

## "Truman Doctrine" Reveals War Trend

# EUROPE NEEDS FOOD - NOT GUNS!

## Congress Prepares Sneak Bill to Scrap Rent Lids

Driven off the front pages by the sensational developments in foreign affairs, the plot to foist a rent rise on the American people is gaining legislative shape. Compelled by mass indignation to proceed gingerly, the Senate sub-committee on rent is seeking to devise ways and means of perpetrating a rent increase that can be made to look like something else.

Thus, Senator C. Douglas Black, Delaware Republican, and chairman of the Senate rent subcommittee, announced on March 24 that his group had in readiness a bill which would present to the full Senate Banking Committee this week. On the face of it, the subcommittee bill continues rent ceilings up to Febru-

ary 29, 1948, and merely transfers rent controls from OPA to Housing Expediter Frank R. Creedon. According to the terms of the bill, the new rent administrator, who would assume his duties a month after passage of the bill, would be authorized to appoint local non-paid boards in consultation with state governors. And these boards could:

- Decontrol whole rent areas or parts of areas.
- Call for an area-wide increase.
- Supervise individual adjustments; that is to say, grant relief to landlords in "hardship" cases.
- Put their recommendations into effect unless countermanded in that period by the Federal Administrator.

There you have it, one of the "mildest" bills proposed to Congress. It does not provide for a blanket increase. It specifically states that rent ceilings are to be continued for a year. Yet, the real estate lobby, however much it may try for something stronger, will be well satisfied with this for the time being.

### "PALATABLE" THIEVERY

Essentially it is the same bill as proposed last week by Senator Taft and is obviously the handiwork of the Republican strategy committee in Congress. Taft, known far and wide as an enemy of rent controls, introduced a bill which establishes a three-man Rent Adjustment and Decontrol Board to take the place of OPA. This board would, in substance, have the same duties and powers as the Rent Administrator in the Black bill.

Add to this plan, which seems likely of approval in its essentials by the Senate, those other schemes already deemed certain of passage to raise ceilings on commercial dwellings, modify ceilings on new dwellings and lift them entirely from apartments renting for a high sum, and you get a full picture of what is afoot.

The real estate lobby, and its Congressional errand boys, have realized that the temper of the people is such as to make an across-the-board-rent increase, or a sweeping decontrol measure, a decidedly unhealthy political move. They are therefore striving for the same goal by measures that can be made to seem "palatable." And, in the process, they are undoubtedly very happy that the war preparations have reduced the rent issue to a few inches on the inside pages. Their chances of success are greater if they can manipulate the noose around the people's standard of living in the dark.

Note how "clever" these brigands are: where the Taft bill, itself much modified from previous intentions, openly calls itself a Rent Adjustment and DECONTROL Board Bill,

the Black bill emphasizes its retention of rent ceilings. They amount to the same thing, except in the manner of execution, so far as the people are concerned.

You may find it impossible to get a half-decent place to live, but the powers-that-be can decree that your area has an abundance of available housing, and off will come the rent ceilings. One way or another, in time rent controls will cease to mean anything—if the real estate lobby and the congressmen have their way. Or it may happen to you without benefit of sanction by the Rent Administrator or his local "non-paid board." Your landlord will simply raise rents. It is to be expected that the "local non-paid boards," appointed on the advice of state governors, will not prove to be an overly effective agency.

Can anything be done? We think yes. Already, the protest, generally organized save for local tenant committees and such a body as La Guardia's Fair Rent Committee, has put a crimp in the plans of the rent profiteers. The American people have indicated that they will not tolerate an across-the-board increase. That temper, given solidity by local and city-wide and national organization, uniting unions in action with tenant councils, can stop even these "milder" proposals.

## DETROIT WP BACKS CIO CONFERENCE FOR AN FEPC BILL

DETROIT, March 18—Full support to the March 30 mass conference called by the Wayne County CIO was announced by the Workers Party, Detroit Branch, through Ben Hall, organizer.

The FEPC bill can be won only by determined mass action by the united working class, Negro and white, said Mr. Hall. The Workers Party has appealed on several occasions to the CIO and the NAACP to organize a mass march on Lansing during the session of the State Legislature to demand the immediate passing of the bill. The action of the State Supreme Court in ruling the bill off the ballot and the failure of the Legislature to take any action on the bill, in the opinion of the Workers Party, confirms its stand in favor of the mass demonstration in Lansing.

The Workers Party will call upon all its members and followers to attend the March 30 conference and will urge upon all to make this meeting as large a demonstration as possible.

## TURKEY—THE BONE THE DOGS FIGHT OVER



## Major Powers Manipulate Warring Greek Factions

By ARTHUR STEIN

The Greek people—by decision of Washington and Moscow—have become the first victims of preparations for the Third World War.

Violence is breaking out all over the Greek peninsula, where Greek murders Greek in a fratricidal war serving only the imperialist ambitions of Anglo-American and Russian imperialism. In the southern district of Laconia, rightist bands go on lynching parties against Greek Communists; in the northern districts of Macedonia and Thrace, especially around the strategic port of Salonika, military bands, organized and equipped by agents of the Kremlin, seek to insure strategic positions for the Russian satellite states of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

It would be incorrect, however, to give the impression that a new world war is actually imminent. But saying that neither side is at present prepared to launch a full-scale war against the other should not deter us from analyzing the present conflict in Greece as a preliminary skirmish for World War III; to be more precise, it is a juggling for strategic positions in the Mediterranean Sea, in the Baltic countries, in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Palestine.

### IMPERIALIST PROPOSALS

These preliminaries have very definite limitations—both sides are as yet very careful not to provoke a real war. In this connection, a semi-official document is now circulating in Washington which places the United States in favor of the establishment of free port facilities in Salonika, which, it is felt, would lessen the pressure of Yugoslav and Bulgarian territorial demands in Thrace and Macedonia. Thus, together with the big-stick "Truman doctrine," the United States is offering a compromise.

In northern Greece, the Stalinists seek to utilize Macedonian national-

ism in an effort to create a separate Macedonia, consisting of what are now portions of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania, in addition to Greek Macedonia. This new Macedonia, according to the Stalinist plans, would be placed under Yugoslav domination.

This plan of the Kremlin is a typical example of the manner in which big imperialist powers often exploit national problems. It will be remembered that the Republic of Panama, established with the aid of American warships, separated from Colombia for no other reason than to secure

The diplomatic crises, wars of nerves and preparations for stepped-up U. S. imperialist intervention in every part of the globe continued this past week, though the Truman administration did try to abate the American people's concern by promising that U. S. troops would not be sent to Greece or Turkey.

This latter reassurance meant merely that as of now U. S. imperialism is going to rely on dollars rather than rifles. But the basic preparations for the new U. S. policy—which newspapermen dubbed the "Truman doctrine"—continued without letup. But having made it clear, through Truman's speech, that it now intended to follow a policy of active and direct intervention in whichever country its interests required, U. S. imperialism in its "get tough" mood continued along its course. Highlights during the week were:

• The proposal to "lend" \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey in order to prop their military establishments gained teeth, even before Congress considered it,

when eight U. S. minesweepers, lend-leased to Britain during the war, were "sold" to Turkey. This deal underlined the basic fact that the proposed loans to Greece and Turkey are intended primarily for MILITARY purposes rather than for relief of starving people.

Present calculations submitted by the State Department indicate 60 per cent of the proposed loans will go outright for military purposes to swell the already bloated military budgets of the reactionary governments of Greece and Turkey. (At present Turkey spends HALF its national budget for military purposes despite the appalling poverty of its people.) Three-quarters of the remaining 40 per cent are to go for auxiliary military purposes, such as road building. This leaves virtually nothing for the people of Greece, who have been living for years now on a semi-starvation basis and whose energies have been sapped by constant suffering.

Thus the attempts of certain "liberal" apologists for Truman imperialism to justify the loans on humanitarian grounds are without any foundation of fact; the loans are simply military in purpose, preparation for the Third Atomic World War.

### DOLLAR PRESSURE

Continuing its policy of active intervention wherever its interests come into conflict with Russian imperialism, U. S. imperialism prepared to dive into the Korean situation. The Truman administration is readying a request to Congress for a loan to Korea of \$200,000,000. This loan will have as its purpose the creation of a "stable" government, that is, a government amenable to U. S. pressure and correspondingly indifferent to Russian pressure.

This information gave substance to the claim of the New York Times correspondent, James Reston, that

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## Palestine Simmers After Martial Law

By ALBERT FINDLEY

After two weeks of terror, the British rulers of Palestine have lifted the "statutory" martial law that had been strangling the economic life of the country.

The total result of this military operation is that it conquered nothing. The British authorities claim to have arrested 78 alleged leaders of terrorist organizations, although the organizations named deny this British claim.

The official government breakdown of the allegiance of the 78, claims 23 members of the Irgun and Stern groups and 50 from "other" organizations. This fact alone makes a mockery of the claims that the martial law was directed against the Irgun and Stern groups. It conclusively proves what LABOR ACTION was the first to point out (issue of Feb. 10)—that the martial law was directed against the Haganah and any form of resistance.

The net result of this Hitler-like operation has been no more than the

senseless death of a child at play and killings of innocent passers-by, as well as the infliction of a great economic hardship on the entire population of Palestine.

The hopes of some British Labor Party "real politician" that the economic pressure would result in the emergence of a bourgeois "appeasement" group, did not materialize, despite broad "leaks" from secret sources that the British would negotiate with a new leadership. This hope was frustrated by the firm stand taken by the Palestinian labor movement.

The terrorist groups responded to the martial law with increased activity, leading to a depletion of the arms of the Irgun. This is one reason for the truce declared by that organization. The truce is expected to last at least through the Passover holidays. The Stern group, however, has announced the continuation of its "war" against the British.

A few weeks ago, the Irgun announced a shift in activity from the "military front" to the "immigration front" and "political front." The period of the truce and the expectation of UN action will be utilized for such purposes.

This should not be interpreted as victory for the moderate Haganah leaders, who want to narrow the entire concept of resistance to the smuggling of immigrants.

### A NARROW CONCEPT

Victory of such a narrow concept of resistance inside the Haganah will completely destroy any possibility that Haganah and the progressive forces it represents—the organized labor movement—will be able to lead the struggle against the British. It will inevitably result in the shifting of the struggle from a mass basis to that of individual terrorism under the leadership of such reactionary organizations as the Irgun and the fascist Stern group.

The truce of the Irgun will not last long. The only way to prevent revival of Irgun and Stern group warfare is for labor elements to initiate wide-scale mass resistance and activity that will insure the leadership of the resistance movement to the socially progressive class—the workers.

Of the total illegal immigration of 23,700 during 1946, the Haganah organized and financed 23,000, while the American League is credited with 700.

## Palestine CP Now Against Jewish Entry

The leaders of the Palestine Communist Party, which is an all-Jewish organization separate from the Stalinist Arab organization, have brought back a new line from the just concluded conference of Communist parties of the British Empire.

Until this conference, the Palestine CP denied the "right" of Jews to emigrate to Palestine, but supported it on "humanitarian" grounds. Hurrying off the boat with new instructions, they informed a press conference (and incidentally their membership) of their new line: opposition to Jewish immigration.

The CP of Palestine is now for an Arab State with "national minority" rights for the Jews. As to whether the CP would in such a state "urge" —not demand—free Jewish immigration, they refused to say.

This new line of the Palestine Jewish Stalinists is without question ordered from Russia and foreshadows the position the Russian bloc will take, when and if the Palestine question comes before the United Nations Organization.

The current political line-up is such that all the major powers are vying with one another to get the Arabs to play on their team in the dirty game of power politics, oil and intrigue.

## AFL Leaders Hinder Maritime Labor Unity

### Insistence on Flag-Waving, "Anti-Communist" Resolution Impedes AFL-CIO Unity and Struggle Against Stalinists

NEW YORK, March 24—A severe blow was struck against labor unity on the waterfront when the Port Agents' Conference of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, went on record opposing any further participation in future meetings with those unions which refuse to vote for the red-baiting, flag-waving "anti-Communist" resolution passed at the Washington Conference.

At the Washington Conference of Maritime Unions, which was concluded last week, constructive decisions on the Coast Guard, Merchant Seamen's War Service Act, the transference of American ships to Panamanian registry, and many other issues were jointly agreed upon by the AFL, CIO and independent unions that were present. This record of achievement, however, was marred by the injection of a red-baiting resolution by the SIU representatives. This resolution, after correctly condemning the record of the Stalinists in the labor movement, then proceeded in typically super-patriotic fashion to direct the struggle against the Stalinists into the channels which most suit the bosses' drive against political militants in the trade unions. Since the AFL unions had a me-

chanical majority at the conference, the resolution of course passed, with the representatives of the NMU, ACA and the MCS, CIO affiliates, refusing to vote for it.

### DISORIENTING MANEUVER

The action of the SIU representatives was exactly the type of disorienting maneuver that converted the Committee for Maritime Unity from an organization for joint action into a jurisdictional warfare outfit. Just as in that situation the enemies of maritime unity were the Stalinists, now it is the officials of the SIU who are guilty of striking a blow against the hopes for maritime unity.

Following the Washington Conference, the SIU held its Agents' Conference in New York City. At this meeting the assembled port agents voted that they would not in the future meet with representatives of those unions which opposed the red-baiting resolution. There can be no doubt that this action strengthens the Communist Party on the waterfront by weakening the position of Joseph Curran, president of the NMU, in his struggle against the Stalinists in his union. Curran had sought to demonstrate by means of the Washing-

ton Conference that it was possible to build maritime joint action in place of the discredited, Stalinist-dominated Committee for Maritime Unity.

The absurdity of the decision of the SIU Agents' Conference, inspired as it was by petty factionalism, is demonstrated by this very fact: that the struggle which Curran has conducted against the Stalinists in the NMU is undermined by the action of the SIU Agents' Conference. In the issue of The Pilot of March 21, Curran gave his stand on the red-baiting resolution as follows:

"As NMU delegate my position was: that while I was in agreement that members of the Communist Party were detrimental to our union, and that the Communist Party had interfered and was interfering in our affairs, and I was prepared to condemn and fight them, this demand of the AFL unions was not a proper one for the conference."

This constructive attitude of Curran's, which takes a realistic stand on combatting Stalinist influence in the unions and at the same time defends the possibility of united trade union action on the waterfront, will meet the approval of all militant

seamen who look toward a solution of the constant jurisdictional struggle which saps the energy of the seamen in their battle against the shipowner.

### PROGRAM ADOPTED

In a statement signed by Lundeberg, Hall and Weisberger, leaders of the SIU-SUP, the great gains of the Washington Conference were enumerated. The conference achieved unanimity on the following program:

1. That the control of merchant seamen be returned to its pre-war status in the Bureau of Marine Inspection, ending the Coast Guard dictatorship.
2. That a form of the GI Bill of Rights be extended to seamen.
3. That an international boycott be established in the event of the continuation of the transference of American ships to Panamanian registry.
4. That the archaic marine laws be revised to conform to present needs.
5. That unemployment insurance be made available for seamen.
6. That seamen be included in all the beneficial legislation of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

7. That a fight be conducted for citizenship of alien seamen who sailed during the war on American ships. That a fight be carried on for their right to continue to sail these ships.

8. That the hospitalization facilities for seamen be improved.

9. That all government committees dealing with maritime affairs include seamen's representation.

The Lundeberg statement, after conceding the remarkable achievements of the Washington Conference, proceeded to torpedo the prospect of extending and developing these first fruits of united labor action.

Every trade unionist in maritime should take his stand against this factional position of the AFL maritime leaders. They should demand further meetings of all seamen's unions to decide on joint strategy and action. Only in this way can the seamen defend themselves against the government - shipowner gang. The policy of the AFL piecemeal can only mean bloody jurisdictional warfare with union seamen pitted against each other while the shipowners look on gleefully.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Delegation to Lansing Asks FEPC Bill

**By SID ROBERTS**  
 DETROIT—Approximately 200 delegates from labor, liberal and church groups assembled at Lansing, Mich., on Wednesday, March 19, at the call of "the Committee for a State FEPC." After hearing reports on the status of the FEPC bill (a new one, submitted by State Senators Brown, Blondy and Novack, is now under consideration by the Senate Labor Committee after the original one was ruled off the ballot by the State Supreme Court because of a minor technicality), the entire conference adjourned to the nearby Senate Chamber to contact various senators and get their position on the bill.

