POSITION

Now we turn to La Vérité for July 26 and find an article by Comrade

Michèle Mestre, entitled, "They Revisé Marx and Lenin." Who revises Marx and Lenin? Thorez and Lafitte, French Stalinist leaders. By saying that the workers CAN'T get wage increases without price increases.

Let us translate the cogent portions of Mestre's argument:

"Studying imperialism, Lenin wrote:

"Marx demonstrated by a theoretical and historical analysis of capitalism that free competition engenders concentration of production, which, in its turn, arrived at a certain degree of its development, leads to monopoly. Now the monopolies have become a fact. . . . They extend to the conditions of sale and exchange. They distribute outlets. They fix the quantity of product to be manufactured, as well as prices. They share the benefits between different enterprises, etc."

"The development of monopolies—which has only been accentuated during the war, prevents competition from operating as in the days of developing capitalism. Our 'theoreticians' no longer recall that before the war the markets were stuffed with merchandise while the workers could not satisfy their needs.

"On the eve of the election the Stalinist leaders abandoned what they had said for months. With great fanfare, the French Communist Party pronounced itself for the unfreezing of wages. Maurice Thorez was assigned to make the theoretical adjustment in his closing speech to the meeting of the Central Committee June 16th. He went back to Marx and discovered: 'that an increase in wages was possible without increase in the cost of living.' The Trotskyists explained that months ago."

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Solidarity Guarantees Maritime Strike Victory - -

(Continued from page 1)

attempt to cross the line. NMU seamen had already been instructed by their leadership to respect the picket lines and on the West Coast, stevedores belonging to the ILWU, also a CIO affiliated, showed their support of the strike by failing to appear for work. Suddenly but surely, those harbors which a single day before had been the busiest in the world took on a Sunday quiet, broken only by the march of the pickets.

Washington is openly disturbed. The bureaucrats who made the decision that precipitated the strike were unavailable for comment. An "authoritative spokesman" for one of them made the brilliant point that if the information they now had had been available when they rejected the wage agreement of the SIU-SUP with the shipowners, they would not have made their objectionable ruling. The truth of the matter is that the only information they did not have was that the AFL seamen could so completely halt waterfront activity. Now the WSB is seeking, as well as it is able to, to get out of the responsibility it bears for the tie-up. It is said that it is only the board's desire to "save face" that has permitted the strike to continue as long as it has, and that it will at the first opportunity find "new information" and reverse its previous decision.

Unlike the strike of the Committee for Maritime Unity last June, no threat has been made at the present time by Truman that the government will man ships with Army and Navy personnel. Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach gave the reason away in the following statement to the press: "Suppose the Navy took over and the Marine Corps loaded and unloaded the ships. There wouldn't be a single teamster to take the stuff to and from the docks."

The statement by Schwollenbach shows how labor unity acts to prevent government strike-breaking. In the case of the CMU strike crisis last June, it was the statement of the SIU-SUP that they would join the seamen of the CIO in their strike action should the government man a single ship that silenced the Truman threat to sink the ships should the stoppage occur. In the present instance, there can be no doubt that the prompt support given the SIU-SUP by both AFL and CIO affiliates has stopped the government from embarking on an all-out strike-breaking offensive.

NMU ACTION
This tremendously successful action of the SIU-SUP shows up once and for all the Stalinist lie that the AFL seamen's union was the pet of the American shipowners and was always favored for this reason with

better contracts than the CIO maritime unions. In the present case the AFL unions have succeeded in squeezing better contracts from the shipowners and are now engaged in a great effort to protect them from the boss-dominated government boards.

From the very first the SIU-SUP rejected government intervention into their negotiations. On the other hand, the charge must be laid on the NMU that it accepted and encouraged government intervention into its disputes with the shipowners and signed its contracts invariably in Washington under the thumb of the capital bureaucrats.

But in the midst of the present joint struggle of all the unions, forces are at work to disrupt the unity that has been achieved. In the National Maritime Union, Curran and the Stalinist Meyer faction supported the strike for two reasons only: First, they realized how difficult it would be to get their men to cross legitimate AFL picket lines. Any attempt on the part of the NMU leadership to have their membership play the part of strike-breakers would have undoubtedly led to a revolt among the rank and file of the union. Second, the immense support accorded the SIU-SUP by the teamsters and longshoremen would have made their picket lines effective regardless of

whatever action the NMU leadership might have taken.

