Experience of Coal Strike Shows Labor **Needs Own Party**

Seldom in recent American history have we had as excellent an opportunity to observe how openly and crudely the government serves as the accomplice and agent of the capitalist class, as in the present coal strike crisis. Every agency of the government from President Truman down to publicity-seeking postmasters, has done its bit to stir up resentment against the coal miners. Hysteria has been whipped up to the breaking point; the daily press, faithful agent of the employers, has again ranted about the "terrible miners, John L. Lewis, exorbitant demands of labor" and similar tripe. (You'd think the miners were people who go around stealing lollipops from babies and tripping old ladies, instead of men who work in the most dangerous and unpleasant of occupations and whose sole crime is that they want a decent wage-that's what you'd think, at least, if you read ONLY the capi-

Whatever deviations it may allow itself in easy times, whatever platitudes it may enjoy mouthing about the "common welfare," the capitalist government always-ALWAYS and without qualificationlines up on the side of the employers, of the bosses when there's a real crisis at hand.

And who is in this capitalist government of which we speak? It is composed of politicians and appointees of the two major parties in this country-the Democrats and Republicans. The strike-breaking hysteria, the open alliance with the mine owners which characterizes the statements of Congressmen, the attitudes of Truman and his cabinet sweep across major party lines. The Democrats are just as vicious in their denunciation of the miners and their braggadocio about anti-labor legislation as are the Republicans; and the Republicans just as vicious as

WHERE ARE THE PAC'S FRIENDS?

As for those Congressional knights in tarnished armor supported by the PAC in the last election—they are as quiet as if their tongues had been cut out and their lips sewn with heavy thread. They do not have a word to say in defense of labor; that kind of talk they reserve for election time, and only for election time.

President Truman-the one man who seems to have a reasonable chance of surpassing the records of Millard Fillmore, Ulysses S. Grant and Warren Harding for the dubious honor of being the most mediocre President this country has ever had-stumbles along, inflaming the fires of anti-labor hysteria with his inept but crudely anti-labor statements and directives to his cabinet.

The Republicans in Congress toss the ball around a little more by proposing all kinds of labor servitude bills in order to show the workers that "power-mad" unions will be curbed. ("Power-mad"--our foot! If only the workers of this country were a little more power-mad, if only they would stop playing follow the leader to every ear-bending capitalist politician who develops "liberal" protective coloring at election time—things would be a lot better for the workers of this country!)

FROM ROOSEVELT TO GOLDSBOROUGH

No trust can be placed in either of the two bankrupt old parties. nor in any of the so-called "liberals," who, no matter how uncomfortably, live in them. Consider that the man who, in his intemperate frenzy of hatred for the miners, assessed a fine of \$3,500,000 on them-a fine which means taking money from the union toward which the miners have given their lives, their sweat, their blood and their money-consider that this man, Justice Goldsborough, is an appointee of that alleged paragon of liberal capitalist politicians, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Of course, you may say that Roosevelt can't be held responsible after his death for what Goldsborough did. In a narrow personal sense that's true. But in a broader social sense Roosevelt and the whole system he personified can be held responsible for Goldsborough and his actions. For Roosevelt, no matter what verbal flirtations he conducted with labor, remained a capitalist politician; he appointed capitalist politicians to office; and the result was that these appointees functioned as upholders and agents of capitalist domination. Roosevelt could not avoid this so long as he functioned as a capitalist politician; and that is why there IS a connection between his régime-often so falsely touted as a boon to labor-and this labor-hating Justice Goldsborough.

There is only one way for the workers of this country to put an end to this situation. Instead of continually being betrayed by the two capitalist parties, labor must make a complete and final break from them.

A party of our own-that's what we need. A party that speaks for the workers of this country and their allies among the lower middle classes and the farmers; a party that is democratically controlled and run by the workers themselves through their unions and organizations; a party that uncompromisingly raises the banner of labor's needs and interests in opposition to those of the bosses.

LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 16, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

FIVE CENTS

CIO UNIONS MEET ON JOINT STRATEGY IN WAGE DRIVE!

A Balance Sheet Of the Coal Strike

By MAX SHACHTMAN National Chairman, Workers Party

THE strike of the 400.000 bituminous coal miners underlined the irresistable and invincible power of the organized working class acting unitedly.

The decision by President John L. Lewis calling off the miners strike underlined the weakness of · the organized working class and of American labor in general.

Unless this weakness is overcome-and overcome speedily —it is certain to prove fatal to the hopes and interests and the whole future of the American workers. In no struggle between labor and capital in recent times has this all important fact been made so clear and emphatic as in the miners strike. If this is not understood by every militant in the labor movement, things will not go from bad to better, but from better to worse.

A MAGNIFICENT DISPLAY OF WORKING CLASS POWER

In response to the announcement by Lewis that there was no longer a stract between the United Mine Workers and the government which is the administrator of the mines, the soft coal miners walked off the job to a man. They acted in accordance with the powerful tradition ingrained in every mine worker in the

country: No contract, no work! The capitalist press and all the big and little spokesmen and servitors of

zy. They called attention to the fact that only one man, John L. Lewis, was responsible for precipitating the walk-out, that he did not consult the miners about his announcement or seek their formal approval. They inveighed against Lewis as an autocrat, a dictator, an American Hitler. All the sewers of abuse were opened up against him.

That Lewis did not "consult" the miners is true. But if he had consulted them there would not have been a hair's-breadth difference in the decision and in the practical result. In making the announcement that the UMW no longer had a contract with the government, Lewis was simply discharging the elementary duty to the organization of which he is the chief officer, was only carrying out a standing mandate from the UMW. In walking out of the mines, the miners were only putting into effect their old and well

known policy: No contract, no work. The miners did not quit work because, as the press tried to argue, they feared the power of Lewis as head of the union. Only hired capitalist scribblers, who share the mentality of slavemasters, could regard these 400,000 miners as dumb sheep who can be driven in any direction by a union official. It is precisely because the miners are not dumb sheep, it is precisely because they are not slaves and do not want to be slaves that they refuse to work simply under any conditions at all that their employers seek to impose upon them, without regard for their just demands, without regard for their existence and development as human beings.

The miners are not slaves, humbly ready to do the bidding of John L. Lewis or anyone else. They are courageous and militant workers filled with a spirit of rebellion against the exceptional burdens which their work imposes upon them, against the miser-

capitalism shrieked in helpless fren- able and sub-human conditions of life to which the mine owners and their government seek to chain them and for a modest, tiny increase in the share of the great wealth they produce for the enrichment of mine owners who would not take their jobs at ten times their pay.

(Continued on page 8)

With the ending of the coal strike, the CIO moved its 6,000,000 members into the wage-fight spotlight. Philip Murray has announced that he will present the CIO's objectives, based upon an economic survey made by the CIO, at a press conference called for Wednesday, December 11, in Washington. A meeting of the heads of the steel, electrical and auto unions, with a combined membership of two million, is scheduled for December 16 to discuss a common strategy.

In the meantime, Murray has given the UAW Executive Board the green light to set its wage demands. The Executive Board, which is now in session, is reported to be discussing a basic demand for a 25-cents-an-hour, or \$2.00-a-day, increase, to be coupled with a demand for an equalization fund to standardize rates of pay in the entire industry.

Other unions are also considering their wage program. So, for example, the Textile Workers Union, through its president, Emil Rieve, has put forward a demand for a 15-cents-an-hour in-

crease for 100,000 cotton textile workers in the South.

It is expected, however, that Murray will seek to establish a general pattern for the mass production industries in the negotiations that the steel workers are supposed to begin with U. S. Steel some time next month, in much the same manner as the 181/4-cents-anhour increase was set last year. This time Murray has indicated that he will demand more than a substantial wage boost, namely, a guaranteed annual wage, portal-to-portal pay, increased union security and an employer-financed social security fund.

JOINT STRATEGY BOARD

Several questions immediately come to mind as the CIO swings its powerful machinery into action, action that will undoubtedly be duplicated in one way or another by the

AFL. The first is posed by the very meeting of union leaders scheduled for December 16: will there be a coordinating strategy committee, embracing all sections of the American union movement, democratically representing the rank and file of the unions, planning joint action in an over-all drive on behalf of all labor?

The issues confronting the steel workers are fundamentally no different from those facing the auto workers. The December 16 meeting is a recognition of that fact. Equally well, they are the same for the AFL unions and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Last week, in the midst of the coal strike and in the necessity of breaking government by injunction, such concerted action was in the process of forming, according to an appeal that Murray himself made. The situation is no different now.

The need for a joint strategy and common action, organized on a national scale and going down to local councils of action, representing the unions, is as great today as it was last week or last year. The attempt to reinstitute government by injunction is by no means licked. But even apart from this consideration, and it remains a weighty one, the need is an urgent one, as it was a year ago when we raised the question in connection with the strikes then in

The government will certainly intervene. Labor will be faced with the organized opposition of the industrialists. It will not be an easy battle. Reports have been many about the preparations the monopolists have been making to resist strike actions. Sylvia Porter, New York Post financial columnist, this week revealed

(Continued on page 8)

Labor's Share of National Income SHRINKS 32% ALL OTHER INCOME WAGES AND SALARIES 68% WAGES AND SALARIES 62% 38% ALL OTHER INCOME

(See Article by Albert Gates on page 3)

truck Thursday morning, to find a

crowd of 200 hooting and throwing

rocks. The crowd had sullenly

watched 21 white families move in

previously to their assigned homes,

and was awaiting the arrival of the

Negroes. The truck was wrecked and

only with the help of five ministers

of various denominations was the furniture finally gotten into the

homes. The police made no arrests. All day, crowds of "neighborhood

people" milled around the Negroes'

Chicago Race-Haters Try To Bar Negroes in Project

On the following day the same

gro war veterans who were taking up their duly assigned residences in the Chicago Housing Authority's Airport Homes project.

mob gathered, fought with police and

CHICAGO, Dec. 9 - Numbering one militant AVC member, who wit-5,000 "lily white" residents of the nessed the demonstration said, "This 13th Ward, a mob demonstrated last is a preview of American fascism Thursday for hours against two Neright in Chicago." The two Negro veterans approached their future home in a

burned a four-foot wooden cross. As

Report Landlord Profits Rose 25% Since 1939

Tenants Organize Block Committees to Prevent Further Rent Increases by Greedy Real Estate Interests

Though overshadowed by the newspaper hullaballoo about the mine strike, the problem of rents remained very much in the news last week. Continued pressure was exerted by the real estate lobbies in favor of a 10 to 15 per cent increase in rent levels and in favor of a complete removal of rent ceilings by the spring

In New York State the real estate lobby talked tough. It issued a statement in Albany "demanding" a 15 per cent jump in rents and threatened a complete cessation (which has practically taken place anyway!) of repairs if that increase were not granted. The occasion for this piece of landlord bravado was a suggested bill to maintain rents at the old levels in case new increases were allowed by OPA. It was also occasioned

by an increasing discomfort on the part of the landlords at the fact that in many areas of New York City, neighborhood tenant groups are being quietly formed with an eye to going into action in case rent increases are attempted. For it should be remembered that even if OPA ceilings are raised 10 or 15 per cent -a possibility which most well-informed circles in Washington take for granted—such a raise is merely permissible and not mandatory; it is up to the tenants of any given building to resist it.

But the most interesting news of the week on the rent front came with the publication of a report by OPA which most of the boss newspapers conveniently neglected to print, on "Rental Housing Operations Under Rent Control in 26 Cities." This re-

port furnished conclusive and incontrovertible evidence that the pathetic cries of the landlords that they need more rent to avoid bankruptcy is just so much malarky.

According to the OPA report, income of landlords owning large apartment houses increased 25 per cent since 1939 and income of landlords owning small apartment houses (those with less than five tenants) increased 43 per cent since 1939. That doesn't seem like bankruptcy at all, does it?

As the OPA so delicately puts it: "The landlord has shared in the general business prosperity, and all evidence indicates that he will continue to do so." (Which is certainly a lot more than you can say about the lords has largely been pure gravy.

working class families paying rent to these landlords!)

The report continues: "Demand for rental housing rose to an unprecedented level during the war and has remained at least as acute during the demobilization period." The vacancy rate has hovered around the zero mark, with the result that the landlords could calculate their profits without regard for the usual 15 to 20 per cent vacancy rate which was usual in pre-war years.

When you recall that landlords have universally been niggardly on their expenditures for repairs - as the report puts it: "Expenses such as competitive decorating were eliminated and unessential or minor services were pared to a minimum"this increased income of the land-

These facts put the crimp into the talk of the landlords that they-poor creatures-need more rent in order to keep the wolf away from the door. As a matter of fact, in this case the wolf happens to be the landlords themselves, greedy with hunger for profits, and he is at the door of the workers, who are having one tough time making ends meet.

So again, this week, the watchword on the rent front is VIGILANCE. Keep a sharp eve out on Washington, where something is certainly being cooked up on the rent situation. Organize local tenant committees ready to go into immediate action to keep rents down. For the workers to knuckle under to rent increases means, in effect, to take a pay cut-and we can't afford any of those.

homes, shouting "Wait till tonight." Night brought the tremendous crowd, which was prevented from demolishing the houses only by the presence of hundreds of cops, who were obviously in sympathy with the mob's vicious cries against the "n-s." One cop was overheard discussing with the crowd and saying, "These n-s are defended by Jewish lawyers." Several cops baited a Jewish AVC veteran who had come to the scene

> against the mob was needed. A large element of the crowd was composed of old women, youngsters and only a sprinkling of veterans in uniform. Because no arrests were made on the first day, the crowd has kept returning, in spite of Mayor Kelly's statement that he intended to see that the Negroes assigned to homes really got protection.

on hearing from AVC that support

(Continued on page 2)

Give to Labor Action's \$5,000 Xmas Fund!

Last week you read in this space the announcement But a socialist paper cannot function by ordinary busieight-page paper.

We should like to emphasize one thing: this is a drive for funds to help the paper move forward, to help secure a tremendous step in the expansion of the revolutionary socialist press in the United States. It means solidifying a daring step on our part—the step of expanding from a four to an eight-page weekly at a time a paper has gone up tremendously.

It is giving away no secret to tell you that by ordi-

of the inauguration of a \$5,000 Christmas Fund Drive ness standards. It must try to respond to the political in order to help stabilize LABOR ACTION as a regular needs of the moment more than to the credit or debit (usually the latter!) in its accounts.

We took this daring step of expanding the paper because it was absolutely imperative. There was simply not enough room in a four-pager to print the varied reports, articles, discussions and columns which it was politically imperative that we print. And we think that in terms of content—of more varied interest, of greater when the cost of everything connected with publishing information and detail—that the eight-pager has thoroughly justified itself.

Proof of that justification is in the constantly rising nary business standards the expansion was a gamble. circulation since the eight-pager was started and in the necessary response.

rising percentage of subscriptions. That shows that our readers appreciate the paper in its larger format.

Now we are asking something very simple. We are in the position where an accumulated deficit based on the initial outlay involved in expanding the paper, hinders the stabilization of the eight-pager. The amount involved can readily be taken care of, if each of our loyal readers sends a Christmas contribution in accordance with his ability to do so.

That's all there is to it. We don't want to indulge in any scares or high-pressuring. We think that LABOR ACTION means enough to our readers so that a mere statement of the situation will suffice to bring about the

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Reviews the Oakland Strike

By WILLIAM GORMAN

OAKLAND, Dec. 7 - The general strike, the fifth in American history, ended just two days ago. Every worker should be aware of the facts and lessons of this event.

Five months ago, the Department Store Clerks, Local 1265, AFL, struck against the Kahn and Hastings department stores. The employers refused to bargain with the union.

The six week clerks' strike was largely uneventful. The strikers were spirited, though frequently roughed up by department store goons. Competing department stores paid for large ads asking that Kahn and Hastings be patronized because they were

Sunday morning, December 1, the city government took over the job of strike-breaking for the stores. All pickets, bystanders and vehicles were cleared away within a four square block area of the stores. Fully half of Oakland's police force cames upon the strike scene armed with tear gas, billy clubs and sawed-off shotguns in order to escort a load of "hot cargo" brought up by a scab trucking outfit from Los Angeles.

It was later revealed that Chief of Police Robert Tracy had been the camouflage artist for the scabs. He had originally promised the Teamsters Union they would be informed in advance of the arrival of scab truckers. Not only did he renege on this promise, but the scab drivers had been in nearby Berkeley for over a week waiting for the chance to run through the "hot cargo" with police protection! Thus was this strike-breaking trick carried out by a prominent "public servant," Chief of Police Tracy.

The scab truckers, who went under the name "Veterans Trucking, Inc.," were sponsored by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Southern California, one of the most vicious union-busting groups in the

Hundreds of teamsters from Local 70 immediately came upon the strike scene. Motormen and street car operators walked off the job spontaneously. The Alameda Central Trades Council went into a huddle. Sympathy was expressed by the Alameda CIO Council. Five o'clock Tuesday morning an area containing a million inhabitants was in the grip of the general strike.

THE BUREAUCRATS FUMBLE

The AFL leaders, accustomed to doing little besides collecting dues and salaries, then fumbled the ball. The AFL members were not informed of the nature of the strike or its causes. The strike declaration was made only at the last moment. No plan for mobilizing or organizing the workers' action was made public.

But from the very first moments the Oakland general strike was a magnificent tribute to the power of Oakland's working class. Not a bus or street car moved. Except for the few CIO or unorganized shops, not a factory wheel turned. No ships sailed from Oakland harbor. More than ten thousand workers gathered for mass picketing in front of Hasting' and Kahn's on the first and second days of the strike. The police, in full force a few days previous, now were scarce and inconspicuous.

Especially singled out by the workers' wrath were the two venomously anti-labor sheets: Hearst's Post Enquirer and Knowland's Tribune.

The press retaliated. The Tribune's radio station monotonously described every stubbed toe at the mass picketing. Hearst's Frisco Call - Bulletin featured a large scare headline, "Fighting on Streets."