The delegates succeeded in button-holing the chairman of the Labor Committee, Senator Bonine, and another member of the Committee, Senator Callaghan, who is also in charge of the "anti-red witch hunt" into Michigan's colleges. All these two worthy gentlemen would do was to listen cynically to the arguments of the delegation and refuse to state their position—using the usual capitalist politicians' evasions. After talking to them, no one believed they were for FEPC.

Later in the day, a small delegation from the conference visited Gov. Sigler. He informed them that he wouldn't support the bill "because the Communists were at the source of it." Using that line of reasoning,

one could very well ask him why he supported the Second Imperialist World War because the Communists (Stalinists) also supported that. He had told substantially the same thing to a right-wing delegation that had contacted him a week earlier.

**MAD AT BRUSH-OFF**

After "chatting" with the senators, the delegations returned to the meeting hall and resumed the conference. It was evident that the delegates were burning mad at the brush-off they had just received. After listening to several speeches which offered no real suggestions on what could be done to intensify and strengthen the struggle for FEPC, the floor was finally thrown open for discussion.

A delegate from Chrysler Local 7, UAW, introduced a motion calling for a mass demonstration by the labor movement together with all interested groups in Cadillac Square, Detroit, and similar ones throughout the state to protest against the failure to pass a state FEPC law, and further to warn the reactionaries in Lansing and Washington that labor wasn't prepared to take the present anti-labor offensive lying down.

A delegate from the United Public Workers spoke against the motion without giving any good reason for his opposition. Ernie Mazy of Briggs Local 212, UAW, spoke strongly in support of the motion. After an un-

successful attempt to table it, the motion passed by an overwhelming majority. Interestingly enough, aside from the blunder by the aforementioned delegate from the UPW, the Stalinists present supported the motion. It was obvious they would have had a lot of explaining to do to the rank-and-file if they had opposed it.

If it weren't for the fact that most of the delegates to this "People's Lobby for FEPC" drew the correct conclusions from their frustrating

experience and supported the idea of a mass demonstration, one could say that this latest of a series of state-wide conferences was as fruitless as the preceding ones. However, if the rank-and-file sees to it that sufficient and constant pressure is put upon the leadership of the labor movement (the UAW in particular) to carry through the proposed mass demonstrations, the struggle for a State FEPC with teeth in it may yet be successful.

## ALLIS-CHALMERS STRIKE ENDS AS LOCAL VOTES RETURN TO WORK MINUS CONTRACT

**MILWAUKEE, March 24**—The Allis-Chalmers strike ended today with the decision of UAW Local Union 248 to return to work without a contract. One of the longest strikes in recent labor history, the strike was the occasion of a bitter dispute in the UAW factional line-up, as R. J. Thomas accused Walter Reuther in the capitalist press of interfering with a proper settlement and Reuther replied by taking the facts of the case to the union membership. The company in its long battle against the workers had the advantage of such government assistance as a sizable tax rebate. It was also aided by the misleadership of Stalinist elements in the local.

The local union leadership appeared last week before the UAW International Executive Board and told the board that it was prepared to recommend returning to work without a contract. Reuther took a hands-off attitude and Thomas appeared to be completely perplexed, being neither for nor against. The board finally reached a decision to follow whatever course was adopted by the local.

At the local meeting at which the return to work proposal was made, one-third of those attending voted against the proposition. The bargaining committee, however, appealed to

the membership to go back in order that the local might be able to participate in the Wisconsin board election runoff which will be held within two weeks.

There is no provision in the return to work decision for grievance procedure. Already 94 men have been barred from the plant. Altogether the situation in the local, which has decreased from some 8,000 members to something over 1,000, is marked by a terrific demoralization. This is in sharp contrast with the spirit animating the orderly retreat at J. I. Case, where the UAW also ended a long-drawn-out strike last week.

Victory for the UAW now in the Allis situation is possible only if Reuther and Adles both come to Milwaukee, carrying on a joint campaign to revitalize and reorganize the local. Such a joint campaign would ensure support from the Wisconsin and Milwaukee CIO unions and offer some hope of remedying the local's low morale with the promise of a satisfactory contract.

LABOR ACTION has in past issues published through coverage of the Allis-Chalmers situation. In coming issues, our special correspondent will supply an analysis of the return-to-work decision and the future of the local union.

## RUBBER WORKERS' STRIKE OFF; SETTLEMENT PROVIDES FOR 11 1/2 CENT AN HOUR INCREASE

**AKRON, March 23**—The United Rubber Workers-CIO today settled with the Big Four rubber companies, accepting an eleven and a half cent increase, retroactive to February 2, with wages to remain frozen for months.

In coming issues LABOR ACTION will fully report and analyze the negotiations.

**AKRON, March 19**—Final arrangements for the coordination of the industry-wide strike in rubber were announced today by the officials of the three big URW locals in Akron—Goodyear 2, Goodrich 5 and Firestone 7.

A City-Wide Executive Strike Committee has been chosen from the three locals named, plus a City-Wide Publicity Committee. Provisions have been made for well organized picketing, central relief for strikers through the CIO Council, twenty-four hour operation of kitchens at the various local halls, flying squadrons to police the picket lines and anti-eviction squadrons whose duties are self-explanatory.

The URW had originally asked for a 26-cent an hour increase. The companies' final offer before negotiations broke off was 10 cents with no retroactive clause and a three-month freeze on wages. They had originally wanted to freeze wages for a full year. The URW negotiating commit-

tee had scaled its demands down to 16 cents in an attempt to settle the issue without a strike. This is considered by numerous experienced militants to have been a serious mistake, since they see the final settlement as a compromise now between the final 16 cents of the URW and the 10 cents of the companies. They feel that any strike now must be for the original 26 cents.

he ordered the lodge to restore cuts in officer salaries voted by the membership.

**EDITOR FIGHTS BOARD**

Meanwhile, the international president has suspended five union officers and appointed a 25-man "governing board" to take over the local's affairs, forbidden lodge meetings and attempted to fold up the weekly 104 REPORTER. Those summarily kicked out of office were the secretary-treasurer, Joe Clancy; dispatcher, Bill Miller; assistant dispatcher, Angus McKenzie; assistant secretary, Bill Briest; and Trustee John Grosso. MacGowan also requested the local's banks of deposit

# TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

## A CLOSE-UP OF THE ECONOMY

The National City Bank of New York, in its March monthly bank letter, notes that commodity prices have resumed their advance and expresses fear lest the unions will have to launch a new series of strikes to catch up to the inflated prices. Rising prices are deferring hope for a downturn in the cost of living, the bank says, adding that the situation is fraught with danger for big business. But warnings like this do not restrain the profiteers from squeezing the last cent out of the market.

The Commerce Department, too, is concerned lest the rampant greed of big business pushes commodity prices beyond the reach of the masses and thus paves the way for a depression. Advising business men to get busy right away on lower prices, the Commerce Department warns that unless they "start reviewing their pricing policies now, they may find themselves faced with making drastic price changes."

Though the Commerce Department puts the matter as delicately as possible so as not to hurt the feelings of the tender industrialists, there is no mistaking what it meant. "The old wartime formula of price of goods plus operating costs plus desired profits (that is, all the traffic can bear—J. R.) is no longer sufficient. In general, mark-up policies must be directed toward a reasonable net profit," says the government.

You see, what has happened is that almost all industries got so accustomed to super-profits during the war that they just can't bring themselves to adjust their appetites to a "normal" meal. When the profiteers fall out, we get a little of the truth.

For instance, recently the carpet buyers for the big department stores have been complaining that the carpet manufacturers have upped their prices too high. The carpet manufacturers are answering right back and, according to an item in a recent issue of the New York Journal of Commerce, told the buyers to compare their store mark-ups with pre-war levels. According to the manufacturers, "many retail stores have increased mark-ups on cost from 60 to 75 per cent since 1941. A carpet costing the store \$100 used to be sold for \$159.50 and is now selling for \$175, a sales increase of approximately 9 per cent. This boost in retail mark-ups, moreover, has been taken at a time when inventory turnover is at record levels, nearly four times greater than the pre-war rate." Usually store mark-up is partly determined by turnover, but now stores worry, if they have carpet in store for a week.

Now you begin to see why profits all up and down the line are the highest in history. Here are just a few recent reports: The A. S. Beck Shoe Co. reported record sales and earnings for 1946, net profits rising to \$2,112,235 or \$4.49 a share, compared with \$86,113 or \$1.55 in 1945. Hart, Schaffner & Marx reported all-time record profits last year, with net income of \$3,423,126 or \$9.44 a share, compared with income of \$1,645,860 or \$4.63 a share in 1945. Butler Bros. says the net sales last year were the highest in history. This company, operating several retail chains, more than doubled profits over 1945, itself an exceptional year.

All the mail order houses are rolling in dough. Montgomery Ward's profits last year are reported at approximately \$52 millions, more than double the 1945 figure. "The increase in net profits of Sears, Roebuck may be even more spectacular," says the Wall Street Journal, estimating that Sears' net profits will be about \$100 millions, nearly three times the \$35 millions reported in 1945. Preliminary reports show Spiegel's profits have increased tenfold during the year, and Alden's has already reported profits have increased four times over 1945.

But such profiteering only tells a part of the story. A recent survey by the New York Journal of Commerce shows that "manufacturers have set aside in reserves against inventory price decline larger sums than have ever before been used for this purpose." One meat

packer alone shoveled \$9,500,000 into such a reserve fund against possible price declines. The Journal slyly observes that "some cynics have argued that managements were desirous of reducing their net income in order to forestall demands of labor leaders for increased wages and of stockholders for higher dividends."

Though industry continues to price its goods as though they were scarce, the Commerce Department reports that the manufacturers' dollar value of inventories is still climbing, and in December reached \$20.2 billion, the highest point in history, and \$300 million more than in November. In 1946, industry invested \$11.5 billion in new plant and equipment.

In order to obtain the necessities of life, the masses are more and more having to mortgage their future wages. Total consumer credit outstanding at the end of January was \$9,790 million, as against \$3,363 million a year before. Installment sale credit on automobiles was \$581 million, up \$346 million from a year ago. Charge accounts outstanding totaled \$2,758 million, higher by \$1,057 million than a year ago. However, the volume of consumer credit outstanding dropped back \$174 million during January from the December peak. The first decline in 12 months, it was attributed to seasonal factors by the Federal Reserve Board.

The National City Bank reports that a preliminary tabulation for 1946 of 840 manufacturing companies shows combined net profits of approximately \$2,049,000,000, A GAIN OF 37 PER CENT OVER THE \$1,491,000,000 EARNED IN THE PRECEDING YEAR. It would be difficult to present a more impregnable argument for a new round of wage increases.

A. W. Zelomek, economist for the International Statistical Bureau, believes that we are in for a depression such as that which occurred in 1920. Here is his reasoning: "Inventories have gained sharply. During the past six months of 1946, the average increase was slightly more than a billion a month. Prices and production are now much higher than they were last year, and the high consumption period of the holiday season is gone. I believe that inventory figures, when they become available, will show the current rate of increase to be around two billion dollars a month. You know as well as I do that this cannot go on indefinitely, any more than it could in 1920-21. When anyone tells you that minor readjustments will eliminate current distortions, take another look at inventories. Today's major distortion is that we are producing more goods than can be absorbed at current prices." Zelomek believes that the depression will be short lived and "will be followed by four or five years of high level activity."

**LABOR LOBBYISTS**

Of 544 lobbyists who have registered under the 1946 lobbying act, 121 represent organized labor. The rest represent big business and the farmers. Congress itself is one huge big business lobby—indeed, among the lobbyists for big business are a number of ex-Congressmen, such as Robert Ramspeck, Clifford Woodrum, Clyde Ellis, Albert Carter and Fritz Lanham. The reason big business maintains lobbyists in Washington, in addition to its Congressmen, is that the bosses are forever quarreling among themselves as to how to divide the profits that they scrouge from the hides of the masses.

For years the AFL and CIO and the railroad brotherhoods have tried to "buck this system" by maintaining their lobbies in Washington and at the state capitols. That this is a waste of dough is shown by the legislation against the interests of the people that continues to pour out of Congress. If we had a lick of sense, we'd tell the union leadership to fire all these ineffective, broken-down labor lobbyists and take the dough to finance a great national labor party that would elect labor's own representatives to Congress. How about introducing resolutions to this effect in your union?

## ACEWR Completes Shipment Of Medicines to Europe; Needs Funds to Extend Work

Labor Action European Relief Service has fused with the American Committee for European Workers Relief. Needless to say this will be of immediate benefit to anti-fascists in Europe who depend upon international solidarity for nourishing food and warm clothing. Supporters of the Labor Action European Relief Service will join ACEWR chapters in their vicinities and help form new chapters where none exist. The lists of working class families helped by each organization have been merged. In order to insure a steady flow of relief packages to the enlarged list of recipients, all those wishing to help the European anti-fascists are urged to send a donation of food, clothing or money today.

The ACEWR has just completed a shipment of medicines to Europe. Among the items shipped was \$100 worth of streptomycin, requested by the French committee, Solidarite Internationale Curriere. The medicine will be used in the treatment of an anti-fascist worker suffering from a serious kidney ailment, which up to now has resisted all other medicines. His doctors had told him that only the new wonder working drug streptomycin, unobtainable in France, could cure him.

Such work as this is made possible by such ACEWR chapters as Philadelphia which has a donation can always on display specifically for

medicines. Another chapter which makes possible these shipments is the Boston Chapter, which so far during the month of March has sent in over \$350, raised through their Italian Night dinner and party.

The New York Chapter of the ACEWR is showing Joris Ivens' famous movie *Spanish Earth* at Caravan Hall, 110 East 59th St., on Friday evening, March 28 at 8 P.M. Tickets \$1. Following the showing of this film, there will be dancing and refreshments. All those who are interested in the cause of Spanish freedom should see this film, made on various fronts during the Spanish civil war, and stay on for a social evening for the benefit of European relief. Among those anti-fascists helped by the ACEWR are Spanish refugees living in France.

The ACEWR is in urgent need of money. No food can be purchased for the month of April until sufficient donations have been received. If you want to insure food packages being sent out this coming month, make a donation today. Ten dollars will send 22 lbs. of food to Holland, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Austria, Poland or Germany. One dollar and fifty-four cents pays the postage on an 11 lb. package of food, clothing or medicine. Make checks or money orders payable to American Committee for European Workers Relief and send to 197 Second Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

## Aid European Hungry Workers

Will you undertake to help us send food and clothing regularly to a European working class family?

Will you support the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF in its campaign to bring help in the form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-Nazi and labor fighters?

If you can give us this support, please send all contributions (in the form of food, clothing and money donations) to us at the address given below. We will take care of seeing to it that these contributions of yours reach those who need them most of all.

**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS RELIEF**  
 197 Second Avenue  
 New York 3, N. Y.

Remember! \$10 will enable us to send a 21-pound CARE Food Package to a European Working Class Family.

**ACEWR**  
 197 Second Avenue  
 New York 3, N. Y.

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months. I am sending the following contribution: \$.....

\_\_\_\_\_ food packages \_\_\_\_\_ clothing packages

Name.....  
 Address.....  
 City..... Zone..... State.....

## Teachers Take Strike Poll

**By S. WINTERS**  
 DETROIT, March 16—Events of the past few weeks indicate that the teachers of Detroit are becoming aware of the harsh truth that one's status is determined by the amount of money earned and not by the manner in which it is obtained. The Teachers have long prided themselves on their professional status which presumably lifted them above the working class, let us say, the position of doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc. If owning a piece of sheepskin is the criterion for judging one's status in society, then certainly the teacher in the little red school house is entitled to professional glory.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to buy food and clothing, pay the rent, and cancel the doctor's bills with a teacher's certificate bearing a gold seal of approval. The kind of paper that buys the necessities of life is the green kind, not the white kind with the gold seals.

**TAKE STRIKE POLL**

Workers' unions engaging in strike activity for the benefit of its members are no phenomena on the American scene. But a teachers' organization which engages in similar efforts is a new and welcome sight to those of us who wish to identify our struggle with the worker in the factory.

