

Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 17, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Militant Ranks Defeat Addes Bloc

REUTHER FORCES SWEEP UAW!

In the UAW Tradition...

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 11—The overwhelming majority of Walter Reuther at the eleventh annual convention of the UAW allows for certain important comparisons between this convention and the recently concluded Boston convention of the United Electrical Workers Union. That union, with about the same number of opposition delegates, saw a virtual witch hunt conducted against the opposition. A lynch spirit was engendered, extending to advocates of the bureaucratic expulsion of opponents. In contrast, the chair and the leadership of this UAW convention lean over backward in democratic methods. Every one is heard. Even the intense hatred of the Communist Party is calmed down on the basis of the past tradition of the UAW. This is healthy and should be understood by all. The way to defeat the Communist Party is by a political victory based upon concrete positions.

The speech of Philip Murray at the convention Monday morning and his pat on the head for Addes and Thomas, after his clear endorsement of Reuther, inspired many diverse explanations. Murray said of Addes: "I could not leave this platform this afternoon—and I have said this to all the officers of the Auto Workers convention, and I would regard myself as an ingrate if I did not tell this as I see it. I think George Addes is a man of integrity." Of R. J. Thomas: "There is old R. J. He makes his mistakes, yes. He has a big heart. Sometimes a little mischievous, but nevertheless not a bad guy," etc., etc.

One side said that it was smart politics, because he went on to point out the necessity of those who are defeated remaining loyal to the UAW and not splitting, and endorsed only Reuther at his press conference. Others explained it on the ground that Murray does not want a complete Reuther victory but rather likes the idea of a stalemate because he only mentioned two, Addes and Thomas (the later telegram to Leonard notwithstanding). They say he is afraid of Reuther, with Mazy at his side, moving to the left under rank and file pressure, and questioning the political position of Murray.

One of the reasons that the minority (Reuther) report on signing the Taft-Hartley affidavits received such tremendous support was the fact that the Stalinists come into this question with dirty hands. Willoughby Abner, reporter for the minority, received a tremendous ovation when he asked if these people who oppose signing are questioning their militant record. He went on to mention the fact that this opposition was for signing the May-Bailey compulsory slave labor law, scabbed during the Montgomery Ward strike and, with the NAM, advocated incentive pay (piece-work) at the Buffalo convention.

This convention has been almost completely free of boozing, fighting, etc. The issue and the debate on the Taft-Hartley law were seriously listened to. At one time a motion was made to close debate and if this large majority was just interested in railroading

issues through it would have easily been disposed of. Yet they overwhelmingly voted to continue discussion and hear the issues out.

The token opposition of John De Vito against Walter Reuther was conceived of probably in the same way as the Carter vote against R. J. Thomas in the no-strike pledge fight in 1945. However, the Addes group was completely split on this issue. In regions where they had a chance to pick up a regional director, they voted for Reuther. In other cases they abstained. Very few of them had the courage even to vote with their principles. The followers of The Militant abstained completely from the vote and recorded themselves as such.

John McGill of Buick Local 599 received the most serious consideration from the delegates in the T-H discussion. Precisely because his record is free of tarnish. John was against the no-strike pledge, equality of sacrifice, etc. The Stalinists, on the other hand, received the cynical reception they deserved. This record one speaks of is on the issues and not John's personal pro-Frankensteen-Addes politics in the union.

The biography of Emil Mazy significantly left out the best section of his record. The fact that he was the only top-notch worker who fought against the no-strike pledge, the equality of sacrifice program, President Roosevelt's compulsory labor edicts, and for a Labor Party. They did not even mention the fact that he was on

the committee of the "We Want to Go Home" demonstration in Manila. This case of practical politics does not do anybody any good. Particularly because the anti-CF-Addes-Thomas-Leonard feeling was close to an 80 per cent majority. But those who say that this shows that Mazy has moved completely to the right and away from militancy do not understand the nature of the UAW ranks. Emil will not be able to run away from his past. The ranks will show him that "practical politics" is not the way to build a healthy, militant union.

The speed-up discussion has not started yet. However, the local that has raised the most fuss on this subject, Local 45 of Cleveland, should be the last to complain about the GM contract. Precisely because Charles Beckman, president of that local, and the man who nominated John De Vito to run against Walter Reuther, was on the national GM negotiations committee. He never once objected to the contract and as a matter of fact had some dirty words to say about his political colleague, Maties of the UE, when the Electrical Union knifed the GM strike in the back. The speed-up issue will dissipate, precisely because it is a phony. This does not mean that the union should completely overlook the fact that the bosses are at present involved in an anti-UAW campaign, utilizing reprimands, penalty layoffs, discharges. This has to be seriously considered by the incoming International Board concretely on the issues as they are today.

Re-Elected



WALTER REUTHER

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 12—Exceeding all estimates made previously, Walter P. Reuther was re-elected president of the United Automobile Workers Union with 79 per cent of the votes of the delegates. Sweeping into office with him was Emil Mazy, who was elected as the new secretary-treasurer, ousting George F. Addes, who had held office for more than eleven years.

In defeating the leader of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard-Stalinist bloc, the Reuther forces were preparing for the first time to take over the entire administration of the UAW, thus ending the stalemate of the past year, during which Reuther held office with a majority of the International Executive Board opposed to him.

At the time of this writing the election of the two vice-presidents was still to be held. Rumors are that Addes would try for the post of vice-president against Livingston, whom he believes to be the weakest candidate on the Reuther slate.

On Tuesday night, Mazy addressed a victory caucus meeting of the Reuther delegates in which he declared that he would work with President Reuther. However, he made it a special

point of his speech, to say that he has never been a rubber stamp for anyone, and had had many differences with Reuther. Mazy added that he would fight for his positions at all times and, if necessary, would take his positions before the rank and file in a healthy trade union manner.

Delegates Want Fighting Program

By SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 11—The decisive bulk of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, are determined to give Walter P. Reuther, international president, and his associates a working control of the international union in expectation that his regime will carry on the fine militant traditions of this industrial union.

The Reuther forces are rolling up impressive victories on every issue before the auto convention and are headed for a clean sweep on the election of top officers because of the unmistakable sentiment among the majority of the delegates here.

There is at this convention a genuine concern with every problem and serious debate on the issues. Newspaper stories about drinking and fighting are terribly exaggerated, especially those printed in the New York Times.

How this convention was going to act was demonstrated on the first issue, namely, on when should election of officers be held? The Reuther viewpoint for elections to begin Tuesday won by a three-to-one vote.

MURRAY BACKS REUTHER

In his opening speech to the convention, Reuther cut the ground from under the feet of the Addes-Stalinist bloc by a speech which PM, not exactly friendly to Reuther, explained this way: Although Reuther's opponents charge Reuther is the fair-haired boy of the industry and the press, there was nothing in his speech to give any cheer or consolation to them. Correct. He still remained on the limited progressive program he has been espousing.

Having failed in the fight on rules and unable to make a dent against Reuther's program, the Addes-Stalinist bloc placed their next hope in the speech of Philip Murray, CIO president, who was here Monday morning.

The hope in Murray was a vain hope. He endorsed Reuther and although he said a kind word for Addes, he did not endorse him. He spanked Thomas as a mischievous boy.

Then the Addes-Stalinist bloc thought they could save their skins by a fight on the question of signing the "non-Communist affidavits" required by the Taft-Hartley law. They tried to sound militant, but this whole approach was exposed when one delegate bluntly told the convention: "Look who's trying to talk militant now—the piecework boys."

Although the debate was on a serious and "practical" level, the whole problem of fighting the Taft-Hartley law by a genuine political as well as economic program was evaded. There was no difference of principle on this issue.

At the caucus meetings Monday night, the spirit of victory was evident in the Reuther camp, and a total lack of understanding and gloom prevailed in the opposition camp.

One muddle-headed anti-Reutherite screamed at his caucus meeting that "the forces of reaction are sweeping this union," while at the same moment Reuther was explaining to his supporters that victory at this convention was just a beginning, that the major problems of society were not solved by taking control of the union, but that vital fights and struggles were ahead.

In spite of the nonsense and screams of the Daily Worker, Reuther has not been red-baiting, and insofar as this issue is reflected in the discussions, the important thing repeated over and over again by delegates is that "the piecework boys" are the Communist Party gang. This hatred of the reactionary role of the Stalinists is what has finally culminated in the defeat given them at this convention.

BULLETIN!

As we go to press, we are informed by telephone from Atlantic City that Gossard defeated Thomas for the first vice-president's post by a vote of 5,953 to 2,025. Livingston's victory over Leonard appears equally certain.

The important disputes over office will be completed today, when the voting begins on the two vice-presidents to replace R. J. Thomas and Richard Leonard. All indications are that Reuther will carry these posts as well.

In this respect, the UAW convention marks a turning point in the factional struggle and for the first time in many years the leadership of the union will be more united than it ever was. The great test will come after the convention in the manner in which the new leadership will carry out the many promises to build a more effective and more militant UAW.

UAW Coverage

With our next issue, LABOR ACTION will begin a series of articles by Herman Benson, Walter Jason and David Coolidge, analyzing the UAW convention and the problems that now confront the auto workers.

Hoodlums Break Up Philly Rally

Evidence Shows Attack on PCA Meeting in Independence Square Was Organized in Advance

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 3—An organized and pre-arranged mob of hoodlums and legionnaires invaded Independence Square last Saturday and broke up a meeting of the Progressive Citizens of America, called to protest the hysterical, fascist-tainted red-baiting being conducted by the so-called Un-American Activities Committee. This is the second hoodlum attack in this area in a week. Several days ago, another organized mob broke up a meeting of the Stalinist front organization, the Civil Rights Congress, in Trenton.