But the fact that the NMU leadership operated behind the scenes against the AFL seamen-and, therefore, also against the best interests of their own membership, is shown by the statement of John Hawk at the SIU meeting of August 28, that the NMU had operated in secret in Washington and encouraged the Wage Stabilization Board to reject any increase granted to the AFL greater than what they had received in their own negotiations. Today's press reported a statement by Joseph Curran of the NMU that they are considering moving some ships. If the NMU attempts this and thus breaks the solidarity of the strike, the blame will rest squarely on the shoulders of the NMU leadership.

REUTHER AIRS UAW DISPUTE--

(Continued from page 1)
Thomas, plus the critical economic situation that the union finds itself in today.
This attitude was further demonstrated when Joe Mattson, the regional director, and a member of the international executive board, spoke. He stated that "Reuther should not have brought this out on the floor today." He was met with thunderous cries of "Why not?" and "Aren't we supposed to know?"
The attitude was best summed up by an old activist. He said, "The only way to prevent situations from getting bad is to let the rank and file know the score. That wasn't the case in 1939 and that is why it was such a bombshell to many of us."
The Stalinists made their usual hypocritical speeches for "unity."
There is no doubt that Reuther was at his "peak of strength" in Region 4, but his position would have been much stronger if he had presented the wage case as an immediate case, and raised the pressing political problems of the day.
Reuther's wage policy at the present time is to "threaten" the government that unless prices are rolled back, the union will reopen the second cycle on wage agreements. No one, much less Reuther, believes that the Decontrol Board will roll back prices. Wage increases are paramount now, and a real struggle around the GM program for Wage Increases Without Price Increases is indicated, a struggle tied in with a complete program to fight the rising cost of living.

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The conference was well attended, and the conference on the whole was much better than the last Board meeting. This time the rank and file fought their way to discussing some of the problems that confronted them. The next quarterly meeting should produce an even fuller discussion of these questions.

Since then these officials have refused to meet in any fashion, or cooperate in any way with the NMU, despite the fact that from the very first the members of that organization recognized the AFL picket lines and worked in every way to advance the common cause.

But among the rank and file of both organizations a new sentiment of unity exists. Everywhere in the SIU-SUP there are heard amiable comments toward the NMU and its members. In the NMU itself there is a common feeling that the fact that the AFL seamen have taken in the struggle for higher wages has shown the high caliber of the AFL seamen as union men. Only the attempts of

the leadership of both organization to cool this sentiment toward unity, in action prevents it from being even more outspoken. And therein is the danger to the complete success of the strike.

REUTHER AIRS UAW DISPUTE--

(Continued from page 1)
Thomas, plus the critical economic situation that the union finds itself in today.
This attitude was further demonstrated when Joe Mattson, the regional director, and a member of the international executive board, spoke. He stated that "Reuther should not have brought this out on the floor today." He was met with thunderous cries of "Why not?" and "Aren't we supposed to know?"
The attitude was best summed up by an old activist. He said, "The only way to prevent situations from getting bad is to let the rank and file know the score. That wasn't the case in 1939 and that is why it was such a bombshell to many of us."
The Stalinists made their usual hypocritical speeches for "unity."
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Forum: Friday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p.m. Topic—"MISLEADERS OF LABOR"; Speaker—JACK WEBB; Admission—10 cents.
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SEATTLE
For information regarding the activities of the Seattle Branch, and for further information regarding LABOR ACTION and the WORKERS PARTY, write to B. Donaldson, c/o Eckhart News, 102 Washington St., Seattle, Washington.
Announcing a class on PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM, based on Max Shachtman's new book, The Fight for Socialism, every Monday night at 8 p.m. at Independence Hall, 41st St. and University Way. Sessions will continue on every Monday through October 14.

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PRESS MANAGER'S

PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

Circulation of the new eight-page LABOR ACTION is slowly but surely picking up. We hear of progress from all sides.
Lucy writes from San Pedro, "the sale of the papers at the shipyards and the Longshore Hall seems to be coming along pretty well. Hope it's not too early to judge. At the L. A. shipyard we sold 25 one week and 31 the next. We only covered the Longshore Hiring Hall once. Fourteen papers were all we had, and 14 were what we sold."
From Cleveland we hear that the paper is sold regularly at one plant with very good results. In addition, Ray tells us, "we have been concentrating on getting L. A. renewals. We have obtained 16."
Berkeley sends in this request: "Will you please increase the regular Berkeley bundle by 25 copies. Sales are coming along better than expected, and I think that there is a good prospect of regular increases in the bundle as we get established and feel our way around with new union sales."
This kind of news is what we should be reporting about each week. And it will be forthcoming from all signs now visible.
Chicago and San Francisco tied for high place this week with nine subs each. And all localities have shown an increase.