On February 15 a strike poll was taken by the Detroit Federation of

Teachers. Of approximately 7,400 public school teachers, 5,978 cast ballots. The results were 3 to 1 in favor of a strike if everything else failed. A strike notice was filed with the Board of Education by the DFT-AFL to be effective within 30 days from the date of filing. March 20 is the deadline, and unless the board meets the demands of the teachers the schools of Detroit will be closed by a picket line.

The DFT is asking for a minimum of \$3,000 for starting teachers and a maximum of \$4,500 for those with a bachelor's degree. Starting salary is now about \$2,200. It is demanding the right to collective bargaining across the table. So far the Board of Education has refused to acknowledge this right or to conduct any kind of mediation through accepted channels. It has counter-proposed a public discussion open to any who wish to attend. To date, this has not been accepted by the DFT.

The board contends that its funds are insufficient to meet the proposed increases. The insincerity of this argument is obvious to the well informed. We need only recall that last year the teachers were promised an increase of about \$25 per month pending the passage of the sales tax amendment. The bill was passed, the new year rolled around, but the salaries remained the same. The superintendent of schools excused this sad

## Boilermakers Fight Union Dictators

he ordered the lodge to restore cuts in officer salaries voted by the membership.

**EDITOR FIGHTS BOARD**

Meanwhile, the international president has suspended five union officers and appointed a 25-man "governing board" to take over the local's affairs, forbidden lodge meetings and attempted to fold up the weekly 104 REPORTER. Those summarily kicked out of office were the secretary-treasurer, Joe Clancy; dispatcher, Bill Miller; assistant dispatcher, Angus McKenzie; assistant secretary, Bill Briest; and Trustee John Grosso. MacGowan also requested the local's banks of deposit

to freeze its funds and ordered the printer of the paper to cease publishing the 104 REPORTER.

One of the leaders in the rank-and-file opposition to MacGowan, Walt Rasmussen, editor of the publication, has devoted entire issues of this four-page, tabloid-size paper during the past few weeks to exposing the maneuvers of the international board and urging the members to continue the struggle.

Over 300 angry members held an "illegal" meeting, February 25, and set up a Committee for Union Democracy composed of 22 men working in various yards and shops and on field jobs. They elected a finance committee to collect contributions and decreed that the 104 REPORTER shall be continued at all costs.

The suspended members were given a rousing vote of confidence and requested to remain on the job. At this meeting, called on 36 hours' notice, they demanded, by a unanimous standing vote, that MacGowan immediately reinstate the suspended officers, approved a motion which commits them not to work with any man reporting on the job with a dispatch slip signed by an international stage. Monthly dues, they decided, shall be paid only to Secretary-Treasurer Joe Clancy.

state of affairs with the cryptic remark that the treasury did not have enough funds.

Just two months later those funds miraculously appeared and teachers were informed that their checks would be larger to the tune of about \$25 in the next pay period which was March. It was precisely at this time that the strike poll was being taken. Could it be that the board was trying to break the efforts of the DFT to mobilize the teachers for strike action? Whatever the reason, it is quite apparent that the money was always in the treasury. The teachers are not convinced by the plea of insufficient funds a second time.

Hats off to the teachers who refuse to be blinded by such organizations as the Detroit Teachers Association, which is comparable to the company union the worker must sometimes contend with. Hats off to them for identifying their cause with that of organized labor, for adopting labor's methods of struggle, for refusing to listen to the words of the DTA president who said that teachers can "command neither dignity nor respect if they are associated with cooks, waitresses and other laborers." Hats off to the teachers who are no longer too proud to go out on strike if necessary, but who have united their strength to gain their demands.

Pending the Supreme Court decision, the local secured a restraining order to prevent the international office in Kansas City from suspending members, meetings and taking over affairs of the lodge. MacGowan's attorneys, however, have served notice that they will petition the high court for a Writ of Prohibition.

**A 24-HOUR GUARD**

Meanwhile, Clancy and the other officials have refused to turn over the business office to the governing board. The committee posts a 24-hour guard to protect the lodge's funds and records.

The controversy arose when the lodge cut the pay of its officers to bring it into line with the drop in revenue which followed a reduction in membership accompanying the tapering off of the war shipbuilding and repair program. Although the international ordered the local to cut other expenses rather than reduce, the members still insisted they had a right to determine the salary of the men who work for them.

But back of the salary issue lies a long-existing resentment against changes made in the constitution of the brotherhood during its 1944 convention which extended from one to four years the terms of lodge officers. Local 104 wanted to put new blood on the payroll last year but the international failed to act on the lodge's request for permission to hold an election. Incidentally, local president Walter B. Toner, business agent A. F. O'Neill and assistant business agent Dan P. McKillop are playing ball with MacGowan.

Reliable sources disclose there is a wave of resentment among the 300 odd locals of the Brotherhood against the Kansas City international clique. More than a score are known to be under "governing boards." Portland, Ore., San Francisco and Philadelphia are said to be sore spots at the present time. Only when the members of all the lodges unite around a program that calls on them to take deliberate action outside of the courts will they be successful in overthrowing the international board and revising the constitution to permit local autonomy and union democracy. The place to fight union battles is not in court, but in the union itself by such actions as the campaign of the 104 Reporter.

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**Major Powers Bicker Over Basic Problem:**

**What Fate for German People?**

By HENRY JUDD

IN THE heart of Europe lies a beaten and ruined country; inhabited by 66,000,000 defeated, sullen and stagnant people. The war has been over for two years, yet Germany—the largest, the richest in resources and most potentially powerful industrial country of Europe—lies virtually in the same condition today as it did the moment the Hitler machine fell. This country, capable of determining not merely whether Europe as a whole shall recover from the war, but the very rate and speed of that recovery, has been under occupation now for two years. Its fate is under debate at Moscow. Not a single German, regardless of his class, party or politics, is present; not a word may be said in the German press on the subject. The "democratic powers" are in assembly to handle matters!

For several weeks, these gentlemen have debated the question of how to assure a non-aggressive, democratic Germany. That, at any rate, is what we are told lies behind the furious debates and discussions at Moscow. Molotov, foreign policy spokesman for totalitarian dictator Stalin, advances the Russian point of view; flinty General Marshall presents the view of American imperialism in precise military accents; Bevin tells us what the British Empire desires; and Bidault, on the rare occasions when he says something, presents the usual negative ideas of weakened France. This most significant international gathering since the war's conclusion—for on the agenda is the question of the major point of division between the Big Four—has now reached the stage where each power has presented its program for the division and future of Germany. Next will come

the effort to reconcile these programs. Let us meanwhile summarize these distinct proposals, country by country; indicate their chief differences, and also point out on what aspects they coincide:

*The Russian Program:* Russia favors the economic unification of Ger-



many, but at a price—namely, huge reparations from the industrial regions of the Ruhr, the Saar and the Rhineland. Russia wants payments out of current production, to the tune of \$10 billion worth of goods. Molotov revealed, during the week, a secret protocol in the Yalta Agreement of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, which provides that reparations should come partly from current German production. He made a good case for himself out of this secret clause by the master imperialists. This secret deal also provided for reparations by "use of German labor"—thus revealing that the "democratic" imperialists, in effect, sanctioned the seizure and kidnapping of German workers in the name of "reparations"!

Molotov also proposed the formation of a central German government, similar to the pre-Hitler Weimar republic; a centralized government which would enable the German Stalinists to exhibit more strength than they do today in the

Western zonal areas. The Russians are opposed to any decentralization, such as is practiced in the British, French and American zones. (Now that the Russians have completed the looting and removing of plants from their zone of Germany, they are most anxious to find means to expand into the other zones. This accounts for the reversal in line of the Russian stooge Socialist Unity Party, formerly opposed both to a central government and an economic unification of the country!) The Russians also favor a system of proportional representation elections, rather than election by majority voting. The above is, essentially, the basic Russian viewpoint.

**CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT**

*The American Program:* This runs directly counter to that of the Russians. Marshall proposes a decentralized, loosely federated group of German states as against the idea of a politically and administratively unified nation. While American imperialism favors "economic unification," this must be considered only in the sense of a minimum revival of industrial life, sufficient to pay reparations and keep the country on a minimum subsistence level so that the occupying powers do not have to lose money by imports to Germany. "Germany must pay its way," is the Marshall economic doctrine. Marshall denies the Molotov interpretation of the Yalta secret deal and opposes the raising of Germany's industrial capacity to enable Russia to collect. That would revive Germany as an independent power, says Marshall. He proposes a strict regulation of industry (including steps to keep the Russians out of the Ruhr and the Saar!). No reparations are to be given out of any current production; just machinery already agreed upon.

Politically, Marshall proposes the establishment of a "provisional German government," consisting of the heads of the present decentralized Lander (States), and operating un-

der the Allied Control Council. He proposes a constitution that will provide for political decentralization and democratic liberties. The Americans propose majority representation in elections, as against proportional systems.

*The British Program:* The British, realizing that they hold within their zone the prize of prizes (the Ruhr!) go along with the Americans on economic and reparations questions, but desire an even stricter application of the decentralized, federation scheme. They well know that the Stalinist party would concentrate its efforts within their working class, industrialized zone! Bevin's plan likewise proposed a raising of present production standards and the elimination of inter-zonal economic barriers. Of all the powers, Britain is most anxious for an economic revival of Germany—formerly her major European customer. The general British approach is much closer to that



of the United States than to Russia. *The French Program:* French imperialism has one basic desire—to keep Germany weak politically, socially and economically. Thus, Bidault's position is for extreme decentralization; a central government should be subject to strict control and have virtually no power. The

Ruhr should be internationalized (with the French obtaining coal from it for their iron and steel industries), and Germany should manufacture only consumers' and light industry goods. He is against the establishment of a provisional government now (Bidault must have heard that there still remains something in the Saar or French zone of occupation that has as yet not been thoroughly looted!). Bidault favors the continuation of local government, with the lowest conceivable authority and industrial strength.

This, briefly put, constitutes the various programs of the Big Four. Their mutual contradictions, the general way in which the American and Russian plans exclude one another (and these two plans are the really important two at the Moscow meeting); indicate the divergences. As one cynical, but wise member of the American delegation is said to have remarked (*New York Times*, March 21), "Because we have left the economic subjects behind temporarily there is no reason to believe that we have made any great progress. The discussion of these subjects wound up with the four powers pretty well deadlocked."

And, he continued, "the Russians will not budge until they get reparations out of current production, the French will not budge until they get coal and a guarantee against Germany's industrial revival, the British will not accept anything until they are certain the occupation will not cost them another shilling."

He forgot to add that America will not yield until it is satisfied that its basic aims with respect to Germany (assurance against the country falling under Russian domination; a close check on industrial revival) have been taken care of.

The program of each power concretely demonstrates its imperialist intentions not only with respect to Germany, but with respect to each other. Yet, despite the many differences, there are certain basic ques-



tions on which all four see eye to eye. These points are, naturally, those that will tend to keep Germany an oppressed nation, devoid of national independence and freedom of action, with its workers and people producing for the benefit of the erstwhile Allies.

The world, in general, is being fitted ever more closely into the two air-tight compartments of American and Russian imperialism. Even those powers most capable of resisting tend to be dragged, despite their will, into one or the other orbit. At Moscow, Bevin echoes weakly what Marshall states boldly and firmly. Bidault, after his unsuccessful interview with Stalin, can only reluctantly fall into line (if he wants French imperialism to lay its hands on the Saar, with American approval). The two major imperialisms are struggling over Germany and its people not merely because of its immediate value as a source of loot and wealth, a market for products, but even more significantly because of its inestimable value in preparation for the ultimate showdown, the eventual war between American and Russian imperialism.

In such a war the power that pos-

sesses a stranglehold on Germany starts off with a huge advantage. Russia's intentions with respect to Germany are clear enough. The role of its creature, the Stalinists of Germany, is likewise clear. And American policy, after long vacillation, is tending more and more to the conclusion that Germany must be rebuilt, rehabilitated by American loans and capital. The latest Hoover report marks a complete abandonment of the Morgenthau-Roosevelt thesis for a pastoral, agricultural Germany. Next week's LABOR ACTION will contain material on this report.

But where do the German people fit into all this? Each power seeks to extend its authority and influence over these people, but not out of any love or interest in their welfare. The Big Four have unanimous agreement not to pull out of Germany, to continue the occupation for a long period, to impose whatever treaty is finally agreed upon an obviously unwilling nation, regardless of their opinion. Each power agrees to treat the 66,000,000 Germans as so much human cattle to be disposed of at will.

**A Record of Decades of Imperialist Exploitation**

**Greece Long a Victim of Foreign Capital**

By KATHERINE DAVENPORT

For over 100 years Great Britain has been the creditor and the financial master of Greece. Now, when its fortunes are at low ebb and it is no longer able to maintain its troops in Greece, Britain appeals to the United States for help. So devastated is Greece by war, civil strife and hunger that British investment in that country is paying off poorly. Unable to tide over this difficult period, the

British have no recourse but to turn the country over to U. S. capital, for both agree on the necessity, from the point of view of their mutual imperialist interests, of keeping Stalinist Russia out of Greece.

What has British domination of Greek economy meant? What is the situation in Greece today? An answer to these questions help us to see the results of imperialist exploitation of a small power.

The basic fact is that Greece belongs to anyone but the Greeks. Her natural resources are negligible and undeveloped even for what little advantage they might be to the native population. Her agriculture is primitive, the hand plow and scythe being universal tools. In three years of travelling around the countryside of Greece, in travels conducted even before the war-time devastation, I did not see a single tractor.

A tiny mercantile and industrial capitalist class thrives on the misery of the masses and serves as an agent of the foreign imperialists. This class owns, for example, the ships that once made the Greek merchant marine the fifth largest in the world. It has frequently demanded and received government subsidies whenever it had to build new ships. Often its ships were so run down that Lloyds of London refused to carry insurance on them.

As might be expected, the sailors on these ships are miserably paid; they are also among the most militant of Greek workers. In 1935 their strike so frightened the Greek capitalists that they set up a semi-fascist military dictatorship under Metaxas which ruled for some years.

The Greek capitalist class has not been noted for its heroism. During the war some of it fled to the U. S. where it was known as the "Plaza patriots"; the lesser fry roughed it at the St. Moritz. Another section remained in Greece to collaborate with the Germans. The "refugees" have now returned to Greece to resume business as usual with the collaborators.

But the native weak capitalist class has not been the most onerous burden that the Greek masses bore. Greece has not for many decades belonged to the Greeks. Foreign capital has been its decisive ruler. England primarily, then France, Belgium, Germany, Czarist Russia and more recently the United States made and unmade Greek governments. Foreign capital owns the railways, the public utilities and the few developed natural resources. The raisin crop, one of Greece's principal sources of income, is bought each year by foreign capital at buyers' price.

A central aspect of the Greek economy is its national debt. It runs into millions of dollars and has brought bankruptcy to the country and the masses. A brief history of the national debt is necessary for an understanding of how these things work in high financial circles.

**ENSLAVED BY LOANS**

Between 1879 and 1890, six loans amounting to 600 million francs were made to Greece. The net received by the Greeks after commissions and fees were paid was 458 million. Out of this, 360 million remained or was spent abroad. Roughly 258 million of this went for interest and servicing or retiring old debts. Less than 100

million ever was seen in the Greek treasury. Even this pittance was not used to build roads, schools, hospitals, or anything that might help the Greek people. The money went for maintaining a royal family and buying equipment for the army so that the bourgeoisie, bribed and feted by the armament interests, could wage another of its hopeless irredentist wars.

By 1897 the Greek masses may not have been aware of the bankrupt condition of their nation, but the foreign bondholders were. They were not taking any chances of losing their money, nor were their governments lacking in devices to protect them. The result was that a new principle was introduced into international practice in settlement of foreign debts. The Foreign Control Commission, or as the Greeks called it, the "Doctrine of Controlled Compulsion," was created. It was nothing more or less than a body of foreign representatives with diplomatic standing which collected the money owed to the bondholders yearly before the Greek government had the right to plan its annual budget. The government protested that its sovereignty was being violated and that the control was political coercion. The bondholders, insisting that it was merely economic coercion to collect a just debt, went out of course.