The mob that attacked the Independence Square meeting, in sight of where the Declaration of Independence was signed, was far from a spontaneous or confused assemblage. It knew exactly what to do and when to do it. There can be no doubt, also, that a deal had been made with the police, who arrested none of the disrupters in spite of their open violence and provocation. The police very clearly had their orders to "lay off" the attackers.

Blame must be placed on the reactionary politicians who are giving ideological comfort and protection

to every bigot, fascist, anti-Semite and Negro-baiter in the name of 100 per cent super-patriotism for war with Russia. Locally, the blame rests firmly on the city Republican machine. The city administration, a proved anti-labor, anti-civil liberties coterie of corrupt henchmen of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Sun Oil Company, tried at first to prevent the PAC meeting in the courts. The courts ruled, however, that the meeting should take place. The Republican machine whipped up super-patriotic sentiments and received Legion support. Many Republican leaders are Legion officials. And the tie-up with the police is through the Legion and the Republican machine.

PREPARED ATTACK

The mob arrived early. They were fully prepared and rehearsed. They had stench bombs, sticks and other weapons. A 40 and 8 truck blew a siren and clanged bells in clear violation of traffic ordinances throughout the meeting. Some of the mobsters had additional noisemakers. When Francis Fisher Kane, noted liberal and attorney of the Civil Liberties Union, attempted to speak he was mobbed and pennies were expertly thrown to break his glasses and those of his assistant. Kane is 81 years old.

One "hero" attempted to climb on the speakers' platform to attack the speaker. He was pulled away and then released by the police to wander around the meeting. Dozens of fist fights took place, with the hoodlums as the aggressors. None were arrested. This is the same police force which clubbed, slugged, pipe-whipped, kicked and spit on CIO pickets at the GE strike last year. This is the same force that is known nationally as notoriously anti-labor and vicious. This is also the same force that protects gamblers, numbers operators, vice houses and bookie joints. It is evident that the police had orders not to arrest the mobsters.

The Workers Party does not support the "Stalinoid-Wallacette" misleading program of the PCA. But PCA's program is not the real issue

here. This is an attack on the simplest civil liberties. The attack was part of the reactionary drive, directed from Washington, against all liberties as part of the drive to World War III. It is part of the hysteria-creating which is the object of J. Parnell Thomas' committee. By swearing "communist" on everything less than super-patriotic and reactionary, the ground is laid to attack the labor movement and all popular rights. The Taft-Hartley Act is part of this same program, as are the Truman and Marshall Plans.

The Workers Party is opposed to the war plans of American imperialism as well as to Stalin's. The people's liberties must be defended against reaction if a free labor movement is to exist.

French Working Class Faces Critical Issue

Neither Washington, Nor Moscow!

By MAX STERLING

PARIS, Nov. 4—Ramadier squeezed through last week with a parliamentary vote of confidence by a vote of 300 to 280. That 20-vote margin was the slimmest of the last five votes of confidence. The parliamentary basis of the middle, or the "third force" as it prefers to call itself, between the de Gaulleists and the Stalinists is so tenuous that any kind of crisis in the next period is bound to send it tumbling.

What remains of the MRP (liberal-Catholic part) and Herriot's type of Radical Socialists is going along for the time being with the Socialist Party. Even so the MRP had so many deserters to de Gaulle that it had to rule that any such would be expelled from the party. Were it not for the prospect of substantial American aid soon, the "third force" would probably be reduced to a shadow. Despite Ramadier's assurance that France need not choose between the Russian and the American camps and that "it will continue to collaborate with all nations and maintain its national independence," the new government and the parties to it vie with de Gaulle for American favor.

The Stalinists, in their frenzy to drag France into the orbit of Moscow and their attack on all things American, have made Ramadier's job easier.

Duclos' two-hour harangue in Parliament against the United States and all who want to accept aid from it no doubt brought Ramadier some much-needed votes. But the vulgarizations of Moscow's puppets are of little account to them. The "Communist" has given them the line, and what they say in the Parliament is not so much for the ears of French people or for French workers as for those who listen in the Kremlin.

THOREZ PRESENTS NEW LINE

At the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Thorez's long report followed the line of Duclos and his masters. "Left" demagoguery will henceforth abound until the next turn. Instead of demanding of the workers that they produce, sacrifice and be disciplined, as he formerly did, the new turn allows Thorez to shout about the ever-increasing misery of the workers—something which the workers have known for a long time. Thorez, of course, blamed the Socialists for all that. But the Stalinists are at least equally guilty if the workers now work 48 hours per week instead of 38 as before the war, while their real wages are down to a miserable pittance. The Stalinists were the principal factor in disarming the workers just after the liberation, of hailing de Gaulle, of putting the capitalists back

into their seats of power, of holding in check their effort to protect themselves against the skyrocketing of prices and the black market, of breaking their strikes and, when this was impossible of containing them. The Stalinists hailed the American "liberators" in the name of the Republic and the independence of France. After sowing all this mischief and treachery, they now try to turn their backs on it, also in the name of the Republic and the independence of France!

In his report, Thorez indulged in what he called "Leninist self-criticism." Poor Lenin, who did not realize what form this criticism could take, nor what scoundrels would, after his death, talk in his name. Thorez confessed that they played around too much with the tops of the other parties. But the truth is that they never neglect this nor the care they take to maintain their stranglehold on the workers. Rather, this so-called admission is an indication of the new course that has been forced upon them. In their fervent espousal of Moscow they can continue as a force in France only so long as they can hoodwink the workers to follow them.

According to Thorez, they should have also recognized in time that their elimination from the government last May was not based on their chance. (Continued on page 3)

Coal Miners Offer Plan To Meet Car Shortage

By GERALD MODERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA—Coal miners in West Virginia, faced with unemployment because of the railroad car shortage, are being forced to put forward their own plans for coal production.

Poor railroad management and the steel shortage, planned by the steel monopoly, keeps the supply of coal cars short. As a result, many coal miners and railroad men are on a two and three-day week while the world cries for coal. And short work weeks with prices sky-high means real hardship for miners' families.

As a result, UMW Local 4040, one of those hit by the car shortage, has put forward its own plan to the local Central Labor Body, to newspapers and to UMW Chief John L. Lewis.

At present, many mines in southern West Virginia are working six days a week. They have coal cars. Actually, most miners don't like to put in a sixth day underground. That was one of the issues in the last coal strike. While some mines work six days, mines in the northern part of the state have been on a short week for months.

In a letter to Lewis, Local 4040 has suggested that the union establish a five-day week in the southern

fields, so that cars will be available for mines in the northern fields to get a full week.

The local has also called upon Truman to arrange for car pooling by the railroads to insure a more efficient use of existing cars. This was done during the war when the country was producing for destruction, but the government does not seem to be interested in the plan in peacetime to insure miners a decent standard of living.

Rank and file miners recognize the real dangers of the car shortage. Mines which ship their coal by barge on the Monongahela River are working steadily. Already, big smart outfits like Pittsburgh Consolidation, the giant of the industry, are buying up mines close to the river. This could very well mean that some mines depending on the railroads will be shut down, leaving miners jobless or forcing them to move considerable distances.

Further, so long as the car shortage exists, the operators and their close allies, the railroads, are in a position to decide which mines shall work and which shall not. Already, suspicions are arising that the least militant mines get the most work, while the spearhead locals are left in the lurch.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

What's Wrong With Ford Pension Plan?

By ROBERT STILER

[UAW workers in Ford plants all over the country by an overwhelming majority rejected a pension plan negotiated by Richard T. Leonard, who had expected to ride a wave of "popular" enthusiasm. After suffering a well-deserved rebuke from the membership, Leonard and his friends in the Ades-Thomas-CP caucus cry "factionalism." The following analysis of the Ford pension plan, written some weeks ago, gives the true reasons for its rejection.]

The Ford plan was the first major pension plan offered in the automobile industry; acceptance of this proposal would undoubtedly have set a precedent for the entire industry. For this reason the plan must be analyzed very carefully. Otherwise the nation's automobile workers may find themselves tied to retirement plans which provide for many sacrifices and inadequate security.

Table with 2 columns: Category and Amount. Rows include Employee direct contribution (\$6,825,000), Eight cent indirect contribution (14,808,000), Lunch period value (6,825,000), Total employee contribution (\$28,458,000).

FAULT LIES IN PLAN

Because of the factional atmosphere in the UAW, the pension plan, like the FE merger, is open to a great deal of demagogic appeal to the rank and file. Just as an attempt was made to capitalize on the genuine sentiments of the rank and file for unity in an effort to put over a phony merger, efforts were made to put over an inadequate pension plan by appealing to the genuine need and desire for real old age security, simply because it was negotiated by Richard T. Leonard, national Ford director and a leader of the Ades-Thomas clique.

Many of the older Ford workers saw the prospect of retiring within a year or two. Leonard expected them to grasp desperately at this plan. He thought that they would overlook the fact that the bulk of the cost would have been paid by younger workers. The younger workers, on the other hand, objected to contributing approximately \$250 a year with no guarantee of realizing any benefits from the plan when they reach retirement age.

given 20 years of service to the corporation, regardless of age, and to those without 20 years of service who have reached retirement age.

Such a pension plan must be permanently guaranteed by the government in order to protect the younger workers. In the Ford plan, however, the company agrees to guarantee the plan for a period of only two years, after which it may call the whole thing off if it so desires. If the company does discontinue the plan it is only required to return to the workers the 2 1/2 per cent deducted from the wages. The value of the paid lunch period and the eight cents indirect contribution will not be returned. This would be a gift of approximately \$40,000,000!