Chicago	9
San Francisco	9
New York City	7
Seattle	6
Philadelphia	4
Buffalo	4
Newark	3
Mixed States	3
Cleveland	2
Detroit	2
Missouri	2
Minnesota	2
Boston	1
Los Angeles	1
Total	55

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No Cargo, No Tugs, No Pilot

By MARY HOWARD

No tugs to escort her out; no pilot to guide her; no cargo in her holds. That's how the Gripsholm, one of the foreign ships to slip out of New York harbor in spite of the tightest harbor shut-down in the history of maritime, managed to sail last week.

The Gripsholm showed at least five feet of rusty side against her white paint, where she rode high of her usual waterline when loaded. Her only load this trip were her passengers, who had carried their own luggage on board, even trunks, because no longshoremen would cross the SIU-SUP picket lines to load her, and no member of the Swedish crew's union would set a foot off deck in order to do longshoremen's work. The Swedish union's representatives in the port of New York kept in constant touch with the strikers.

MATES DO THE WORK

Pickets that had been marching all day long as passengers carried their luggage on board, grew tense at 3 o'clock, the time the Swedish-American line had announced for the Gripsholm to sail. Doors to the pier were locked, and guards matched pickets in number. Suddenly the ship gave a long blast of her whistle, indicating she was sailing. Pickets and visitors alike raced for the next pier from which it was possible to see the ship clearly. There she rode, just as before, except that she seemed to be coming in a little, and her ropes were slacking.

At a signal, her crew stood by fore and aft, but they did not touch the ropes and cable holding her to the pier—this was longshoremen's work. Then along the pier came a sorry sight: two mates, their usually sparkling white uniforms unbuttoned and dirty, and their habitually spotless gloves grease-stained. While the strikers watched bitterly,

and the Swedish crew leaned on the rails, the mates pulled the slacked ropes off the pier heads, letting them flop into the water. Then they returned to the ship and pulled the ropes up to the deck.

TUGMEN JOIN PICKETS

Two tugs pulled up close to the pier, and the SUP men looked at their watches. Quarter after three, and the tugs didn't go on strike until four. But they had promised to respect picket lines! The men ran out to the end of the pier. "What the hell are you guys going to do?" they yelled across to the tugs. The tug men called back that they had been informed the pickets had gone away. "The hell we have!" came back. "We've got three dozen men out here right now." "Well, for God's sake, why didn't you say so," yelled the tug men, "here—catch our line." And to a man they walked off the tugs and sat down with the SUP strikers for a smoke. Among them was the pilot, who declared he wouldn't board the Gripsholm to take her out while she was being picketed "if the King of Sweden was on her!"

For a moment there was no activity from the ship. No tugs, no pilot—surely she wouldn't sail!

Then the strikers saw that the steel cables, which one ship had cut with axes, had been doubled during the previous night, so that one end could easily be loosed on the deck, and the whole length could be pulled through the eye on the dock. Slowly the cable was drawn through this eye and back onto the deck by the mates.

SAILS IN SILENCE

The Gripsholm gave three short farewell blasts of her whistle, traditionally tooted back from ships in the harbor. There was no answer. Everything was dead silence. Even the passengers and those seeing

them off didn't cheer and yell as usual. Then slowly she backed out of her pier, one of the hardest on the river to maneuver. She had waited until the tide, which was in, would work to her advantage, aiding her twin screws to pull her around into the channel correctly. Belatedly some lone pier whistle saluted her three times and she answered back.

As she started down the river, the SUP men commented that only her mates and her captain had scabbed. She was empty of cargo, and not a man had crossed her picket line. Only the international sailing laws had enabled her to sail at all, for those laws decreed that her crew, who otherwise would have refused to work in sympathy with American strikers, could not refuse to work in a foreign port, for that was mutiny.

BUFFALO MEETING HEARS ERBER ON WORKERS PARTY PRICE PROGRAM

BUFFALO, Sept. 3—The recently reorganized Buffalo branch of the Workers Party held a successful meeting Tuesday night at which an audience of 45 people listened to Ernest Erber, National Educational Director of the Workers Party, speak on "Labor's Next Move Against Price Rises."