It was not until the Second World War when the Germans were marching across Greece, that this Commission finished its task of collecting the debt incurred during the 19th century. An interesting side point about this Commission is that, always hesitant to appear openly before the Greek people in its true capacity, it would arrange for a "front" group of Greeks to do its work. Maximos, the last head of this "front" group, is now premier of Greece.

The functioning of the Commission was simple and its authority unquestioned. It collected the revenues from the government monopolies of tobacco, salt, cigarette paper, quinine, matches, petroleum, certain stamp revenues and the duties from several of the main ports of Greece, including Piraeus. Whenever the gross proceeds exceeded the required sum of 28,900,000 gold drachmas, the resulting sum, after an 18 per cent deduction for administrative expenses, was divided into two portions, 40 per cent returned to the Greek treasury. (Continued on page 5)

**Daily Worker Puffs at Budenz' Religion, But Ignores His Revelations on GPU Murders**

The Daily Worker, organ of Stalinism in this country, has at last broken its painful silence on the book which its former editor, Louis Budenz, has just published. This book, *This Is My Story*, contains sensational revelations of the connection of the GPU with American Stalinist leaders and the way in which the murder of Trotsky was prepared in New York City by the GPU with the connivance of the Stalinist leaders, including Budenz himself. It also contains information indicating the responsibility of the GPU for the murder in Switzerland of Ignace Reiss, a former GPU agent who broke from that terror gang and solidarized himself with the Fourth International. Lengthy excerpts from the book were printed and discussed in LABOR ACTION two weeks back.

Now, embarrassed at these disclosures, the Daily Worker is forced to break its silence and print a "review" of Budenz's book by its "literary expert," Samuel Sillen, who plays monitor for the GPU on the literary front. This review, we frankly concede, is something of a masterpiece—even for the Daily Worker.

Sillen concentrates his entire two-thirds of a page on a discussion of what is to almost everyone the least interesting and least important aspect of Budenz's book: his conversion to Catholicism and his juxtaposition of that religion to the socialist cause. Now nobody, not even Budenz himself (we suspect), would go so far as to suggest that he is a thinker of any originality or depth. His discussion of Catholicism and communism is patently shallow; if one wishes to write about this interesting prob-

lem, then one should discuss the works of a more skillful and authoritative Catholic spokesman, like Jacques Maritain. Not even the Catholics would maintain that Budenz is much of a political or philosophical thinker.

For Sillen to base his entire article on this aspect of Budenz's book is to



attempt the "clever" feat of evading the really sensational material in Budenz's book—the revelations about the murder machine of the GPU and the assistance which that murder machine receives from the American Communist Party. Sillen's article is motivated by the idea that if he writes enough about Budenz's conversion to Catholicism, people might not notice that Budenz has provided us with verification FROM THE INSIDE about the murder of Leon Trotsky and the other terrorist and murderous activities of the GPU. We challenge Sillen or any other

Daily Worker writer to refute the facts exposed by Budenz.

Can they disprove his information about the functioning of GPU Agent "Roberts" (also known as Peters), who was responsible for warning the GPU murderer of Trotsky, Frank Jackson, into a position of confidence among Trotsky's friends? Can they disprove the admission by Budenz that he himself shares this responsibility, that he too was a link in the GPU machine that murdered the greatest revolutionary socialist of our time?

Can they disprove Budenz's admission that he worked with the GPU for a long time, that every leader of the American Communist Party trembles before the dictates of Stalin's agents?

Can they disprove his admission that when Budenz was working on the Daily Worker with Clarence Hathaway, the latter told him that it would not print a word about the murder of Ignace Reiss, for that was a "hot case"?

No one is interested in the Daily Worker's fulminations about Budenz's conversion. The whole labor movement is interested in its comment on his revelations.

Yet we venture to predict that on this score the Daily Worker will remain silent, no matter how severe the attacks against it. Budenz writes in his book that there were occasions when orders came "from above" that no mention should be made in the Daily Worker of certain "hot cases" such as the Ignace Reiss murder, no matter what the provocation.

And the revelations in Budenz's book certainly make for a "hot case."

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Georgia's 'Liberal' Governor Continues Jim Crow Setup

By EMANUEL GARRETT

That its now legal Governor, M. E. Thompson, in some small way represented democratic processes in Georgia is itself a commentary on the nature of Georgia democracy. And in the same small way the verdict of the Georgia Supreme Court upholding Thompson's claim to the governorship and repudiating Herman Talmadge's can be said to be a vindication of that same democracy. It is, however, a democracy spelled with a decidedly tiny "d."

Neither Thompson nor Talmadge represented anything genuinely akin to democracy. Talmadge was indeed the usurper, installed by the hooded hoodlums of the Ku Klux Klan. Thompson, according to the law of the state and the general practice of the country, had at least the right to claim the governorship, having been chosen lieutenant-governor by that small portion of the electorate permitted to vote. Thus, writing on the Talmadge-Thompson case several weeks ago, we observed that if there was any legality on the side of either, it was clearly on the side of Thompson.

With that said, and due tribute paid to the "democratic" virtue of the Supreme Court, it remains to be remarked that democracy is a long way from having registered a significant triumph in Georgia. A democratic solution to the problem of the twin governorship required a new election, one in which ALL the people of Georgia were eligible to vote. Neither side wanted THAT. Both sides were opposed to it. For Thompson, no less than Talmadge, is a product and staunch advocate of the Jim Crow system.

Once the case got to the Georgia Supreme Court it was a foregone conclusion that Thompson would win. For one thing, five of the members of the Supreme Court are ex-Governor Arnall appointees, and Arnall backed Thompson. Beyond that, however, the Supreme Court acted in reflection of the contest between the forces driving for the industrialization of the South and those seeking to maintain its old ways. Politically, Arnall is the demagogic spokesman of the former group, trying to mod-

ernize the South in the spirit of Northern capitalist development. Thompson is sort of midway between the Arnall and Talmadge forces, leaning heavily on the first for support, and differing in no essential way from the latter.

THOMPSON'S 'INTENTIONS'

As a matter of policy and expediency, Thompson has announced his intention to carry on with Arnall's pet projects, such as the state's suit against the railroad rate-making conspiracy. He has also declared his intention to veto such items enacted by the Talmadge legislature as the White Primary Bill. But, and this is the important thing to note, Thompson is not one whit less committed to "white supremacy" than Talmadge.

What is the difference between these two? The Talmadge "law" would abolish all primary laws, leaving the Democratic Party free to operate its own primaries. The primary, it must be remembered, is the real election in Georgia; the other election is a cynical concession to the customs of the country. Thompson has no objection to this in principle. On March 20 he told the Legislature that he is for a white primary, but it must be done "legally." We leave it to a Georgia Negro to comment on the difference between these two.

The Klan would prefer in the governor's seat someone who is not concerned with the niceties of hypocritical "legality." But Georgia will remain a Klan state under Thompson as well. The nationally-famous soft drink and the other powerful companies which backed Talmadge will accommodate themselves easily to a Thompson régime, for it too will serve them loyally.

For the people of Georgia, and we speak of ALL the people, white and black, there has been no real gain in democracy; they have only received a formal acknowledgment of "civil government." Despite all the ballyhoo in the press about triumphant democracy, and for all that certain liberals nearly perished with delight over the Supreme Court decision, Georgia remains a Jim Crow state—from its Supreme Court top to its Ku Klux bottom.

Talmadge has already served notice that he intends to make a comeback in the 1948 elections. We think the people of Georgia must prepare now to strike a real blow for democracy in these same elections. The Jim Crow system is intolerable under any form. The white primary system is intolerable under any form, "legal" or not. It must be fought basically and completely.

ABOLISH JIM CROW!

The people of Georgia were stirred in the dispute over the governorship. Sentiment runs high, especially among Negroes. In fact, it may be said that one reason the contending parties retreated from armed combat, is that neither side dared risk the boiling-over of discontent.

At stake is not only the right of Negroes to vote and to be allowed to live like human beings, but also the right of any worker to organize in unions and fight for his demands. If, between now and the 1948 elections, Negro and white workers, factory hands, agricultural laborers, poor farmers, ALL OF THEM, were to get together and plan a common front of attack, politically and economically, then one could speak of a real promise of democratic advance in Georgia.

If ever there was a job and an opportunity for the CIO's Operation Dixie and the AFL's Southern organizing campaign, it is here. Union organizers cannot escape the problem of Jim Crow and white "supremacy." And the most obvious and most effective place to down Jim Crow now is in the union. No more than Jim Crow in general can the union organizers escape the problem of political action.

Hence we think the indicated necessity for the 1948 elections, to be prepared for today, is the banding together of Negroes and whites in unions and, beyond that, in the sphere of political action through their OWN party. It is a situation which cries for the formation of a LABOR PARTY, a party that will strike at white primaries and tear apart the fabric of Jim Crow rule, a party that will fight for FREE elections in which the voters can repudiate both Talmadge and Thompson.

OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

Pure Science—and the Prick of Conscience PART I

The Atlantic Monthly recently published the credo of an honest and courageous man. Its appearance is all the more remarkable at a time when, with the exception of an almost unique phenomenon like James T. Farrell, the intelligentsia of this country, in the face of a world crisis of unprecedented scope, displays almost nothing but notable cowardice, pessimism, or confusion. Simultaneously, however, this credo reveals the dilemma into which the scientist often falls when he attempts, within the framework of his accustomed experience, to oppose the march to catastrophe which the atomic scientists in particular have so conspicuously helped organize.

The letter in the Atlantic Monthly was written by Norbert Wiener, one of the best-known mathematical analysts in the country, in reply to a request by another scientist for data on controlled missiles. Displaying a moral firmness rare in these times, Wiener refused to accede to the request, concluding his dignified letter in these words:

"If therefore I do not desire to participate in the bombing or poisoning of defenseless people—and I most certainly do not—I must take a serious responsibility as to those to whom I disclose my scientific ideas. Since it is obvious that with sufficient effort you can obtain my material, even though it be out of print, I can only protest pro forma in refusing to give you any information concerning my past work. However, I rejoice at the fact that my material is not readily available, inasmuch as it gives me the opportunity to raise this serious moral issue. I do not expect to publish any future work of mine which may do damage in the hands of irresponsible militarists."

ATOM BOMB POSES ETHICAL QUESTION

If the horrors of fire bombing or the tragedy of those lunar landscapes which once were German cities did not move the scientific mind to pity, it is a tribute to the awful power of the atomic bomb and its potential development that after Hiroshima more than one scientist began to question the whole role of science in our society. Even during the period of early research on the bomb, the Smyth Report informs us, many scientists hoped that their experiments would fail.

The theory of the infinite perfectibility of man and his environment by means of the advance of science obtained general currency in the period of the relatively peaceful advance of capitalism in the nineteenth century. The spectacular decline of world capitalism which began in 1914, followed by the world economic crisis, fascism, World War II, and the atomic bomb and all that it foreshadows, augmented the voices questioning the progressive role of science. Spengler early in this period, and most recently Toynbee, systematized these doubts. Complementing this decline in confidence in the scientific spirit has been a worldwide rise in its antithesis: religion.

What is intruding upon the consciousness of the most socially sensitive scientists like Wiener is that free scientific investigation has been almost completely usurped by the military. Nearly all serious university and corporate research work is today subordinated to military aims. The money to finance it, the brains to exploit it—including those of several hundred Nazi scientists, and the fields for research are all controlled by the army and navy.

Neither do the scientists like the introduction into their lives of what the Germans call the Feldwebelston—the drill sergeant's bark—and the whole military mentality that lies behind it. General Groves, the head of the atomic bomb project, once complained of the scientists, "They do not know how to give orders or to take orders." This they resent not only because it is destructive of traditional civilian rights, but because it hampers free inquiry—and hence is destructive also of scientific progress. It is these things which have led large numbers of scientists to advocate abrogation of the control of atomic development by the military.

Wiener's attitude is a little more serious. We shall examine it in detail later.

Yoo-Hoo, Harry!

"WASHINGTON, Jan. 2—President Truman took a new tack today in his drive to cut down unnecessary government spending, offering federal employees cash prizes running up to \$1,000 for worthy suggestions on how to save the taxpayers' money."

-YOU CAN START CHOPPING HERE: "...the Army's colonels (as of Dec. 31, 1946) number one to every 167 enlisted men..." New York Times, March 10, 1947.

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Editorials

Big Three Secret Diplomacy

The State Department has announced that in a few days the full texts of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements will be published. Perhaps by the time you read these lines, the texts will be available.

It is certainly about time that they were available. For here was a situation in which the lives of entire peoples—the lives, we can say without exaggeration, of the entire world's population—were being ordered by a meeting of a few powerful rulers of the world. When the Yalta Conference was over, the participants declared that nothing further had been decided beyond what was then publicly announced. That this statement was simply untrue was soon shown by a series of startling events.

Russia's entrance into the Pacific war was bought by granting her economic privileges in Manchuria and outright possession of the Kurile islands. This deal was prepared at Yalta but was kept secret.

Then came the revelation that Stalin was to have three votes in the United Nations. This was also cooked up at Yalta but kept secret.

Then came the news about the insistence of the late President Roosevelt for a veto provision in the UN. That too had been kept secret, though agreed upon at Yalta.

And now Molotov, in his negotiations at Moscow, announces that President Roosevelt agreed to have Germany pay

reparations out of current production as is now demanded by the Russians. That too was kept secret.

Each of these incidents, regardless of the importance or lack of importance of the matter involved, illustrates the rottenness and dangers of secret diplomacy as practised by the big imperialist powers. A few politicians, generals, diplomats and stooge specialists get together, work out plans which vitally affect every person on this globe. They not only do not ask the people for consent on these plans; they don't even tell the people what these plans are.

All the while these very people—Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin—were assuring the world that they were conducting a war in behalf of democracy and freedom. But the very procedures by which they conducted this war, the very procedures by which they met to plan the war and its aftermaths, proved that their claims to democracy were false and hypocritical.

In sharpest contrast to this procedure of the capitalist powers and of Stalinist Russia was that established by the revolutionary socialist government established by Lenin and the Bolsheviks after the First World War. One of the first achievements of that government was the publication of the treaties of its predecessor, Czarist Russia, which planned imperialist adventures in the Mid-East. This publication electrified the world and exposed the imperialists as nothing else.

Witch-Hunt in Washington

The "anti-red" hysteria which Secretary of Labor Schwelmbach's proposal to outlaw the Communist (Stalinist) Party brought to a climax last week, continued this week with a directive by President Truman setting up procedures for firing federal employees "reasonably suspected" of "subversive" beliefs. Once this sort of hysteria is set in motion, it goes even beyond the desires of those who initiate it. Thus a number of Congressmen have pounced on Truman's directive to announce that they will hold back appropriations for the salary of any government employee whose politics they dislike.

Truman's directive is so vaguely and loosely worded that it leaves the door wide open for a witch-hunt the likes of which this country has not seen since the Palmer raids after the First World War. It says that federal workers may be fired if "reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the government of the United States." Exactly who may fall under this heading is not clear, except that millions of people may be so designated. Congressman Rankin of Mississippi, for instance, would not hesitate to say that anyone who believes in social, economic and political equality for Negroes is "disloyal to the government of the United States."

But the order leaves an even wider loophole for firing of federal workers and for their virtual political terrorization. It directs the firing of government employees who belong to any organization which is considered by the FBI to be a "Communist front." But the catch is that the list of such organizations is not public property. Hence a federal employee can never know whether or not an organization he wishes to join is considered "subversive" by the FBI.

Suppose a federal worker joins a consumer or tenant organization in his neighborhood. Is that "subversive"? In the eyes of reactionaries, who fill up the seats of Congress, it may well be. Suppose he joins a CIO union. Is that "subversive"? In the eyes of many Congressmen, it certainly is. In the eyes of most Congressmen, any organization which defends the rights of the workers is "subversive."

There is still another aspect to this matter. Mere membership in an organization which is controlled or dominated by the Communist Party does not in any way necessarily prove adherence to the policies of the Communist Party. For instance, many people who support the anti-Stalinist point of view of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party belong to organizations which the Stalinists dominate; they make it one of their main tasks to remove such domination. But under the Truman order, if they were federal employees, they would be subject to dismissal merely because of their membership.