PACKED STRIKE MEETINGS

The strike mass meeting held in the Civic Auditorium was packed by over 15,000 workers despite the absence of any public transportation and a strong rain. The AFL leaders were stunned when facing this huge. aroused rank and file. So conditioned to talking to each other or to the bosses, they could only express their amazement at the presence of so many workers. Only the representatives of the teamsters and sailors were exceptions. The workers roared their approval when Harry Lundberg described the police actions as "fascist tactics." Those speakers who characterized the struggle as a showdown fight, which had to be fought through no matter what the cost, re-

ceived the loudest ovations. The Bay Area Branch of the Workers Party gave out a leastet at the meeting which declared its full solidarity with the general strike. (The leaflet is reprinted in an adjacent column.) All available copies of LA-

BOR ACTION were quickly sold. The union representatives had been closeted with the city manager and the employers from the very first day of the strike. At the mass meeting, they announced the rejection of the employers' plan that the issues be left in the hands of a nine-man committee while the general strike be immediately ended. The reason for the rejection was the employers' insistent refusal to bargain with the clerks at Kahn's and Hastings'. Thus the general strike was to go into its second day to win a real victory for the striking clerks.

for Thursday night, to announce its trained to beat down union men and joining of the walkout, which would stop all public services still in operation-gas, electricity and telephone -and would pull out auto, longshore and rubber workers. Rumors were flying that the powerful San Francisco AFL would join the walkout and thus completely tie up both sides of the Bay. But some AFL leaders became nervous and jittery and on Wednesday afternoon, Dave Beck, vice-president of the Teamsters Union, ordered Teamsters Local 70

outcome of labor's negotiations. Feeling against this strike-breaking statement ran high. The press gloated over it while the teamsters were forced to maintain a frustrated

to return to work regardless of the

The Alameda Central Trades Council gave out a egeneral back-to-work order when the new city manager, John Hassler, had given them assurances that the police would not be used as scab herders. The union leaders immediately hailed this as the attainment of the strike's objectives and declared the general strike to be a success, though no promise was received by Kahn's and Hastings' to negotiate with the Clerks Union.

However, two days after the strike's conclusion, it has become clear that the settlement is little besides an uneasy truce. Yesterday, the police provided a cordon for the scabs leaving the store. Hassler denied making any statement other than that he "would avoid violence and uphold the law."

Whatever the final outcome, the strike has achieved certain limited objectives. The provocative scab actions by the city and government were ended. Those bosses who would consider such actions now know that they will face a united powerful labor movement. The response of the workers in this situation will help prevent its repetition. But most important, it has been an inspiring, unforgettable demonstration of the strength of the 130,000 workers.

The general strike, which lasted for less than three days, is filled with vital lessons for the workers of this area and of the entire country. To the degree that these lessons are learned, future struggles will be assured of

EXTENT OF WORKERS POWER

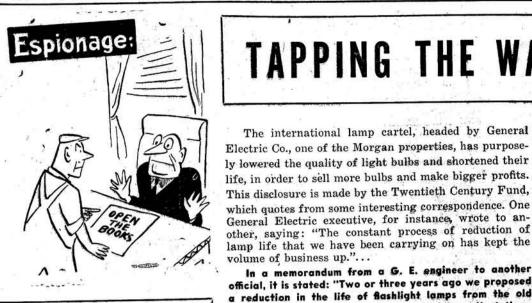
The workers, as a result of this experience, were confronted most obviously with the extent of their class strength and power. In contrast with strike actions against particular bosses, this was a united action by tens of thousands of Oakland's workers against the handful of Oakland's big business men. The workers, for so long divided and split up by the ossified craft unions, joined their union brothers in militant solidarity. With great expectancy they awaited the actions of their union brothers in the CIO and across the bay in San Francisco.

By failing to join the walkout at the very beginning, the CIO missed the greatest opportunity offered in this area for cementing a powerful rank-and-file unity, which could have had repercussions elsewhere. The full explanation of the behavior of the Stalinist CIO leaders is not yet clear, but they apparently wanted a general strike on their hands as little as did their AFL counterparts.

To many thousands of the strikers it has become clear that the Oakland cop with his billy and the federal judge in his flowing judicial robes are not neutral in the strike struggles. They are merely part of the whole army of stooges and hirelings

The CIO mass meeting was planned of the American capitalist class, protect scabbing employees.

The AFL rank and file had a good look at their high-paid labor careerists who occupy the executive positions in their unions. The bungling. the confusion, the lack of planning, the indecision of these leaders did not completely escape many of the rank and file.



LEAFLET ISSUED BY THE WORKERS PARTY DURING THE OAKLAND GENERAL STRIKE

The following leaflet was distributed by the Oakland Branch of the Workers Party during the recent general strike in that city:

LAST SUNDAY scabbing truck drivers from Los Angeles were given the protection of half of Oakland's police force to pass through the picket lines at Kahn's and Hastings' stores. The profiteering Retail Merchants Association wants to turn the Christmas season into a strikebreaking holiday.

IN WASHINGTON, D. C., court injunctions and fines, the threat of jail sentences confronts the striking miners. Oakland newspapers and the national press are speaking for big business when they misrepresent the just demands of the working people and call for an "open shop," strike-breaking, union-busting campaign. Yesterday Congress lifted the lid on skyrocketing prices and TODAY they are planning to shackle labor's organizations.

OAKLAND LABOR! CLOSE UP RANKS!! The AFL general walkout in sympathy with the striking department store clerks is the proper answer to police-escorted scabbing. This is a magnificent demonstration of the power of the working people, who make all the wheels of industry run and have now made them stop. Like the MINERS' STRIKE, it has captured the attention of the entire country.

IN ORDER TO MAKE THESE ACTIONS EFFECTIVE, Oakland labor and the whole labor movement need:

LABOR UNITY: Labor's solidarity is making this general strike effective. Only the fighting unity of all workers-AFL, CIO and independent unions-can halt the union-busting drive.

ESCALATOR WAGE CONTRACTS: Keep wages pegged to zooming prices. Wage increases WITHOUT price increases.

INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY: Republican-Democratic reaction can be defeated by a political party based on 15 million organized workers. Replace Taft and Knowland, Bilbo and Rankin with WORK-ER-REPRESENTATIVES. PUT AN END TO COMPANY-UNIONISM

Workers Party, Oakland Branch.

Newark AVC Meeting Reveals Confusion in Handling Problems

Two important issues were discussed at the December 2 meeting of the American Veterans Committee, Chapter No. 1, in Newark, each one indicating considerable confusion over contemporary problems in the liberal wing of the AVC. This meeting discussed the miners' strike and a resolution against "communism," presented by the National Planning

The discussion had its good and bad sides: a resolution supporting the coal miners was adopted and the feated. But the method by which these decisions were reached hardly served to give the membership any real clarity and understanding.

The resolution on the coal miners did separate the more militant members from the conservative elements in the local. But even here the discussion revealed the timidity of the militant elements. They sought to avoid calling the miners' strike, a strike. Some accepted in part, without understanding it, Lewis' explanation: "No contract, no work." But others did not want to call it a strike because of the "you can't strike against the government" propaganda. This way they supported the miners but not a strike against the government!

The "liberals" in the chapter did not show great interest in the eco-

nomic and social conditions of the miners, and opposed even considering such questions.

The defense of the miners, as expressed in the resolution and discussion, was primarily legal and technical. As far as it went, it was good enough, for it cited: the right to strike the fact that the government does not "own" the mines; and that injunctions had been outlawed by previous legislation. While it was not chapter was indeed a promising and since 1940. hopeful one.

THE "ANTI-STALINIST" DRIVE

The "anti - Stalinist" resolution, which had aspects of an "anti-Red" declaration, was hotly debated. Most of the arguments revolved around legal status and rights. The National Planning Committee policy on this question is similar to "anti-red" resolutions introduced in unions and it was tinged with a little red-baiting. The leaders of the AVC reveal again that they do not understand how to fight Stalinism by program and militant policy. They allow the Stalinists to take the initiative in the AVC, and the latter, by their experience and well-organized caucus, are pretty well able to control some of the leading chapters of the organization.

Naturally, the defense made of themselves by the Stalinists was not based on ideas or program either. If it had been, the Stalinists would have been shown up as a pretty shabby gang. Yet the tactic pursued by the NPC compels all militants to oppose their resolution. Even some of the bureaucratic - minded office seekers opposed the resolution, preferring to settle such a question behind the scenes.

As a result of the NPC policy, which raised the problem of democratic rights, no real exposure of the Stalinists can take place. Instead, it lays the basis for some real red-baiting against the genuine socialist, radical and militant elements who are themselves consciously anti-Stalinist. The defeat of the resolution was not a defense of the Stalinists in the AVC as much as it was a rejection of the policy of the leadership, which can only play into the hands of the CP. That is why the resolution lost by a 3-to-1 vote.

Some comic relief was offered in the above discussion when, after a little goading, one of the "liberals" announced his membership in the Communist Party. He did this not so much to defend Stalin's foreign policy as to prove that he was not a disrupter and that Stalinists did not give the "kiss of death" to liberal organizations. But when he declared that the CP had never broken a strike, remarks from the floor expressing disbelief completely disoriented the speaker and he gave it up as a bad job.

volume of business up."... In a memorandum from a G. E. engineer to another official, it is stated: "Two or three years ago we proposed a reduction in the life of flashlight lamps from the old basis, on which one lamp was supposed to outlast three batteries, to a point where the lamp and one battery would have about the same life. The battery manufacturers went part way with us on this and accepted lamps

The international lamp cartel, headed by General

Electric Co., one of the Morgan properties, has purpose-

which quotes from some interesting correspondence. One

other, saying: "The constant process of reduction of

lamp life that we have been carrying on has kept the

of two battery lives instead of three. We have been continuing our efforts to bring about the one battery life lamps, if this were done, it would increase our flashlight business about 60 per cent.".... An electrician tells me that another trick of the lamp trust is to market Christmas tree lights, bunched

in eights in such a way as to guarantee that the lamps will be ruined in one season, thus making it necessary to purchase a new light string. One way to get around this trick is to string three or four more bulbs onto your tree lights. All will last longer.... But to return to our theme: What do you think of

a social system whose rulers deliberately cheapen and worsen their goods so that they will wear out, all to the end that the profits may be larger? Short-lived lamp bulbs, automobiles that will only last a few years, houses that gape and settle before their occupants hardly get in the door, shoddy woolens and clothing, shoes that come apart in wet weather, adulterated foods and drinks. The list of capitalist crimes in this particular category is endless. A socialist society would have no such incentive for cheating and rooking the people. On the contrary, it would have every reason to make everything of top quality, with an abundance for everyone.

WHO OWNS GENERAL MOTORS?

It has come to our attention that the General Motors Corporation is peddling a lot of pious baloney in its house organs, addressed to its workers, calculated to make them believe that that fortress of the du Ponts is "democratic" institution, because, don't you see, its stock is widely held. Everyone in the financial world knows that G. M. is one of the du Pont enterprises. Here is what the National Resources Committee study of the "Structure of the American Economy" had to say about this segment of America's 60 Families, back

"The du Pont group comprises only four companies, three industrial and one bank, but they are all in the top rank with respect to size. Like the Rockefallers, the du Ponts exercise control through substantial minority stock-'holdings. Theirs is a compact, closely knit group. The key company is E. I. du Pont de Nemours, which the du Ponts control through a family holding company, the Christiana Securities Co. The latter owns about 25 per cent of the voting stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours, which in turn owns approximately the same proportionate interest in General Motors Corporation. Du Ponts and du Pont representatives dominate the management of both companies. The third industrial in this group is U. S. Rubber Co., in which another du Pont family holding company, called Rubber Securities Co., owns about 20 per cent voting nower. The du Pont bank is the National Bank of Detroit. on the board of which sit five General Motors officials." Industrial assets of the du Pont group in 1939 were valued an all-out support, the action of the at \$2,232,000,000, but of course have grown considerably

"NEW MONEY" PREFERRED STOCK

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

On November 27 a nationwide group of investment bankers, led by Morgan Stanley & Co. offered the largest single "new money" preferred stock issue in the history of American finance-General Motors' offering of \$100 million new preferred stock, at \$100 a share. The Wall Street Times reported that "Charitable funds and banks purchasing for the account of trusts managed by them will rank high on the list of subscribers. Three of New York's 'Big Five' life insurance companies will be listed as buyers. Other probable buyers were said to include universities and schools."... But never forgetno matter how widely G. M. stock is held, control is still tightly held by the du Ponts, who skim the cream off for themselves.

By JACK RANGER-

Chrysler Corporation has increased prices on its entire car line, from \$8 to \$104. . . . Studebaker announced increases ranging from \$32 to \$64. . . . Hudson Motor Car Co. announced increases of \$60-\$90 on all models. . . Kaiser-Frazer has raised prices of its Kaiser auto by \$94 to \$1,739, and of its Frazer car by \$124 to \$1,919. . . . General Electric recently increased prices on its home appliances, without even a public announcement. It acknowledged the move only after word had leaked through distributors.

THE LANDLORD BREED

A Chicago landlord, writing in the November 29 Wall Street Journal, says he's worried about the fact that the "strike bug" appears to have bitten some landlords. He was referring to the action taken by his fellow parasites in many parts of the country whereby vacated apartments were held off the market. He suggested a slicker way to cheat the homeless. The landlord, he writes, "should have enough common sense to send the prospective tenant to the OPA rent control office for written permission by the OPA to pay the owner a reasonable increase (in rent). The OPA will not grant the permission . . . but this denial by the OPA will make a lot of GIs and other prospective tenants very angry at the OPA. Landlords might try this method which will prove very bitter to the OPA, but will gain a great many friends for the owner." . . And, he should have added, will still keep the vacated apartment off the market, leaving tens of thousands of GIs and other prospective tenants homeless.

NATIONALIZATION IN ENGLAND

From London come reports of sharp rises in the prices of rail and highway transport shares following publication of the transport nationalization terms of the Labor Party government. All transportation in England is due for nationalization on January 1, 1948. The nationalization bill states that undertakings will be compensated for on the net value of shares, plus extra compensation in some cases. That's right up the alley of the wealthy British owners, who have already earned many times their original investments. The fair way would be to nationalize the railroads without a penny of compensation to the owners. The Labor Party, in its present condition, would never take such a radical step.

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE

President Truman is vying with the Republican Party. to see which can cut the federal budget deeper. The joker for the people is that with both boss parties vigorously supporting a program of imperialist expansion, no budget cut can be very deep. Truman contemplates a budget of \$37 billion for the 1948 fiscal year, with the Republicans talking of a \$29 billion budget. Here are some items that will not be cut by either party: Interest on the national debt to the bankers, \$5 billions; tax refunds to Big Business, \$2 billions; military, \$10-12 billions; general government costs, about \$1.9 billions; veterans' benefits, about 7 billions.

Race-Haters Demonstrate --

(Continued from page 1)

As previously reported in LABOR ACTION, the situation at the Airport Homes project grew out of the "squatters movement" which took possession of the homes there in the name of "neighborhood boys" getting preference over "outsiders." This movement was squashed, the squatters moved out and the regularly assigned veterans scheduled to move in. It became apparent that the squatters had originally been incited to their action by Democratic Party politicians, anxious for votes on the eve of elections early in November, and catering to prejudices against Negroes moving in.

Last week, before the demonstrations began, residents of the neighborhood appeared in mass at City Council, shouting their patriotism in a phony effort to cover up their Jim Crow, lynch temper. These people were led by friends of Alderman Michael P. Hogan and County Clerk Michael Flynn, Kelly machine men. The director of the Chicago Housing Authority, whose timidity and vacillations on enforcing authority policy on race housing has encouraged the reactionary politicians and their followers, stated that the authority's policy would be upheld at Airport Homes.

Nevertheless, seven other Negro families on the eligible list for homes there, have decided against moving there in spite of their desperate need, because of the mob-spirit prevalent and uncertainty as to what will happen to them and their belongings when the present army of cops on hand are withdrawn by

AVC TAKES ACTION

The two Negro veterans who are already in their homes are determined to stay there tonight, in spite of the ugly mood of the mob outside. Feeling in the Negro community on the South Side, miles away from the Airport Homes project, is running high against the mob. If Kelly's cops permit anything to happen to these veterans, there is every indication that very grave consequences will follow.

Michael Mann, secretary of the Chicago CIO Council, has made statements that "housing should be for all

veterans" and the like. The CIO policy can be described as "not going out front" on this issue, but "staying with other civic organizations" in the liberal bloc of ministers-Negro leaders-progressive organizations which is demanding that Mayor Kelly provide adequate police protection. To date this policy has brought exactly nothing in terms of adequate protection for those Negroes who are entitled to housing in the project, much less to the two Negroes now beseiged in their dwellings.

There can be no solution to this particular flare-up of race hatred or to future reactionary displays, unless the UNIONS-, in the first place, the CIO - come out boldly with an appeal to their members living in and around this neighborhood. Toward this end, all genuinely democratic elements in the labor movement must work with might and main. The AVC has already begun to take action by setting up. committees to support Negro rights to housing in this situation.

REFRESHMENTS

LIVE MUSIC

ENTERTAINMENT

Revolutionary New Years Eve Party

DOWN WITH The Old Year! **DROWN IT in Bubbles!**

UP THE REBELS!

AT CARAVAN HALL, 110 East 59th St.

NEW YEAR'S EVE, TUESDAY, December 31 9:30 P.M. to . . .

Advance tickets available at Workers Party City Center, 114 W. 14th St.

Price in advance \$3.50 for a couple

ADMISSION AT DOOR - \$2.00 PER PERSON

Auspices: WORKERS PARTY, Local New York

OAKLAND STRIKE SIDELIGHTS ...

The workers picketed on roller skates, they danced and sang. It was a people's holiday, a holiday won by workers' action. If the effectiveness of their strike made the workers feel gay, it made Mayor Warren Beach and his comic-opera "Citizens Emergency Committee" look very sad. But the scabs trapped inside Kahn's were the glummest of them all.