Erber's main point consisted in the development of this analysis: that if anyone is serious about the price question, then they must be prepared to follow through with a series of steps which go beyond the framework of present labor-capital relations. The speaker compared the problem involved in effectively controlling prices to an inclined plane on which the initial step downward automatically leads, by the very mechanics of the situation, to further steps in the attempt to reach the solution.

Erber outlined concretely the necessary steps and showed how they flow logically from the recent General Motors strike program. Wage increases without price increases and the slogan of open the books must lead to factory committees which will concern themselves with wages, prices, and profits, which mean in effect a partial control of production, and eventually nationalization of industry under workers' control. The speaker then tied in the need for political action to protect and implement the actions in and around the factories.

That the audience followed and approved Erber's analysis was attested by the favorable comments after the speech, while most of the people were enjoying sandwiches and coffee. About twenty of those present came from one of the large factories in the Buffalo area.

continued to be demonstrated. Besides some wage increases, the coal miners won some of their long-postponed demands for safe and healthful working conditions. The seamen got shorter hours and overtime pay on board ship. The union leaders continued to back down from aggressively pressing labor's fight, but the militant spirit of fight of the overwhelming majority of workers was unquestionable.

The climax was the momentous railroad strike. Two railroad brotherhoods stood the nation on end. President Truman answered with strike-breaking legislation. The strike ended with the railway workers winning some improvement in working conditions and the typical small increases in pay. Truman's anti-labor proposal was met with a nationwide wave of mass protests, demonstrations, threats of more serious action, talk by many labor leaders of fighting the administration. The result was that Truman's bill, passed heatedly in the House with less than a score of dissenters, never came to vote in the Senate. The equally anti-labor Case Bill, opposed even by Truman, disappeared after his veto. The tremendous undiminished strength of labor had again been revealed. And again the labor leaders faltered. Here was the perfect opportunity to completely break with capitalist politicians. Instead, they have lobbied and maneuvered.
Again, a similar situation occurred when Congress allowed OPA to expire. The trade union organizations might have followed the ideas of the

GM program, might have organized popular price control committees and found an effective means for price control. Or they might have seriously begun an all powerful campaign for the maintenance of the meager price checks OPA affords. Some unions, again led by the UAW, began a series of dramatic actions. But the trade union leadership, by and large, CIO as well as AFL, continued their old routine of "pressuring" legislators.
As a returning veteran, three months of experience at home have brought the following general observations. Unmatched wealth and industrial power plus world dominance have not, and could not, solve America's most obvious economic problems. The ranks of organized labor have shown their willingness and desire to engage in a militant struggle. Many veterans, civilians again but not completely able to economically adjust themselves, are looking for some way to show their discontent. Their demonstrations for homes, particularly in New York, illustrates their willingness to go out of their way to fight for their immediate needs. The labor movement could and must provide the leadership, but it has been only partially done because of the timidity of the trade union officialdom.
WILLIAM BARTON.

Goes Strong for Eight-Page LA

Dear Editor:
Receive LABOR ACTION every week. Boy! That eight-pager sure covers a lot of ground. Hope to see the day when the State of Maine gets a paper in the interests of labor. That would change the picture all around. Everything is one hundred years behind the times. But there are still some good fighters in Maine and we're not going to give up even if it may look like we are fighting against a brick wall.
T. G., Maine.

Seattle Labor Day Parade a Dud

Dear Editor:
A meager handful of workers, less than 300 in number, marched down the streets of Seattle, Wash., key city of the most highly organized state in the union and turbulent storm center of many past labor struggles, and wound up at the Moore Theater in a Stalinist political circus—all disguised as a Labor Day meeting and parade.
Continual jockeying and manipulation by Stalinists within the labor unions as well as the sloth and reaction in the AFL hierarchy had brought to nothing what could have been a demonstration of labor solidarity.
A., Seattle.