BOSSSES CONTROL IT

Everyone knows the misery of living on inadequate pensions in a period of spiraling prices. To provide real old age security pension benefits must provide for changes in the cost of living. Every pension plan must contain a provision for the immediate adjustment upward of any pension benefits in the event of a rise in the cost of living. But, in the Ford plan, while the company only agrees to bind itself for two years, the union binds itself to the present plan and agrees to make no changes in the benefit structure for a period of twelve years!

Since the workers are contributing more than half of the total yearly cost of the plan, it would seem only fair that they have a majority on the pension committee. However, the present plan provides that in the event of a dispute over a pension claim, the matter is referred to a pension committee composed of two representatives of the company and one from the union.

In the event they cannot agree, the union representative can have the claim referred to the umpire in the grievance procedure. The "impartiality" of these umpires is well known to the workers. In effect, the union representative will be outnumbered three to one on the pension committee.

In our opinion the plan should be controlled by the workers themselves through their union, since it is their security and their lives that are at stake. The Ford family has exclusive control of its own pension; the Ford workers should have the same right.

NEED MODEL PLAN

A real pension plan should cover all the workers in the automobile industry and should in no way be considered as part of a wage increase. Wage demands are based on the rising cost of living TODAY and not on any FUTURE benefits derived from a pension plan. The theory behind the Ford Motor Company's offer of a seven-cent wage increase with the pension plan is that the pension is a sufficient concession to the Ford workers to wipe out the wage differential that exists between them and the other auto workers.

Nevertheless, Ford has insisted on the inclusion of a section in the agreement in which the union agrees not to base any wage demands or economic concessions from the corporation on the grounds that any other large automobile manufacturer has given its workers a pension plan. In a single blow the company is seeking to wipe out the few extra gains made by the Ford workers in exchange for a totally inadequate and insecure pension plan. The Ford workers rejected this phony pension plan.

Walter P. Reuther, president of

the UAW, has already announced that the union will seek a pension plan from GM. One of the weaknesses of the pension plan negotiations at Ford has been that the union has never stated what it considers to be a GOOD pension plan. UAW workers must insist that in the future pension plan negotiations the union will have a model plan basing itself on the principle that it is the obligation of the corporation and the government to provide adequate security and comfort for its workers out of the profits of big business and not out of the pockets of the workers themselves.

Goodrich Local 5 Statement Condemns House Committee

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, Nov. 2.—Goodrich Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers, at its regular business meeting adopted a "Statement of Policy" which condemns the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Taft-Hartley Bill and the "Communist" Party.

The resolution declared that the hearings of the Un-American Activities Committee constituted only one phase of the anti-labor drive inaugurated by the Taft-Hartley bill. It pointed out that red-baiting had always been a weapon in the hands of big business against labor. It correctly said that, if successful, the next step would be to accuse all labor militants of un-American activity. It condemns the hearings, the Taft-Hartley bill and the purity pledges demanded of union officials.

The statement then definitely declared that, while Local 5 would also continue to fight the Stalinists within its own ranks on the basis of program, and that it opposed the CP as an agent of Russian totalitarianism to whom the interests of the American workers meant nothing. It rejected all outside interference in this fight, declaring that labor was capable of handling its own affairs without the meddling of the NAM and its reactionary Congress.

The few Stalinists in Local 5 had submitted an unsigned resolution condemning the House committee but, of course, not mentioning the CP. This resolution was passed in addition to the first one because everyone felt they were not necessarily contrived.

During the discussion on the statement of policy, the CP tried to defend itself by declaring that the statement contained the "same mistake made by all liberals," namely, calling the CP an agent of a foreign power.

George Bass, president of Local 5, spoke strongly in favor of the statement which had been submitted in the name of the Executive Board. He gave a militant and essentially correct speech. He condemned red-baiting both on a national scale and within the ranks of the local union. He made it clear that he was ready to fight red-baiting. He said that he for one did not intend to allow himself to become confused by the smokescreen being thrown up, and then wake up to find himself on the wrong side of the fence. He said that he has been approached by red-baiters in the local, some of whom are otherwise good militants, and that they have attempted to get his support. He made it clear that he was

BAZAAR PROCEEDS IN LOS ANGELES TO GO TO ACEWR

LOS ANGELES—In time for Christmas shopping, the American Committee for European Workers Relief will have a bazaar at 126 North St. Louis, Los Angeles, on Saturday and Sunday, November 22 and 23.

Merchants in the community have been very generous and all types of merchandise will be found at bargain prices, including electrical appliances, ceramics, leather goods, plastics, toys, coats, suits and dresses, and books.

Entertainment will also be provided with television, dancing and a good dinner.

All proceeds will be distributed by the American Committee for European Workers Relief to victims of starvation and concentration camps.

Discusses Relation Of Union Leaders To Labor's Ranks

By WILLIAM BARTON

OAKLAND, Calif., Oct. 27.—A personal friend who has had several research and educational jobs with large labor unions, told me recently that the trouble with us Trotskyists was that we regard the rank and file of the labor movement too highly and the leadership too lowly. "They may not have the right political background or slant" were approximately his words, "and they may not be the most desirable people in other ways, but the national leaders of labor unions are more intelligent, more interested in important problems, less prejudiced than the average union member, many of whom do not even attend local meetings very often."

My answer at the time was simply "so what!" This year's AFL national convention very clearly explained why the remarks of this friend, though containing bits of truth, clarify nothing. Surely the collection of old-line big shots who run the AFL would be expected to show more interest and have more knowledge than the man who works hard at a monotonous job all day, under a tyrannous factory system at low wages, and then tries to work out some sort of personal and family life in his spare hours. "God knows they pay you enough to think" said John L. Lewis to his cronies, which naturally includes himself. Being union leaders is their full-time job; some of them have been at it for a mighty long time. The least they could produce is some knowledge of their worth.

PURPOSE THEY SERVE

But, that is about all these boys are producing. With their salaries (which, for the record, does not begin to compare with those of the moguls of industry and finance) should go some responsibility toward their membership. That they have not and cannot, at present, have. For they are part of a tremendous machine which keeps them alive.

The purpose of that machine is to act as an intermediary between the body of workers and the capitalists who own the industries. They must do all in their power to see that this relationship is not disturbed. Either side may do the disturbing! The capitalists and their government may slap them down for not being faithful enough, or for not being able to control their members. The rank and file may get militant and upset their pleasant routine and satisfying lives. Their personal attitudes cannot substantially change their habits. Any one part of the apparatus must adjust accordingly, be he reactionary Republican Hutcheson or Social-Democrat Dubinsky. Almost completely the case for top AFL officials, this is true to a somewhat lesser extent for the CIO national leadership.

The delegates at the AFL convention, at least twice removed from the workers in the shop, were afraid to contemplate any dramatic and drastic action against a Democratic-Republican government that had in turn threatened to break a railroad strike by drafting the workers and passed the Taft-Hartley law. They were unable to prevent the contemplated cutting away of their own underpinnings. Their ingrained processes of thought and action, ingrained by their position in American society, prevented them from considering any form of mass struggle against the oppressive action of the boss government. To initiate such action would mean an open struggle against capitalism as such, something out of

the question for these "intelligent and interested" zombies.

RANK AND FILE WISHES

The supposedly uneducated rank and file is in a different spot, however. It is still true that they have "nothing to lose but their chains." They are all set for some sort of fight; the best are awaiting the proper signal, which will never come from their current leadership (CIO as well as AFL). The others will largely move with them when they see a meaningful struggle in sight. That is the indisputable historical lesson.

The local union leadership, being much closer to the membership, is somewhat aware of this. In the same area in which the convention was held, local unions and central bodies of the AFL have gone through a series of militant strikes, a general walkout, close cooperation with the CIO, and a certain amount of independent political action within the past year—often stymied and sabotaged by the national leadership. Many local AFL officials are, therefore, not satisfied with the recent convention. The East Bay Labor Journal, organ of the Central Labor Union of Alameda County has expressed great skepticism over what happened in San Francisco last week. It is not too hopeful that the million dollar appropriation for "education and publicity" will accomplish much, raising the very unpleasant prospect that much of it might be used to fight the CIO.

A delegate from the Santa Cruz central labor body proposed an independent Labor Party resolution at the convention. Delegates from local unaffiliated federal unions vocally supported Lewis' stand against signing the anti-Communist affidavits on the convention floor, despite the fact that the other AFL officials claimed that these unions were the ones most likely to be hurt by the failure of national AFL officers to sign them. Could it be possible that the local leaders have their ears closer to the man in the factory?

Reports indicate that Lewis is again the great hero of union members in all labor organizations because of his demagogic fight talk. He certainly had the support of the gallery at the convention, a gallery he could not conceivably have packed. Maybe the factory worker lacks some of the background and full-time activity of the Greens and Meanys. But he is the fellow caught in the speed-up who finds his paltry wages decreasing in value. He is the chap who is damned tired of the mess that capitalism has made and is making of his life and those of his children. He is the man who staged the sit-down strikes in Michigan, pulled two general strikes on the West Coast within little more than a decade, fought the cops in South Chicago, was always ready to give when he could see he was fighting for something worthwhile. I'll stake my hopes on his type.

But his vigor and courage aren't enough. He's got to know the whole story of his fight. He has to be given a substitute for the men whom he pays to represent him, but who are really afraid of him. Those who understand have got to explain to him that he must replace the bewildered and timid and resigned crew that ran the AFL convention in order to secure that emancipation for which he must battle. That is the essential, imperative assignment of the militant politically class-conscious worker.