Pickets stationed themselves early in the morning at the Tribune Tower. The Tribune had not missed publication a single day in eightysix years. Now this mouthpiece for big business was shut down by parading workers, who were singing "I'm a Picket, I'm a Picket" to the tune of "Darling Clementine."

An Army recruiting truck cruised around the area. The second lieutenant at the megaphone made some derogatory remarks about the pickets. Immediately from the strikers' ranks came sailors and soldiers wearing overseas ribbons. Led by a tough-looking former top sergeant, they marched in formation down the street, shouting "We fought this war overseas, not in a recruiting truck." Nothing more was heard from the second lieutenant.

A police sergeant, asked to protect someone trying to crash through the picket line, was heard to remark, "I'm not going to risk my neck for that jerk buying a dollar tie."

The pickets displayed an extremely intelligent attitude toward the photographers of the capitalist press. Knowing full well that the latter were instructed to look for pictures of violence, even if it was merely a case of someone losing a button off his coat, the pickets insisted that their peaceful picket lines be photographed. The photographer rarely managed to get away with shots that could be used to slander the

Memorable quotes from the mass strike meeting: James Marshall, president, Teamsters Local 70: "If the police are

going to protect the scabs, who is going to protect the police?" Harry Lundberg, secretary-treasurer of the Sailors Union of the Pa-

cific: "The scabs from Los Angeles are just average finks, but the City Councilmen are super-finks."

Deadlock in India Aggravated By British Imperialist Intrigue

the principle spokesmen of India's contending parties — the Congress Party and the Moslem League-it has again become clear that the issues at dispute are insolvable by present methods. Nothing was accomplished at London, beyond another clear revelation on the part of the British government that it has no intention whatever of leaving India at this time, nor, if it has a say in the matter, at any time within the predictable future. A British statement, issued by Atlee's Labor Government Cabinet, plainly stated that so long as the present Hindu-Moslem conflict remains unsolved, "His Majesty's government could not, of course, contemplate . . . forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country." Since there is virtually no possibility of a common agreement at the moment, this is an announcement of the intention of British imperialism to remain in tight possession of India.

Although the disputes between the Hindu and Moslem leadership go much deeper (see December issue of The New International), the controversy at London took place over the question of the rights of the Moslem community within a federated India. The Moslem League, fighting for a separate Moslem state (Pakistan) is anxious to so interpret matters as to facilitate the breaking away of Indian majority - Moslem provinces from any central government so that they can then re-group themselves into a Pakistan-Moslem separatist state. The British at London backed up the Moslem League in this interpretation of the agreement made between the recent British mission to India and the various parties. The



THE PRIME MINISTER

Congress Party, however, anxious to have a centralized, all-India government, rejects this conception and wishes to block any conceivable road to Pakistan. It is over this issue that a stalemate has occurred and the conferees have gone back to India.

In the meantime, the so-called Constituent Assembly is about to open its first meeting in India. This body, highly undemocratic in its composition and manner of election, is allegedly to draft a new Constitution for India and then to make a treaty regulating British relations with a free, independent India.

For many reasons, this is a farcical procedure and a meaningless Assembly. Not merely is it unrepresentative of the Indian people, but

After a hasty trip to London by the Moslem League intends, at present, to boycott its deliberations. Since the British have just announced their unwillingness to accept/any constitution they consider unrepresentative, and since the 92 million Moslems are clearly not represented, we must conclude that the work of this Assembly is rejected in advance by the British. Needless to point out, this farce is quite desirable to the British-in fact, they engineered it by switching to support of the Moslem League at the

convenient moment! Furthermore, as has been explained by the Indian Trotskyists, this Constituent Assembly is not a sovereign body with power over a sovereign, independent nation. It is a body set up by the foreign rulers of a nation in bondage and a body, in addition, whose powers have just been

Assembly, freely elected by all the people, and with real power to decide issues. This Assembly is supposed to make a regulatory treaty with the British before its constitution or decisions go into effect—that is, whatever it decides is subject to the approval of the foreign ruling power, and its decisions can only have force if that ruling power agrees to them! What has this in common with inde-

The London farce is now over and the Indian dilemma returns to India proper, where it belongs. None of the present leaders or parties can find a way out of a situation that only the masses of people themselves can resolve. Further, the absolute prerequisite for any solution is the unconditional and total withdrawal of the British forces of occupation. This, as we see, British imperialism cut from under its feet. It has nothing has no intention of doing. India rein common with a genuine Constituent mains in bondage to imperialism.

-Major Powers Redivide Continent:-

December 16, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Business Profits Hit Record High; Wage Levels Decline

By ALBERT GATES

TS THE American economy in a state of collapse? Have profits dwindled to the vanishing point? Are the workers making too much money? Do we now live in a state of economic chaos?

If one were to accept as gospel what the big business men say and what their press writes, or take seriously the mutterings of the less-thanlearned politicians in Washington, the answer to the above questions would be "Yes."

All the propaganda which gushes forth from these quarters in endless quantity has a simple purpose: to forestall and reject the just wage demands of the union movement. The old chestnut about the necessity of increasing productivity before wages can be hiked upwards is only another way the capitalists have of saying no to the wage earners.

The truth about the economic situation in the country is in complete conflict with the propaganda of big business. The latest report of the CIO in "Economic Outlook" bears out what LABOR ACTION has been saying for a long time:

Pre-war standards of production, wages and profits, were broken swiftly by gains which began shortly before the war broke out in Europe and extended throughout the war years into the reconversion period. The real picture of the economic situation shows that big business is making greater profits than

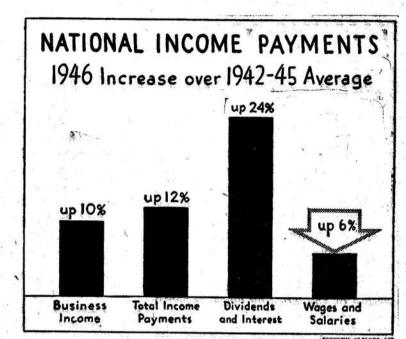
aafter taxes

level of peacetime production yet experienced. In contrast, the share of the wage earner in the national income declined at the same time that the cost of living has soared to new

The graphs which accompany this article illustrate the precise relationship which exists between the owners of industry and the workers who produce the goods of life. But there is a section of the whole picture which they do not show: bonuses, special expenses, and high salaries, that go to the big businessmen and which are not counted in the profits. There is also a degree of distortion in the graphs which depict national income, for they include both wages and low salaries along with profits, dividends, etc. In the latter are included the incomes of company officials and their immediate subordinates who do not fall into the category of wage earners. Bearing such factors in mind we are in a position to describe the relationships between the classes in this country which grow out of the capitalist social organization divided between those who own the means of life and those who produce the means of life.

We will begin with profits first, not only because this is the best indicator of the state of things, but also because it is on this score that the profiteers wail the loudest. What they describe as a calamitous situation for the owners of capital is really a cover for the monstrous profits they have made during the war and are making now.

Profits before taxes are collected show a rise from \$5.3 billion in the 1936-39 period to \$25.9 billion estimated for 1947. These profits before taxes merely show the huge portion



of production which goes exclusively to the parasitic class in capitalism. But in case the interjection is made that the capitalists pay high taxes we present the figures of profits after taxes have been paid to show that they are just as exorbitant:

All Corporations. 1936-39—\$ 3.9 Billions 1942-45—\$ 9.5 Billions -\$11.8 Billions (estimated)* 1947 -\$16.1 Billions (estimated) †

* Estimated on the basis of \$185 billion gross national product. * Estimated on the basis of \$185 billion gross national product.

• Source: Dept. of Commerce.

The two figures described as estimates are based on figures for the greater part of 1946, as well as trends in production and employment which are indicated for the year 1947. It is true that the figures, as Economic Outlook points out, "fluctuate from industry to industry." Some may not profit as high as others because of material shortages, or production bottlenecks for which they are themselves responsible. In the auto and electrical industries, for example, the manufacturers have themselves created conditions by their bungling management to prevent full production. But industry as a whole, especially those sections which overcame enjoying "terrifically high profit returns in 1946."

Two important facts contributed to these high profits and for both of them industry must thank its servants in Congress. First, excess prof-

its taxes were eliminated on January 1, 1946. Corporations which had until then paid a maximum tax of 85 per cent on all income in excess of exemptions, now pay 38 per cent. They all received a five per cent reduction on their normal tax. Second, congressional assistance in the form of mutilating and finally ending all price controls enabled big business to pass on whatever wage increases were granted to the public and in general increased profits through the rise in prices.

Thus, Economic Outlook summarizes the profit situation saying: "The estimated 1946 profits are 200 per cent higher than average profits in 1936-39 and about 25 per cent higher than the 1942-45 average of \$9.5 billions.

"In all manufacturing corpora tions, 1946 profits, after taxes, will be \$7 billion, or \$2 billion higher than the 1942-45 average, and \$4.5 billion higher than the 1936-39 aver-

What else could John E. Steelman, Director of the Office of Economic Stabilization, say in knowledge of the above facts except that "business profits, after taxes, are at their highest point in history.'

THE WORKERS' SHARE

But at the same time that profits soar to new high levels, the workers share of the total national income has declined. In 1936-39 wage and low-salary earners received 63.5 per cent of the national income (wages, salaries, business incomes, rents. royalties, dividends and interest).

(Continued on page 6)

New Peace Treaties Mangle the Face of Europe

Corporation Profits, 1936-1947

(in billions of dollars)

The torturous and drawn-out negotiations among the "Big Three" victors of the Second World War seem to have come to a turning point during the past week. A whole series of new patch-work agreements have been reached, none of which fundamentally solve any problem but which apparently provide some basis for collaboration among the three imperialist powers-the U.S., Britain and Russia-in the immedi-

In a few weeks, announced the meeting of foreign ministers, peace treaties will be signed with a number of the former minor Axis powers. These treaties with the five satellite Axis powers-Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland-provide, among other things, for the following:

1) The most pressing and difficult problem of Trieste has been worked out on a basis which will probably prove unsatisfactory to all concerned but which represents a horse-trading agreement among the major imperialist powers. The Adriatic port of Trieste and its immediate vicinity will be taken from Italy-a tremendous blow to that country's imperial aspirations-and made into a Free Territory, The United Nations Security Council will appoint a Trieste Governor, with strong powers including control of the police. There will also be a popularly elected Legislative Assembly with ill-defined powers. Occupation troops — American, British and Yugoslavian-will be evacuated from the area "after the Governor decides that they are no longer needed." (N. Y. Times-a paper which not only prints "all the news that's fit to print" but also has a highly developed sense of irony.)

It should be noted that the Russians have won a considerable concession in being allowed to import 5,000 Yugoslav troops into Yugo-

EXPECT CONTINUED CONFLICT

slavia, a prospect which does not fill supporters of U.S. imperialism with

The western imperialist powers have won a victory, however, in the granting of strong police powers to the Trieste governor who will in all probability be either a direct representative of their bloc or someone from a small country amenable to their pressure. Expected result: continued internal conflict in Trieste between the governor and his police, defending Western imperialist interests against the Yugoslav troops, who will of course be handpicked representatives of Tito (i.e., Stalin.)

In the meantime, it should be noted that not one of those deciding Trieste's fate even consider-fantastic notion that it seems to them!the idea of asking the people of Trieste themselves what they wish; of organizing a plebiscite to poll them for their desires. For as in all the other recent border changes, the peoples involved are shifted without consultation.

2) Reparations: Very steep reparations have been exacted on the already bankrupt and disorganized satellite powers. Italy is to pay \$100,000,000 to Russia; \$125,000,000 Yugoslavia; \$105,000,000 to Greece; \$25,000,000 to Ethiopia; and \$5,000,000 to Albania. Rumania is to pay \$300,000,000 to Russia and Hungary is to pay \$200,000,000 to Russia. If these reparations are ever carried into practise, they can only mean the further disorganization and destruction of European economy and the further debasement of the already pitiful standard of liivng of the workers and peasants of southeastern Europe.

3) A whole series of border revisions—again this playing fast and loose with people without consulting them on their own fate!-was decided on. Rumania is to cede Bukovina and Bessarabia to Russia, but since Stalin's armies have already taken those areas the pact merely

confirms the reality. The Dodecanese islands are granted to the Greek Monarchy. Southern Dobruja, a strip of land between Rumania and Bulgaria, is ceded by the former to the latter. The loss of the port and the province of Petsamo, Finland, to Russia - over which the Western "democrats" once shed such piteous tears-has been confirmed.

"FREE NAVIGATION"

And finally, the Big Three agreed upon the "principle" of free navigation of the Danube, which has been hailed as a victory for the Anglo-American bloc. Just what that bloc will be able to do with the "principle," however, so long as Russian troops control the countries along the Danube, remains to be seen.

The agreements summarized above elicited squeals of delight and heavy "think pieces" on the part of newspaper columnists, whose sole handicap is that they have to write on subjects of which they understand very little. These columnist pundits-in between trying to blow down the walls of the miners union with their rhetorical wind - have expressed their delight at the new "reasonable" attitude shown by the Russians. But this "reasonable" attitude and the "amity" shown among the Big Three is nothing more than a mutual agreement that some sort of compromise of imperialist rulership would have to be worked out. The Russians made some concessions, as did the U.S. and Britain; but all of these maneuvers have meaning only if understood in the context of the fact that they are inter-imperialist in nature, part of the shifting kaleidoscope of big power domination and that nowhere was there any genuine democratic expression of people's sentiments or regards for people's

But more responsible voices among the capitalist commentators - like the managing editor of the N. Y.

Times, Edwin James, in his December 8 article-warned against the assumption that the rivalries among the major powers had come to an end. He pointed-and correctly soto the continued existence of numerous sore spots: the major peace treaties with Germany and Austria (in Berlin a Stalinist appointed city administration refused to make way for an elected and anti-Stalinist ad-

1947 Estimate

ministration); the state of near-civil war in Greece and the border clashes between Greek monarchist troops and Yugoslav troops; the question of what attitude the UN is to assume

toward Spain, etc. For though there is no prospect of immediate war-none of the major imperialist powers is ready for it or wants it yet—the conflicts between them are sharp, severe and perma-

nent and cannot be wiped out by mere treaties or statements. They will continue to exist so long as the spectres of capitalist imperialism and Stalinist imperialism threaten the future of this world; nothing short of the abolition of these two monsters can remove the threat of an eventual Third World War which endangers the very future of the hu-

Lire Topples, Jobless Mount in Italy

PARIS, Nov. 28-With the announcement that the Italian lire will probably be devalued shortly from 225 to 400 to the American dollar, the Italian worker is to be dealt another heavy blow in his near-empty pocket. He will need almost twice as many lire to buy the same food he is buying today. Italy's trade position will be improved temporarily compared with other countries, at the expense of reducing the standard of living of Italian labor. But in the long run not monetary manipulation but production of capital and consumption goods is required to raise Italy from her present position of economic

prostration. Despite all the optimistic talk about imports and exports rising to new highs by fall, the proposed devaluation indicates the inability of the Italian ruling class to get production started on any appreciable scale, even with extensive UNRRA bolstering and capital investment by the

U. S. and Britain. Unemployment increased to almost 3,000,000 by early November. The black market in oil, as one example, is so large that only 16-20 per cent of olive oil is collected by the state amassing denters, while more than 80 per cent goes to the black market and even for export. Rarely has a ruling class so incapable of feeding the overwhelming mass of workers

ever stayed in power for this long a

This second loan since the Allies seized Rome is being pushed with the little energy at the state's command in the hope that by stabilizing the currency, prospects of getting a \$100,000,000 credit from the U.S. will

Premier de Gasperi in opening the new billion dollar loan drive admitted that not more than 36 per cent of state expenditures are covered by receipts. The lire has tumbled to 649 to the U.S. dollar on Rome's black market, almost 300 per cent higher than the official rate of 225 to the

What is General Motors Up To?

Several weeks ago, the General Motors Corporation floated a preferred stock issue in Wall Street to the tune of \$100,000,000. The event has caused a great deal of discussion in financial circles because the GM monopoly is known to be in a strong and solvent position. Why then should this powerful corporation with immense resources find it necessary to sell stock in order to obtain more cash reserves?

The answer was provided by the financiers of Wall Street and other powerful institutions when they revealed that GM was setting aside this \$100.-000,000 fund for the purpose of smashing the United Automobile Workers, CIO, when the UAW presents its new wage demands. GM plans to sit tight, grant the workers nothing, and starve the workers into submission. The GM strategy must be met now with the united resistance of the union movement. Set your sights now, fellow workers!

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR Published Weekly by the

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> **EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor** EDITORIAL BOARD IRVING HOWE

HENRY JUDD

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Editorials

ALBERT GATES

Miners Still Face the Operators

that the capitalist press and the "liberal" commentators, the former consciously, the latter perhaps unconsciously, hardly mentioned the role of that greedy gang of profiteers known as coal operators. While the miners' union was engaged in a fight against government strikebreaking by injunction, so that the whole struggle revolved about the relations of government to a section of the working class, beneath this outward appearance there remains the fundamental struggle between the miners and the coal operators.

The government originally took over the mines when the union could not come to terms with the operators. The operators refused to grant a decent wage increase to the men, refused to grant the union's demand for a welfare fund, and refused to improve the safety conditions in the mines. Then, the operators refused to accept the agreement reached between the government and the union. The government took over the mines until such a time that the mines could be turned back to the mine owners.

In the meantime, the operators, for

The fight against the miners' union and from the back-breaking toil of the coal John L. Lewis was pursued so vigorously miners. During the most crucial period of the present negotiations, the operators, hoping that the government would smash the power of the union, still refused to come to any agreement with it. But for all of that, they continued to get the gravy from coal mining. So, in effect, they lost

> The daily vellow press, however, had little or nothing to say about the operators. The liberal commentators who have been yelling loudest at Lewis, also had nothing to say about the coal operators. Suddenly the whole issue became one of the "sovereign rights of the government to rule." Actually what they were saying was that the whole issue was whether the government had the right to act as a strikebreaking agency, using injunction as the means of accomplishing that aim. The labor movement, every section of it and all its prominent leaders, no matter what their differences with Lewis, realized and rallied to the support of the miners'

But once this fight is won, the miners still have to meet and conquer the coal doing nothing, continued to get the profits operators. That issue has not been settled.