What is fundamental, however, is the fact that the Truman order is a terrible blow at the civil rights of millions of workers who are employed by the government. In effect the order, when taken in the context of the current red scare being fanned in Congress and elsewhere these days, prohibits federal employees from any political activity of the mildest liberal—let alone radical—variety. It means that federal workers can only participate in the affairs of the Democratic and Republican Parties, the very parties which are against their interests as workers.

Let there be no mistake about it. The current anti-red drive, though it may have as its immediate objective the Communist (Stalinist) Party, has as its ultimate purpose the destruction of the civil rights of all dissidents, of all those who do not accept the rotten status quo of capitalism; it has further as its ultimate objective the destruction of the labor movement. (In Michigan, as reported last week in this paper, the governor has directed an "anti-red" inquiry in the labor movement; which means a drive against union militants.)

Militant workers must not allow their justified hatred for and contempt of the Communist (Stalinist) Party to deflect them from the real significance of the current situation. The Stalinists must be destroyed politically, in open political struggle; their prohibition by the capitalist government would make impossible that objective and would furthermore boomerang against the entire labor movement.

WORLD POLITICS

Will Russia Quit the Balkans?

By IRVING HOWE

You've got to hand it to the "think piece" writers of the New York Times. As perhaps the most authoritative journalistic spokesmen for U. S. imperialism, they help us understand just what their masters are up to—at least to the extent that such matters are made public. Thus Edwin James, managing editor of the Times, has a most interesting piece on the Moscow Conference in its March 23 issue in which he suggests that though the German problem is in the forefront of public attention, the inner circles of the State Department are at least as interested in the signing of a peace treaty with Austria.

James explains his statement in this way: There is no real likelihood of an actual treaty on Germany being drafted at Moscow. "There are many hopes," he writes, "that the conference will complete a treaty with Austria."

The draft of the proposed Austrian treaty which the deputy ministers of the major powers have drawn up provides for the withdrawal of all occupying troops from Austria within 90 days after the signing of the treaty. Since the only sizable military establishment in Austria is the Russian army, this treaty would mean removing the Russian occupation. But that is not all. The peace treaty with Hungary, which has been completed and signed, provides that within 90 days after signing, the occupying powers will withdraw all troops "subject to the right of the Soviet Union to keep on Hungarian territory such armed forces as it may need for the maintenance of the lines of communication of the Soviet army with the Soviet zone of occupation in Austria."

There are similar provisions in the treaties with Hungary and Rumania. That means that if an Austrian treaty is signed, the Russians would presumably have to withdraw their troops from all of the Balkan countries where they are now present. It would mean withdrawal of Russian troops from every European country except Poland and eastern Germany, where they remain in force.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR U. S. IMPERIALISM

This would be a tremendous opportunity for Anglo-American imperialism, James hints. Truman's speech indicates that it intends to sink millions of dollars into Europe in order to maintain the position of western capitalism and push back its Russian rival imperialism. And when it comes to dollars, the U. S. has more of them than anyone else. The superiority of Russia in the Balkans has been based largely on its geographical proximity and therefore on its ability to maintain large armies in those countries. Only secondarily has its puppet Stalinist movements in these countries enabled it to maintain its occupation, for in most instances the Stalinists would be proven in a free election—as in some cases, such as Austria and Hungary, it already has been proven—to be a mere small minority.

Now then, withdraw Russian troops; enter U. S. dollars. A pretty picture for U. S. imperialism, no? Perhaps a "readjustment" in régimes... but let us not continue: the possibilities for U. S. imperialism are endless once the ball starts rolling.

WILL STALIN WITHDRAW TROOPS?

But will it start? That is the question which intrigues Mr. James and not without reason. Is it likely that Stalin will voluntarily withdraw his troops from these Balkan countries and allow the U. S. dollar to do subtly what his bayonets did bluntly?

The Russian régime must surely have understood from the very beginning that it could not maintain its occupa-

tion indefinitely. It must have calculated on the length of time it would take to strip these countries dry economically and create a stable apparatus of agents and supporters within them after Russian troops were withdrawn.

Yet it seems quite doubtful if the Kremlin has succeeded in its plans. All the evidence points to the likelihood that it has not created a mass base in any of these countries with the possible exception of Yugoslavia. (Even with regards to that country we suspect that there is not nearly as much popular support for the régime as a very skillful publicity machine would make out.) In some countries, like Hungary and Austria, we know from the election results that the Stalinists have failed to create a mass base. In other countries like Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria their extensive use of terror against opposition indicates that their régimes rest on bayonets rather than popular will.

The Kremlin did not count on what we Marxists have been calling in our verbal shorthand the "national question." That is, the Stalinists did not foresee the mass popular resentment which would arise in these occupied countries against the invading "liberators" who took everything—personal possessions, agricultural products, industrial plants. And if they did foresee this popular resentment, they could find no way of placating it.

As a result, it seems quite likely that the Kremlin has decided on a course of retreat, of pulling in its lines. The simultaneous pressures of a stiffer U. S.-British bloc and the continued resistance in the occupied countries (which resistance is always present even if not often publicized) may well be enough to force the Russians to draw in a little.

HAVE THE STALINISTS SUCCEEDED?

That they would sooner or later have to draw in, they must have foreseen. But they expected to create such powerful outposts that their rule of the Balkans would remain firm.

Whether or not they have succeeded is perhaps too early to say. That they have not succeeded nearly as much as they wished is obvious. For a real withdrawal of Russian troops from the Balkans would soon result in a collapse of at least several of the puppet régimes.

The Russian ruling class is in a considerable difficulty on this matter. Powerful internal social-economic pressures dictated its policy of expansion into Europe—pressures as diverse in nature as its desire to recoup its battered industrial plant, its inability to find homes for its soldiers, its immediate need for agricultural products, etc. Yet the costs of such an expansionist policy are very high in terms of upkeep of an army of occupation, in terms of the morale of soldiers who find even in the wretched Balkan lands a standard of living higher than in the "workers fatherland," and in terms of the struggle with western capitalism which the Kremlin for all its bravado is not yet ready to pursue to the end.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that if and when the Russians withdraw their armies from the Balkans their influence will be at an end. The puppet Stalinist parties will still work in their behalf; the GPU and numerous auxiliary agents will still be functioning; and above all the threat of future intervention by the Russian colossus will still hang over the heads of the Balkan nations.

One thing we may with certainty predict: the inter-imperialist struggle for the Balkans is not yet over. While the Russians still retain by far the most advantageous position, the wedge of U. S. dollars into Greece and the possible withdrawal of Russian troops from the area portend new and bitter struggles. No wonder then that Mr. James of the Times and the social class for which he writes look with such interest to an Austrian treaty.

Exposing the Myth of "Miners' Prosperity"

# A Social Portrait of Life of Coal Miners in the United States

By JAMES DAKOTA

November, 1946, found the eyes of the world focused on 400,000 men and their union, the United Mine Workers of America. The miners were out again! When they struck, whole industries were closed and the national economy staggered. Those who manufacture "public opinion" wrote new chapters in abuse—the Pearsons joined with the Peglers in a foul dance about the maypole of calumny on which the UMWA was daily crucified. Millionaires released lengthy statements to the press, Congressmen delivered diatribes on "un-Americanism" and there was a crisis in liberal journalism. There was, in fact, a crisis everywhere.

I picked up my tools about 10:00 on the morning of November 19 and followed a lean, aged immigrant out of the pit. He was bent almost double in the low seam, was unshaven and black with dust. On his head he wore an old silk stocking, he carried an Army overcoat dating from the First World War and an empty bucket clanked on his arm. At the mouth of the pit he stood for a moment, blinking to regain his sight. I watched him for a moment, a prophetic figure etched on the newly fallen snow and outlined against a clear blue sky.

Thousands like him streamed out of the mines all over the nation: New Mexico, Alabama, Illinois, wherever coal is mined. The entire industry was coming down and with it the entire economy was creaking to a halt.

Government agents had posted thousands of notices that morning telling the miners that it was illegal for them to strike against "their" government. But for the miners it was no maiden strike; it was a condition of life as old as the industry. They knew that to win a demand it was necessary to strike, that was the only language a boss could understand. Momentarily the question of whom they struck against seemed of little importance. "If the government won't do right by you, you have to strike against the government."

But Krug's signs did not go unnoticed. I talk with the men on the gob piles and later in their homes. As the strike progressed the question was asked more and more frequently, "Whose government is it, anyway?"

Thus the second 1946 strike marked an epoch in post-war class relations. To understand that strike and those which are to come, it is necessary to know something of the coal industry, the men, their society and their conditions of work.

## THE GEOGRAPHY OF COAL

About 575 million tons of coal have been consumed each year since the beginning of the war in the United States alone. At the present moment coal is being produced at the rate of 675 million tons. This is produced in five great regions, but over half of it comes from the central Pennsylvania area and the Monongahela basin, which stretches from central West Virginia to Pittsburgh. West Virginia leads the nation in bituminous coal production and Pennsylvania is a close second. Last year 1,800,000 tons were carried on the Monongahela River alone. Besides this, several railroads serve the basin. A large segment of the 400,000 UMWA members is found in the Monongahela Valley and the prosperity of the area depends directly on the condition of the coal industry.

Coal is an extractive and therefore a decentralized industry. For nearly two hundred miles, coal camps are located along the Monongahela River

The author of this article, James Dakota, is himself a coal miner in a section of the general eastern area he describes. This article offers much information on the nature of the coal industry as well as the social conditions of America's coal miners. It is definitive refutation of those people who have been claiming that the demands of the miners in the recent coal strike were "exorbitant" because of the alleged "high standard of living" of the miners. Dakota's article, however, reveals the truth about the miners. Due to its length we have had to cut it into two installments, of which the first appears here and the second will be printed in our next issue.

and they are frequently only a mile or two apart. Usually each mine and each abandoned mine has its own cluster of houses. The UMWA was organized to a large extent by the so-called "walking delegates," who spread the gospel of unionization by walking along the railroad tracks which connect the various towns.

But there are relatively centralized points within the decentralized areas. From these points it is possible to reach as many as 25 or 30 camps by auto or bus. Such centers are Morgantown and Fairmont, W. Va., which also have the advantage of possessing small industries. Morgantown, for example, boasts three glass factories, a faucet factory, a shirt factory and a coke plant, as well as a chemical plant which is to begin operations soon.

## COAL BARONS OWN MINES

The coal industry is owned, for the most part, by financial barons in Wall Street and Pittsburgh. This is particularly noticeable in West Virginia. One result of this is the magnified political importance of the working class in West Virginia. It is said that the absolute majority of both the Republican and Democratic Parties are working men and a fairly large percentage of these are coal miners.

Thus we see the political importance of the miners in West Virginia in relation to the rest of the working class. But the place of coal in commodity production is of particular significance for the economy as a whole. The production of adequate supplies of coal is essential to American and world industry. As yet no other fuel can compete with coal. Its uses are almost unlimited, varying from simple household heat to aniline dyes and nylon stockings. It is doubtful if there is one inhabitant of the United States who is not directly dependent on the production of coal for his daily needs.

The importance of coal as a factor in commodity production is attested to by recent strikes. Twice in 1947 the pits were closed. Twice the industrial paralysis forced the capitalist class to a fake "seizure" of the mines through its instrument, the government. Twice the objective situation forced the government to display itself as an instrument of the ruling class, as an enemy of the working class, especially of the miners, who were thrown into direct conflict with the government. This has seldom been so flagrantly obvious.

## THE MINER AND HIS WORK

The recent history of the mines is the history of the advent of technology and the war. Prior to 1930 the miner was highly skilled, almost a professional. It required years to master the pick, the auger and the shovel. Investigating committees commented on the rhythm and skill with which a miner ricocheted a shovelful of coal from the top of the coal seam into the car which he was loading. In spite of the disadvantages of the occupation, there was at least a certain amount of pride in being a good worker.

With the introduction of the cut-

ting machine, and later the loading machine, all this changed. Machine-facture came to the mines and the men became the detail workers of other industries. Henceforward they were to be concerned with simple repetition, with monotony and with speed. The older skilled men were forced out of the mines; only strength and endurance counted. Before the war the upper age limit for miners was about 40. Beyond that there was the WPA.

The war accelerated this technological development, until today every large mine is almost completely mechanized. But the increased demand for coal permitted smaller marginal mines also to go into production. Side by side the two systems of mining exist at this moment. It is, of course, only a question of time until over-production of coal forces the smaller unmechanized mines out of production.

In the Monongahela Valley two veins of coal are mined, the five foot and the nine foot. These measurements vary with the mine and are at times only 40 inches high and again as high as 20 feet. The first shift begins work at 6:00 a.m. It is conveyed to the scene of operations on the "man trip," that is, wagons pulled by an electric motor, which are later used to draw coal to the tippie where the coal is dumped. Electric lanterns attached to steel helmets furnish the light to work by, and it might be said in passing that many accidents are caused by inadequate lighting. This despite the fact that it is technologically feasible to provide adequate lighting simply by inserting a bulb in the source of electricity which is already furnished to the machines.

There are three shifts in all the large mines. The second starts at 3 p.m. and the third at midnight. But whether there are three shifts or not the work day starts at 6 a.m. Even though the two later shifts have a higher scale of pay, any one of the three starts at an inconvenient hour. If a miner should be later to work and miss the man trip he is out a day's work, and if he misses two in

end by upright posts. To determine the condition of the roof the miner strikes it with his pick and the resulting sound, a sharp ping or dull thud, tells him whether the roof is sound or ready to fall. Considerable experience is needed to interpret this sound and it happens at times that the roof falls at the first strike of the pick. Other hazards are "pots" which give little or no warning of their presence; they are simply large rocks which fall at inopportune moments.

## CATEGORIES OF WORKERS

There are two general categories of workers: inside workers and those who work on the outside. Inside workers seem to occupy a slightly higher place in the social sphere. Their work is somewhat harder, usually, the temperature is even the year around and the pay is better. But the outside workers point out that they don't expect to have a rock fall on them and be carried out some day. The inside worker may be a cutting machine operator, a loading machine operator, a track man who lays the track on which the machines run, a motorman who operates the motor which hauls the cars of coal, a snapper who connects the cars, or a general "day man." In the main these are the classifications for a mechanized mine. Some miners have cutting machines but no loading machine. In that case, hand loaders are employed who are paid on a piece-work basis.

The cutting and loading machines, once set in motion, are not allowed to stop. Men work in relays, at times running the machines and changing places while the machines operate. There is always a great deal of dust, which takes a high toll in lung diseases.

Posts support the roof of the mine. The number of posts depends on the condition of the roof; usually it is necessary to "timber," i.e., put beams across the roof supported on either

a week without a medical excuse, he is faced with losing his job. At present there is a 54-hour week, of which nine hours are overtime paid at time and a half.

## WORK HOURS INHUMAN

The boss press is now busily pointing out that the 45-hour week is "basic." How ridiculous this is can be seen with little effort. In the first place, the 54-hours are "inhuman," as Lewis describes them, if they are worked. On the other hand, taken for the annual period, the miner averages nowhere near 54 hours each week. This means that he is over-worked at times, only to be out of work at others. But this is only the beginning. The basic pay which the miner receives regardless of the system by which it is derived, is now, considering the price of living, just about at the subsistence level, or enough to keep the miner alive when he works full time.

So when the miner works only four days a week, instead of six, he is paid at a rate which actually is less than that necessary to provide a living. In other words, the maximum weekly pay before deductions is about \$72 and this is the "normal" pay schedule, which is just about the necessary level to provide the standard of living to which the miner is accustomed. By working only five days a week the maximum drops to \$55, or a decrease of almost 24 per cent below that needed. It should be remarked that when the miners work 54 hours it is considered newsworthy and is printed in the daily paper.

And let no one be deceived by the maximum wage rates. It is not unusual to find 15 to 20 items deducted from the gross pay plus government taxes. The men who work with me averaged about \$60 for the last two-week period. As matters stand we either "work ourselves to death for

## Background of a Major Industry

# Coal in Development of U. S. Economy

By JOHN DILLON

Coal ranks first in importance of all commodities, raw or finished. World production during the two pre-war years 1937-38 averaged 1,307,400,000 metric tons. U. S. production accounted for 480,015,000 tons. Coal is the basic fuel for direct heating of millions of homes and indirect heating of office buildings, hotels, warehouses. It is the energy source of many railroads and steamships. The conversion of heat energy into electricity by the steam turbine makes coal a major source of electric power for many urban areas. Petroleum and natural gas are alternate fuels in the function of coal in industrial life and recently they have supplanted coal partially or entirely in many cases. The by-product uses of coal have made it of the highest importance in the field of chemistry.