Observations Of a Veteran

Dear Editor:
The U. S., despite its unprecedented position as the most powerful nation in the history of mankind, appears unable to solve the most elementary problems of its people. That has been the clear and vivid lesson of the few months since I've been back in the States. Housing shortages, greater and greater inflation, insecurity—these are what I have found.
However, equally dramatic has been the popular answer to all this. We all had heard about the strike wave while in the ETO (European Theatre of Operations). But it required closer contact with some of the participants to appreciate the true nature and full significance of these struggles.
I landed while the GM strike was still a recent event and a frequent subject of conversation. It became clear to me that American labor was not only vigorous and militant, but was campaigning on grounds far more advanced than usual. The GM strikers were presenting a program whose ultimate execution meant challenging the very system of capitalist ownership and control of industry. Unfortunately, the rest of the labor movement, fighting mad though it was, did not follow the same course. But, the UAW's GM program has remained a beacon light in labor's struggle today. Labor's might and determination

Secretary Byrnes' Declaration at Stuttgart:

U. S., Russia Vie to Control Germany

The speech which U. S. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes made last week at Stuttgart, Germany, was a declaration of first importance, an authoritative statement of U. S. imperialism's policy on European affairs.

Industrialized Germany and reduced it to petty provinces. For part of Byrnes' program called for an increase in industrial production in Germany as a means, he said, of meeting the unexpected Russian demand for reparations based on current German industrial production.

controls this partially destroyed, largely unused but potentially still tremendous industrial power has a tremendous advantage in both the current economic-political struggle and in any future war.

blunt declaration that U. S. imperialism will not leave Germany, that it will sink its claws deeper into the Western section as Russia sinks hers into the Eastern part.

CENTRAL POINTS

- The points of Byrnes' speech were: 1) The United States has abandoned the policy of acquiescing in the division of Germany into four political and economic zones—a policy which, in Byrnes' words, "is neither governing Germany nor allowing Germany to govern itself."

Byrnes is proposing the partial revival of German capitalism—with American occupation troops still present, however—in order to create anew a point of support for the next war if and when it breaks out.

And that is why both Byrnes and Molotov are preparing plans which seem somewhat more palatable to the Germans—on the surface. The proposal of Byrnes for increased production in Germany is bound to appeal to almost every sector of the German population.

In other words, the policy of the U. S. will henceforth be to establish a central government in at least the zones which it, Britain and France control; a government dominated by the conservative, nationalist parties and supported by the servile Social-Democrats.

With these proposals, American imperialism has played a trump card. It has in effect abandoned the Morgenthau Plan, which would have de-

For Germany remains a central stronghold in case of a future war, as well as a strategic position for the imperialist domination of Europe today.

which Britain controls.) If, then, Byrnes' speech is a significant step in American imperialism's diplomatic and economic war with its Russian rival, it is also of first importance as far as internal German life is concerned. It is a

In fact, the process has already begun. As Raymond Daniell writes: "In Bavaria and elsewhere in the American zones, the militarists, nationalists and sympathizers with the Nazi program are coming back into power."

Any Line Will Do—if It Helps Russian Reaction

Stalinists Embrace Argentina's Dictator

By CARL DAVIS

In the manner of quick-change artists, which accurately portrays their adaptability to rapidly changing political lines, the Argentine Stalinists have announced their support of Peron's dictatorship.

ator," who seized power through a coup and a rigged up, strong-armed election, becomes the representative of "constitutional order and stability." If this appears to be an aberration on the part of the Argentine Stalinists, remember that it reflects the line given them by Moscow which dishonestly links the dictatorial régime and the masses who oppose it by speaking of "two freedom-loving and democratic" people—Argentina and the Soviet Union.

ance of relations with Germany did not strengthen its position in the Pan-American Union or the United Nations. Peron's régime was being paid off by the Allies for its wartime neutrality, that is, for taking advantage of the war to play off one side against another in the interests of Argentine nationalism—for profit which would accrue to its financial, industrial and landlord class.

and defense of Stalinist dictatorship and foreign policy, but it also reveals that for them the terms "reactionary" and "fascist" have a changing meaning. Thus, "reactionary and fascist," in the Stalinist dictionary, does not mean individuals, groups and movements in capitalist society which oppose the interests of the people, democracy, social progress or socialism.

As soon as Russia changed its policy toward Peron, the Communist (Stalinist) parties in this hemisphere adopted the new line automatically without allowing their membership and following a moment's breathe to adjust themselves to this change.

BACKGROUND TO CHANGE OF KREMLIN'S LINE

The whole incident is an excellent example of the perfidy of Stalinism. During the war, the Stalinist Party of Argentina, its sister organizations in South America, and the most vocal of all, the Communist Party of the United States, kept up a steady chorus of denunciation of Peron, and the American State Department because it did not immediately break off relations with him.