The Spanish Issue at the UN

sembly, dealing with the issue of Franco cratic world leadership, The American and his fascist Spanish government. One has been put forward by Russia, the other by the United States; both reflect the differences in the respective foreign policies of the world's two major rivals.

The Russian position favors the breaking off of all diplomatic relations with Franco's dictatorship, followed by an economic boycott that would unquestionably topple the dictator. Their policy is a "hard" one and is motivated by their belief that the Spanish Stalinists, in a Spain freed from Franco, would become a powerful force-perhaps the largest partyand thus reinforce Russia's general position in the Mediterranean and Europe as well. Russia has everything to gain by pushing hard at Franco and forcing him out and her rivals know this only too well.

America, backed by England, is thus forced into the position of aiding and abetting the apparent continuation of the Franco dictatorship, embarrassing as this

Two resolutions are before the UN As- is to their hypocritical pretense, of demoresolution proposes only a vague condemnation of the Franco régime, together with barring it from all activities of the United Nations, and a vague urging of the Spanish people to rid themselves of Franco. Senator Tom Connally, the Texas oratorical windbag at the UN Assembly, announced that America will not go along with any plans to break relations with Spain or impose economic sanctions against that country. So far as he's concerned, Franco is an embarrassing but preferable "lesser evil" to any Stalinist Spanish government or coalition.

> Thus Spain and its people who have now suffered for almost ten years under the bloody Franco régime, are booted around by the rival imperialists as one handles a ragged and deflated football. As every other country in Europe, it is drawn into the basic rivalry between Russian and American imperialism. Only the independent initiative of the Spanish people themselves can break through this ring.

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

E. R. McKINNEY

National Secretary, Workers Party

The Meaning of the Coal Strike December 15 - 8:30 P. M.

C. WRIGHT MILLS:

Social Research Bureau, Columbia University

The New Middle Class January 5" _____ 8:30 P. M.

IRVING HOWE

Editorial Board, Labor Action

Can the Intellectuals Escape Politics? January 5 _____ 8:30 P. M.

Admission: 50 Cents — Series of Four: \$1.50 ALL LECTURES AT 114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

RLD POLITICS

During the recent trial of the Nazi leaders at Nuremberg, a political bombshell was thrown into the court when the defense attorney for the Nazi diplomat, von Ribbentrop, announced that he intended to introduce the text of secret clauses of the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. The attorney, Dr. Alfred Seidl, was refused permission to introduce this evidence of the secret collusion between Hitler and Stalin to divide eastern Europe after the Stalinist prosecutor, General Rudenko, strenuously objected to this evidence on the grounds that "I do not attribute any importance to it...." However, an affidavit of the Nazi ambassador to Russia at the time of the pact, Friedrich Gaus, was accepted by the court.

Now the basic text of Gaus' testimony, as well as the text of the secret pact, has been made available in this country. This material has been cabled from Germany by Melvin Lasky to the New Leader, Social-Democratic paper, and appears in the November 30, 1946 issue of that paper. Gaus' affidavit makes fascinating reading. He tells of the preparations made for the meeting between von Ribbentrop and Stalin; how Hitler instructed Ribbentrop to prepare a document for presentation to the Russian government which was replied to by the Kremlin with "an affirmative answer" (Gaus' words, as are the following quotes) which "caused great rejoicing to Hitler and his entourage." (Apparently, Hitler did not agree with those professional Stalinist apologists who saw the Hitler-Stalin pact as a blow at ... Hitler. He knew better.)

GAUS' TESTIMONY

How readily harmony was established between the Nazis and Stalin is further described in Gaus' affidavit describing the meeting between Ribbentrop and Stalin in Moscow: 'Agreement on the text of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact was reached promptly and without difficulty" After the formal signing of the pact-which provided the green light to Hitler in the attack on Poland - "refreshments were served; a conversation developed during which Herr von Ribbentrop told how a public speech by Mr. Stalin, which he made in the Spring, had contained a sentence which, though Germany was not expressly mentioned, had been understood by Hitler as a hint on the part of Stalin that the Soviet Government considered it possible or desirable to establish better relations also with Ger-

Mr. Stalin answered by a short remark which, according to the trans-

LA PESTE BRUNE A PASSE PAR

tions Universelles, 104 pgs.

Reviewed by HENRY JUDD

cism and Big Business.

LA, by Daniel Guérin. Les Edi-

This newly re-issued brochure of

La peste brune a passé par là . . .

(The Brown Pestilence Passed

There) is an eye-witness account of

the beginnings (1933) of the Nazi

Daniel Guérin, well-known to Amer-

ican readers as the author of Fas-

in May 1933, taken across Germany,

with stopovers in its principal cities,

at the very moment when Nazidom

had taken power and was fulfilling

the first brutal steps in its prelimi-

nary consolidation of this power.

Guérin describes vividly his impres-

sions of the fascist fever, with all

its illusions and fantastic sides, that

raged in Germany at the moment, as

well as the early effects of the tragic

defeat upon the ranks of the Ger-

man Communist and Social-Demo-

re-issued edition contains the fresh-

ness not only of the impressions

made upon its author by the German

upheaval, but also the somewhat

naive and hopeful illusions held by

Guérin as to the lack of durability

and strength of German fascism.

But we must respect this honesty on

the author's part, and his refusal to

yield to the temptation of retrospec-

tive revision and evaluation. As

such, the pamphlet has both its value

and interest. Perhaps the most inter-

esting part is the section where

Guérin meets rank-and-file members

of the German Communist Party

who bitterly reject and criticize their

party leadership and reveal a far

greater understanding of what Hit-

ler's triumph meant to the German

movement than did the Moscow-

Guérin's work is at its best in ex-

plaining the mass character of the

Hitler movement and the sweep with

which it conquered the nation in

Fascism, explains Guérin, ". . .

surged from the depths of the Ger-

man people. It is because it was 'pop-

ular' that it proved irresistible, that

it swept everything aside, that the

workers' parties-divided-could not

block its path, that old reactionary

and feudal Germany had to, against its will, give way to it."

bound bureaucrats of the party.

Originally published in 1933, this

cratic party members.

It is his account of a bicycle trip,

régime by the French comrade

lation by the interpreter Pavov, meant "That was the intention." In this connection Herr von Ribbentrop also mentioned that Hitler had recently shown to him a film of a public ceremony in Moscow and that he, Hitler, found this film and the Soviet personalities shown in it 'very likable' (sympathisch)."

When the evidence of the military alliance between Hitler and Stalin to carve up eastern Europe was first presented at Nuremberg, the Stalinist prosecutor squealed like a stuck pig. Then he tried to minimize the

significance of the revelation. The American Stalinists have maintained a deadly silence on the whole matter. Nonetheless this material adds one more bit of evidence to the already damning indictment of counter-revolutionary Stalinism-the accomplice and partner of Hitler during the crucial days of the early part of the war in his imperialist adventures.

For the information of our readers, we reprint in an adjacent column the text as printed in The New Leader on the secret clauses of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Secret Provisions of Hitler-Stalin Pact

SECRET PROTOCOL OF AUGUST, 1939

On the occasion of the signing of the non-aggression treaty between the German Reich and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the undersigned representatives of the two parties discussed in a highly confidential conversation the problem of the demarcation of the spheres of influence of either party in Eastern Europe.

This conversation has the following result:

1-In the case of a politico-territorial change in the territories belonging to the Baltic States-Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuaniathe northern frontier of Lithuania shall form also the demarcation of the spheres of interest between Germany and the USSR. Both parties

recognize the interest of Lithuania in the Wilno territory. 2-In the case of a politico-territorial change in the territories belonging to the Polish state, the spheres of interest between Germany and the USSR shall be divided approximately following the line on the rivers Narow, Vistula and San. The question as to whether the interests of both parties make it desirable to maintain an independent Polish state, and how the frontiers of this state should be fixed, can be clarified in a final manner only in the course of further political developments. In any case, both governments will solve this question by way of a friendly understanding,

3-With respect to Southeastern Europe, the USSR emphasize their interest in Bessarabia. Germany declares her complete political disinterestedness in this area

4-This protocol shall be treated by both parties in a strictly secret

ADDITIONAL SECRET PROTOCOL

International Socialist Notes

Moreover, the dregs of the popu-

lation found refuge in the Brown

Army. There it can bludgeon and

play with revolvers to its heart's joy.

But behind it stands the peasant

mass, suffering from the low sales

prices obtained for its products or

its low wage scales; the entire mid-

dle class, decomposing, ruined by in-

flation, by the economic crisis, strug-

gling desperately against the compe-

tition of big business, against the

proletarianization that awaits it.

And there are also large working

class layers whose nerves have been

shot due to hunger and idleness,

and above all, the youth—that fine

and poor German youth, without

bread, without work, without future.

gnawing its nails in impatience and

For insight into the early period

of Hitlerism in power, we do not

hesitate to recommend Guérin's bro-

chure. Unfortunately, it is accessible

at present only to those with a read-

ing knowledge of French. The LA-

BOR ACTION Service will be glad

to procure copies (\$.75) for those

who desire this work. The Book

Service intends shortly to offer cur-

rent French political works to its

Point I of the Secret Additional Protocol, signed on August 23, 1939, is hereby modified to the effect that the territory of the Lithuanian State becomes part of the sphere of interest of the USSR while the Province of Lublin and parts of the Province of Warsaw become part of the sphere of interest of Germany (compare the map appended to the Frontier and Friendship Treaty, signed today). As soon as the Government of the USSR takes special measures on Lithuanian territory for the purpose of safeguarding its interests, the present German-Lithuanian frontier shall be rectified for the purpose of a natural and simple delimitation of the frontier by giving to Germany the Lithuanian territory southwest of the line drawn on the appended map.

It is further stipulated that the above mentioned measures by the Soviet Union shall not result in any prejudice to the economic agreements between Germany and Lithuania now in force. Moscow, September 28, 1939.

> For the German Government, J. RIBBENTROP. On behalf of the Government of the USSR,

> > changed."

OFF LIMITS James M. Fenwick

A GI Dad Talks to Sonny

A GI dad and his young son go a few fast rounds over U. S. foreign policy in Germany:

SONNY: Daddy, can I be a moron when I

DADDY: Of course not. What do you want to -run for Congress?

SONNY: You shouldn't talk like that in front of your son, Daddy. I'm at a very impressionable

DADDY: And I'll trouble you not to sandbag your father with such leading questions. The last time I took one of these socrotic strolls with you

I wound up reading LABOR ACTION. SONNY: Where does it hurt worst, daddy? DADDY: That will be about enough from the post World War II generation. Now tell me-why

do you want to be a moron when you grow up?

ON THE MEADER REPORT

SONNY: Because the more I think about the people who run this world, the more I read about what they do, the crazier they seem. Better to be a moron-and be happy.

DADDY: But when you're a moron there's always the risk of becoming a southern senator or a three-star general.

SONNY: Yes, I know, but that's one of the occupational hazards of the moron's life which you have to accept.

DADDY: But what has prompted these cynical observations?

SONNY: I've recently been reading excerpts from the Meader report on conditions among our occupation forces in Germany. It bristles with anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, and anti-enlisted man prejudice and rails against some of the unsavory aspects of our rule of Germany: officers who possess eight personal servants, engage in white slavery, buy hotels with black market profits, "burgermeisters threatened and beaten, civilian police disarmed and beaten with their own weapons, women being publicly molested, and civilians being stopped at night by soldiers who examine their passes, then calmly slug them senseless." The report concludes with some recommendations which it hopes will remedy the situation.

Now, daddy, I've a simple solution which willreally end all these abuses once and for all. DADDY: What's that?

SONNY: Withdraw all our occupation forces from Germany!

DADDY: But you know what the answer to that is: Germany has to be punished and policed for starting the war.

SONNY: But if that's so, why did the army officially just end the Hate-the-German program among our troops? If the German people really were guilty of starting the war, they should be treated with contempt and loathing.

DADDY: Well, it seems that the capitalists have found out that the Germans aren't so bad after all. The real danger is the Russians. That's why we're beginning to mobilize the Germans against Russia.

"YOUR LOGIC IS FORMIDABLE"

SONNY: But isn't that Hitler's program of creating a bulwark in Eastern Europe against

DADDY: Your logic, as my friends from the maquis used to say, is formidable.

SONNY: And so the Russians, our dearest friends of yesterday, are now our deadliest ene-

DADDY: I drop my eyes in pretty confusion. SONNY: And the coming war, unlike the last one, will no doubt be a genuine war for democracy against the totalitarianism of our former allies? DADDY: Anyone who doubts that must be a

Russian agent. SONNY: Doesn't it all seem a little crazy to

you, daddy?

DADDY: It certainly does ... yes ... yes ... Say, go over that moron philosophy of yours

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readers. Watch LABOR ACTION for details. TROTSKYISTS LEAD

CEYLON GENERAL STRIKE

A general strike took place in Ceylon during the last weeks of October in sympathy with those sections of the workers striking for higher wages and the right to organize in trade unions. According to reports in the Times

and the Manchester Guardian, the strike was led by the Ceylon Trotskyists. The Times stated: "The so-called Trotskyists who or-

ganized the strike also command road transport, gas-works and hospital services unions which are expected to strike at any moment." On September 23, the Manches-

ter Guardian reported the arrest of Dr. Perera, a Trotskyist leader in "The Ceylon strike leader, Dr. N.

M. Perera, was arrested at dawn today and later released. A deputation of strikers received by the Governor refused to come to terms without Dr. Perera's attendance.

"Another conference was held with the Governor in the afternoon at

If You Have Not Yet Bought THE FIGHT FOR

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which Dr. Perera was present but

the strike situation remained un-

The bulk of the strikers were em-

ployed at government-owned estab-

lishments, railways, postal and elec-

trical undertakings. The railway and

electrical workers who came out on

strike were joined by 3,000 harbor

workers, and they were joined by

thousands of workers in essential

The fact that the strike developed

into a general strike is an indication

of the tremendous militant mood de-

veloping among all sections of the

Ceylonese working class. A very im-

portant factor that betokens the like-

ly success of the strike is the uncom-

promising leadership of the Ceylon

Trotskyists, which, unlike the re-

formist traitors at the head of the

trade unions, will not capitulate to

the government or sell the workers

There are in Ceylon two Trotskyist

parties, the Bolshevik Leninist Party

of India (Ceylon Unit), official sec-

tion of the Fourth International, and

the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, of

which Dr. Perera is a member. Fu-

sion negotiations have begun be-

tween the two organizations.-From

the British Socialist Appeal, Novem-

government departments.

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Workers Party Publications

Senator Bilbo: Portrait of a Dixie Demagogue

By C. T. HOLLOCHER

TWO weeks ago, the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee went to the state of Mississippi to investigate charges that Senator Theodore Bilbo had incited the white population to violence against Negroes attempting to vote. The investigation came on the heels of a demand that Bilbo be barred from the Senate on the ground that his election, won by a bare majority of 3,800, votes, was illegal, since it deprived qualified voters from voting.

The Senate committee really visited two Mississippis-the Mississippi of the brave Negroes who endangered their lives by testifying; and the Mississippi of Bilbo and the white officials of the state who conspired to deprive the Negroes of their vote. The first group, impoverished and ex-

South? At least, so the bigoted and reactionary Southerner thinks.

The Senate investigation of Bilbo in Mississippi could not be anything but a farce. Think of it: the chairman of the committee is Jim Crow Senator Ellender of Louisiana. On the committee of five, there is Senator Maybank of South Carolina and Thomas of Oklahoma also "magnolia-minded." The two Republicans on the committee, Bridges and Hickenlooper, did nothing to recommend themselves as persons capable of an honest investigation of a corrupt and venal colleague.

Chairman Ellender, as PM pointed out, was "storming at his committee's own witnesses, sometimes at his own counsel, in general working harder for Bilbo than all of Bilbo's own large staff of attorneys. He was sim-

He may be barred for taking bribes from war contracting companies; but it is not likely that his conduct of the elections will give courage to his senatorial colleagues to keep his seat from him. It is not only a question of "senatorial courtesy," of "a \$15,000 a year job" of which senators are loathe to deprive a colleague. It is the fear that any action they might take would have an explosive effect on the South. For what has happened in Mississippi is largely true of the South as a whole.

There is Case No. 1, of Clifford R. Fields, Circuit Court registrar of Natchez County. The following is a portion of his testimony:

FIELDS: We want the white primary-and anything to make it a little harder for the colored man to vote.... When they first started coming in they came without having two poll tax receipts. It just meant cluttering up the books with a lot of names of people who would not be eligible to vote.

CHAIRMAN ELLENDER: Did you apply the same restrictions to white

FIELDS: No, because I knew white people would eventually become qualified.

QUESTION: What other restrictions did you place on colored people trying to register in contrast to whites, other than producing poll tax receipts?

ANSWER: The only other thing I did was to ask them to read sections of the constitution of the state of Mississippi where it explains the reelection of the Governor of Mississippi. I did not require it of whites, but did of colored.

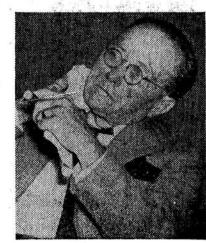
QUESTION: You made it harder for colored people than whites, true? ANSWER: Yes.

This method of disqualifying Negro voters by asking a lot of obscure questions is not a new one. As if there were any doubt about it, Bilbo himself declared: "The circuit clerks single man or woman serving in this sel, and heard him ask: "'How'd I ator Ellender, Bilbo was brought

stitutional rights of the Negro voters. important office who cannot think up questions enough disqualifying undesirables, then write Bilbo or any good lawver and there are a few hundred good questions which can be furnished.