With the Workers Party

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

- AKRON: Write to Box 221. BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Public forums every second Friday of each month. Socialist Youth League meets every Monday at 8:00 p.m. BUFFALO: 689 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours: 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion groups Thursday evenings. CHICAGO: 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Tel.: CHESapeake 5798. Office hours: 3:00-5:30 p.m. daily. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m., in Room 4, Slovenian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave. DETROIT: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Telephone: PLaza 6589. For volunteer work in election campaign, send your name to local office. LOS ANGELES: 3314 So. Grand Los Angeles 7. Telephone: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily. LOUISVILLE: Write to Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville. NEWARK: 248 Market St., Newark 2. Open house Friday evenings. NEW YORK CITY: CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m., Wednesday and Thursday until 10:30 p.m. Telephone: WAtkins 4-4222.

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Hollywood Does A Back Flip

Editor: Yesterday's friends are today's enemies. No better proof of this statement can be found than in the current tempest in a teapot being enacted in Washington today under the capable direction of J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the House Un-American Committee. Mr. Thomas has what no director in Hollywood ever had: more bigger names, a larger, more interested audience and a most cooperative cast, and a plot defying all expectations, even as plots are judged in Hollywood. It is with interest and with a disgusting feeling of revulsion, that we witness these puppets going through their paces and answering every twitch and turn at Mr. Thomas' direction. In Partisan Review for May-June, Professor Meyer Schapiro attempted to describe the phenomenon of the movie, Mission to Moscow. I quote generously from Prof. Schapiro's article: "...But the historical and political content of the film should also be considered from another angle, as a type of propaganda film new to this country. The events leading up to the war are presented at the same

time as the headlined history familiar to newspaper, readers and also as the personal experience of an official eye-witness and participant. Through the combination of newsreels of Hitler Germany and Stalin Russia with the reenacted story of Mr. Davies, the latter takes on the qualities of an authentic historical reality. As he passes from shots of Nazi demonstrations, in which the whole German people seem to be massed before Hitler, to a scene of Davies-Huston (film counterpart) making a futile proposal of disarmament to Schacht-Basch (film counterpart), the spectator feels himself transported behind the scenes to enjoy the same direct contact with the secret historical process as in his contemplation of the public review of the Nazi army. He knows that these are only two Hollywood actors, but he is led to believe by the surrounding context of the newsreels and by the official character of the film, based on the confidential reports of an American Ambassador and approved by the Soviet government, that the actors are reproducing the original events rather than Mr. Davies' version." (Emphasis supplied) Siegfried Kraacauer, German expert on Nazi films, in his book, Propaganda and the Nazi Film, observes that the chief characteristic of Hit-

ler-made pictures is their use of elaborate techniques which are of unquestionable veracity so as to produce the pseudo-realistic effect of making the audience believe it is witnessing simple pure history in the making, sans embellishment or artifice. James T. Farrell, too, in his critique of the film, Wilson, notes wherein Hollywood, through the use of authentic, on-the-spot pictures, along with nostalgic contemporary music, beguiles the public into believing it is getting unadulterated doses of American history (see League of Frightened Philistines). It would appear, therefore, that the American film industry has had its share of lessons on how to make a totalitarian film, via democratic methods. The point here is, however, that this bogus probe is being enacted for the sole purpose of propagandizing the public into believing that the communist menace in Hollywood is subverting our children and is succeeding. This of course is not true. From personal experience it can be stated definitely that if the Stalinists are infiltrating the motion picture (and I, for one, don't deny it), and getting in propaganda, that is, "un-American sentiments," into films which they help write, they certainly are doing a lousy and inept job of it. One line buried in the midst

of an hour and a half's entertainment is a pretty futile effort, and Thomas and his cohorts can be characterized as killing flies with an axe. Mission to Moscow was, and will continue to be, mentioned during the course of these hearings. It is interesting in the light of present history to note Hollywood's recent attempt at stretching out friendly arms toward Russia in time of common peril. Their advance publicity showed pictures of Trotsky negotiating with Ribbentrop. This being an attempt to prove that anyone critical of Stalin was a fascist, per se. These shots were withdrawn, as nowhere in the Moscow Trials was it demonstrated that Trotsky had had dealings with Ribbentrop. To assuage Russian feelings for historical truth, scenes of Stalin and Molotov meeting with the Reich's Foreign Minister were deleted. If, as Thomas and his committee pretend, this was a film produced with State Department approval with the aid of Stalinist-inspired writers who were sticking in lines inimical to the American way of life, it must perforce be admitted by them that the government of the United States made use of Stalinists and their propaganda at that time. Russia, now an arch-enemy, the State Department and the motion picture industry

would like to forget that they were accomplices of the Kremlin. The boys who did the hatchet work for American-Russian imperialism are no longer needed, and it is time to crack down on them. Practically every facet of American life and activity are depicted as being contaminated with the virus of subversive communism, for no more reason than they wish public feelings to take on a new nationalistic pride, which is exactly when they will feel they are honor bound to slay the Red Menace. Should American policy change for some unforeseen and unlikely reason, Hollywood will once again produce pictures that have lines in them inimical to the American way of life. (Several years after they have served their purpose.) The sheer nonsense of these showcase battles against Stalinism were they not so grisly. The pity is that Americans by and large will believe this twaddle and act accordingly when the State Department tells it to, believing it has another righteous battle to do. The technique of the Big Lie which Hitler found so useful is another totalitarian trick which they have learned to use to their advantage. Will humanity continue to be fooled? NORMAN JOHNSTONE.

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Editorials

The Rise of European Reaction

For the first time since the end of the war, the right-wing capitalist parties of western Europe have ventured to adopt an aggressive policy. They have turned from the defensive to the offensive.

In France the de Gaulle party has won an undoubted victory in the municipal elections, having received the largest single party vote. So bold has it become that it has dared to call for the resignation of the Ramadier cabinet and for new national elections. The simple, unavoidable truth is that it has won a victory of the first magnitude; not merely has it gained large votes in the provinces, but it polled an amazingly large vote in Paris. De Gaulle, though still far from power, is on the upsurge.

In England the long-dormant Conservative Party shows signs of a new aggressiveness. Churchill, septuagenarian mumbler of bankrupt rhetoric, has called for the resignation of the Attlee government and the holding of new national elections. That he hardly expects the Labor Party to quit and that he expects still less to gain a victory if a new election were held, is beside the point.

That fact is that Churchill speaks in tones of new assurance. Where did he get it from?

And even in the Polish government-in-exile, as reported here two weeks ago by A. Rudzinski, there has been a shift to the extreme right.

All of these symptoms add up to the beginnings of a sustained offensive by Anglo-American imperialism to strengthen its present position in Europe and to acquire new ones. They mean that the reactionary politicians of Western Europe are a bit dizzy with anticipation—anticipation of the dollars promised by the Marshall Plan.

That is why de Gaulle is confident and Churchill takes renewed heart. Bluster is all very well; but dollars are better.

Yet it would be a considerable simplification to say that only the politicians of the right are involved here. For it is clear that de Gaulle is gaining mass support. Where does it come from?

No doubt from all the subterranean reactionary forces of France which have been laying low for the past few years. No doubt from the former Petainists. No doubt from small businessmen and sections of the middle class discouraged by the chronically rotten economic situation.

But there is still more involved. It seems clear that de Gaulle has even gained some support from sections of the working class—not decisive ones, not major ones, but still sections. And many of the lower middle class votes which once went to the Socialists have switched to him.

Here is where we come to the critical point. The Socialists, fumbling around with parliamentary and administrative trivia while French economy staggers, have shown themselves inept, timid and tied heart, mind and soul to the status quo, with which almost everyone in France is dissatisfied. They are like stand-ins in the movies—good only until the stars get ready to act.

In this case, the stars are de Gaulle and the Stalinists. But the Stalinists, too, for all their bold talk and all their radical phrasemongering, have shown themselves unable to act in any fundamental way. The masses of France observe that the Stalinists do not and at least in the immediate future will not try to seize power. They are neither a traditional parliamentary group, confining itself to parliamentary maneuvers and expected to confine itself, or in the circumstances, an aggressive extra-parliamentary group.

They engage in fits of adventurism, a hastily-called strike here, a demonstration there; but fundamentally they have no answer to the problem of France. In the eyes of the French masses, what can the Stalinists have to offer that can match the material promises of the Marshall Plan?

The Stalinists cannot serve as a genuine bulwark against the de Gaulle danger. The de Gaulle cannot serve as a genuine bulwark against the Stalinist danger. Both fester on the other; both in a sense bolster the other.

For a working class movement to support the de Gaulle because of the danger of Stalinism means to give up in advance the allegiance of the most militant sections of the French proletariat which are at present still more or less under Stalinist leadership. The workers for the most part will only be driven closer to the Stalinists if de Gaulle's movement grows.

For a working class movement to support the Stalinists because of the de Gaulle danger means to perpetuate the most tragic illusions about the totalitarian Stalinist movement. It means to help de Gaulle grow—for the rise in strength of de Gaulle is to a considerable extent the result of the blind alley into which French Stalinism has driven its followers.

Once again, as after the war's end, though on a lesser scale, opportunities are opening for the French revolutionary movement. To be utilized, these opportunities require an uncompromising opposition to both camps of reaction—Anglo-American imperialism and Stalinism. No compromise, no flirtation with either in the name of stemming the other! If only that were clearly understood, much could yet be done.

Not U. S., Not Moscow --

a victory if a new election were held, is besides the workers' economic demands but was commanded by American imperialism and Wall Street. And it is quite true that they were not thrown out because they championed the workers' cause. The occasion was the Renault strike, which Ramadier opposed and which the Stalinists also opposed until it threatened to get beyond them and expose them in the eyes of the workers. No one can say that the Stalinists are insensitive to the moods of the workers. Here Thorez is not simply mistaken. He is lying, since the Stalinists chose to change from opposition to support of the strike at the expense of their governmental positions. But they supported the workers only to prevent their isolation from them and to contain them. It is only a difference in tactic from the course of Ramadier and his Socialist Party who long ago ceased to have the support of the great majority of the workers.