Reflecting the war alliance between Russia and the United States, the Stalinists and their fellow travelers demanded a rupture of relations with Argentina and the adoption of a policy of intervention which could only mean the destruction of the independence of the country. The demand for this rupture, however, overlooked the conflict between the United States and Great Britain over who shall establish economic preponderance in Argentina. It was this conflict which prevented a rupture with Peron. Had the U. S. severed its relations with Peron, Great Britain would have had a clear field in the one South American country in which she still had considerable interests.

Throughout eastern Europe, the Russian puppet régimes are composed not only of Stalinist henchmen and the secret police, but of native fascists, reactionaries, anti-Semites and characterless, unprincipled people. On this side of the ocean, the reactionary, dictatorship of Peron is now "freedom-loving" and his organized and subsidized totalitarian mobs and military aides have been transformed into the "masses."

"The Congress voiced its determination to fight against such attempts (American imperialist maneuvers against Peron) and to go into the streets with the Peronist masses should any reactionary (!) movement endanger constitutional order and stability..."

Even Argentina's formal sever-

In the meantime, neither the British nor American rulers, gave much thought to Russia. They did not think that with the end of the war Russia would join this rivalry. But Russia did. It recognized the régime which only yesterday it denounced as the fiercest terms. And just as quickly as the Kremlin changed its policy, its hirelings and agents throughout the world echoed the change.

A reactionary, imperialist régime in Russia produces a reactionary policy both domestic and foreign. As in other parts of the world, the Stalinists in this hemisphere carry out the imperialist policy of their bosses in the Kremlin. Bearing this in mind, it should be clear why the justifiable opposition of the masses of Latin and South America against U. S., and in part, British imperialism, must not be allowed to become a support for Russian imperialism and the native dictatorships?

"Relations between Communist and Peronist workers are excellent at this time."

The important fact is that the workers fought for and won their long repressed demands. They knew that they had to fight for their rights, that the strike was necessary and was their main weapon in that just battle. They defeated the all-out company drive to smash their union. And to win they were on strike for 8½ months.

EIGHT-MONTH PHELPS DODGE STRIKE ENDS WITH VICTORY FOR WORKERS

ELIZABETH, N. J.—The Phelps Dodge workers, UE-CIO Local 441, have fought through to a hard-won victory in one of the longest strikes in New Jersey history. The struggle was marked by company attempts to use government courts, the U. S. Coast Guard, and armed mercenary thugs. The union had many militant rallies, some city-wide, but checked in the main by UE locals. All strike-breaking and back-to-work movement attempts were successfully smashed by the determined strikers.

time in computing the vacation pay of the strikers. The corporation used the pretext of Stalinist domination to break the strike.

The whole situation is indeed a little embarrassing to many Stalinist organizations which up until almost yesterday demanded a break with Peron and measures to overthrow this "reactionary" and "fascist" who in no way represented the people of the country. And now? Now the régime has become "democratic," "freedom-loving," and representative of the "masses."

STALINIST PARTIES ARE AGENTS OF RUSSIA This switch of line on the part of the Stalinists not only confirms the charge that the Communist Parties of the world are Russian agents whose main purpose is the advocacy

Nationalize Meat Industry Say 25 Packinghouse Locals

What has happened to the thousands upon thousands of livestock that were rushed to market two weeks ago?

They could not possibly have been processed and eaten in so short a time. Yet, we are today faced with what the newspapers generally call a meat famine.

The answer is simple enough. The Big Packers and cattle raisers are deliberately withholding meat from the market now that meat "controls" have been restored. Not satisfied with the unwarranted boost in prices granted them by Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, they are out to force still higher prices by creating a false scarcity.

MONOPOLISTS STAND AGAINST THE PEOPLE

This isn't the first time. Before the old OPA died in June (and the new OPA is just as dead so far as controlling prices is concerned), meat was hard to get. It was there—roaming the ranges, or stored in warehouses. The meat monopolists kept meat off the market—or steered it exclusively toward the black market.

That is what they are preparing to do today: let some of it drift into the black market; keep the rest of it stored away.

Not so long ago the Big Packers accused the packinghouse workers of being responsible for the shortage. At the time, the workers exposed the fact that millions of tons of meat were packed away in cold storage.

The profiteers have their way of getting what they want. And that way is against the interests of the people. They have shown their unwillingness to provide meat at prices within the reach of everyone. They have proved that, in going after fatter profits, they are willing to create a situation where meat is unobtainable.