> HOW DRUNK TO GET ARRESTED? Case No. 2 relates to Richard E. Daniel, Negro veteran, prevented

> > RACE BAITER



SENATOR BILBO

from voting by being arrested and beaten up in jail by Robert L. Williams, 6-foot 8-inch Gulfport policeman. Daniel's bloodstained clothes were exhibited to the committee. They showed that he was badly beaten while in jail. But the giant thug in policeman's garb denied this, saying "he had only slapped him two or three times with his open hand." The cop stated that Daniel was drunk and cursing in front of some women. When the cop was asked how drunk Daniel was, he answered:

"Well, he wasn't dog drunk; he was just drunk enough to be arrested." Victor Bernstein, PM reporter, who

was in the corridors after Williams' testimony, saw him together with are under oath...and if there is a Forrest Jackson, Bilbo's chief coun-

do, Mr. Jackson?' And Jackson slapped the policeman on the back and answered: 'Fine, Williams. You did just fine."

Case No. 3 describes one device employed by the slicker politicians of the state. Getting the consent of Negroes not to vote in order to prevent violence against them. This took place in Greenwood, where Mayor Allan Saffold claimed the "best n...rs in the Delta."

"Fine bunch of darkies," added Shelby Steele, insurance man. "No place in Mississippi n rs and whites get along better."

The leading whites in the town, including the mayor and the above Steele, called in two leading members of the Negro community and asked them to see to it that the Negroes do not vote. The two Negroes apparently did a good job because not a single Negro voted in Green-

BILBO'S OWN TESTIMONY

The low point of the hearings was reached when Bilbo himself testified. In the tradition of Dixie's senators. Bilbo declared: "I'm the best friend the n...rs got in the U.S. Senate." Translated into plain English, this means: by keeping the Negro segregated, employing discrimination against him, barring him from voting and making Jim Crow the law of the South, we have saved him from the violence which WE advocate.

The gist of Bilbo's testimony was that he did not urge "violence" to keep the Negro from the polls. Conceding that he urged the white population to "see the n ... rs the night before election," he only meant that they should use "persuasion" to keep them from voting. When he urged that CIO organizers should be "rode out of town on a rail-and tar and feathered, too," that did not mean to use violence!

Guided by his friend and fellowthinker, the impartial chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, Senaround to state his "philosophy." He considered white people "better than n rs." To make it clearer he added: The enemy of labor, of the Negro "I believe in the superiority of the

think we're better than they are." It seems superfluous to add anything to this testimony. Here is the self-portrait of bigotry and race hatred; the self-portrait of ignorance and fascist-like mentality. It is the portrait of a leading section of one of the two dominant capitalist parties in this country, as well as of a dominant way of thinking which its

white race over the black race. I

political leaders spread both in the South and the North.

people, of all who despise discrimination and race doctrines has told us what he believes. Now it is time to answer with what we stand for: complete racial and religious equality; the organization of the South by the trade unions to achieve white and Negro labor solidarity and the socialist struggle to abolish the roots of discrimination. Let the two alternatives stand for all to see and act

"This Negro Was Lucky..."

We print below an editorial which appeared in the Jackson, Miss., Daily News of December 3 which comments on the testimony at the Bilbo hearing at which Richard E. Daniel, a 22-year-old Negro, said he was whipped for trying to register as a voter in Gulfport, Miss. We refrain from comment: as an expression of the wretched bigotry and racehatred of the Southern cracker type, this editorial speaks for itself.

"The Bilbo hearing is not without its humorous aspects.

"At the opening hearing, a star witness for the prosecution was a Negro who testified that shortly after he had visited the county court house and tried to register, four white men took him out in the country about three miles from town and gave him a good whipping.

"When asked by a Senator what happened after the whipping, the darky said the white folks put him in the car again and brought him

"And that, even the Senators forming the investigation committee, must admit, was mighty kind and considerate. "Travel congestion being what it is, and has been for some time, the

Negro was lucky to get a ride back to town. "If the white folks had cherished any ill feelings in the matter they might have left the darky to make his way back by foot."

ploited by its overseers, lives in terror and fear; the other group rules the state, lives off its revenues, and represents the interests of its industrialists, financiers and plantation

This latter group does not differ substantially from the political machines which rule other Southern states, except perhaps that it is poorer, more corrupt and more stupid. But its poverty, corruption and stupidity are the products of two things: the extreme poverty of the state and the existence of a Negro majority which creates a deep fear in an insecure ruling group.

TRADITION-BOUND RACISM

The political gang which rules the state, and the ruling class elements which foster it are tradition-bound. Decades of indoctrination with racist theories which had their origin in slavery continue to dominate the minds of the majority of the white population. No force in the South worse, the weight of the racist Democratic Party in Washington has been so great as to help perpetuate the system. The hypocrisies of the North are held up in the South as justification for their own racism. When the capital city of the nation is a Jim Crow town, how can one attack the ply telling his own people back home to forget this, he was no 'n r lover,' and wouldn't they please remember that he hadn't wanted to come down to Jackson in the first place."

The committee went into the state to examine election officials on procedures they used to prevent Negroes not-too-willing committee, according to the New York Times, found "a solid front of white municipal officials resisted efforts...to connect specific violations of Negroes' civil rights with Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's campaign speeches last spring."

COURAGE OF THE NEGROES Much to the surprise of the Senate committee and the Bilbo machine, the Negroes did turn out to testify. Prior spread that the terror of Bilbo's machine had done its job too well. But when the hearings opened more than has been able to combat it. What is 200 Negroes were present! This in itself is a tremendous fact, for these Negroes were doing a brave thing to speak out. All of them knew that they may expect reprisals, but they came anyway.

> But one would be naive indeed to think that the Senate will disqualify Bilbo because he violated the con-

Ex-CPers Expose Stalinist from voting and to establish a connection between their efforts and the campaign speeches of Bilbo. But the Party Role as Strikebreaker

In our article of last week, we tried to show how the group of former members of the Communist Party was completely confused on the character of Stalinism and the nature of the Communist Parties of the world. Advocating a radical policy in the struggle for socialism now, ev at the same time demand the construction of a genuine "Stalinist Party" in the United States. They point to the French and Italian Communist Parties as examples for a party in this country to follow. The French and Italian parties, they say, are making progress and are not isolated from the masses; the American is an isolated party. This is proof that the American party is different from its sister parties in the above two countries.

But the NCP (New Committee for Publications) is profoundly mistaken. The Communist Party of the United States is a genuine Stalinist Party, in no principled way different from French or Italian. The advantages of the latter are to be sought in the deeper social crisis which exists in those countries which enable the perfidious, double-dealing policies of the Stalinists there to exploit the masses far better than in the United States. The parties in France and Italy are closer to Russia and therefore receive stronger support. The proximity of Stalin's army to their countries enabled them to take advantage of and capitalize on its vic-

But those parties pursued the same general line that the Communist Party followed in this country which can be described as: class collaborationist, anti-working class, counter-revolutionary. Wherever and whenever the working classes of France and Italy endeavored to carry out a revolutionary struggle that threatened the very existence of capitalism in those countries, the Communist Parties, on the basis of their influence and strength, were able to head them off.

ALL STALINIST PARTIES ARE ALIKE

In Italy as in France, the Communist Parties repeatedly said that they were not for a revolutionary struggle today, that they did not consider the fight for socialism to be the perspective in our times. One need only glance at the policies carried out there for proof of this.

Both parties were against the seizure of the factories by the workers and the establishment of soviets.

Both parties opposed the setting up of a government by the workers at a time when it was possible to develop the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Both parties declared as their aims the establishment of governments in collaboration with the capitalist parties.

Both parties have cautioned the workers against engaging in nation-

wide strikes and militant struggles against their present unbearable living conditions.

Both parties have participated in rotten capitalist governments against the best interests of the people.

In France, the Communist Party collaborated with that would-be dictator de Gaulle. Thereafter it joined hands with the party of the Catholic Center under Bidault's leadership.

In Italy, the Communist Party first supported Badoglio then the successive governments of capitalist futility.

This does not mean that the Stalinist parties of France and Italy are not willing to take power in common with other "left" parties, such as the socialists-in order to share their betrayal of the working class. But in seeking that kind of power, they are primarily concerned with serving the interests of Stalinist Russia at the expense of the French and Italian masses. Already, in both countries they have acted as strikebreakers.

AN AMERICAN EXAMPLE

Bulletin No. 1 of the NCP, for example, in order to prove that the Communist Party in this country is reactionary and anti-socialist, cites a directive of the party to a San Francisco branch to act as strikebreakers in the strike of Local 68 of the International Association of Machinists. We cannot vouch for the precise character of the directive, but reprint the letter of a member NCP published. Its authenticity can be judged by the fact that the CP pursued a strikebreaking policy during the war and continues to do so against its opponents. The letter

"With the strike of Local 68, IAM, together with the CIO machinists in the East Bay area, the split began to widen in CPUSA forces. After issuing perfunctory approval of the strike demands as 'just' CP began to break the strike. It issued leaflets and had articles published in People's World (CP paper on West Coast) openly advising the machinists that they couldn't win the strike and urging them to go back to work.

"The best CP branch here, made up of machinists and having the best reputation in the whole country, was directed by CP to attack the strike leaders as Trotskyite (which was a damned lie, as usual) and to demand a rank-and-file committee to lead a back-to-work movement.

"The reasons for all this were that CP wanted the strike to fail. The CIO leaders in this area, closely associated and interpenetrated with CP did not want a victory in the strike. They feared a victory that would make the machinists more influential and expose the 18 per cent sell-out in which the warehousemen, a part of the ILWU (Bridges' union), had 'pioneered.' To the state committee of CP, Dick Lyndon, president of the

warehousemen, declared that a machinists' victory in the strike would be a 'tragedy of the first magnitude,' In the newspapers he called on workers to break the picket lines.

"Naturally, the machinists' branch would not go along with CP policy, and so the branch was liquidated in the usual smart way: at the end of a the liquidation of the branch was announced with a ruling: 'There will be no discussion of this.' Expulsions came thick and fast. Comrades who refused to hall the maritime settlement of June 16, '46 as a victory were expelled. Walter Lambert, once state CP trade union secretary, and Homer Mulligan of ACA were also expelled for opposing these actions."

If NCPers think this is something new in CP policy let them only remember the war years. Let them remember how Bridges scabbed on the strike of the Retail Clerks led by Wolchok. Let them remember how the CP trade union leaders spearheaded the struggle for incentive pay, for the no-strike pledge and labor - management committees. Let them remember how the CP trade union fractions acted like imperialist watch-dogs in the labor movement. If they recall these things they will, upon examination of the sister CP's in Europe discover that that is exactly what they had done during the war and immediate post-war period.

BREAK WITH STALINISM

And, if NCPers want to understand why, let them examine Russian foreign policy. They will then discover that so long as Stalin's alliance with Anglo-American imperialism was solid, his parties in all other countries were on good behavior and saw to it that the war economies of his allies were unhindered and the masses kept to the grindstone. Now, however, that the war is over and the enemy defeated, now that relations between the erstwhile allies have deteriorated in their own conflict for world power, the CPs have been given the word: you can go ahead for a while, exploit the militancy of the working class, pretend that you are revolutionary socialist parties, embarrass your ruling governments. I, Stalin, am showing my rivals that I have allies in their own countries and can make trouble for them at home if necessary. And this too, only to a degree, because Stalin is just as much opposed to the socialist revolution and the power of the workers as are the capitalist powers whom he opposes.

Once NCPers begin to understand this, they will begin to understand the antics of Foster-Dennis and Company. They will then discover the reason why there is not a great deal to chose between them and Browder whom they replaced. But for such an understanding they must break with Stalinism itself.

Program of the **Workers Party**

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living. 2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for ige increases to cover any additional price rises.

3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5000 annual minimum per family.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe. 2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration

to Palestine or any country of their choice. VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each

2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Govern-

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

NEXT WEEK:

U. S. Imperialism in the Philippines

By Charles Stewart

McKenny, Minton and the CP

TRANSPORTED TRANSPORTED TO A SERVICE

By Carl Davis

A SOCIALIST XMAS GIFT! We Suggest STALIN, by Leon Trotsky \$5.00 REVOLUTION IN SPAIN, by Marx and Engels 1.75 PARTISAN READER 3.75 POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY, by Karl Marx.... 1.25 CAPITAL, in three volumes, per volume 3.00 Send us the addresses to which you want your gifts mailed, together with remittance. We shall announce your gift on a special Christmas Card, pay all postage and send a receipt to you. This Offer Holds Good for Any Book in Stock. Send for Our New, Revised List of Marxist Literature. LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 COURT SQUARE, LONG ISLAND CITY 1, NEW YORK

A STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE

AUSTRIA DISNITEGRATES UNDER OCCUPATION

A great deal of attention has been paid in this column to political developments in Austria because they have now become the classical position of imperialist exploitation and bureaucratic mismanagement by the victorious Allies in post-war Europe. Extraordinary corroboration is given this statement by a dispatch appearing in The Nation of December 7, 1946 and written by G. E. R. Gedye. We urgently recommend to all of our readers interested in an appraisal of the European debacle created by the Big Four occupation, that they read this dispatch.

Gedye begins by painting the social disintegration of Austrian life since the Allies took over and divided that unhappy nation into four occupation zones, each of them with separate and conflicting policies. The Viennese are living on a diet of 1200 calories a day, which is below a reasonable subsistence level and 300 less than even the Germans

"In the last week of October," he writes, "all train services were suddenly suspended. . . . All through last winter the authorities struggled to restore gas for cooking; it is still only available for a few hours daily.... For three days in nine every house, office and shop is to be deprived of current from seven a.m. to four p.m.; one never knows when current will be cut off even after dark ... candles of course are unprocurable ... power shortage is causing more factories to work part

"THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE"

The Austrian people are thoroughly rid of any illusions they may have had about Allied "liberation." Gedye writes: "Now nobody believes the Allies are united in seeking any goal; a really 'free and independent Austria' seems to be the last thing some of them desire.... The real crisis in Austria is one of confidence. The Austrians see no reason to believe that the Allies either intend to help them to their feet or will allow them to rebuild the country out of their own resources."

Accordingly, the Austrian government - a coalition of Social-Democrats, Stalinists and the Catholic Volkspartei—declared its impotence at a secret Parliament session and its readiness to abdicate in favor of direct rule by the military occupations. (It was after this statement that the

Austrian parliament passed a resolution requesting immediate withdrawal of occupation troopsexcellent sentiments which it did nothing to put into action.)

Gedye has come into possession of information of some of the disclosures made by the cabinet at the secret session of parliament. They provide a damning picture of what imperialist despoilment by all the powers has meant to the people of Austria. Apparently hindered by censorship from naming names directly, Gedye writes by indirection but it requires no special wit to gather his o

He writes: "Austria is so short of all kinds of textiles that the ordinary citizen can purchase no clothing whatsoever. Yet for eighteen months one of the Allies has been forcing the government to hand over from one province alone an average of 100,000 yards of textiles monthly...by paying for in schillings requisitioned from the National Bank for 'occupation needs' or by even shadier methods. Payment has never been made in foreign currencies or goods."

Gedye continues: "On October 22, General Körner, the Socialist burgomeister of Vienna, announced, 'The Viennese can have only one pair of boots repaired in twelve months; only one pair of new boots will be available every five years.' A survey of Vienna school children showed that 13.7 per cent are entirely without shoes; 7.3 per cent are kept from school by the lack of shoes. At the same time one of the Allies takes from one factory alone from 14,000 to 15,000 pairs a month of its output of 20,000 From one rayon factory one Allied power has exported 500 tons of rayon, enough to keep Austrian women in stockings for

The coal crisis in Austria is due to similar outright imperialist looting. "One power" holds large stocks of Austrian coal but refuses to sell it to Austria at less than the world price-exactly twice as much as the domestic price, above which the Allied Commission forbid's Austria to buy. And of course the power which asks double the domestic price participated in the decision to prohibit Austria from buying at...more than the domestic price. "For months one power has insisted on the export of Austrian power to Germany to feed factories there in which it is interested. One power, because it considers that an-

other is preventing it from obtaining for its zone its due quantities of Austrian oil, holds back Austrian coal and Austrian livestock ... "

VICTIMS OF OUTRIGHT THIEVERY

The bureaucratic mismanagement, the confusion resulting from four separate and conflicting zones is endless. "The Viennese feel as baffled and angry when the Americans are unwilling to let UNRRA stores or Austrian livestock enter the Russian zone as they do when the British hold back Austrian steel in Syria, the Russians hold back Austrian oil in Zisterdorff, or the French mulct them of the milk, cheese and butter of

Here then are the fruits of victory and if any of you wonder for what you spent years in puptents and foxholes, read Gedye's dispatch. The situation in Austria at the moment is so tragic and desperate that "hunger strikes and demonstrations may break out at any moment among the enfeebled and despairing workers."

In this situation, so politically explosive and fluid, the position developed by the Workers Party and expounded in previous issues of LABOR AC-TION on the European situation is particularly relevant. We have said that one of the major ways for the tiny isolated revolutionary groups of Europe to make contact with the masses was to become the foremost champions of national independence and liberation in those countries where there remained the slightest degree of imperialist oppression. Such slogans as "Drive Out the Imperialist Occupations" are of tremendous significance in a country like Austria today.

For everyone in Austria can see that it is being robbed and wrecked by all of the occupation powers and that no economic recovery of the slightest kind is possible so long as this kind of imperialist domination continues. That is why it incumbent upon revolutionary socialists in such situations to take the lead in the democratic struggle for national liberation, which means first and foremost driving out the occupation leeches. It means to make politics dependent upon the reality of the Austrian situation described by Gedye: "Austria is weary of all foreign armies; it considers that they devour its substance and make self-government a mockery"-I. H.

Business Profits Hit New High; Wages Decline --

(Continued from page 3)

As a result of a redistribution of national income in favor of profits, dividends, and interest, the actual share of the wage earners and low salaried employees rose during the war years to 67.7 per cent and since the war's end declined to 62.6, below the average of the years 1936-39.