FACE LOSS OF INFLUENCE

The Stalinists now realize that their pro-Russian orientation is an irremovable obstacle to any effort to return to the government. Even the Guy Mollet wing of the Socialist Party is now against including them in the government. This has led them to abandon such a perspective and to sharpen their attacks on the government. Hence, what they cannot do as a pro-Russian force in the government they must do all the more among the workers. A frontal attack on the CP and the CGT (union federation) now by de Gaulle, at a moment when the former are pushing the demands of the workers, would be premature. Therefore, in their effort to isolate the Communist Party, all the parties await a break in the CGT away from the Stalinists by those who do not want to accept their pro-Russian and rabidly anti-American course.

Jouhaux, the old reformist secretary of the CGT, whom the Stalinists have had in tow up to now, has already indicated that he considers American aid as beneficial to the French workers. This cannot be tolerated by the Stalinists. A breach is indicated here which can only widen. The Stalinists have called upon the workers and others to form Republican Defense Committees against the de Gaulle danger and against American imperialism. If de Gaulle continues his offensive now, these committees will undoubtedly serve as rallying points for all of the workers, including those who follow the Socialist Party and even part of the middle classes. By waiting, de Gaulle permits those in the CGT who balk at becoming Russian tools to increase their forces in the trade union movement. The Socialist Party has denounced the Republican Defense Committees not only because of the Russian orientation but also because "they will foster social agitation which will bring on the dictatorship of the right."

The situation is therefore a complicated one for the Stalinists. On the one hand they are appre-

hensive about the following they may lose because they seek to push the workers into not too desirable Russian pastures. And, on the other hand, to do so they must take a "leftist" line with them. But as they have no revolutionary perspective, their "leftist" course will lack the dynamism necessary to lead the workers and the middle classes to the expropriation of the 200 families and to socialist state power. They will therefore fail to transcend the limits of an irritating force which can only bring their pro-Russianism into greater relief. The result will be to add to their isolation from the middle classes, the prospect of further loss in the working class and a probable division in the trade union movement.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

The left, which includes the Trotskyists, militant anarchists, the left wing of the SP, etc., can benefit from this situation if it holds to an independent course, that is, if it fights both against the pro-American capitulations of the Socialist Party, which is against "social agitation," and the hesitations of the Stalinists. This fight must include patient education of the working class regarding the pro-Russian role of the Communist Party, the Russian power conflict with American imperialism, the abominable character of Russian society and the connection between this and Stalinist policy in France.

Before the danger of de Gaulle, the working class must unite its forces and prepare the appropriate organs of defense. While the Stalinists shout about this, the left should push forward to action connected to a revolutionary perspective. But, we repeat, this ought to be accompanied by an alert and sharp criticism and above all by patient education. As de Gaulle will probably bide his time and as American aid can even greatly prolong the moment of decisive clash, the left should utilize this valuable respite by avoiding at all costs their appearing as the left wing of Stalinism, which will be the case if they follow uncritically the Stalinist clamor. The left ought to begin now the unpostponable task of separating the working class from Stalinism. Only this will prevent the Stalinist organizers of defeat from adding the French working class to their already too-long list of victims.



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WORLD POLITICS

PERSPECTIVE OF THE MARSHALL PLAN

Fast approaching the stage of concreteness and reality, the issue over the Marshall Plan, now referred to as the European Recovery Plan (ERP) is no longer whether or not there shall be one, but what exactly will it look like and show shall it be carried out? Any doubts there may have been regarding the realization of an actual plan for vast American aid to Europe were brushed away when Senator Taft not only recognized this fact but even predicted—although he later pretended to have been misunderstood—that Congress would act on the proposed plan within one month of the beginning of the special session.

This would mean its presentation in November and adoption in December, before the end of this year. However, as the controversial points begin to shape up this looks doubtful. Three varied reports regarding the plan, each voluminous and containing many issues of possible conflict, have already been issued with others to come. The Krug Report has estimated the basic potentialities of American economy in terms of fulfilling the plan; the Nourse Report has estimated what has to be done and the latest and most elaborate report of the Harriman Commission has taken a further step by outlining set-up and administration, as well as possible conditions.

Clearly the acuteness of the situation in Europe, with a clear perspective of Russian domination of the Continent during the coming harsh winter months, if the present economic stagnation continues indefinitely, has destroyed Republican narrow-minded attitudes and opened up the eyes of that party's representatives to some of the harsh possibilities lying ahead for American imperialism if it fails to act in a decisive manner. This does not mean there will not be a sharp and even bitter struggle over the issue in Congress. It does mean that the putting into practice of some sort of a plan is now a foregone conclusion.

TOTAL INTERVENTION IN EUROPE'S LIFE

Thus America takes what will probably be the most important step in its historical evolution—direct and massive intervention, of a total character, into the economic, social and industrial life of the Old World. There should be no doubt on the momentous quality of this action. The Marshall Plan has been called by some a peacetime lend-lease program, but its significance is still greater. Lend-lease was, after all, but one aspect of American imperialism's war-winning strategy, whereas the Marshall Plan is the concretization of the strategy of this same imperialism to establish fully its control over Europe and take further steps toward mastery of the world's economic markets. The care, energy and effort going into the development of the plan only testify to the historical importance given it by the more far-sighted strategists of American imperialism, whose principal preoccupation it has now become.

The future political struggles within the American political scene are bound to be influenced, to varying degrees, by battles over the Marshall Plan. The coming special session of Congress will witness the opening of some of these intense struggles. The exact total sums to be advanced are an obvious object of contention, with the Republicans set to cut down the billions involved for the benefit of cuts in taxes on corporation profits. The question of conditions and qualifications (strings) under which the money will be advanced is bound to precipitate violent debate. What strings will be attached? The Harriman committee has already indicated a few—currency stabilization favoring America; continuation of loans depending upon meeting of production quotas; American regulation of funds obtained by debtor nations from sale of shipments received; right of American inspection of program, etc. Everything indicates the most thoroughgoing intention of the American administrators to have the basic say-so and look-see into those European nations to which aid goes.

Then, directly influencing domestic political events

will be the plan's relation to American economic problems. Shall state economic controls be entirely reconstituted, as during wartime; what of the price and inflationary problem; shall price and rationing control be restored? Shall the operation of the Marshall Plan be effected to such a degree that a further resemblance to lend-lease days becomes apparent in that American economy resumes the aspects of a war economy?

The posing of these questions makes it clear that we shall again and again be concerned with the implication of this new phase of American imperialism. In next year's presidential elections, it will be the central issue, together with the specific attitudes toward it adopted by all political tendencies, including those of the socialist left.

The Stalinist Party, to be sure, will be (already is) the most violent and bitter opponent of the plan. Defeat and sabotage of it has become their principal role of activity in America—throughout the world, in fact. All the more reason why the socialist and revolutionary left in American politics, whose clearest spokesman we believe to be our LABOR ACTION, must make clear its stand on this issue. This cannot be done completely and all-of-a-piece. A socialist position will be worked out in more detail during the course of the Congressional debates and as the concrete details and meaning of the plan are revealed.

OUR ATTITUDE TO MARSHALL PLAN

In general, LABOR ACTION bases itself upon the following general propositions:

(1) Full and complete aid, material, financial and moral, must be extended to the working class and peoples of Europe. LABOR ACTION, far from opposing aid, believes that much more can be done even by capitalist America (let alone by a socialist America which could organize production much higher than it is now) to help Europe than is proposed under the Marshall Plan. If a war production of tens of billions could be organized, why cannot a peace and European rebuilding production of tens of billions be organized?

(2) We are opposed to any strings or conditions attached to any aid program which will, in any way whatever, facilitate American imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the countries to which the aid goes. We are opposed to such conditions as those hinted at and which we have mentioned above, as well as to interest charges, insistence upon preferential treatment or any other well known method of imperialist penetration.

(3) We are opposed to administration of the plan by any big business-dominated corporation set-up, or by any banking and financial agency. So far as the administration and employment of materials and loans in the aided countries are concerned, we propose that the trade union movements of the respective countries shall have the right to so guard and protect the interests of their workers that no funds can be used in their exploitation. Nor shall American authorities and plan administrators have the right to demand changes (lowering) of existing working conditions and raising of hours.

In the unfolding of the plan itself, further issues will become clearer and labor, together with labor's revolutionary wing, shall have an opportunity to develop a clear, positive position in distinction both from the reactionary, negative opposition of Stalinism and the aggressive, pro-imperialist position of the government. Here again is a splendid chance to drive home the basic proposition of an international solidarity between the American working class and the peoples of Europe. The workers of Europe need and want the aid essential for reconstruction—and with no strings attached. If we cut away the strings, we destroy not only the demagogic basis for Stalinist propaganda, but likewise the imperialistic intents of American business and financial interests. Full and unconditional aid to Europe, that should be labor's slogan.

HENRY JUDD.

Philippine Resistance Mounts

By GERRY McDERMOTT

Full-scale war between the American army and the Filipino people hangs as a threat over the "liberated" Philippine colony of American imperialism.

The crimes of American imperialism against the Filipino people—crimes carefully concealed—have brought this about. As a consequence, American troops in the "independent" Philippines are being killed and injured in skirmishes and guerrilla fighting with the Filipino Hukhs. The situation is so strained that all American troops are forbidden to leave their bases after dark.

The responsibility for these deaths—at least seven American soldiers have been killed to date—rests with the American post-war domination of the Filipinos. The best evidence of the falsity of the much publicized Philippine independence is the fact that 100,000 resistance fighters still oppose the present illegal Quisling government of President Roxas and the American troops that keep him in office.