Coal has been in everyday use in this country since the formation of the United States. It was used in the colonies from the earliest days. The tonnage in use was always limited and production did not exceed a hundred million tons until about 1832. The oldest anthracite producer, Lehigh Coal & Navigation, shipped its first coal (365 tons) in 1820.

## CONCENTRATION SPURRED BY CIVIL WAR NEEDS

The Civil War period proved to be a source of tremendous gain for the forerunners of present-day monopoly capitalism. The reported incomes during that period were not exceptional by present-day standards, but the same pattern which became apparent during the last two world wars was established: a very large increase in income to the owners of plant and properties.

"The records of the income tax that was levied during the Civil War tell something of the story. Although the exact sources of those incomes are no longer traceable, then, as now, the prosperity of the region had one dominant resource—coal. In 1863, for example, Joseph H. Seranton (of Seranton) reported an income of \$32,000; George Hollenbeck of Wilkes-Barre, \$26,000; Ario Pardee of Hazleton, \$423,000; George B. Markle, \$81,000; Alex Silkman, \$37,000. At the height of the war inflation, many of these men reported incomes 20 to 100 per cent larger—not small sums seventy years ago." (Fortune, Feb., 1931, p. 126.)

The concentration of coal properties which began during the Civil War was carried on into the immediate post-war period. The railroads, requiring a large tonnage of coal to guarantee their own operation and in addition being the chief haulers of coal, found it convenient and profitable to take over and operate the mines. Ultimately, they owned 75 per cent of the sources of production and 90 per cent of unmined reserves of coal. The methods used to grasp control of coal properties were not by means acceptable to the trusting "public." The method involved was the "big capitalist eat little capitalist" technique, a tried and true formula.

Because the process was carried on in law courts and hotel rooms, and not in the open, it resulted in the

complete control being concentrated in the investment portfolios of the railroads before the "public" was informed. The reaction against the railroads was a barrage of "inquiries" and "investigations." The method used by such railroads as the Central of New Jersey, the Lehigh Valley, and the Philadelphia & Reading followed this plan:

"All that was necessary for the railroad to do was to burden down the operators with exorbitant charges and hamper and beleaguer them in a variety of ways. As was proved in subsequent lawsuits, the railroads frequently declined to carry coal for this or that mine, on the pretext that they had no cars available. Every means was used to crush the independent operators and depreciate the selling value of their property. It was a campaign of ruin; in law it stood as criminal conspiracy; but the railroads persisted in it without any further molestation than prolix civil suits, and they finally forced a number of the well-nigh independent operators to sell out to them for comparatively trifling sums." (History of the Great American Fortunes, Gustavus Myers.)

The methods mentioned above were confined mostly to the Eastern states. But prior to the above, a similar series of incidents took place in the Western states which held coal re-

serves. It was with the courtesy of the federal government, by way of the Coal Lands Act, that the concentration was carried to completion.

"The Coal Lands Act permitted railroads and other corporations to seize half of the high-grade coal lands of the West, not less than 30,000,000 acres. Practically the whole coal supply of Oklahoma, Utah and Wyoming—grabbed by making use of dummy occupiers, bribed at \$50 to \$100 each—was monopolized by the Coal railroad system. If any dummy settler later failed to turn over the property to the corporation, he and his family were ousted by force." (Carleton Beals, American Earth, p. 238.)

Outright control was held by the railroads until immediately after World War I. In 1921, as a carry-over from the "trust-busting" era, the federal government requested separation of mines from the railroads. But through holding companies, stock ownership and interlocking directorates, control is maintained. If not as apparent as before, it is nevertheless just as real.

## USING "COAL" TO LIGHT FIRE UNDER LABOR

Up to this point it should be assumed that the weed of capital, like crime, bears bitter fruit. But one more example must be included to bring us nearer the present. The ex-

ample is the attitude of the operators to "their" workers who tried to counteract the power of the coal monopolists through the strike.

It was in the early part of the present century that the power of labor was first brought against the far superior power of capital in the coal industry. Spokesman for coal at the time was George Baer, president of the Reading Railroad, of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Co. of the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal & Iron Co. He put the operators' case on a high moral plane and pinned the nation's troubles on no one else but—you guessed it—the miners. As he put it so rightly: "The duty of the hour is not to waste time negotiating with the fomenters of this anarchy and insolent defiers of the law, but to do what was done in the War of the Rebellion, restore the majesty of law and re-establish order and peace at any cost."

The words were directed at the United Mine Workers, the year was 1902. A repeat performance was recently conducted. George Baer was missing from the leading role but there were many willing understudies to take his place. Other words were used, but the same venom was present in every statement, corporate or governmental. And an additional use was found for coal: to build a fire under labor.

(To be continued)

# Greece Long-Time Victim - -

(Continued from page 3)

ury and 60 per cent devoted to the improvement of the interest and the sinking fund of the external debt.

The Commission deliberately underestimated the yield of the assigned revenues in order to increase the margin of surpluses for distribution. Furthermore, Greece was never allowed to take advantage of the fluctuating money market as did the other countries, including her own severe creditors, to pay off her debt in depreciated currency. Payment was made in gold. Bonds which had been purchased at a 40 per cent depreciated value were reimbursed in full, in gold with interest and with dividends. The Commission finished robbing the Greek masses just as the Germans were marching in to take over in a less polite but equally ruthless manner.

What the country looks like, what its standard of living, even pre-war, is, can readily be deduced from this story of constant imperialist exploitation. A few simple facts make this clear.

In this primarily agricultural country, there are a mere three schools which specialize in agriculture. In the pre-war years they had an enrollment of less than 100 students, a very elementary curriculum and an infinitesimal budget.

Public schools are overcrowded and ill equipped. Poorly paid teachers carry a load of 100 pupils a class. Vocational training is virtually nonexistent. The single university in the country trains young men to enter

the already glutted field of white collar and professional jobs.

The health of the people can be summed up in one statement: Greece had, even before the war, the highest rate of tuberculosis of any "civilized" country.

The Greek workers and peasants have seen the bellies of their children swollen with malaria and hunger. They will not pay with the blood of their generations for the debts incurred in their name by a hostile class that seeks only to make its own position secure. The aspirations of the Greek people are today crowded out by the imperialist power politics of the United States and Stalinist Russia.

100,000 die of tuberculosis each year, and there are some conditions which the statistics fail to show. During the depression, for instance, I saw girls attending school in flour sacks and boys walking through the snow in bare feet. I know of one miner personally who stole horse corn to feed his family. And they are called America's highest paid industrial workers!

Hazards are so numerous as to demand assured medical attention. Each large mine has a "company doctor." These doctors are hired by the company but their phenomenal salaries are paid by the miners through the check-off. The doctors, in many cases worked too hard and with poor equipment, are usually despised by the men, and their services are frequently refused if the miner has enough money to go elsewhere. However, any sort of compensation can be gotten by an injured miner, a miner's widow or orphans only through the company doctor, who is usually extremely anxious to commit no errors in favor of the men. Sometimes company doctors are ignorant or half-trained individuals who could not possibly be practising physicians anywhere else.

In view of these things, it is not surprising that a mass exodus of the youth from the valley took place during the war years and is still going on. The young men enlisted in the Army or found employment in factories where wages were as high or higher and the working conditions much better. At present the average age of miners is probably about 35—much higher than at any time since 1930. And with the young men went the young women to the metropolitan centers, Cleveland in particular. It is not unusual to find returning veterans re-enlisting in the Army; "at least, it is better than the mines," they say.

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# STALINISM REWRITES U. S. HISTORY

By WILLIAM GORMAN

Since the discovery that communism was really "twentieth century Americanism," the Stalinists have delved into American history to find evidence that they are the inheritors of the American tradition. The fictional popularization of this view has been entrusted to Howard Fast. *The American*\* is the most recent product of his wanderings in this nation's past.

The works of Howard Fast are distinguished neither for literary brilliance nor historical interpretation. On the contrary, the complexities and grandeur of history, individual character and literary style consistently evade him. If Fast has any importance, it is only because the widespread sales of his books result in certain political effects.

The hero of *The American* is John Peter Altgeld. This German-born farmer's son became a man of wealth in the Chicago of the Eighteen Eighties. He became governor of Illinois with the support of the Farmer's Grange movement. Though an undistinguished Democratic politician, he became nationally famous because of his pardon of the Haymarket martyrs, who were languishing in jail, and because of his protest against President Cleveland's use of federal troops in the 1894 Pullman strike. The high point of his career came when he engineered the Democratic Party's break with Cleveland and its espousal of free silver in the dramatic election of 1896. Were he not German-born, he could have easily won his party's nomination as presidential candidate. Altgeld died some six years after the defeat of the Democrats by McKinley. The legend that he was a brave, single-handed fighter against rapacious capitalism has lingered on and has been recently given new life by Fast.

## BOOK CONTAINS HISTORICAL DISTORTIONS

The task of exposing Fast's distortions of Altgeld's role in the stormy class struggle of that period is made easier by the fact that Fast's fictional biography follows closely the sequences of Harry Barnard's authoritative biography, *Eagle Forgotten*\*\*.

Fast avoids any mention of how Altgeld won the Illinois governorship, lest it upset his beatification of Altgeld as a working class hero and saint. Barnard tells us that the Democratic ward-healers in search of a candidate reflected, "What better timber for a governorship could possibly exist than a candidate with a million dollars?" (page 152, *Eagle Forgotten*). In his campaign, Altgeld "shrewdly... worded his speeches so carefully that while he appealed to labor and took advantage of the growing labor unrest, he appeared to say nothing that could be labeled 'radical.' For he dealt with the labor question in the most general

terms." The "Altgeld Labor Legion," which by its intensive campaigning won him the election, operated on a slush fund of nearly one hundred thousand dollars—provided by Altgeld!

Altgeld's pardon of the Haymarket martyrs is the most creditable achievement in the career of a very sagacious capitalist politician. The granting of clemency to the imprisoned anarchists would not have aroused the vicious epithets and accusations which the capitalists hurled at Altgeld. But a pardon, based on the fact that the original trial had been prejudiced against the defendants, was casting reflections on the capitalist courts. Fast pictures Altgeld as a man in search of truth rather than the real Altgeld—a capitalist politician who had garnered a great many workers' votes. "He (Altgeld) heard Darrow relate that his liberal supporters and followers 'were growing doubtful and restless and disappointed!'" (*Eagle Forgotten*). Altgeld gave them the pardon as a concession, only to discover, by the violent reaction of the bourgeoisie, how bitter and irreconcilable was the struggle between the classes.

Fast omits any mention of Altgeld's role during the Pullman strike, since it would make his whole book seem foolish. The conflict between President Cleveland and Governor Altgeld over the use of federal troops in the Pullman strike, while filled with fiery verbiage, revealed no serious differences beyond whether the state or federal troops should "maintain order."

How did Altgeld approach the great panic of 1893? "Amazingly enough, he succeeded in outlining a policy pleasing to reasonable men of both labor and capital." But while the "reasonable men of capital" were enriched with the glut of speculative profits, labor faced unemployment, hunger and misery. Therefore, Altgeld counseled labor to "face its condition 'squarely and bear it with that heroism and fortitude with which an American citizen should face and bear calamity.'"

## STRIKE-BREAKING WHITEWASHED

The capitalists were in no need of such stoical advice and received none. The militant workers who disregarded it were met by a hail of gunfire. Seven died at the hands of Altgeld's State Militia! The dispute between Cleveland and Altgeld over the use of federal troops in the strike was essentially a question as to whether Altgeld with his liberal reputation could be relied upon to commit just such a massacre if the situation required it. Seven dead workers attest to the fact that President Cleveland's fears were unfounded. "After it was all over even railroad owners privately admitted that Governor Altgeld had done more to protect railroad and other property than any of his predecessors!" (*Eagle Forgotten*). Fast knows this but none of it can be found in his book.

The shrieks and howls of the capitalist press at Altgeld's objection to the use of federal troops were essentially a reflection of the fright and hysteria with which the bourgeoisie viewed the rising

agrarian unrest, the unemployment marches on Washington and the militant strike actions of the workers. Altgeld, by verbally protesting against the extremeness of capitalist reaction, was able to ride the radical tide and appear as its champion.

Altgeld was later to protest the choice of William Jennings Bryan as Democratic Party candidate and particularly Bryan's indifference to the pro-labor points of the party's program in favor of a complete preoccupation with the "free silver" issue. Fast relates this so as to add to Altgeld's stature. Actually there is a more scientific explanation. Altgeld came to the 1896 campaign with political opinions shaped by his experiences with the workers of Illinois. Bryan, the Senator from Nebraska, represented the debt-ridden farmers who were most vocal for an inflationary currency which would free them from their indebtedness. Thus the differences between Altgeld and Bryan really expressed the differences between the various class forces which had gathered under the Democratic Party banner.

## A TRUMPED-UP DIALOGUE WITH DEBS

What did Altgeld learn from the 1896 campaign? Fast, without saying so definitely, suggests that he gained a deeper understanding of the class struggle. There is no evidence of this. Indeed Altgeld used his political influence to swing the Democratic Party once more to Bryan and the moribund "free silver" issue in the presidential elections of 1900. Needless to say, this fact cannot be found in *The American*. Instead Fast presents a dialogue between Altgeld and Debs, with Debs appealing to the former Governor to turn socialist while Altgeld replies that he is a dying man. To this reviewer the historical authenticity of such a conversation is very doubtful but the hoariness of the scene is authentically Fast.

What motivates the writing of such a biography of Altgeld, filled as it is with exaggerations, distortions, half-truths and omissions? A thoughtful reading of the book will reveal that Fast is occupied with the Stalinist task of making a mythological figure out of a more recent "friend of labor"—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mythological heroes must have a lineage. Thus the portrait of Altgeld merges with that of Roosevelt at every point. Both were ill and nearly infirm, both were members of the ruling class who expressed sympathy for the workers, both succeeded in tearing the Democratic Party out of the hands of the conservatives, both suffered the abuse and vilification of the press.

In the hands of a creature like Fast, the writing of history or of historical novels is considered neither as a task in accurate description nor in artistic integrity. Both are readily subverted by Fast in order to help the current "line" of Stalinism; it is for this reason that his book so vulgarly distorts history and is such a wretched novel. He is neither a historian nor an artist; he is a Stalinist hack doing a job.

# A Discussion of Workers Control in a Workers State

By ERNEST ERBER

I consider the question dealt with in Stanley Grey's article, *Workers' Control of Industry* (LABOR ACTION, March 24, 1947) to be one of the most important facing the Socialist movement today. Its importance, as with so many of the new questions which demand a solution, arises from the tremendous accumulation of experience on the questions of workers' power in the course of the Russian Revolution and its degeneration into Stalinist totalitarianism.

In stating that mere nationalization of industry does not constitute a workers' state (nor even necessarily a step toward Socialism) and in declaring that there can be no workers' state without a direct control of the state apparatus by the working class, the Workers' Party has made a tremendous contribution toward resolving the negative side of the question; namely, what a workers' state is not. The positive side of the question, what is a workers' state, cannot be simply answered by saying that it is a state directly and democratically controlled by the workers. The essence of the question is: how does the working class exercise control over its state?

This is not a simple problem, far less simple than it appeared to the earlier generations of Marxists, including that which made the Russian Revolution. Yet we have contributed far too little by way of solution. Comrade Grey bravely approaches the question, but then quietly skirts around it with the repetition of a few standard generalizations about democratic correctives from below to state planning. This is not a suggestion that Grey should have given us a more concrete blueprint on the relationship of the workers in the shop to the state planning agencies. It is not a question of practical plans that is involved. It is a matter of the theoretical question: by virtue of what is the working class the ruling class in a workers' state? We knew how to answer this question in previous social orders. The bourgeoisie, the feudal nobility and the patricians of antiquity ruled by virtue of ownership of capital, land or chattel slaves. The working class character of Russia is assured by the nationalized economy, said Trotsky. This concept we have rejected. Then what assures the working class character of the workers' state? Or, to be more exact, how does the working class exercise its control over its state?

## DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

The investigation of this question, in my opinion, must proceed along the lines of the workers' role in managing production. This involves the whole question of the status of shop organization and its relationship to centralized (i.e., state directed) economy. If the working class character of the state is assured by direct and democratic control by the workers, then the more direct and the more democratic that control, the less possibility of bureaucratic deformations and degenerations. This means that the less delegated authority, the more certain the working class character. Yet where the numerically preponderant class is the ruling class, as with the proletariat, less delegated authority means less central authority.

Yet how resolve the contradiction between the need for local controls and the need for central authority to conduct nation-wide planning and direction of the economy (not to speak of the armed forces of the workers state)? Those who discard the easy formula that nationalization means a workers' state, cannot avoid the responsibility of answering this question. I do not think it insoluble. But I fear that the easy posing and dismissal of it, as in Grey's article, will only strengthen the tendency to ignore the importance of the question.

There is another aspect of the article that must be commented on. Grey speaks of "workers' control of production." As a matter of fact, he begins his article by asking, "What is the meaning of 'workers' control of production'?" He then correctly proceeds to point out that a measure of workers' control already exists in even capitalist economy in the form of the trade unions' power in matters relating to wages, hours, hiring and firing, job classification, etc. (This is a very important concept which we should make greater use of in explaining our transitional program to workers.) Grey then points out that the really vital sphere into which "workers' control" must be carried is the sphere of production. He correctly observes that:

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The article by Ernest Erber printed here is a discussion of an interesting point raised by a previous article by Stanley Grey which appeared in the March 24 issue of LABOR ACTION. This point involves the crucial questions: What is a workers' state? How would workers exert control of a workers' state?

The problems involved in this discussion are vital and complex; neither Grey's nor Erber's articles should be viewed as official expressions of the editorial board of LABOR ACTION. We wish, however, to invite any other readers who are interested in the matter to write briefly; we are prepared to open our columns to further discussions on it.

"the transition from this very limited workers' control to full workers' control is not a simple quantitative change in which new spheres are added to old ones, but is a basic, qualitative social change."

## WORKERS' CONTROL

However, in arguing that the institution of workers' control of production is not a simple trade union problem, he states that it is "the social question of who is to rule the state. For the institution of workers' control it is necessary to institute a workers' state." This, I submit, nullifies the entire purpose of the slogan of "workers' control of production" as a part of our transitional program.

If we can only achieve workers' control of production as a result of achieving a workers' state, then workers' control of production becomes only an aspect of the socialist organization of industry which we propose. Yet the entire object of a transitional slogan is to achieve a partial solution which poses the need for going further, of making greater inroads upon capitalist property relations. One of the phases of the struggle for power, that is for the achievement of a workers' state, is the struggle for workers' control of production.

The Russian workers achieved workers' control of production some six months before they achieved a workers' state. It was their achievement of workers' control of production that posed the necessity of achieving a workers' state. This is the object of a transitional slogan like workers' control. Once it is achieved it can only be relinquished under the blows of a counter-revolution or it must be fortified by the achievement of state power.

Comrade Grey has confused two things here, workers' control and workers' management. Space does not permit me to expand upon what is involved in this important distinction. Suffice it to say here that when Lenin used the term "workers' control of production" during the Russian Revolution he was not speaking of the workers managing the economy. They could not have done the

latter before the October Revolution since the economy was still in the hands of the capitalists.

What was meant by workers' control was the intervention of the workers in the sphere of production in the same manner in which they intervene in the sphere of wages, hours, conditions, etc., under private ownership. This is evident from the fact that one of the specific forms of "workers' control" was access to the records (Open the books!). In my opinion, workers' management will not be achieved for a considerable period of time after the socialist revolution. The workers will have to undergo a period in which they prepare themselves technically for the task of direct management of production. In the meantime, a form of the control they exercised over the capitalist proprietors before the latter were expropriated, will continue to be exercised over the functionaries of the workers' state.

To those interested in pursuing the background of this question I suggest reading the following: Trotsky: *Germany, What Next?* (chapter devoted to workers' control); Lenin: *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It* (also sections of Lenin's *State and Revolution*). The polemics in the Bolshevik Party in 1918-19 over factory committee vs. "specialists" in industrial control and in 1920 over the role of the trade unions in a workers' state can be profitably read on this question. The latter are available in the *Selected Works of Lenin*. The study outline, *What Is a Program of Transitional Demands?* issued by the Workers Party Educational Department is a modest contribution on this question that merits serious study.

An outstanding contribution to the question has been received in the form of a document by a European comrade, one of the young generation of German Trotskyists at work rebuilding the movement in his native city, entitled *The Problem of the Workers' State*. It is in process of translation and will be issued by the WP Educational Department.

# HOLLYWOOD VIEWS THE RETURNING G. I.

By JACKIE ROBBINS

Hollywood has recently created a big splash with the production of *The Best Years of Our Lives*. Hailed unanimously by the press, granted all the usual awards, it supposedly is a fearless and moving exposition of the problems of the returning GI. The movie follows the lives of three veterans from the time of their arrival in the U. S., through the throes of home-coming to final contented readjustment. And it does show that the process is not at all peaches and cream—that our society does create problems for the veteran. But beneath the veneer that a few realistic touches create, what is the real statement of this movie?

Each of the three returning veterans has initial misgivings and fears. The most obvious problem is that of the sailor, Homer, who has had both hands burned off. How will his family and his girl receive the sight of his metal hooks? The returning bombardier comes from an impoverished background, was a soda jerk, has a certain native intelligence, has been an officer, and is unwilling to return to an economically and mentally unrewarding occupation. He hopes for a good job and a home, neither of which materializes.

The sergeant-banker, Al, returns to a luxurious home, an understanding wife and daughter, but is worried about his adjustment to them. These experiences are very real and most of the tragic human reactions are genuine.

Homer has to contend with a family which cannot contain its pity and embarrassment for him, as well as with his subjective anxiety which does not allow him to accept the love of his fiancée. Eventually his girl's love overcomes his misgivings and they marry, but not till after a series of harrowing experiences during which "they either kept staring at the hooks, or kept staring away from them."

## REHABILITATION TROUBLES

Fred, the bombardier, comes home to find out that his wife is no longer living in his father's shanty, but has gotten a job in a night club. Not finding her in at once, he goes on an all-night drunk with the sergeant, who has been having some rehabilitation troubles of his own. Fred was married to blonde Marie for twenty days before leaving and when he finally does find her, he learns that she is more interested in his captain's uniform and salary than in helping him establish himself in civilian life. He looks diligently for a fairly decent job but is forced back to his nightmare of soda-jerking for lack of money or opportunity. His wife is a shrewish slut and he finds himself

falling in love with Al's daughter, Peggy; he is constantly disturbed by dreams of his traumatic war experiences; he is fired from even this detested job for knocking down a customer who angers him; and his wife leaves him because he hasn't enough money. About to leave town, to try to make a fresh start, he discovers a gang working on the demolition of planes for use in pre-fabricated houses and begs a job with them. He is then called to Homer's wedding where he and Peggy are reunited.

Al has had his entire world broadened by his experience in the infantry. When called back to his bank job (with a promotion attached) he finds himself acting more in terms of human experience and less within the protocol of banking procedure. He gives a destitute veteran a loan despite the lack of collateral, and is rebuked by his superiors; but at a club dinner he gets drunk enough so that he has the courage to make a dinner speech defending his own behavior in the bank.

## THE FILM'S SOLUTION

Thus the film takes very real and vital issues and poses their solution in this manner: If you are sent out into war and get your hands burned off—(1) you will receive a pair of hooks and superb training from the navy in how to manipulate them; (2) you must not be a fool and rebuff your girl friend if you have one, but should realize that you can easily find a woman who will cheerfully accept a married life of that sort; and (3) you will get \$200 a month for life from the government.

If you were born into poverty and come back from army life without a seat on the stock exchange waiting for you—(1) you may get some hard knocks in the beginning; but (2) you will sooner or later find a steady job "in your class" even if it is not the most creative one in the world; (3) banker's daughters are just like people, even more so, and a pretty one is sure to want to marry you—junk business or no.

If you were a banker originally but have had your eyes opened to a thing or two—(1) you will come back to an extremely comfortable home and job, and certainly never have to worry about material concerns; (2) you may feel uneasy about some business practices, but if you have a few extra cocktails a day you can manage to be happy though bleary-eyed.

In other words, the film, rather than dealing with the problem seriously, takes up each individual conflict and side-tracks it in terms of wishy-washy relationships involving Hollywoodian goodness and badness. The movie has the conventional happy ending, the audience leaves satisfied—on what

basis? Because even though Fred's wife was a floozy, she left him just in time for him to marry sweet Peggy. Because even though we start out with a terrifying sense of isolation and dis- possession of the working class veteran, just when he's most down and out there's a derrick waiting for him on which to work.

The thousands of veterans who were seriously jolted mentally and physically during the war and came back unable to find a home or a good job, are expected to project themselves into the fairy tale resolution of the typical American Boone City boys. Hollywood has done nothing more than to exploit the plot opportunities offered by this living situation to construct a witty, humane but superficial romance. Instead of a mean uncle to provide the conflict, we have the veteran's problem. Serious social commentary? No.

## HOW SOLDIERS TALK

Significant too is the fact that in the film none of the soldiers even speaks of the war in the half-way analytical or wondering fashion as did the GIs in some war-time movies. The men are simply unquestioning

on the subject, even though the picture attempts to present a portrait of their lives in relation to the war's aftermaths. In one significant scene in a drug store, a fascist tells the disabled sailor that he fought on the wrong side, that "we should have minded our own business." The sailor shouts in desperation that he saw four hundred buddies die in an hour, was that for nothing?

This is the sum total of the thought, the idea which Hollywood permits itself: a question posed by a fascist and a reply which, while emotionally understandable, is not logically relevant.

And so we see that even though Hollywood has here touched on a vital social and human problem and has expanded a certain amount of technical skill, its method is still the same old simple good-and-bad approach of the cowboy, gangster and love story films. The complexity of life, the shadings of actual character, the realities of social relationship, the spontaneous and unsterilized aspects of human emotion—all of these the picture cannot grasp, for as virtually all of Hollywood's productions it is not honest or serious in its intentions.

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- II. For a Living Wage**  
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2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.  
3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5000 annual minimum per family.
- III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!**  
1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.  
2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.
- IV. Tax the Profiteers**  
For a 100 per cent on all wartime profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.
- V. Nationalize Big Business**  
For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.
- VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People**  
For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.
- VII. Open the Doors to the Jews**  
For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.  
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.
- VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans**  
1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.  
2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.
- IX. For Peace and Freedom**  
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Office hours: 8:50 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLASSES—Every Friday night at 8:30, conducted by Albert Goldman; a critical review of articles in the weekly and monthly press dealing with the theory of socialism and current politics.

DISCUSSIONS: Wednesday, April 2 and April 9, "The Russian Question," 8:45 p.m.

CELEBRATE the seventh anniversary of the founding of the Workers Party, Wednesday, April 16, 8:45 p.m.

SOCIAL honoring the seventh anniversary of the WP at 8:30 on Saturday, April 19.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE—Saturday, March 22, 8 o'clock—"Ye Olde Barn Dance"—Squares, reels, floor show. All invited, young and old. Free food, 50c contribution.

CLEVELAND The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m.

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8:00 p.m.

A class in basic Marxism meets every Monday at 8:00 p.m.

Definite headquarters are not yet established for these meetings.

DETROIT Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10. Telephone: Plaza 5559.

Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

LOS ANGELES New headquarters address: LABOR ACTION, 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7.

Tel.: Prospect 6032. (If no answer, phone AX 2-9067.)

Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday.

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

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

Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

NEW YORK CITY CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10

a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 6 p.m.

Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681. You are welcome to attend all open Branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

BROOKLYN BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1333 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.

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

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

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

SATURDAY AFTERNOON BRANCH: Meets every Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH HALL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

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

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

READING

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

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

PHILADELPHIA

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

WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.

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

LABOR ACTION FORUMS each Sunday at 8:15 p.m., LABOR ACTION HALL, 1139 West Girard Ave., N. E. corner of 12th and Girard.

Friday evening lectures in "Social Forces in American History," beginning Friday, March 28, at 8 p.m. Subscription, 25 cents per lecture, \$1.00 per series of six.

ST. LOUIS

Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbitt Avenue, University City 14.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 206, Oakland 7, Calif.

SEATTLE

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

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

Four courses, prepared so as to give the student a grasp of modern problems in the light of the historical past, are featured in the spring, 1947, sessions of the Labor Action School, which begins on April 1 and continues for eight weeks.

Classes are held on Tuesday and Friday nights at the School's permanent headquarters, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11. Together with the regular sessions of the school, a series of forums have been arranged for each Sunday evening of the school term. These forums bring to the platform guest lecturers on politics, art and literature.

The feature forum of the Labor Action Spring Term will be on the question, "Is Germany Doomed?" Guest speaker of the evening will be Guenther Reimann, author of The Vampire Economy. This forum will take place on Sunday night, April

20, at 8:00 o'clock and will revolve around the following points: Is German labor able to survive as a class? How will German economy sustain itself in the coming period between wars? Does the present food shortage in Germany mean the eventual extinction of the German people?

The Tuesday and Friday night classes are arranged to meet the interest in varied fields of political, economic and cultural thought which is manifested by those students of Marxist politics who have contributed to the growth and development of the Labor Action School.

Freddie Forest's class on the Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx will begin on Tuesday, April 1, and is directed primarily to students who desire an introduction to the study of Marx's Capital. It will base itself mainly on his Critique of Political Economy and on Engel's Socialism,

Utopian and Scientific. The instructor will apply the workshop method of teaching and will expect the students to assist in the presentation of the lectures. Prerequisites are a knowledge of Wage Labor and Capital and The Communist Manifesto.

ANTHROPOLOGY COURSE

As its first class on Friday night, Labor Action School is pleased to present an introductory course on the relation of primitive societies to modern social problems. The course is entitled Modern Problems and the Primitive World. It is being taught by Aaron Robart, a social analyst who has given much of his time in recent years to a study of recent discoveries in anthropology and the political and social conclusions arrived at by various analysts on the basis of these discoveries. The instructor has put an intensive amount of preparation into the lectures for this course and Labor Action School expects it to be one of the notable achievements in the school program.

This course will cover Plato, his conception of society, and an analysis of The Republic; in addition, at least one session will be devoted to Sigmund Freud's Totem and Taboo and its significance for the student of society. Emphasis will be given to the nature of primitive language and its importance in understanding primitive society; and there will be a study of one primitive group: the Dobu. A minimum of one full session will be devoted to a study of Basic Personality: The Neo-Freudian Concept. Following that, there will be a period devoted to a case study of The People of Alor and a session devoted to a discussion of conclusions to be drawn from the material presented in the course.

TWO POLITICAL COURSES

On Fridays at 7:30 and at 9:00 p.m. there will be two classes dealing with the political history of the Workers Party and the political differences between the Workers Party and other Trotskyist parties. These are the most intensive courses ever to be given by the Labor Action School on programmatic questions which affect the Trotskyist movement. The instructors will be Ernest Erber, who is managing editor of The New International, and Henry Judd, one of the editors of LABOR ACTION.

Ernest Erber's class, which lasts from 7:30 to 9:00 p.m., will take up such questions as The Historical and Theoretical Roots of the Workers Party, The Russian Question, The Nature of Stalinist Parties, The National Question, and The Concept of the Party.

Henry Judd's class will take up various theories which are now prominent in the Trotskyist movement: The Theory that Russia is a

Workers' State, The Theory that Russian Economy is a Form of State Capitalism, The Application of the Strategy of "Defense of the Soviet Union" to Poland and Finland During the Second World War, French Trotskyism and the National Question, The "Three Theses" and the International Communists of Germany, The Thesis of the IKD, "Capitalist Barbarism or Socialism," Various Theories on the Nature of Stalinist Parties.

MEETINGS IN OAKLAND AND LOS ANGELES END WESTERN HALF OF GATES WP TOUR

Organized labor now must enter politics to defend its economic interests, Albert Gates, member of the editorial boards of LABOR ACTION and The New International, told an audience of forty comrades and friends of the Workers Party at a public meeting at Jenny Lind Hall in Oakland, Calif., on Sunday evening, March 9, in his address, "What Next for Labor?"