Put in another way: total income payments (wages, salaries, profits, rents, royalties, dividends and interest) rose 12 per cent during 1942-45 and the first eight months of 1946. wages and salaries advanced only six per cent. "Business income (profits)," says Economic Outlook, "went up 10 per cent; and dividends and interest, 24 per cent. While the CIO calls for a more equitable distribution of the national income, its approach to this question is purely reformist. Much of it is pure pleading to the tender mercies of the human octopi who make up America's ruling class. But even in its own review, the CIO is compelled to take note of what is characteristic of the capitalist social order. Economic Outlook cites the experience of the "prosperity period" of the 20's. Between 1924 and 1929, for example, manufacturing production rose by almost 27 per cent. Productivity per man hour rose 35 per cent. Yet, 'while production and productivity were on the increase, wages were almost frozen." The total increase in "average hourly earnings between 1924 and 1929 was only five per cent." At the same time profits after taxes increased 72 per cent from \$4.3 billion in 1924 to \$7.4 billion in 1929. The present situation contains elements that resemble the "prosperity period."

COST OF LIVING RISES

By JULIE FALK

living.

nent facts:

National Secretary, SYL

ir rock bottom requ

But even more important than the survey which relates the growth of profits to the decline in wages is the real economic position of the overwhelming majority of the people in terms of the cost of living, i.e., the income of the mass of people in comparison to the cost of goods necessary to live.

In September of this year average earnings for workers in manufactur-

The New York teachers' demand

for a \$1,050 annual raise is actually

keeping pace with the rising cost of

been reduced from a relatively well

paid profession to an underpaid and

overburdened drudge. A few perti-

for teachers was the same as it had

been in 1928. This, despite a rise of

50 per cent in the cost of living be-

tween 1939 and 1946 (according to

the latest conservative estimates of

the Bureau of Labor). Since the first

of this month, teachers have received

a \$250 annual raise in income but

this is pathetically small when com-

pared with their real wages which

bonus was granted but there are two

hitches in this statistically impres-

sive gain. First, it is only a tem-

porary raise and not an increase in

An additional \$350 cost of living

have been almost halved.

Until December 1 the pay schedule

In the past ten years teaching has

Net Profits Productivity Production ing industries were \$45.10 a week. This is \$2 a week less than peak earnings in 1945, but in terms of purchasing power it is \$8 less than the 1945 peak. This figure, standing by itself, however, does not really portray what the average family in this country faces. The Heller Committee of the University of California, which makes annual studies of minimum budgets for wage earners, using as an average a family of four, reveals that the situation is indeed critical for many families. For the year 1945, the peak year, the Heller Committee estimated that a minimum budget to attain a standard of living providing "health and

for regular living expenses. But for this year, the committee points that the average family, to achieve the above standards requires a yearly income of \$3,545.82, or \$68.19 a week. The committee arrives at this figure by adding the 14 per cent rise in the cost of living since March, 1945, to its original figures, plus \$30.00 social security payments and another \$219.60 for income tax payments. It should be repeated that this estimated budget is for "minimum health and decency." But the

Nation's Teachers in Fight

decency" was \$3,075. This included

\$266 a year for taxes and \$300 war

savings bonds, leaving \$2509 yearly

average income of wage earners is more than \$1,000 below the minimum requirements of the Heller budget!

1924 to 1929

manufacturing industries

As yet there has been no levelling out of this situation. Wages for the most part remain static, though the unions are now preparing a campaign for new increases. The cost of living, however, continues to rise. In general, the economy is still strong. There is almost total employment and a high level of production. The total national income is very high, but the share of the wage earners and low salaried employes grows smaller, while profits, interest and dividend payments continue to in-

In this brief analysis, one sees the working out of Marx's prediction about the increasing polarization of wealth in modern capitalist society: a smaller and smaller group of monopoly capitalists embrace a greater and greater proportionate share of the national wealth while a smaller and smaller share of the total wealth falls to the overwhelming majority of the people. One needs only to tear the veil from the propaganda of the capitalists to see how the system operates in the interests of the monopolists, to whom "free enterprise" means the freedom to exploit and

CATHOLIC UNIONISTS AND THE MINE STRIKE

By STANLEY GREY

DETROIT-The local weekly, The Wage Earner, a paper connected with the Association of Catholic Trade Unions and "dedicated to the proposition that the teachings of Jesus Christ furnish the only sound basis for reform" has denounced the miners strike as an "unwise strike" which "will infuriate public opinion against all labor," and "greatly increase the already high probability of a major depression."

Since opposition to the miners' strike is diluted with a few words of sympathy for the suffering miners, it is not surprising therefore that this paper chastises the "obstinate operators" who "chose to let production be stopped rather than give in to perfectly legitimate demands...." To support the strike would be a "very ill-advised and unfortunate affair." (editorial of Nov. 15)

This paper "for all who work for a living" proceeds to draw some very profound lessons from the titanic struggle between the government and the United Mine Workers. Paul Weber, a leading ACTU man in Detroit and vice-president of the Michigan CIO Council, in his column of November 29 draws the lesson that nationalization of the means of 'production "ought never to be advanced as labor's solution" and has inherent in it "a very great tendency to become a police state."

Brother Weber's argument is the following: "The affair of John L. Lewis is another demonstration of the inadequacy of government ownership of basic industries as a solution to the problem created by the mutual opposition of economic classes." Why? Because "when the government steps out of its role as arbiter of disputes between individuals or groups, and assumes a partisan role in the economic conflict, it leaves the post of ruler vacant...when the government is the employer and a fight of this kind gets under way, there is no place to go for a peaceful and face-saving de-

The result? "The naked economic power of the union is right up against the naked police power of the state." And since the state can't back down without an "impairment of sovereignty" you either have a crippling deadlock or the necessity of using brute force which is the beginning of the end of democracy.

And if "it is true that the status of government operation of the soft coal mines is not the equivalent of the 'social ownership' which the various socialist sects are always talking about," even the government of a socialist state will be faced with the same dilemma of opposing the entire people's interest to the claims of a minority

The central point of this argument is that the proper role" of the state is to be "the guardian of the public interest" and act as "arbiter of disputes between individuals or groups." If this is the "proper role" of the state, then the state has very improperly and consistently disregarded the tasks assigned to it by Weber. For if history shows anything at all it demonstrates unambiguously that the role of the state has been that of an instrument of that class in society which owns the means of production which at present is the capitalist class.

ROLE OF THE CAPITALIST STATE

Sometimes it fulfills this role obliquely and subtly even when it is making concessions to the working class; sometimes it does it openly and unashamedly so that even The Wage Earner editorial writers can witness it. For on the very same page as Weber's column is an editorial labeled-"Public Rooked" in which it is shown with proper indignation that the state, whose role is to be the "guardian of the public interest," by means of its carryback tax provisions, subsidized the resistance of the big monopoly corporations in the last wave of big strikes. It is unfortunate for the workers in these crucial strikes that the state was ignorant of its "proper role" and acted the part of corporation financier.

When the state intervenes in the coal mine

is not a product of a short-sighted haberdasher a decent standard of living and the capitalists not up on his "proper role"; it is the state realizing its function as an instrument of force wielded against the labor movement in the interests of monopoly of capitalism. That may be sad, it may ruffle pious souls, but it is nevertheless the fact and it is from the fact that we must begin. To dream away that fact and propose any theory which sees the state as an "impartial" arbiter is, in practice, a theory which aids the continued exploitation of the working class.

The United States "ownership" of the mines simply a mockery of the idea of real socialization of the means of production. Anyone should be capable of seeing through that flimsy legal fiction. Thus Weber does admit that this ownership is a "legal gesture"; in fact in an article two weeks before he says "the incidental fact that the mine case involves the government, rather than management is of no significance." If it is of NO significance on Nov. 15, how can it be of such significance on Nov. 29 as to teach the lesson of the "inadequacy of government ownership of the basic industries"?

WHAT THE ACTU ATTITUDE COMES TO

For the struggle between the mine workers and the government is merely an intensification of the struggle between the mine workers and the mine owners. When Weber says that "a frontal clash has been precipitated between the interests of the whole people and the interests of the mine workers" and continues that "the government's obligations to the working class and to the common good is obviously to keep the coal mines open" he is playing into the hands of the strike

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION support the miners' struggle against the mine owners and their government. We identify the public interest" with the interests of the masses of workers who comprise the majority of the public." We say that the only durable solution to the situation is the nationalization of the basic industries.

The nationalization of the means of production is a more rational means of organizing production and unleashing the powerful potential for unlimited production of that inherent in modern technology. For this to be used in the interests of the workers, it is indispensable that the state which does the planning be controlled by the working people, not as in England by the old capitalist class dressed in denims, or as in Russia by a new class of party officials and managerial bureaucrats using socialist verbiage.

Such a society organized and controlled by the workers themselves, unfettered by the madness of corporate profit-making and the anarchy of capitalist planlessness will release such cascades of goods that the old conflicts spawned by a society of scarcity will be relics of a barbarous past.

The American Catholic Trade Unions (ACTU) which publishes The Wage Earner is for the preservation of capitalism. It is against the elimination of the minority of capitalists whose profit self-interest mean the wrack and ruin of civilized society. Says Weber, "The real solution to this problem of gigantic struggles between big business and the new power of 'big labor' does not lie in breaking the organization of either side and thus leaving the victims helpless before the increased power of the other side." Such a noble impartiality! Capital should not try to break labor, and labor should not try to break capital. The handful should not break the millions and the millions should let the handful continue their

WHY DON'T THE BOYS GET TOGETHER?

Why don't the boys just get together? "The real solution must be found in bringing these big unions and big employer groups together in joint committees, charged by law with the function of governing themselves and producing for the public welfare." It might be, however, that the two sides can't get together, that the conditions of capitalist production are such as to force a perdispute and exerts its force against the miners it petual struggle between the workers who fight for

whose need for increased profits is antagonistic to that fight. And this fight must end in a victory of one side over the other. The only question that remains then is "which side are you on?" The Wage Earner's answer is "both" in theory, but basically the capitalist in practice.

The arguments of The Wage Earner are worthy of comment because it is a paper with some influence in Detroit and carries a certain aura of real progressivism. Its constant railing against "free enterprise" in favor of "industry councils" which will "re-create the basic natural partnership of capital and labor" makes it seem to some as having a progressive, democratic hue. No intelligent worker should be deceived by this veneer of progressivism. Nothing can shield the decisive fact that with respect to the crucial question of our time, the need for the destruction of the capitalist system, it is on the side of reaction.

Trail Blazers of Science!

"War toys provide a healthy outlet for children, Dr. Wladimir G. Eliasberg, child psychiatrist and psychology professor at

"Dr. Eliasberg participated in the first discussion at the Toddlers Toy Institute formed by Irving Shelton, toy manufactur-

think war toys induce increased aggression in youngsters as 'lopsided crackpots.' His theory was that 'the tendency toward aggressiveness is actually given playful release' through play with toy tanks and

New York Times, November 27, 1946.

Don't Miss This . . .

Rutgers University, declared yesterday.

"The psychiatrist referred to those who

We want all of our friends and

sympathizers to join with us in

ringing out the old year and

bringing in the new.

REFRESHMENTS

WORKERS PARTY

1501 W. MADISON ST.

(Watch Labor Action next week)

for exciting details)

ENTERTAINMENT

DANCING

WE WILL HAVE:

Chicago Readers . . .

Women Still Lack

Rights in Italy By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Nov. 28 - Though Italian women have received the right to vote and participated for the first time in spring elections in 1946, not one single party has raised demands for removal of ancient restrictions on the economic and political lives of women.

Through the efforts of the Union of Italian Women, which grew out of women participation in the partisan movement, a "right to work" clause was inserted in the new Constitution. However limited and insufficient the demand, it would not excite much attention in Italy with its almost 3,000,000 unemployed except that along with it, women are demanding equal pay with men.

Italy is still so hidebound by Catholic and fascist teachings about women belonging in the home, that there have been repeated strikes and protests by men workers, unemployed and veterans against women working in factories and offices.

For the first time in Italian history, a Signora Barcellona, now a municipal counsellor in Milan, performed a marriage ceremony this month. Divorce of course is impossible under Catholic Church and Italian state laws. While women can be convicted of adultery solely on suspicion of relations with other men, the husband has to be proved guilty of long and well known relations with other women.

basic pay rates. Secondly, it must be pay scales of the teaching profesremembered that the 1928 pay schedule worked on the assumption that teachers would be tax exempt. In 1938, however, this exemption was removed and teachers had to pay a rising tax deduction on a constant salary. The \$350 temporary bonus therefore barely covers the tax-

To Increase Take-Home Pay

sliced take home pay of the teachers. The problems of students are intimately bound up with the economic conditions of teachers. For low pay cuts the efficiency of teachers and lessens the attractiveness of the teaching profession. As a direct result of the inadequate pay rates there has been a steady deterioration in the quality of classes. The shortage of teachers in the school system has led to a situation where teachers are unable to pay individual attention to their students. During the month of September alone more than 800 teachers left the school system and no replacements have been made. The total annual reduction in teaching staff has been estimated at around 2,000 in New York City alone. This decrease will be greater proportionately in the coming period unless something is

done to make more attractive the

In a recent three-year survey by the National Council of Teachers of English the low scholastic level of students of English was attributed to the overcrowded classrooms. It was discovered that English teachers were forced to handle as many as 220 students a day, assume a number of extra duties even though the recommended maximum number of students is 150 a day.

This fight, it should be added, is being conducted not only by New York teachers but also by teachers throughout the rest of the country. In a number of cities there have been successful strikes by teachers-in Minneapolis, for instance. In a number of other cities throughout the country teachers are still on strike, fighting for demands even more modest than those sought by New York teachers.

In view of these circumstances it is the obligation of all high school students and student organizations. to support the legitimate demands of the teachers for pay rises. The Socialist Youth League stands squarely behind their demands.



With the Workers Party

AKRON

Write to Box 221 for information.

BALTIMORE

Headquarters: 21 W. Preston St. Meetings of the Socialist Youth League are held every Friday at 8 p.m. Public forums are held the second Friday of each month.

BUFFALO

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

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.

Telephone—CHEsapeake 5798 Office hours: 3-5:36 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednes-

day evenings. On every Sunday evening at 7:30 o'clock, discussion classes of Marxist classics for next four weeks.

CLEVELAND

The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. in Carnegie Hall, 1220 Huron

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tues--definite headquarters not yet es-

Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night. For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Sta. B., Cleveland, Ohio.

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt.

LOS ANGELES

Haedquarters at 3161/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-3230. Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily, except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday and Friday.

LOUISVILLE

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

NEWARK

HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday-3 to 6 Wednesday-12 to 3 p. m.; Saturday-3 to 4 p. m.

Forum - Friday, December 20th-"The Struggle for Freedom in Po-land"—Speaker, S. Berg, Newark organizer, WP. 8:30 p.m. Questions; discussion; refreshments. Admission: 10 cents. Auspices: Newark Branch, WP.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.

You are welcome to attend all open

Branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

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

Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.), room 106. CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St.,

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

third floor. SATURDAY AFTERNNON BRANCH: Meets every Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114

West -.. th St., third floor. BROOKLYN BOROUGH HALL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor. BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, EAST YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pit-

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

For further information concerning the WORKERS PARTY, the SOCIAL-IST YOUTH LEAGUE and LABOR ACTION SCHOOL in New York City please write or visit the Workers Party City Center at 114 West 14th third floor, or phone CHelsea

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

Regular class on the "Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism" every Monday evening at 8:30.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Ger-

WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m. Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA San Francisco Bay Area Branch headquarters at 466 Tenth St. (corner and Broadway), Room 206,

Oakland. Forums on current prob-The next will be December 1.

For information write to P. O. Box 143, University Post Office, Seattle,

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

In the December New International:

India's Problems Analyzed

By ELEANOR MASON

Always a smoldering cauldron of mass unrest, India has again catapulted to the fore in the past several months in a new crisis. Will Nehru's government be able to succeed where all others have failed? Does the communal issue have a real basis in nationalistic conflict, or is it merely a fake created by British imperialism operating under its credo of "divide and rule"? Is Gandhi's program for India's masses a way out or a mirage honeyed over with pious phraseology? These questions are dealt with in a series of three articles in the December issue of The New Inter-

national. "Politics of the Indian Bourgeoisie," by Suren Murarji, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninists of India; analyzes Gandhi's thirteen-point "Constructive Program." Under the banner of non-violence, Gandhi formulates three main points: communal goodwill, social service and village reconstruction through use of ancient village handicrafts, in particular, the charkha, or spinning wheel. With penetrating comprehension of the relationship of forces between the Indian bourgeoisie and masses, Murarji shows how Gandhi's program, ostensibly "all-Indian," reflects only the needs of the top layers in Indian society.

HINDU-MOSLEM STRUGGLE

The hearts of Hindu and Moslem must be reconciled in "unbreakable heart unity," says Gandhi, before the communal issue can be solved. But if communal strife is properly understood as an expression of the more basic class struggle, sanctimonious words will not dispell it. The Gandhi solution is an attempt to find a means whereby the Hindu industrial bourgeoisie and the Moslem landlords and princes can divide the spoils of imperialist patronage.

"The Hindu-Moslem struggle is ... a general struggle between rival communities for social and economic positions, within the iron-grip of British imperialism. It is a real struggle . . . despite the undeniable factor of British imperialism and its deliberate stimulation of conflict between these two groups." This is the opinion of Henry Judd in "Behind the Hindu-Moslem Strife," the second article in the series on India in the current NI. The conflict between the two groups is accentuated by the fact that even in Moslem areas, the Hindu is the village money-lender and storekeeper and thus a source of constant irritation to the Moslem

peasantry who make up more than 80 per cent of the entire Moslemcommunity. Though the Moslem masses are voiceless, the upper classes have in the Moslem League their spokesman in the struggle for civil service jobs, social position, wealth and power with the dominant Hindu community.

The solution proposed by Henry Judd in his article is the right of the Moslem people "to form independent states, including enclaves within Hindu territory, if they so wish and so decide for themselves." In this he takes issue with the resolution of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India on Pakistan, which is the third in the series of articles. The resolution correctly characterizes the slogan for Pakistan as "politically reactionary and theoretically false." It rejects any support of it. Nonetheless, this is not the complete answer to the communal problem. And Judd calls upon the Fourth Internationalists of India to fulfill their duty to the Moslem masses by "openly proclaiming the right of the Moslem people to vote on such a proposal" [the right to a separate existence].