WHAT PRICE INDEPENDENCE?

Nowhere is the hypocrisy of the Truman administration's protests on behalf of democracy in Europe more clearly unmasked than in the Philippines. The granting of Philippine independence was a cynical fraud guaranteed—to keep the islands enslaved. Perhaps the most striking evidence of the false nature of this "independence" is an admission by Senator Tydings, co-author of the Philippines Act. During hearings on the bill, he said: "The truth of the matter is that most of the people... who favor this bill are fundamentally opposed to Philippine independence. Many of them have told me so.... Their whole philosophy is to keep the Philippines economically even though we lose them politically."

And the truth is that Wall Street has kept the islands both economically AND politically. The story of how this was done is now plain. During the war, the Filipinos liberated large areas from the Japanese by force of arms. The rich native landlords fled to Manila. The native Filipino politicians, who had been

servants of American imperialism, rushed to serve the new master, the Japanese. In the resistance-held areas, the Hukbalahaps had their own elections, passed land-reform laws, collected taxes and governed themselves. They were opposed to Japanese domination, but they were also opposed to the return of American imperialism, which propped up the native landlords and capitalists.

The first act of MacArthur upon his return was to seize and arrest the leaders of the resistance movement. This was done even before the Japanese were completely driven out. MacArthur then took under his wing one of the leaders of the Japanese puppet government, Roxas. This scoundrel, who had only shortly before been working for the Japanese, was made a general on MacArthur's staff!

PROTEST BILL

American and Filipino capitalism then joined hands to crush the resistance movement. The American army turned over \$50,000,000 worth of military equipment to the Philippine government consisting largely of former collaborators with the Japanese. In Washington, a fake independence bill was rushed to completion. The net result of this bill was that American imperialism would have exactly the same privileges that it always had had.

The bill brought a storm of protest from the Filipinos. It was widely suggested that the bill "be slapped on the Japanese instead."

The candidate of American imperialism to put over this bill was the twice-traitor, Roxas. To the Filipino people he said that only he would be able to get money for reconstruction from the U. S.

The opposition was hounded, jailed and murdered by police under the guidance of American officers. Roxas was supported by the massed wealth of American capitalists and their Filipino partners. Roxas won.

The outrageous provisions of Washington's independence bill, however, were in violation of the Philippine Constitution. Roxas could not muster sufficient votes in his Congress to amend the Constitution. So he illegally expelled the opposition dele-

OFF LIMITS

By
James M. Fenwick

HOW SOON IS THE WAR COMING?

"If political crisis does occur, it will be provoked deliberately. How do we move to meet it? ... We can show, in such a case, no 'neutrality' and no indecision; we must oppose any contrived, illegal and undemocratic seizure of power in Western Europe; if necessary, with force. We should declare now—not after the event—that we shall support aid and encourage with all the force of our command the constituted legal governments of France or any other Western European country against any arranged or sponsored coup; that we shall, if necessary, intervene energetically in a civil war and aid the anti-communist forces with arms and weapons. Such a declaration ought to be accompanied, perhaps, by a demonstration of the near future might be a good time to send a powerful naval squadron on a visit of friendship to French ports; perhaps a squadron of our B-29's might also, at the invitation of the French government, make an aerial 'tour' of France and French North Africa.

"Many will object that this is shaking the big stick, that this is armed diplomacy and power politics. Of course it is...."

That is Hanson W. Baldwin sounding off. Baldwin is the best-known military commentator in the United States. Since he enjoys semi-official status, his views are commonly accepted as reflecting those of United States military leaders or of key personnel among them.

This excerpt from an article titled "Prescription for Crisis," which appeared in the New York Times for November 2, represents an important stage in the war preparations which the government is making for World War III. In its bellicosity, especially striking in Baldwin, who writes nothing accidentally or casually, the government is insinuating into people's minds its ultimate intention to intervene militarily in Europe.

Its immediate aim is to strengthen the hand of de Gaulle and to intimidate the Kremlin so as to secure the breathing spell necessary before the sedative effects of economic aid under the Marshall Plan can manifest themselves in the stricken French economy next year.

"A STATE OF NEAR-HYSTERIA"

It does not take a presidential committee on civil rights to inform us that "a state of near-hysteria" exists in this country on the issue of communism. The incitement against the Stalinists is a logical product of the studiously persistent campaign of anti-Russian war-mongering which has been carried on by the government, the press, the radio, the screen, the pulpit and other capitalist agencies in increasing intensity for the past two years. The Baldwin article is part of it.

This campaign, which is going full blast a bare two years after the close of a cataclysm like World War II, is absolutely unprecedented in the history of the United States. It is, unfortunately, not without its effect upon workers in the shop. Comrades report that a feeling of resignation as to the inevitability of World War III is common. In this the Stalinist political gangsters, whose Saturnine chief sits in the Kremlin, are deeply implicated. The Stalinist crimes, which the capitalist class maliciously identifies with socialism, deprive the Marxist anti-war program of the electrifying attractiveness it had for the masses all over the world in the epoch of 1917 to 1923.

THE TIME LEFT

A question commonly asked is, "Well, how much time do you think we have until the war?" Fortunately, there is more time than the frenzy in the press would lead the reader to believe. How long a time exists in terms of years and months is difficult to say, but the factors precluding the probability of its breaking out in the next two years can be listed without development. They are: (1) The current recession in Stalinist influence in key countries such as France and Italy; (2) the economic stabilization of Europe via the Marshall Plan—with the political stabilization which will accompany it; (3) the easing of German tensions through a planned revival of industry; (4) the apathy in Europe and the United States toward another war; (5) the lack of war matériel and organized manpower; (6) colonial instability, and, more temporarily, (7) the coming election year, which is having an inhibiting effect upon the jingoism of a backward Congress.

These factors, however, are not of unlimited durability. A good number of them are predicated upon the stability of U. S. capitalism. The real crisis will come when one of two things occurs—the United States economy falters, or Russia produces the atom bomb. The fate of U. S. capitalism will then be at stake. Many signs now indicate that it does not want to risk the social disturbances at home which a depression or atomic war would entail to this country. The hour would then strike for the launching of a "preventive" war to forestall the maturing of either of these two conditions.

But that time is not yet. Nor need it ever arrive if the labor movement mobilizes in time against a war whose chief beneficiaries will be the capitalist class. To that mobilization are dedicated all the energies of the Workers Party.

SHACHTMAN REVIEWS

TREND TOWARD WAR

AKRON, Oct. 31—Comrade Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, spoke here last evening before a group of members and friends.

Comrade Shachtman reviewed the First World War, "the war to end wars," and the period which followed it with all the spokesmen of capitalism promising peace everlasting. By contrast, he pointed out that the end of this war finds not even the most hysterically optimistic spokesmen for American imperialism promising anything more than a few scant years of uneasy peace at best before the world will be engulfed in an atomic carnage beyond human conception.

He indicated how to the lot of U. S. imperialism had fallen the impossible. Nothing less than breathing life into dying capitalism throughout the world. He told the audience that, with the coming war, there was no choice except barbarism or socialism, and for those who chose the latter there was no justification for existence outside the revolutionary party.

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GOP-Pew Machine Leaves Nothing to Chance in Philly

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4—The Republican Party machine swept to victory in the elections here today in what was one of the most brazenly corrupt and controlled campaigns even for this city of corruption. The machine had early announced its intention of "teaching the Democrats a lesson," and today it swept into office every single candidate it had nominated locally. The machine elected its mayor, 22 out of 23 councilmen, sheriff, its full quota of judges and commissioners and every other candidate for city or county office.

The Democratic campaign had been a one-man affair, led entirely by Richardson Dilworth, a wealthy main-line lawyer. The Democrats have been out of office so long in Philadelphia that they retain an organization only because the Republicans are anxious to maintain the appearance of a two-party system, and hence Democrats get a certain quota of patronage. In fact, this minority quota system had been legalized by the Republicans and written into the law. There is also a faint trickle of federal jobs.

The Democratic machine never got behind Dilworth's campaign. Dilworth campaigned on one issue, Republican corruption—the system of collusion between organized crime, vice and rackets and politics. This was the one issue on which the Democratic Party could not be solidified, since a substantial section of it lives in collusion with this set-up. Thus, throughout the campaign, prominent Democrats announced their defection and the entire campaign was reduced to a lone-man crusade of muck-raking. At no time did Dilworth present a serious program for

the people of the city. The Republicans hardly conducted any public campaign at all. Until two weeks ago they hardly even issued any public statements. Several weeks ago they officially opened their campaign, which, aside from two or three semi-literate radio talks by Mayor Samuel, turned out to be a series of rallies at every ward clubhouse, attended by prominent politicians and all the committeemen and ward-healers. The Pew machine was being put in order and given its instructions. That was the substance of the Republican campaign. As for a program, the Republicans openly denied the need for one, "resting on their record" instead.

DEMS FALL APART

On election morning the Democratic machine fell apart. It was discovered that 400 watchers refused to stand by the party out of fear of Republican reprisals. It was obvious early in the day that the Democratic election funds were not very big, whereas Republican funds flowed like water. In at least two districts, and on one city office, the Democratic Party was fractionally divided, the Republicans supporting one faction. For example, the Republicans were actively supporting Mr. Henry, the Democratic candidate for county commissioner.

There are about 7,000 city Republican jobholders who form the heart of the machine. They were at the polls in full strength today. Since this was sure victory for the machine, there were few attempts at violence. However, the price for votes was fixed at \$1.00 if you reported to the polls and \$1.50 if the committeemen had to get you out. Every voter reported to the Republican captain at the polls, where his name was checked off. Since open collusion exists in most wards between the two parties, there were no attempts to hide the bribe or other "influencing tactics." It was thus a common practice throughout the city for the Republican machine men to go inside the booths to "instruct voters." There were reports that in many cases the pay-off took place behind the curtain of the election booth.