They have at the same time proved that they will not keep the industry's workers employed at a decent wage. Over 10,000 workers have been laid off. Shut downs and mass layoffs, including men with as much as twenty-five years seniority, are reported from parts of the country.

The Way of Imperialism

Intrigue, Hypocrisy and War

The U. S. will not allow Russia to annex or dominate Germany. That is what Secretary Byrnes told Russia, the Germans and the world on Friday, September 6. Let no one underestimate the menace of his words. These two imperialisms show what is ahead. The struggle today is a struggle for positions in preparation for World War III.

Byrnes couched his speech in the same old threadbare language which we have been hearing since before 1914. Byrnes was, according to him, fighting for world peace. Byrnes was also, according to him, full of love for the German people. Therefore he solemnly enunciated these words: "It is not in the interest of the German people or in the interest of world peace that Germany should become a pawn or a partner in a military struggle for power between the East and the West."

Translated into English that means "In the military struggle for the economic domination of Europe, we, United States imperialism, intend to have Germany on our side."

WHO'LL DO THE HAND-PICKING?

Byrnes presented himself and his imperialist masters as lovers of democracy. No hand-picked Germans to rule Germany. No, sir! Byrnes insists that: "the provisional government should not be hand-picked by other governments."

Translated into plain speech, this means "Russia shall not hand-pick any national German government. If there is any hand-picking to be done we shall do it."

He promises to the Germans a federal constitution "which among other things, should insure the democratic character of the new Germany and the human rights and fundamental freedom of all its inhabitants."

Since 1914 we have been whipped into war under these very phrases. "War for democracy," "Gallant little Belgium," "War to end war," "Quarantine the aggressor," "Atlantic Charter," "Four Freedoms." But a war in order to ensure democracy in Germany! Is there no limit at all to the shamelessness, the hypocrisy, the brazen lying of these politicians? Is there anyone who can read who believes, who honestly believes, that American imperialism is challenging Russia because it wants to see democracy flourish in Germany?

But until the people in their wrath rise up and put a stop to this cynical trafficking with human lives for property and profit, so long will these impudent politicians prepare wars under cover of "peace," "democracy," and "freedom."

WHAT THE SCOUNDRELS ARE AFTER

It is nauseating to have to read this stuff. It is a miserable business to have to write about it. Let us leave all this imperialist cackle and get down to this stage of the battle for Europe.

Byrnes' speech was obviously a reply to Molotov's speech of July 10. With equal brazenness and hypocrisy (to do Molotov justice, he was even more brazen than Byrnes), but coldly and clearly enough, Molotov made his bid for Russian domination of a united Germany. He, too, promised unification, democracy, economic rehabilitation and freedoms of all kinds.

Neither of these scoundrels, nor the imperialisms they represent, care one red cent about freedom, democracy, human rights, unification, or any of the things they make speeches about. What they care about is this. Germany strategically dominates all Western Europe and who today masters Germany will control the whole continent.

Ruined as Germany has been by the war, its economic potential is such that within a very few years it can be the most powerful single nation in Europe. More powerful than Russia, than France or Great Britain.

Germany has the manpower to feed the production-line with workers both unskilled and highly-skilled. In addition it has thousands of the most highly trained officers and military scientists in the world and the remains of a fine army. Part of that army, including officers, are in Russia as prisoners of war. But another part of the army, officers included, are under British control in the British zone. Some estimates run as high as a million being kept in reserve by each of these former allies, so as to be ready in case of emergencies, and in any case as a nucleus for the future war.

The United States grabbed hold of hundreds of German scientists, brought them here and is now paying them good wages to tell all they know. Stalinist Russia, it is reported, grabbed more and got the best ones. Even before the war was over each of the allied victors was fighting for as much of Germany as possible in preparation for the war they knew was inevitable.

The conclusion that this vital industry cannot be left in the hands of these men is inescapable. Week after week we have written that the solution requires wresting the control of this industry from the hands of these greedy profiteers.

We therefore report with great satisfaction this week that the presidents of 20 CIO Packinghouse Workers locals have demanded "the nationalization of the meat industry as a public utility." At their emergency session these union presidents accused the Big Packers of "a political sit-down strike."

In the meantime, the packinghouse workers are preparing for a strike vote. The union is demanding a \$1 an hour minimum, a union shop and check-off, a guaranteed annual wage, and bonuses based on increased living costs.