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Under "Editorial Comment," "The Republican Sweep" evaluates the last election and the reasons for the triumph of the Republican Party. There has been no fundamental overturn; the more conservative wing of the capitalist class is now in power. Labor will have to put forth a bold, independent program, rejecting support of the more "liberal" of the ruling parties, if it is not to fritter away the fruits of its magnificent economic struggles.

Readers of LABOR ACTION who have been following the series of articles on the dispute between James T. Farrell and James Cain over the proposed authors' plan, will be particularly interested in Farrell's article in the December New International on "Cain's Movietone Realism." Farrell discusses the pseudorealism of the story—with the grisly ending-which men like Cain parade as serious realism. In "Mildred Pierce" Cain started with a "vivid. empirically grasped and well presented fictional account of the structure" of 'American life, but he ended up with "cheap glamor and cynical melodrama." Farrell's review of both the story and movie based on it reveal with interesting clarity the sterility of commercialized culture.

Meyer Schapiro, well known art historian, takes issue with a review of "The Open City" written by

James T. Farrell in the August 1946 issue of the NI.

F. Forest examines "The Nature of the Russian Economy" in the first of a series of two articles. Albert Goldman discusses the criticisms of A. Ciliga in "The Basis of Workers' Democracy." Politics of the International Working Class giving information on the French and British Trotskyist movements; a book review and correspondence round out this interesting issue.

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Most agents of THE NEW INland representative, writes us the

We are looking forward to a definite increase in the rate of new subscriptions, now that the last few

The first branch of the Workers Party to achieve and even exceed its auota of new subscriptions to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is the Reading branch. Assigned a total quota of five, these comrades have turned in

PRESS ACTION

CHRISTMAS-NEW YEAR'S GIFT SUBSCRIPTION:

PRESS MANAGER'S -

We call the attention of our LABOR ACTION dealers to the special combination gift offer to LABOR ACTION and The New International now being advertised in the paper. For the price of \$2.50, a one year's subscription to both the Eight-Page paper and the monthly magazine can be obtained.

This offer is good only until January 1, 1947 and should immediately be called to the attention of those planning to give New Year's or Xmas gifts. We can't think of a better present to offer anyone this time of the year! Let's see how many of these combinations can be obtained. This will count toward quotas in The New International subscription campaign.

Also, we remind you again of the list of excellent books offered by our Labor Action Book Service as choices for Xmas and New Year's gifts. These orders will be promptly filled by us, as per advertisement.

BILLS TO LABOR ACTION:

Monthly bills for LABOR ACTION are now in the mails and will soon be in the hands of all our agents. Most accounts are in reasonably good shape, but a note of friendly warning to those who have permitted themselves to fall behind in payments. We are asking you to take prompt action to bring your accounts up to date by sending us a substantial payment on your arrears. The costs of the Eight-Page LABOR ACTION are, as you know, extremely high and we need this money to keep our work going. So pay prompt attention to the statement on your account, and let us have an immediate payment.

Last week's quota of subscriptions and renewals to LABOR ACTION went below our usual average, but we're sure it will pick up this week. Full credit to Chicago's new LABOR ACTION agent, Sam S., who sent in a full batch of new subs that put Chicago at the head of the list. Here's the list as obtained last week:

, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,				
				14
New York City				9
Newark				5
Detroit				4
Dhiladalahia		THE RESIDENCE OF STREET		4
Reading		/		4
Los Angeles	***************************************			2
Cleveland				1
Seattle				1
Miscellaneous				2
Part I are	ossectore and the trade the	*	-	_
TOTAL			3.0	46
			,	40

READING TOPS GOAL IN NI SUB DRIVE: OTHER BRANCHES LAG AT HALF-WAY MARK

At the half-way mark, the campaign being conducted by THE NEW INTERNATIONAL continues to record good progress, but not sufficient to reach the goals set, unless the pace is speeded up. The goals called for the obtaining of 500 new readers and subscribers to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, as well as sharp increases in sales and circulation by bundle order agents.

Many more subscriptions have to be obtained if the goal of 500 is to be reached, but excellent progress has been made in increasing newsstand and general sales circulation. This is particularly true for New York City. where 900 copies of the magazine are now placed on the largest and most important newsstands. Other agents have increased their bundles, but not at the same pace that Local New York of the Workers Party has.

TERNATIONAL are offering excellent collaboration in the work of the campaign. Comrade O'Neill, Cleve-"Our NEW INTERNATIONAL campaign is proceeding according to schedule. Ten people have been assigned to get subscriptions from readers of LABOR ACTION. Much of the preliminary time-consuming work is being done now, such as visiting the prospective subscribers, leaving them samples, etc. I imagine the bulk of our subs will be obtained toward the end of the campaign."

weeks of the campaign are at hand.

six subscriptions with the prospect of getting more. At this point in the campaign, a total of 125 new subscriptions have been obtained. This is a modest success, but we are definitely lagging behind the number necessary If THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is to achieve its goal.

We are still 375 off from our total goal of 500 new subscriptions, but almost a full month remains in which to fulfill this job. It is now entirely . up . to the supporters and agents of the magazine.

Here are some of the leading branches as they stand today in the race to obtain the largest quota of new subscriptions. Our friends in Baltimore have also gone over their quota and obtained six subscriptions. Chicago is doing excellent work, with Detroit and Philadelphia not far be-

NEW YORK CITY	 33
Chicago	 22
Detroit	 10
Reading	 6
Baltimore	 6
Cleveland	 5
Los Angeles	 · 5
TOTAL	 87

NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Due to the Christmas-Holiday season, and the effect of the coal strike upon railroad and freight transportation the delivery of LA-BOR ACTION has been considerably slowed up. We regret this inconvenience to our subscribers and agents, but we are sure they will understand it is beyond our power

LABOR ACTION

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor.

Challenges Facts In Blake Article

Dear Editor: I am a constant reader of LABOR ACTION and am in sympathy with its policies, but have just now read an article by I. Blake in the November 18 issue which has piqued me into writing this for the "Readers

... take the Floor" department. In a confused article worthy of the capitalist press, I. Blake rails against the Chicago Housing Authority for ousting the Peterson squatters from one of the new projects. But I would suggest he, or she, get some facts at his, or her, disposal before ranting. I worked for the Chicago Housing

Authority for a number of years and I know the executives personally and their policy thoroughly. And not one of the executives, or rather, every single one of them has the main desire at heart to see that every person in the city of Chicago who needs housing gets it. If the executives of CHA had their way-and the means -every slum area would be completely demolished and new projects built in their stead. And as for the policy-it is, and always has been, the ones who need it most, get it

For every squatter family, there are thousands in the city with less income, with more children, with worse dwellings than the ones from which the squatters come. Is there any question that those who are more in need should have the available space?

I. Blake speaks of the foolishness of making application and says that it doesn't make any difference. But if he, or she, had given the matter two minutes' thought it could easily be seen that not only does it make a difference, it makes a great deal

For in my experience with CHA I found that there were hundreds of people trying to get into a project who had ample means and income to live elsewhere, and they didn't care that they might be displacing a family much more needy. There were hundreds of people trying to exert their political influence in getting into a project-but what kept these moochers and vultures out was the application. For without it anyone would be able to get in, and with it only the needlest got in, since every applicant was thoroughly investigated to see who needed housing the

nost. The "Application" is the peo-

ple's protection! Another thing about this particular issue that I. Blake seemed to be in ignorance of is that it seems the squatters were put up to moving in by some district alderman who had found out that Negroes were to occupy those particular apartments and who didn't want Negroes brought into their neighborhood.

I. Blake goes on in his, or her, confused way to compare this squatting incident with the one that occurred in London, when there is no logical basis for comparison. The squatters in London occupied large, vacant apartments which were for rental for the wealthy only, and also as a protest against the fact that there was material available for building for the rich, but no material for building for the poor; whereas the squatters in Chicago occupied apartments built primarily not merely for the poor, but for the poorest, and also as a sly protest against Negroes moving

Of course, I. Blake is right about the terrible need for housing, and is right that there should be some form of demonstration by the people, but why doesn't he, or she, stir the people up against the government instead of against the CHA, which, through its executives, is doing all that it can to bring better housing to the people.

I know that you have many more important letters to publish in your reader department, and I know that a critical letter is never the most desired kind, still it would be very gratifying to me that your readers get a few facts about the squatters' situation in Chicago.

S. K. L., Chicago.

(LABOR ACTION, in an article written by a correspondent in Chicago, corrected some inaccuracies that appeared in I. Blake's article. We are glad to publish the additional correction by S. K. L.

We will leave it to our comrades in Chicago to comment in detail on the CHA. However, it has been our experience and observation that "men of good will" such as S. K. L. describes, find it impossible to tackle the situations they are supposed to handle. Porter of OPA may himself have been genuinely concerned with price control. The fact remains that OPA did nothing to control prices. We suspect the same is true, in one degree or another, of the CHA, but

will leave that for verification by our Chicago comrades. In the meantime, we should like to ask if the CHA has moved to requisition mansions whose occupants are possibly vacationing in Florida. Also, has it moved to requisition hotel space for homeless veterans and others-as the government requisitioned hotels for military use during the war. So far as we know, the CHA is a government body.-Ed.)

Reports Elections In Australia

Dear Editors:

It is about two months since I wrote you. Since my last letter there has been a general election for the Commonwealth Parliament. The Labor Government lost some seats in the lower house (Representatives), but gained in the Senate, where they will have, from next July on, 33 labor members and only three opposi-

tion senators. Representatives are elected from separate electorates of approximately equal populations. Thus, the New South Wales, the most populous state, with about 21/2 million people, has 28 members, followed by Victoria with 20 members, Queensland, 10, etc. The Senate is elected on a state basis, each state electing three senators every three years, for a pe-

riod of six years. The voting franchise exists for all adults who are British subjects, native born or naturalized. But Asiatics are excluded! Enrollment (registration) and voting are compulsorythat is, attending the polling booth and dropping a ballot into the box.

A candidate must obtain a certain number of signatures to his nomination paper and deposit 25 pounds (about \$93). This is returned to him if he polls more than one-fourth of the primary votes cast for the winning candidate. Otherwise he forfeits his deposit. In this latest election, for example, the Stalinists nominated 13 candidates and all but one forfeited their deposits.

There are some interesting side-

lights about the Australian labor

movement which may interest your

readers. The formation of trade un-

ions took place early in the 19th

century. Disastrous defeats in the

general strikes of 1891 and 1893

turned the eyes of the workers to

the political field. Labor parties were

organized in all of the then colonies.

and directly on the trade unions and not as in England, where the party was a fusion of propaganda sects, the unions and cooperative societies.

Up to about 1897, candidates were nominated by the unions. Then, labor leagues were formed, admitting non-workers. At the same time, the "caucus" was introduced, binding all members to vote en bloc "on all motions discussed and decided on in caucus." By 1898, I think, Queensland had its first labor government, about the first in the world, too. Since that time the trend in the country has been toward labor, which, because of certain national conditions, has become more respectable and conserv-

ative, not to say reactionary at times. In Queensland, for example, where the Labor Party is most conservative of all, it has held power for nearly thirty-two years, with only one break between 1932-35. After the federation of the colonies in 1901, the state labor parties amalgamated into the Australian Labor Party, with branches in all states, these branches being further subivided into local

"leagues." In the early years, the "leagues" selected the candidates, but as the party régime become more and more bureaucratic, these candidates had to be approved by the Executive Committee. Today, although on paper the leagues can still nominate and elect candidates, in reality these are selected by the state executives. The executives generally arrange things so that there is "no time to take a vote" or, if their "pea" is not chosen, refuse to endorse the selected candidate. As a result, log-rolling and corruption are rife. Packed annual conferences, fake ballots and snide tactics, borrowed from the Conservative Party, are the vogue. The only organization worse than the ALP is the Stalinist Party, which is notorious for its rottenness.

Sydney, Australia.

Higher Education In Stalin's Russia

Dear Comrades:

In an article printed in the December 2 issue of LABOR ACTION on education in Stalinist Russia there is the statement, "In all of Russia with its 200 million, there are only 550 thousand high school students." To prove this figure, the writer, These labor parties were based solely Julius Falk, quotes from an article

by the Soviet Minister of Higher Education wherein he says "A student body of 550 thousand attended 806 institutions of higher learning in the Soviet Union in the academic year 1945-46." I believe the definition of "institutions of higher learning" needs some clarification. Falk interprets it to mean high schools. Perhaps it does include high schools. However, here in the U.S. institutions of higher learning refer to at least college, that is schooling above high school. The question as to what institutions of higher learning refer to in the Soviet Union is important for a more exact analysis of education in Stalinist Russia since the difference between college and high school is a large one.

Comradely IRVING SWANSON.

Comrade Swanson's objection is only in part a correction of my article. I did make the "serious" mistake of equating high schools, instead of higher schools, with higher education in Russia. The following are the facts in greater detail: primary and secondary education in Russia lasts for 10 years as compared to twelve years in the United States. From there the student goes to a "higher school" which begins at about the third year of American high schools. The 500 thousand is the actual total for all those in Russia attending these "higher schools" which include students going to Agricultural Institutes, Economic Institutes, Technological and Transport Institutes, Art Institutes, etc. No matter how you look at it, 550 thousand students, above the ages of 16-17, going to "higher schools" is a pitifully insignificant number.

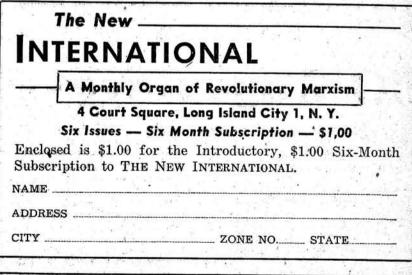
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An Examination of the Lessons We Must Learn from the Miners' Strike

Mine Strike Poses Question of Labor's Program

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The miners' strike is over. The coal diggers have been instructed by their leadership to "resume production of coal immediately until 12:00 o'clock midnight, March 31, 1947." The instructions to return to work presumably mean that negotiations will go on and that if an agreement acceptable to the union is not reached by that time there will be another strike based on the position that "we do not work without a contract."

In this sense the return to work can be called a "truce." Nothing has been settled. The miners have no new contract, the mines are still in the hands of the government and the appeal of the union to the Supreme Court against the \$3,500,000 fine of the lower court is yet to be decided.

In his statement to the union Lewis called the restraining order of the District Court, "the administration 'yellow-dog' injunction." The Supreme Court is a "constitutional court" and derives its powers from the "Federal Constitution." From this Lewis draws the conclusion, by some mode of reasoning which he does not explain, that "the Supreme Court is, and we believe will ever be, the protector of American liberties and the rightful privileges of individual citizens." Out of "fitting respect due the dignity of this high tribunal" Lewis finds it fitting to call off the strike during its deliberations in connection with the appeal of his union. In addition to this "weighty" consideration, "public necessity requires the quantitative production of coal during such period."

beaten." The Times was indignant because Lewis "was not wholly repentant." But the Times takes comfore because, while Lewis attempted "to bully the Federal Government and people," he did not get away with it. "It is Mr. Lewis who has given in. And in his surrender a great danger passes. It is not likely that any future labor leader will try to do what Mr. Lewis failed to do." And so the capitalist press rejoices in the return of the miners to work and in the firmness of the government in dealing with the situation.

Since nothing has happened except the return of the miners to work after their union had been fined several millions of dollars, it is important for us, the miners and all of labor, to inquire into what the real situation is in connection with this very important strike.

mines under what is claimed to be the emergency war powers of the President. Under this arrangement last spring the UMWA and Interior and managers without whom, we are Secretary Krug worked out what is called the "Krug-Lewis Agreement." Under this agreement the miners got a pay rise of 181/2 cents, a yearly vacation and a welfare. While the Krug-Lewis Agreement was signed for the whole period of government control, it contained a stipulation that all provisions of the old contract which were unchanged would remain in full force as part of the contract of the UMWA with the Government.

The old contract said that if there was a change in Government wage policy after March 1, 1946, the UMWA might give notice that it wanted a new contract, that negotiations must begin within ten days of the notice and if no agreement was reached in fifteen days, the UMWA would call off its contract upon five days' notice. This clause is, in effect, in the

present contract with the government only that its order for the miners to and was not invalidated by the Krug-Lewis Agreement.

The government, however, took a different position after a great deal of shifting and heating around the bush on the question. At first Attornev-General Clark supported the contentions of the UMWA in its interpretation of the legal terms of the Krug-Lewis Agreement, Later, under pressure, Clark reversed himself and held publicly that Congress authorized the government to take over strike-bound plants for the purpose of keeping them in operation, and that it was not the intent of Congress that the government should be forced to enter into negotiations with a striking union, demanding a new contract. The whole meaning of the position of the government was the contention that "you cannot strike against the government."

This was the contention of the government before Judge Goldsborough of the Federal District Court, in its demand for an injunction. The court accepted the position of the government lawyers and issued a restraining order telling Lewis to issue instructions to the miners to remain at work. Lewis did not do this and in accordance with their custom of not working without a contract the miners walked off the job. It was his and the union's refusal to obey the order of the court, and this alone, upon which the court based its action in levying the fine. The court did not go into the merits of the case, saying

remain at work had been disobeyed. It was this act which Judge Goldsborough characterized as "anarchy." It would be the contention of the court of course that if the miners had, or believed they had, a grievance against the government, they should have remained at work and presented their grievance to the

proper authority. The importance of all this resides in the fact that the miners themselves did not understand what was transpiring and the reasons motivating the government and their leadership. They therefore proceeded as they had always done: "No contract,

While the union and the government were contesting the issue, the coal operators were sitting it out. No doubt there were all sorts of behind the scenes negotiations going on by emissaries of Lewis, the government and the operators. Also the operators were not in unanimity about what to do in the situation. It seems that their final decision was to let the government carry the ball and give Lewis and the union a drubbing. They made no demand for returning the mines to the coal corporations.