WHERE WAS LABOR?

These corrupt machines had succeeded in keeping the Workers Party off the ballot so that even write-in results will not be known for some time to come.

Where was labor in this election? It was silent. The organized labor movement issued no instructions to its members, made no preferences, proposed no program for political action. It simply played dead after having run candidates and taken defeat in the Democratic primaries. The failure of the labor leadership is the outstanding feature of the election. If the labor movement had run even a single independent candidate the entire campaign would have been different. Even the two capitalist political machines would have been forced into different campaigns.

The working class pays heavily for the failure of the leadership to act out of fear of offending capitalist politicians and "friends of labor." Because of this failure, capitalist political corruption continues to rule uninhibited in Philadelphia.

Benson Will Open N. Y. Forum With Lecture on UAW

"The Auto Workers' Convention—A Balance Sheet" will be the topic for the opening session of The New International Forum on Sunday night, November 16. The speaker will be Herman Benson, organizer of the Detroit branch of the Workers Party, recent candidate for the office of Mayor of Detroit, and frequent contributor of articles on the auto union. Benson will attend the convention sessions in Atlantic City during the week of November 9-16 and come to the forum meeting directly from the scene of the convention.

The original forum schedule had Ruth Fischer listed as the opening speaker on November 16 on "Stalin's Plans for Germany." However, an unforeseen trip away from New York, in connection with her forthcoming book on the German revolution, has caused her to postpone her forum talk. The Forum Committee plans to schedule Ruth Fischer for the same subject in the Winter Series of the forum, to begin at the end of January.

Other speakers, and subjects are as follows:
 November 23—Parker Tyler on "The Brute Force of Shoe Shine."
 November 30—David T. Bazelon, Clement Greenberg and Irving Howe on "Current Trends in Popular Culture."
 December 7—Nathan Glaser and Conrad Lynn on "Recent Novels on Racial and Religious Bigotry."
 December 14—Günther Reimann on "New Trends in Imperialism."

All sessions of the forum will be held at 114 West 14th Street and are scheduled to begin at 8:30 P.M. Admission is 50 cents per individual lecture. A series ticket is available for \$1.50 and may be obtained by writing to The New International Forum, 114 West 14th St. Further information may be secured by calling Watkins 4-4222. Holders of series tickets will have seats reserved until five minutes before starting time.

Press for Action On Tresca Case

BOSTON, Nov. 3—Plans for action by labor and liberal forces in key cities of the United States to bring pressure against New York State authorities to run down the slayers of Carlo Tresca, Italian editor, were being worked out here today following an all-day Justice for Tresca Conference, held in the Hotel Touraine yesterday.

Tresca was killed in the 1943 dim-out in New York City and his friends contend that it was a political murder because of his attacks on totalitarian regimes.

Delegates from labor, liberal and civic organizations in seven states where Tresca was long active, as a labor organizer, declared in a resolution at the Boston meeting that "the laxity of the office of District Attorney Frank Hogan of New York County in the Tresca investigation has violated political and judicial ethics and encourages enemies of freedom to commit other similar murders."

This declaration followed charges made at the conference by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee of New York, supported by documentary (photostatic) exhibits.

MAKES NEW ACCUSATION

"In this case, in which fascists were suspected from the start," Mr. Thomas declared, "some of our associates found that Louis Pagnucco, an assistant district attorney, who had charge of the Italian end of the Tresca investigation for nearly two years, had previously received honors and awards from fascists and fascist sympathizers, including a gold medal from Mussolini's government."

"When a committee headed by Attorney Morris L. Ernst submitted this evidence to Mr. Hogan," Mr. Thomas continued, "he refused to take Pagnucco off the Tresca case. Later, when he learned that the Ernst group and 117 other citizens were about to appeal to Governor Dewey for a special prosecutor in the Tresca situation, the District Attorney agreed to remove Pagnucco from this case and put another assistant in charge of a new investigation. But a few days later Mr. Hogan BROKE THAT PROMISE and told reporters that Pagnucco was 'still on the Tresca case.'"

This latter point, Mr. Thomas stated, was "making public for the first time."

More than 100 messages in support of the conference came from 19 different states, and many others from Italy were received, signed by several hundred persons in professional, artistic and labor circles.

HIT DA INDIFFERENCE

Speakers besides Mr. Thomas were Roger N. Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Gardner Jackson, publicist; Michael Flaherty, CIO organizer; and Aldino Feliciani, editor of the Boston monthly Counter-current (Countercurrent).

"I admit," Mr. Baldwin said, "to some discouragement as to the prospects of getting action from public officials who long since have abandoned as hopeless the search for his murderers. Their lack of zeal has been apparent from the beginning for reasons that appear to be involved in political influence as well as the obstacles in the way of tracking down anybody in the underworld of paid gangsters. If the prosecuting authorities in New York had followed every lead open, our criticism would be far less, but they have ignored repeated suggestions which, if not fruitful, at least would have demonstrated good faith."

Gardner Jackson said that the failure of the New York authorities to find the guilty in what is "all too evidently a political murder is one more symptom of danger in a country in which there are steadily increasing tendencies toward fascism."

"Action must not stop with this single conference," said Mr. Feliciani. "There must be kindred meetings in New York, Chicago, Detroit, New Orleans, San Francisco and other cities where people have not lost their feeling of high indignation against social injustice."

Those who telegraphed or wrote good wishes to the conference here included: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. John Dewey, Oswald Garrison Villard, Attorney Arthur Garfield Hayes, Councilman Louis P. Goldberg, Eugene Lyons, Dr. Max Nomad, Mark Starr, Louis Nelson, Frank Crosswaith, Rose Pesotta, Babette Deutsch and Dr. Broadus Mitchell.

Schumacher Speeches Reveal Contradictions in His Policy

By EUGENE KELLER

Kurt Schumacher, leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, largest and most representative working class party in Germany, spent a few weeks in the United States upon the invitation of the AFL and with the approval of the American Military Government. He addressed the AFL convention in San Francisco as well as a gathering of persons celebrating the 15th anniversary of the Neue Volkszeitung, organ of the Social Democratic Federation in New York.

The major theme running through Schumacher's speeches, both in San Francisco and New York, was the inextricable economic and social relationship of Germany to Europe as a whole and vice versa, as well as the fear of Stalinist totalitarianism. The cooperation of the European peoples, he asserted, cannot but be based upon a common plan. Based as this plan will be upon non-European help, it is doomed to fail if it distinguishes between victors, neutrals and vanquished. Only if the economic potentialities and needs of the individual countries are given careful consideration can a constructive solution of Europe's problems be achieved. Otherwise, Germany will be a leader weight upon the continent's recovery. This idea of such a "Plan" is his open support of the Marshall Plan.

In his cautious manner he stressed the need for planning; he expressed the belief, by implication, that "free enterprise" in Europe would lead to even more poverty and disintegration. In this connection he strongly advocated the nationalization of German heavy industry, the private

owners of which were the foremost financial support of fascism. He proposed that the German masses use the state to run the nationalized industries. According to him, the political dangers which brought about fascism have been far from eliminated in Western Germany; and in Eastern Germany the place of private capitalism has merely been taken by a totalitarian state capitalism with Russian-owned corporations financed out of internal taxation.

There were two contradictory tendencies apparent in Schumacher's speeches, particularly in his San Francisco address. There was, on the one hand, his disbelief that foreign occupants could solve the political problems of Germany, and the implied protest—never openly stated—against the dismantling of industries which he pretended to be unable to reconcile with the Marshall Plan. He was restrained in his factual yet powerful description of the "organized misery" of the German people, of the food shortages, and of the absence of young men who are still held as prisoners of war, of 13,000,000 refugees, etc. He expressed the hope, on the other hand, that the Western powers would remain in Germany to guard against the Stalinist danger and declared his unqualified endorsement of the Marshall Plan. Thus, by implication and very cautiously, he criticized the Western powers for their lack of constructive politics in Germany. But neither in his speech nor in the policies of his party is it apparent that the German Social Democracy wishes to recognize the reactionary basis for the policies of the Western powers.

HOLY ROYAL MATRIMONY

With Apologies to Life and the New York Times

Their great-great grandfather, Prince Albert, won't turn in his grave.

He was fond of his sleep, and took things philosophically. His dust may interrupt its slumber long enough to murmur to that Richer Dust, "At least, Victoria, we weren't so out of date."

The archives prove that his private opinion was not fit to print—"In less than three hours I shall stand before the altar with my dear bride—God help me! We can well agree it's a helluva business when a feudal remnant goes to stud.

Such a simple wedding—positively austere. Of course, the bride will be clothed, and in a Hartnell number that will satisfy the "romantics" and harder yet the "philosophians," and harder still "London fashion designers." Because the Princess, like the Queen, is not an easy figure to dress. Gosh, if he should fall—"Off with his head!" No wonder the creation of the gown is like a military operation, and the seamstresses—needle trades workers to you—have no idea what the final product will look like. Atom bomb in satin. It will cost—oh, phooey!—that's a moot question. The whole wedding is only going to cost the government \$20,000 in cash outlay.

HARD TIMES

No trousseau, though. These are hard times for the Empire. But the House of Commons hears that the Princess will receive extra clothing coupons, nearly two years' normal supply. And it is reported (New York Times, October 28, for the historians) that her trousseau will include many ensembles of nightgown, negligee and bedjacket in hyacinth blue, periwinkle blue, shell and flesh pink. It is Madame Isar of Putney who rings in here—her average price for a nightgown, lace trimmed, is around \$140. "Around"—how delicately put. But with India going, the ratio of colonial slaves in inhabitants of "this scotpered isle" may no longer be 9 to 1. And what do you want for your money, anyhow?