This fight of the packinghouse workers is one that concerns every person in the United States. That is why the decision of the local presidents is so significant. We think their stand ought to be incorporated into the strike program. For one thing, it will be a lot more effective way of making the demand than telegraphing Truman (a lot more). For another, the packinghouse workers will thus be able to prove that labor speaks and acts for the great majority of the American people.

And something must be added, in our opinion. Nationalization by itself will NOT turn the trick; it must be nationalization UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, else we have gained little.

The price situation is still the number one situation. We are not featuring it this week, as we have for weeks past, only because of the importance of the maritime strike. And the maritime, and trucking and contemplated meat strike are themselves concrete actions in the price situation. Strike demands for higher wages are an indispensable type of action in overcoming the weight of rising prices.

BACK THE PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS IN THEIR DEMANDS!

DEMAND THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

If today Stalinist Russia and Poland, its satellite, have a stranglehold on Eastern Germany it is due, first, to the fact that their armies conquered these territories. Under imperialism that is enough. But these bandits claim that they have a moral right to American support because Roosevelt promised the territory to them. Little by little, and sometimes, by the way, it comes in lumps, we are learning of all the territory that Roosevelt promised to give to Stalin at their various conferences. Stalin and his satellites simply grabbed everything they could and today they want to clinch their hold by putting Yugoslavia in control of Trieste and drawing all Germany under their wing.

This Byrnes is determined to prevent. It will be noted that in his speech, among all the froth, two things stand out:

- 1) He refused to accept as fixed the territory that Poland has taken away from Germany.
- 2) He swore that as long as Russia kept occupation forces in Germany, the U. S. would also.

The promise to give back some territory to the Germans is a serious thing with all sorts of implications. Here for the moment we shall draw attention to only one. Close observers of Stalinist policy claim that Russia prefers a friendly Germany to a friendly Poland. At a certain stage Stalin could turn around, partition Poland with Germany, and cement a strong alliance, with Russia of course as senior partner. Byrnes no doubt is aware of that possible move. So he is offering in his turn to chop off a piece of the new swollen Poland. Not one of these powers has the slightest respect for any country's independence.

PROMOTE THEIR IMPERIALIST INTERESTS

These are the dirty tricks they are playing. But there are certain obstacles in the way. One of them is the fact that despite the terrible mischief Hitler did, the Germans remain a nation situated in the heart of Europe. The fighting over Germany has the whole of Europe economically at a standstill and politically terrified. It is obvious that the Germans cannot be governed as the British governed India. Even today they have to find some Indians to share the exploitation with them.

Russia and the U. S. realize that they must find some Germans with whom they can cooperate. Not only must there be German administrators. Some substantial sections of the German people must be won over, otherwise government and control would be next to impossible. A population that was overwhelmingly hostile would be treacherous allies in a war. Furthermore, each imperialist must not only try to pacify his own German zone, but must try to disrupt, unsettle, and if possible, win over those in the rival's zone. Hence the bidding and the promises.

Each offers what he can. The Stalinists are busy making their zone as Russian as possible and promising Germany a share in what would be a Stalinist United States of Europe. The U. S. offers democracy as opposed to Stalinist totalitarianism and, in addition, the possibility of solid economic assistance. Meanwhile the American army and American administrators have looted Germany and trampled like conquerors over the unfortunate country to such a degree that the Germans in their zone often wonder, exactly how different is this democracy from the Russian totalitarianism in the Russian zone?

WORKERS MUST SWEEP AWAY THE LIES

This imperialist struggle is going on before our eyes. There is nothing secret about it. The outrageousness, the contradictions, the lusts, the rivalries are so fierce that they cannot be hidden. Day by day the workers are being taught that the continuation of imperialism means the continuation of the suicidal barbarism which has characterized our civilization these thirty years.

These people between them have ruined Europe and disrupted world economy. Now they are fighting over the remains. Unless the peoples of the world, in New York, Moscow, Berlin and Shanghai do away with the rule of their masters, nothing can prevent the intensification of the struggle and another world war. That is the choice. World revolution or world war. Permanent revolution or permanent slaughter.

Those who have not learned that lesson yet should not hesitate any longer. Byrnes' speech shows that for the imperialists there is no way except perpetual intrigue, maneuver, international struggle and war. It is the working class alone which can push away the hollow propagandist lies of the imperialists, refuse to be deceived yet once more, but act instead on the principle that the main enemy is in the class of exploiters and imperialists in each country.

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