MEANING OF THE FACTS FOR WHOLE OF LABOR

The above are the pertinent facts in connection with the strike. These facts are relevant to an understanding of the situation. What is more relevant, however, is the meaning of

the facts for the miners and for the whole of labor. We have to answer the question: "What means this strike?" What is its significance? What can and should labor learn from this ordeal through which the miners are passing today? Correct answers are imperative if labor is to understand and be able to chart its future course. In the first place, the strike ful-

filled in superlative degree the chief requirement of a strike: it stopped production. Coal was not produced except in extremely small quantities in relatively few non-organized mines. There was no question of scabbing. Picket lines were not necessary. The operators made no attempt to operate the mines. It was admitted by all the capitalist press that production had stopped and that there was no indication of a "back to work" movement. The operators and the press did not attempt to stir up a return to the mines, as has been their custom in days past. While Truman finally decided to go on the air and appeal to the miners to return to work, no one, except possibly Truman, believed that the toaldiggers would return without an order from

It is necessary to point out, in addition, that this strike not only stopped production of coal but that it was on the way to halting production in other basic industries, the operation of the transportation systems and the power plants. No more

a formal and tactical viewpoint. Pro- That point cannot be driven home duction was halted and slowed down. to him by the action of government The miners were again exhibiting a magnificent solidarity. The whole labor movement was rallying to their support in the form of a struggle against the injunction. A conference of all labor organizations was projected. Inter-union solidarity was developing. While this inter-union solidarity was not on a par with the solidarity within the ranks of the UMWA, it was something new in the recent history of the labor movement in the U.S. The AFL supported Lewis and the harsh criticism of Lewis inside the CIO was considerably muf-

This miners' strike was an outstanding manifestation of the tremendous actual and potential power of an organized working class. The capitalist ruling class was helpless to keep coal production going. The government could not get coal produced. The capitalist press very plaintively admitted that no one could "force men to work."

This brute fact renders the cackling attitude of the capitalist press somewhat ludicrous, when its headlines bellow about the "capitulation" or the "surrender" of Lewis. This fact also makes one feel like vomiting on reading the feeble bleating of The Nation for December 7. This "liberal" weekly declared that "Mr. Lewis' act of defiance is as disproportionate to his immediate aims as his power is incompatible with the

alone. As long as organized labor lends him support, however nominal, he will be a martyr or a hero, whatever the courts decide." This weekly "friend of labor" then praises the scab members of the Washington Newspaper Guild, who have "taken the lead in condemning the resolution adopted by the CIO convention in defense of Lewis." This is merely a continuation of the position taken by The Nation in 1943 when its editors wrote that "no matter what the grievance of the miners, they had no business to strike."

DANGEROUS BECAUSE HIS PROGRAM IS INADEQUATE

We say again that this strike was an illustration of the power of the working class: an illustration in real life of the teachings of revolutionary socialism that labor is the chief of the productive forces; that the capitalist economy cannot operate without the working class. No matter what the size of the capital invested, the number and competence of directors, finance committees, execu-"hardworking, committees. square-jawed executives," etc. Machinery, technology, patents, "management," capitalist courts, Congress, the man in the White House, and all the paraphernalia of capitalist society could not produce in the face of the dogged determination of 400.000 miners to stay away from the pits.

however; with the cessation of production. It was a well-planned and thoroughly organized economic struggle! You demand a contract with certain provisions; if a contract is denied, that means that the operators do not agree to granting the demands; in such a situation you stay home. and away from the mines.

But while the miners looked at the strike in the above mentioned simple terms, this strike, as are all major strikes today, was far more than the economic struggle which the miners considered it to be. It was a political strike. The capitalist ruling class understands this, but the miners do not. The whole capitalist class, its government and all its retainers were arrayed as a class against the miners.

If Lewis understood this, he has kept his knowledge a deep secret from the miners and everyone else. If he understands these things, he is once again displayed as an extremely reactionary and dangerous leader of labor. The same holds for Murray, Green, Reuther and the other top leaders of labor, because they too were not prepared to grapple with present - day labor problems which were exposed so clearly in the struggle between the miners and the government. What we say applies particularly well to Lewis, however. It it he who leads his union into the most resolute labor struggles; even

(Continued next week)

The capitalist press announced that Lewis "surrenders," that he had "capitulated." The New York Times in its editorial said that Lewis "yields" and that he deserved credit for only one thing: "for knowing when he was heaten." The Times was indignant. A Balance Sheet of the Coal Strike; Its Meaning For Whole Labor Movement -- by Max Shachtman

(Continued from page 1)

The walk out of the miners was one of the most magnificent displays of working class solidarity and working class power this country has seen in a long time. The miners came out to a man, without any compulsion other than the bonds of united working class interest. If anything, the compulsion came from the other direction, the terrific pressure upon the men all through the capitalist world to stay at work without a contract and without a single one of their demands being granted or even seriously considered.

LIMITATIONS REVEALED BY ITS THOROUGHNESS

Every mine was shut down tight. Not a lump of coal came out of the What caused the strike and what pits. Where were all the great capwere the miners' demands? The gov- tains of industry, the great organizrnment was and is operating the ers of production, the great promoters of enterprise, the mine operators and their bankers? Where were all these great "indispensable" owners always told, nothing would move? Without the miners, all of them put together could not dig enough coal to keep one factory going through the winter. All that is indispensable to the mining industry is the miners.

But not only the mines were shutdown. Without a single other worker going out on strike anywhere, the mere fact that the miners quit working began to paralyze one industry after another-iron and steel, automobiles, power plants, transportation

If that is the economic power that mere 400,000 coal miners can show. it should not be hard to imagine what power the united working class. as a whole would have in this country. The power that this working class could summon-nobody and no combination of forces could resist

effectively. It is an inconquerable invested himself with the autocratic power. Properly exerted, it could do infinitely more than paralyze industry. It could so completely reorganagainst their will. ize the economic life of this country, SUPREME COURT PART arrange it so rationally, that there

But the very perfection, the very thoroughness and effectivness of the strike as an economic action brought it smack up against the strict limitations, the fatal weakness of the economic action itself. Nowhere was this more clearly demonstrated than in the conduct of John L. Lewis himself, who was so significantly instrumental in making the strike 100 per cent effective so far as shutting down the mines was concerned.

would be abundance, prosperity and

security for all.

The miners strike was not a political strike, so far as the miners were concerned. They did not strike for political reasons or for the realization of political demands. Like Lewis, they put forward and supported economic demands pure and simple—an increase in wages and a reduction in the working day.

Yet, this was a political strike in the deepest sense of the word, whether Lewis and the miners were conscious of it or not, whether they

GOVERNMENT HEIPLESS AGAINST LABOR'S MIGHT

Through President John L. Lewis. the United Mine Workers directed their demands to the government. The government is a political institution. The government called upon the miners to stay at work. It called upon Lewis to issue orders to the miners to go back to work. Lewis and the miners refused to heed the orders of the government. In their refusal. they were 100 per cent correct. But their refusal was a political action. a political challenge backed up by organized economic power.

Against this organized economic power, the government and the capitalist class it represents and protects, was helpless. So long as the miners refused to dig coal, no coal was dug, and one industrial enterprise after another folded up. The government did some mumbling about using troops to enforce its orders. The miners did not budge because they know that bayonets cannot dig coal very well. They know also that among the troops are many workers' sons, and that the government would have the devil's own time getting these children of the working class to use their bayonets against workers fighting for a decent life for themselves, their families and generations to come.

court, a court presided over by a "New Deal" justice—not a mossback reactionary, oh no, but by a genuine, dyed in the wool and a yard wide "liberal" of the "New Deal" school. Under government prosecution, and without so much as trial by jury, John L. Lewis and the whole of the United Mine Workers of America were condemned by one man who, with a stroke of his pen, reestablished the infamy of Government by Injunction. The capitalist press in a rabid rage over the spectacle of one man "ordering" 400,000 miners, when that one man was John L. Lewis, was hysterically jubilant and found it entirely proper for one man to decide the fate of these same 400,000 miners when he bore the name of Goldsborough and when he

power to enjoin the whole union and to send the miners back to work

OF THE GOVERNMENT

What is the Goldsborough injunction? A piece of paper! A yellow dog injunction, as Lewis rightly called it! This piece of paper has even less ability to dig coal than the bayonets of the troops that the government threatened to call out.

Nevertheless, it is precisely to this piece of paper that John L. Lewis capitulated. Why? In the letter sent to the members of the United Mine Workers on December 7, in which the men are told to go back to work, Lewis declares that the Goldsborough injunction has reached the Supreme Court, that "its powers are derived from the federal Constitu-"is, and we believe will ever be, the protector of American liberties and the rightful privileges of individual

These statements are utter nonsense, reactionary nonsense, misleading nonsense. The government administration which Lewis had first challenged derives no more and no less of its powers from the federal Constitution than does the Supreme Court. It is no more and no less the "protector of American liberties and the rightful privileges of individual citizens" than is the Supreme Court. What applies to the one applies, or should apply, to the other. Both are a part of the political institution known as the government.

The government, in its several parts, is the political instrument and protector not of "American liberties' in general but of the privileges and power of big capital. This instrument is at the disposal of the capitalist class. The fatal weakness of the miners and the rest of the American working class is that it does not have such an instrument at its disposal and that it is not yet even organized itself in such a manner as to acquire such an instrument.

John L. Lewis is a labor leader of exceptional talents. In the field of tactics, in will power, in fearless aggressiveness, he towers above the average labor leader. In social outlook and in political matters no other word can properly describe him than "reactionary." He would be more at home in the 19th Century than he is

MINERS' ACTION RAISED QUESTION OF POLITICS

In their fight for a decent life, the miners came right up against not the coal operators directly, but against the representative of the coal operators, the government. Precisely because their walk out was so completely effective on the economic field, they created a political crisis of the greatest scope and depth. Precisely because they so effectively shut down, not only the mines, but one branch of American life after another as well, they raised the question, consciously or not, of who is running the country, who has the authority in the country, who is the government in the country, who has the real power in the country! In other words, they raised the most decisive political question imagin-

To think that so decisive a political

question can be answered or even dealt with by a purely economic action is the height of absurdity. From its point of view, the capitalist class, speaking through its newspapers and other mouthpieces, was absolutely right when it declared that this question can be settled immediately and by political measures, that is, by prompt government action. The capitalist class was in a position to act politically because it is politically organized and has political machinery at its disposal in the form of the government and its numerous institutions.

But the working class, in this case the miners, did not act politically, and because they are not equipped for it at the present time, could not act politically. They have no government at their disposal, no government to protect their economic and political interests, and they do not have at their disposal a political tablish such a government.

From its point of view, the capitalist class was absolutely right when it declared that in the political crisis created by the miners strike, the government must proceed against the miners in order to establish clearly who is the master in the country—the workers fighting for a decent living or the government fighting to protect the interests of the coal operators and the rest of the monopoly capitalists. Equipped with its power and true to its nature, that is exactly how the government proceeded. It simply could not allow the situation to con-

But neither could the miners. In order to win, once they had been challenged by the government and they had in turn challenged the government, they had to proceed against the government or-to retreat.

Given the reactionary political

HOW LABOR COULD HAVE ANSWERED

and social outlook of Lewis, who may not regard the Truman Administration as his own from a party point of view but who does regard the government, including the Supreme Court, as his government and his Supreme Court, he ordered the retreat in the form of a capitulation. Even if somewhat different in form. Lewis took fundamentally the same position that he took in 1919 when he called off the miners strike under Wilson's administration on the ground, "I cannot fight my government." Fundamentally and regardless of all the other changes in John L. Lewis, he remains today what he was in 1919; able, very able, to fight this or that capitalist or this or that group of capitalists in one way or another, but totally incapable and unwilling to fight the capitalist class and the capitalist government.

The whole point of the matter, especially nowadays, is that no one is capable of consistently and effectively defending the interests of the working class if he is not prepared conciously and consistently to fight against the monopoly of economic and political power by the capitalist class and for replacing its government with a government of the working class. The whole point of the matter is, further, that any attempt to do this by purely economic means, any attempt to do this by means of the trade unions alone, any attempt to do this without organizing and acting politically, is doomed in advance.

Could Lewis or the miners have acted differently? Yes, most certainly! Could they have appealed to the rest of the working class to walk out in solidarity with them against the infamy of Government by Injunction which threatens the interests and very life of the labor movement? Certainly! There is no question but that hundreds of thousands and millions of workers in this country stood poised in readiness to resp such a call. Every thinking worker was soliuly bening the lines.

If, instead of mere rhetorical talk

the leaders of the other labor organizations in this country had immediately called a representative general conference of all the organized workers and proclaimed their readiness to stand by the miners in this fight regardless of what action was necessary to gain a victory, the whole capitalist class, its government and its courts included, would have been compelled to retreat from their autocratic arrogance. Even now it is not too late to organize a powerful national network of united councils of action representing every branch of the trade union movement to stamp out the viper of Government by Injunction before it poisons the labor movement. What hit the miners yesterday will hit every other worker to-

It is worthwhile pointing out that even if, let us say, a general strike had been called in support of the miners under the direction of the present labor leadership, that would only have raised more acutely-far more acutely—the decisive question raised by the strike of the miners themselves, namely, who is master in this house, who is the authority in this country. It would have raised more acutely the decisive political

The capitalist class of this country is prepared to answer this question, as it showed in the miners strike, by forcing Lewis to his knees. Are the American workers ready to answer this question? Have they the means with which to make their answer

TRADE UNIONISM ALONE IS NOT SUFFICIENT

We are compelled to say that the working class and the labor movement of this country are not equipped at the present time with the indispensable means. Trade unionism is a powerful weapon of the working class, one without which it would be completely paralyzed and helpless. This power is greater than ever before in the United States today, where some 15 million men and women are organized into unions. But trade unionism alone, the traditional trade union methods alone. these are inadequate today. As they are now they cannot cope with such crucial questions as are raised in every important national strike.

It is not at all a question of giving up trade unionism! That would be preposterous, criminal, monstrous. Nothing of the sort is involved. But it is a question of providing the working class with those arms which it must have if the latest retreat is to be followed not by other retreats and capitulations and defeats but by advances and victories.

Those arms are the arms of a working class political party, a party based upon and organized by the

the most representative, the most numerous social organizations in the country. Not a party whose whole aim in life is to get a few men elected to "represent labor" in Congress but a labor party which aims at establishing a workers' government that will represent and defend the best interests of all the people against the monopoly capitalist class.

PRINCIPAL LESSON IN MINERS' STRIKE

The government challenges the miners, as it did the railroad workers led by A. F. Whitney, with the question, "Do you think you are running the country and the govern-

The workers of this country have to be in a position to reply, "No, not yet. You are running the country and the government. But under your leadership of the nation miners have to fight bitterly, year in and year out, not for luxuries but for a modest, decent life. Under your leadership of the nation, the economic life of the country is still in a state of chaos and uncertainty. Under your leadership, there is not the slightest assurance of prosperity and security for the people, or even of a peace that will really banish the terrifying nightmare of atomic war. Under your leadership, monopoly capital prospers as never before, while the middle class is being smashed and the workers who are the very heart and sinews of economy. have to fight for crumbs. You are bankrupts. You will not and cannot run the economic life of the country for the benefit of the people as a whole. We accept your challenge. We believe we can establish a government which will wine out these inequities and organize production for abundance for all. And this is the end toward which we are establishing our own political party and proclaiming our political program."

That is the chief lesson to learn from the miners strike.

The fight of the miners, of course, is not over. The threat to the miners is a threat to the whole working class. The vicious head of Government by Injunction must be cut off before it grows to devour us all. The whole labor movement must be summoned to the alert. The great economic power that the miners showed, multiplied by all the forces of the organized labor movement, must be brought to bear against the menacing anti-labor offensive.

A united labor movement, mobilized from top to bottom, can and must make its strength felt before it is deprived of its strength. There must be such demonstrations of this strength all over the country, not just indignant resolutions but actual demonstrations of strength, as will make the capitalist class and its strikebreaking government think 20 times before they dare bring down their fist again upon the head of the working class.

But alongside of this, and above everything else in importance, must come the conscious, systematic, speedy work of launching the working class into politics as an organized and independent force, with an independent labor party that does not support but contests the two capitalist parties for leadership of the country, that has a program and a will of its own, and the determination to make them supreme in the

CIO Wage Drive --(Continued from page 1) that General Motors is laying aside

a huge flund with which to sit out a strike. In the situation, it is plainly indicated that the auto workers' fight has to coordinate with the steel workers' and so forth. The December 16 meeting is, we say, a recognition of that necessity. But there is yet no sign of how deep and conclusive will be the deliberations of that meeting. PRICES AND WAGES

The second question is that of prices. If last year's strikes proved anything at all, they proved that wage demands by themselves were inadequate. It is impossible for labor to repeat the endless cycle of trying to match inflated prices with wage rises. A halt must be called to the trend which wipes out wage gains almost as rapidly as they are gained. The CIO convention which met

recently accepted that reasoning when Murray reversed his position of last year and said that the CIO would seek wage increases WITH-OUT price increases. It is the approach that made the General Motors strike as deeply significant as it was. By the very nature of the situation we confront, it is an essential de-

But will Murray effect it? In the

recent reports of the CIO's wage drive, there have been virtually no references to such excellent demands as a guaranteed annual wage and industry-wide stabilization. There have not yet been any concrete announcements designed to effectuate the stand on wages and prices taken by the CIO convention.

As we have many times written, there is more than one way to cancel the deadly effects of inflated prices. One basic approach is to write an escalator clause into every union contract, guaranteeing an increase in wages with every jump in price averages. That alone will serve to keep prices in line. It can, so to speak, serve to PROTECT labor's stanard of living. Beyond that there is much to be done in RAISING labor's standard of living - and that centers around giving concrete meaning to a union campaign for a WAGE INCREASE WITHOUT A PRICE IN-

The big news in the labor movement in the coming week's will revolve around the CIO campaign now in preparation. The situation will, we think, prove the necessity for a broad program of demands and unified

So the government went into CREASE.