No extra seats for the wedding—that we can guarantee. Wasn't it a Romanoff grandstand that collapsed on another state occasion? But the barter and the black market for space on the line of march and, it is rumored, even for their Abbey seats,

Dear MJC: I Like My Job Because UAW Protects Me

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND—Well, October 31 has come and gone, and the deadline for MJC has passed. The judges will sit in solemn session and declare who is the biggest liar of them all, and 4,999 others will have the dubious honor of getting prizes for providing General Motors Corporation with ammunition to use against their fellow workers.

What's it all about? That's what thousands of GM workers wondered two months ago. Floors and walls of their shops were stenciled with MJC in big letters. Posters covered the bulletin boards with promises of better things for GM workers and their families, with promises of pots of gold, with all sorts of mysterious and puzzling things to come. Time cards were imprinted MJC; every delivery of mail to the home brought more propaganda: MJC, MJC, MJC...

Finally the unveiling came. The big, generous, kind-hearted corporation was conducting a contest for its employees: My Job Contest, or just in case you weren't sure of what was expected of you, the exact title was, My Job and Why I Like It Contest. Not, My Job and What I Think of It; nor, My Job and a Critical Analysis of It; nor, My Job and My Union. Uh, uh, brother, you might say the truth. Just, My Job and Why I Like It!

Think, Write, Win! More posters, more signs, more mail. You don't have to be a genius (to the contrary); you don't have to write in English; you don't have to be a college professor; yes, you don't even have to tell the truth. Get your family to help; if you can't find a good reason

to like your job, your family might. And just imagine, 5,000 lucky people will get something for nothing. The luckiest (and biggest liar) will win a nice shiny new convertible Cadillac. If you aren't so lucky, you still might win one of 5,000 prizes, even if it is only a rear-view mirror (non-glare, of course). \$150,000 worth of prizes for you—retail value, naturally. Still, you might think, how can poor Joe Jones, punch press helper, compete with all the many employees of the big corporation and hope to write a better letter than they. It's downright discouraging. But the company wants Joe to write, so local drawings are held at individual plants, for lesser prizes. Joe's letter won't be judged on its merits for this. This is purely a raffle, and entry at all qualifies you. So write, write fast and win a radio, or head lights, or maybe a mirror.

Write, says the company. Nuts, says the men and women on the production lines. Despite the razzle-dazzle of a well-greased propaganda machine, despite the promise of something for nothing, despite the pressure of management right down to the foremen, the workers aren't responding.

They know General Motors is not very philanthropic to its workers. \$150,000 retail value is somewhere under \$100,000 cost to the corporation. This money is an investment, insurance against the organized workers in the plants. Sure, you write you like your job, with your fingers crossed, and hope for a prize. Soon the papers across the country will be filled with advertising spreads, showing that so many thousand GM workers really like their job and are well

satisfied with what the company gives them in wages, hours and working conditions; and that letter so innocently written in the hope of winning a car, will appear as testimony that Joe Jones is happy with his lot.

COMES THE PAY-OFF

Then comes the real pay-off. The union comes to management and says the men need more pay, steadier work, safer conditions, elimination of speed-up, change from piece-work to day rate. How you talk! says GM. The men are happy and contented. Here we have letters by the thousand, in the men's very own handwriting, proof positive that they are satisfied with what we give them. Go away and don't bother us! Yes, to GM, this investment means only bigger profits made out of the sweat of its workers.

The average worker views this contest with suspicion, and has boycotted it. He has had too much experience to be taken in with "something for nothing." He knows what's wrong with his job; these things stare him in the face every day of the week (if he is lucky enough to work a full week). And, above all, he knows that even if he were honest enough to write a letter telling GM what he really thinks about his job, it would do no good.

He has his union, he and all his fellow workers banded together, and they can and do battle this giant corporation constantly, trying to make the job better. That is why a worker at a GM Pontiac plant stenciled on the back of his shirt, "MJC—I like my job because UAW-CIO protects me."

Wall Street Helps British Retrench in Africa

By R. STONE

JOHANNESBURG, So. Afr.—Since the end of last year, when my study on the "Plunder of South Africa" was written (see August, September, 1947, New International—Ed.), very important new developments have taken place and many of the trends which I analyzed have materialized.

The regroupment of British imperial power necessitated by its desperate economic crisis at home and the growing instability of its ruling position in volcanic India, Burma and the Middle East and other parts of its shaking empire, is taking place in its African colonies and in the "dominion" of South Africa.

The shrewd and experienced British imperialists, today upheld by their righteous funkies of the Labor Party, on coming to terms with the local capitalist and feudal classes in the new "dominions," are securing their economic and military interests by turning from direct to indirect methods of rule. But these measures of formal independence and the placing of responsibility for maintaining order and suppressing the exploited toilers in the conditions of chaos and division which they let loose, has increased the weight of power of the local ruling and propertied forces in relation to the power of the imperialist sahibs. Forced to these measures by the pressure of mass struggle and mass hatred of their rule, British imperialism has had to find new bases of unchallenged rule. From these bases they can continue to control all their vast economic and political and strategic interests in the Middle and Far East, and in subservience to American imperialism, block the dangerous expansion and challenge of the new Russian imperialism.

During the past 18 months new facts have come to light revealing that about 175,000,000 pounds sterling of new British capital has been invested in mining and industry. Many subsidiaries of British industries have also been established in the Union of South Africa, in line with the general policy of decentralizing home industry and manpower in the Empire. During the last year, about 30,000 British immigrants entered the Union. A great deal more money is expected to come to the Union from Britain for legitimate investment. British investors are shortly to receive 150,000,000 pounds from the sale of the Argentine Railways which are to be taken over by the country and at the end of this year they will receive 1,000,000,000 pounds through the nationalization of their own railways. That is not the end of the story, for more of the British people's capital is being chased out of foreign countries than ever in the history of England. It will have to find a new haven and investment in Commonwealth countries, notably South Africa, is expected to grow more in favor. (Sunday Times, Oc-

tober 19, 1947.)

The huge sums paid out in compensation by the British Labor government to the former capitalist owners are being used by British imperialism to strengthen its grip on South Africa.

2. A new agreement has been reached between the Vander Bijl Engineering Corporation (which is controlled equally by the state and the Anglo-American Corporation—makers of industrial, mining, steel and other engineering requirements) and the British firm of Vickers, to cooperate on a fifty-fifty basis in engineering production.

AMERICAN INTERESTS

3. The Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company, one of seven finance mining house giants in the Union, has now taken over control of the New Union Goldfields group of companies, another of the giants. But the most significant feature of this "python swallow python" process of capitalist absorption and concentration is the fact that American finance capital has become linked up in a large way with South African mining concerns.

The American Anglo-Transvaal Investment Corporation, which was formed a year ago with a capital of 5,000,000 pounds, is a sister organization of the Anglo-Transvaal and has a right of participation of up to 33 1/3 per cent in all new undertakings of the latter company. The result is that the American company has a large share in the 100 companies of the New Union Goldfields group. Among these companies are eight Rand gold mines, one diamond mine, and new Orange Free State mines which are now being developed. The First Electric Corporation (leading

electrical-machine producing concern), printing, cold storage, cinemas, textiles, boots and clothing, wines and spirits, estate agencies etc.

The American financial names connected with this new big deal include Lewin Cates, president and director of Phelps Dodge Corporation; H. B. Lake, vice-president, and director of Ladenburg Thalmann Corporation; David Rockefeller is a shareholder, too.

Through S. A. Mines Selection, Ltd., a new finance and holding company which was formed early in October, with a capital of 2,500,000 pounds by the Anglo-American Corporation, the banking house of J. P. Morgan is now associated with the biggest financial and mining giant of South Africa. Important British banking houses are also connected with the new American deals and with the two monopolist fortresses mentioned above.

4. The announcement of 100,000,000 pounds of new British capital through the Colonial Development Corporation, to be invested in the British colonies of Kenya, Tanganyika, the Gold Coast and the Rhodesias, to develop the latent local agricultural and mining resources to supplement Britain's desperate needs.

5. Britain has begun the building of a new military base in Kenya, 70 miles from Nairobi, the capital city. This is the concretization of the new defense plans in face of the rebellious insecurity of the Middle East. A new road from the Cape to Cairo is also planned, to link up all the scattered possessions and align them in a united defense line from south to north.

a full fledged economic and military bastion for their defense and profit cannot be without widespread repercussions on the colonial slaves.

The same disasters that have now befallen the imperialists in the East where they initiated a similar policy of large-scale expansion and exploitation will inevitably follow upon them in Africa.

Their plan to fortify their colonies in Africa and to make of South Africa an industrial powerhouse feeding their military needs must precipitate vast changes in the backward and stagnant African societies.

Bringing wider and wider layers of suppressed African masses into the exploiting whirlpool of industry, the barbaric and despotic segregation system which they have established in varying degrees all over the dark African continent must bend under the impact of these new forces.

Already today there are stirrings of the oppressed all over the continent. Strikes have broken out in the Gold Coast mines, strikes in Kenya and the first rumblings of independent national movements are heard. In the years to come, with the expanding of the imperialist policy which they have initiated already, greater masses will be roused out of their slumber all over the African continent and this continent will be the scene of mighty class and national struggles shaking to the core the imperialist rulers and all their local capitalist agents.

Once aroused, the African masses will not continue as the passive tools of imperialism, but, like their exploited brothers of the East, and of all the backward colonies, they will yet rise in rebellion to smash the defense line of imperialism and to struggle for democracy and socialism.

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