The present drive in Congress against labor is the biggest assault of capitalism on the American workers in fifteen years, and it is the job of advanced workers to understand and explain this to their fellow workers, Gates said.

American labor organization is too strong for big business to be able now simply to cut wages in the factory as it did fifteen years ago, Gates said. Therefore it must use a flanking attack through Congress, the state legislatures and inflation.

The question that faces the labor movement today, Gates continued, is "How can the workers fight politically?" Wage increases in the last year have been wiped out by rising prices. The GM program of "Wage Increase Without Price Increases" is a good start toward a political program for labor, relating wage gains as it does to the total economic setup. The next advance for the labor movement is the building of an in-

dependent labor party, Gates concluded.

At a meeting of guests and comrades of the Workers Party in San Francisco on Friday evening, March 7, Gates reported on the activities of the various branches of the Workers Party which Gates has seen on his present national tour. A gala party of 100 guests honoring Comrade Gates was given at Jenny Lind Hall in Oakland on Saturday evening, March 8.

LOS ANGELES, March 16—"Just as surely as World War II solved none of the contradictions of capitalism, these same contradictions are setting the stage for World War III," said Albert Gates, LABOR ACTION co-editor and member of the National Committee of the Workers Party, in his Embassy Auditorium speech tonight which concluded a five-day visit to this city as part of a coast-to-coast tour. "Only the victory of socialism will halt the march of the two great imperialisms, Russia and the United States, toward armed conflict," Gates asserted.

Last night's exceptionally successful social and reception for Gates was attended by a sizable number of contacts from the Seventh District, where Harold Draper, Los Angeles WP organizer, is winding up a vigorous campaign for city councilman.



LABOR ACTION SUB DRIVE MEETING DIFFICULTIES: The March subscription drive for 2,000 new readers to LABOR ACTION has been considerably slowed down by various problems and difficulties. Chief among these, according to an influx of reports received from all parts of the country, is a heavy sales resistance encountered everywhere due to the unwillingness of people to expend 50 cents for any purpose. THE HIGH COST OF LIVING has made it quite difficult to get subscriptions, and LABOR ACTION will be the first to frankly acknowledge this. Nevertheless, all supporters of the paper are doing their best during the campaign, and we appreciate the difficulties being encountered.

At the present moment, the San Francisco branch of the Workers Party easily has the best standing in the drive. With another week to go, they have obtained—under the capable direction of Peter Marlow, the local LABOR ACTION agent—a total of 87 subscriptions, leaving only 31 more to go to fulfill their quota. By the time the campaign concludes, we expect many other branches to have moved much closer to fulfilling their quotas than they stand now.

Table with 3 columns: Branch, Quota, Sent In. Lists various branches and their subscription progress.

LABOR ACTION representative Ned Brant, in Akron, Ohio, writes us about the branch work during the drive: "People appear to be extremely reluctant to part with a 50-cent piece or a dollar bill these days. Apparently, the pinch is beginning to tell. I hope that I shall have better news next week. Meanwhile, we are continuing your plan of 'attack' for getting subs as outlined."

And Marty Young, writing on the earlier phases of the drive from Chicago, tell us that, "we are attempting to tie this sub drive in with the Goldman campaign by concentrating in the same neighborhoods in which we gathered signatures. We also set various quotas for our trade unionists, students, veterans, women's groups, etc." Marty is fighting hard against various difficulties in Chicago, and LABOR ACTION is aware of them and appreciates his efforts on behalf of the paper.

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

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Buffalo CIO Meeting Poorly Organized

Dear Editor: BUFFALO—On Sunday, March 16, the CIO called an emergency area meeting at Klienhans Music Hall in this city. The badly publicized meeting was poorly attended by some 300 Buffalo CIO members. Hugh Thompson, CIO Regional Director and chairman of the meeting, stated that the purpose of the meeting was to do something about maintaining labor's gains and going forward. He said that the reason for calling together the area CIO stewards and committeemen at this time was to take a firm stand against the anti-labor legislation now pending in Washington. The whole tenor of the meeting, however, was set even before any of the speakers approached the rostrum. At the numerous entrances of the hall, ushers distributed blank post cards. The addressing of these post cards to Senator Ives was the height of action proposed by the speakers on the platform.

The first speaker, Charles Lanning, secretary-treasurer, United Rubber Workers, foretold a new 1929 crash and depression unless "labor does something about it." He blamed the poor functioning of society on "mal-distribution." He was followed by Irving Richter, legislative representative, United Automobile Workers, who described how big business was spending millions of dollars lobbying in Washington against labor in order to insure billions in profits. The main speaker of the evening, substituting for Allen Haywood, was Delmond Garst, Assistant National Director of the CIO. He denounced labor injunctions and said that "mass reaction and response was necessary to stop pending legislation of the hundreds of anti-labor bills." He urged the audience to do everything possible to "influence the congressmen."

"FRIEND OF LABOR"

The impotence and misdirection of the CIO leaders was revealed when immediately following Mr. Garst, a "guest" of the CIO was introduced. This "friend" of labor was Isadore Morrison, vice-president of the Morrison Steel Products Corporation—a Buffalo plant that is well known for its miserable working conditions. Mr. Morrison, supposedly representing the so-called "good" employer, attempted to pose before the workers as a living embodiment of worker-boss collaboration. He said that his being present at this CIO meeting was proof that labor and "management" can get together. In reference to the Wagner Act and the amendments being proposed in Congress, he said, "If I needed something that bad, I'd fight like the devil for it!" At more than one point in his speech, however, he revealed his class attachments. "The police force is to maintain law and order." He ended too on the same note as had the CIO leaders—write post cards. After his speech the audience of shop stewards and committeemen were forced to witness the sickening spectacle of hand shaking and back slapping between Mr. Morrison and the CIO leaders.

If there was anything to be learned by the few hundred CIO workers who attended the meeting, they did not learn it in the meeting hall. Outside, however, LABOR ACTION was distribution to all who attended and the shop stewards and committeemen were urged, not merely to send post cards to capitalist congressmen, but to go back to their shops and take independent labor action and begin the formation of an independent labor party.

Pearl Prentiss.

Sit-Downs First At General Tire

Dear Editor: Just a word on that milestone of the American labor movement—the sit-down. In an article in LABOR ACTION recently, Mike Stevens tells of the winning sit-down strike of ten years ago in General Motors factories.

I don't want to detract one little bit from the honor of the GM sit-downs—as if anyone could. But Stevens seems to write that the FIRST sit-downs took place at General Motors. The rubber workers in Akron were conducting sit-downs

for at least a year before the GM strike. As I recollect, the first was at General Tire, but at any rate there were dozens of them, large and small, in Akron during 1936. In fact, during the famous "Battle of Bulls Run" in Flint during the GM sit-down, leaders of the Akron rubber workers were on hand giving the benefit of their experiences in Akron. Maybe some Akron readers can furnish more information. Let's hear from them.

G. M., Cleveland.

A Letter from A Sharecropper

Dear Workers: Can you see where you are at? Can you see what you can do for the bosses? Now you know when one rents a farm now the big boss want the little boss to plant half of the land he rent in cotton and the little boss wants you workers to work it for them for \$3.50 or \$4.00 a day. You pay 50 cents for sliced bacon and 40 cents for lard. Can you do that when a hog can grow for you like he does for him and everything else will do the same for you as it does for the Bosses? You know when you work for the Boss a day you put a lot of dough in his hands.

I was talking with a worker. He told me he asked the little boss how they work. Corn he says on the one-third. That means a load to the man that rent the land and one to the man that make or grow the corn and one to the landlord. He did not like it so, he told the little boss when a man work with the man over his land what then, still one-third well what can I rent it for he said \$10. Then he say you don't need no corn. I told him work corn, he said I will. And said the little boss you don't need no corn or the man got hogs, cows, chickens, and he need corn. He said I don't need cotton if I don't get corn. Well if we don't get a better living on the farm look for us in the towns for hire.

We pay \$2.90 for a pair of overalls and a pound of cotton will weave 5 yards of cloth and several spools of thread and cotton 20 or 24 cents per pound well it is other things I could

show up other things such as corn or other things that come from the farm.

Mr. Shareworkers or day worker \$3 or \$4 is not enough for us to work for and for me I will work my crop and when I get to day work I am going to town and not work for the little boss for he no good for you and family.

A Sharecropper.

Capitalist System Causes Jim Crow

Dear Editor: About one out of every ten people in the United States are colored. These darker people have been fooled and misled in this country for many times and haven't as yet learned the fact about what is actually wrong. I have been contacting many Negro workers and of course most of them have been giving me the same old story. They are tired of being pushed around, tired of being deprived of their rights and tired of working for small salaries, but as yet they don't know the solution to their problem. If at once they can be re-educated, not necessarily in books but through personal contact and teaching them the facts about the capitalist system. We must also tell them about the rascals that operate this racket system. When we shall have taught the Negroes as well as the other workers this true fact, then we will be ready to establish the socialist government.

Many Negroes think that men like Bilbo and the Talmadges are held solely responsible for their action. But when they learn that it is not these two people who are paying them low wages, depriving them of their democratic rights to vote and putting them in the back of buses, also segregating them in many other respects.

Many of the less advanced Negro workers and white believe that if Talmadge was thrown out, Georgia would be better. But no, my friends, you are wrong. Every time one of the Talmadges die there are 1,000 more to take his place, this is the answer to your thought.

It is the capitalist government that causes all of this disturbance and if it was not for capitalism in this country I don't believe all of this could happen.

We have seen what is happening to our people day after day and there is nothing being done about it. Let's take the lynchings of 1946. Headlines—4 Negroes shot to death by a mob of white men a few miles from Atlanta, Ga. They carried this in the papers for a while and everybody was saying that's a shame but not a damn court did anything about it and the case has been thrown out into the sea.

Another case of the man that was lynched in Louisiana and that case has been closed. Also there was a lynching in Mississippi by a white mob but I cannot give you the details on it but nothing was done about the other cases.

That was six lynchings during the year of 1946. Six citizens of our free country that died in a disgraceful manner.

Where are the laws in the South? Also where is the peace that we fought for?

In this year 1947 before three months had passed there was another headline. Negro in South Carolina lynched by a mob of about 20 to 30 white men. A large number has been jailed but now they can't find the trigger man. Do they want to find him? Or do they want to let him go? Let him go is your answer my friends.

I have heard white say that no white shall die in this county for killing a Negro. I will not mention the county but the state is Florida. There are many school teachers in the South making less salaries than white. Why is this reason? It is because the teachers are not unionized in the South but I do believe if the system was changed all school teachers would be paid equal salaries.

Let's read LABOR ACTION each week and get all of the facts, then put them together and start fighting for a socialist government. Let's put an end to capitalism and fight for socialism.

By Lou, Florida.

# A Vote for Socialism Is a Vote Cast for Peace And Security -- Goldman, Chicago WP Candidate

The following radio speech was delivered by Albert Goldman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Chicago, over Station WJJD on March 23:

The undemocratic state election law has prevented me from getting on the ballot. It will be necessary, therefore, for those of you who are determined to vote for the ideas of socialism to write my name on the ballot. I urge you to do so because, as I shall show you in the course of my talk, it is the only meaningful thing one can do at the polling place.

A movement has been started to change the election laws of this state so that minority parties and independent candidates can more easily get on the ballot. You will soon hear of this movement initiated by the American Civil Liberties Union and you should certainly give it your full support.

A law which compels a party or an independent candidate to collect more than 88,000 signatures in order to get on the ballot as a candidate for mayor of this city violates every fundamental principle of democracy. It appears self-evident that if one thousand citizens declare, by means of signing a petition, that they want a certain person to run as candidate for mayor, they will not be thwarted by a law which says that 88,000 signatures must be obtained.

We rightly condemn the one-party rule of a totalitarian state; we must also strenuously object to any law which, in effect, compels a voter to choose between two parties he considers equally bad.

He who does not write in my name on the ballot but makes a choice between Root, the Republican candidate, and Kennelly, the Democratic candidate, actually participates in a sham battle, as far as the welfare of the inhabitants of this city is concerned. The differences between the two candidates in program and general approach are so minor that it hardly pays to take the trouble to make a choice. On every major issue confronting the people of this city Kennelly and Root have been making the same very broad and general promises that are usually made in a pre-election campaign. One can be certain that nothing much will be altered by the election of either one.

### THE NATURE OF THE TWO OLD PARTIES

There is a basic reason for expecting no substantial change from the election either of a Republican or Democrat as mayor. The reason is that both of these parties and their candidates are devoted to the preservation of the profit system.

Let us take the transit problem of this city as an example. At least twice a day for six days out of the week the average person going to and from work is furnished with a rude lesson on the inadequacies of Chicago's transportation system. Nine times out of ten he is squeezed into an old, unventilated car—stifling hot in summer, drafty in winter—so that by the time he gets to work he is already half exhausted and by the time he returns to his home his nerves are completely on edge.

After draining all of the profits out of the surface and elevated lines, those in control finally had to yield to a receivership. For approximately twenty years the surface and elevated lines have been operating under the receivership. The receiver and his assistants, the receiver's lawyers, and their assistants have harvested nice sums of money for themselves. The dilapidated condition of both rolling stock and structure is apparent to everyone. With the passing of years the transportation system becomes worse and the fares climb higher and higher.

In any rationally organized society the transportation system of a city would be considered as a public necessity and everything possible would be done to make a person comfortable during the time he has to ride from one place to another. Under the capitalist system, the means of transport are generally owned by capitalists who are interested only in making profits.

Even if the transit should finally come under the control of the city, there would be no substantial improvement under an administration that believes in the profit system. For such an administration would still be confronted by the problem of making the transit system pay for itself and the people would still have to pay high fares and get the same miserable service.

### HOW SOCIALISTS WOULD HANDLE TRANSIT

A socialist administration would consider the transit system just as much of a public necessity as the street or water system. No one raises the question of making the streets pay for themselves; why, then, should we raise that question with reference to transportation? I do not advocate free transportation for everybody; I contend, however, that a five-cent fare is sufficient, with any deficit met out of taxes.

Is it not true that the greatest of all benefits from the transit system accrues to the merchants of The Loop and of other shopping centers? Is it not therefore just that the merchants of these shopping centers pay a substantial tax for the upkeep of the transit system which adds so much to the value of the real estate in the shopping centers?

Would either Root or Kennelly endorse the idea of a special tax on the merchants and real estate owners of the main shopping centers for the purpose of helping to defray the costs of operating the transit system? I can say with great confidence that they would not. For in their lives and in their ideas they are tied up with these merchants and real estate owners.

In any solution of the transit problem those who work for the system must be given primary consideration. In the first place they must be guaranteed sufficient wages to give them a decent livelihood and in the second place they should be given a great share of the responsibility for managing and operating the transit system. If the transport workers are made to feel that the people look to them for efficient operation, they would, I am certain, respond magnificently. Through their union and through committees they would see to it that the people get far better service than they get now.

### NEITHER KENNELLY NOR ROOT WILL HELP

It can be said with assurance that neither the election of Kennelly nor of Root will make a substantial difference as far as the transportation system is concerned. Undoubtedly they will pay more attention to the contemplated super-highways for serving the owners of automobiles than to the surface and elevated cars serving the vast majority of the people.

And what is true of the transportation problem is also true of every other important problem confronting the people of this city. Whether Kennelly or Root is elected, the serious housing situation will be not substantially improved for the people with lower incomes. Of course they are making campaign promises with reference to housing, but no one should expect any serious effort on their part to fulfill their promises.

In what way did Kennelly or Root fight for better housing conditions for the people before they became candidates? The party I belong to fights for better housing conditions every day of the year and not only during an election campaign.

Furthermore, Kennelly and Root will give us the old standard by that private industry should take care of the housing problem. Undoubtedly private industry will take good care to solve the housing problem for those who can afford to pay a hundred dollars a month or more for rent, but it will not solve the problem of a worker earning about forty dollars a week and blessed with a wife and two children or more.

And will either Kennelly or Root put up a serious struggle for rent control if, as is very likely, Congress permits the rent-control law to lapse? In spite of their promises, I have my doubts, because they are too closely tied up with the real estate interests.

Will either Kennelly or Root carry on a struggle against the shameful restrictive covenants which prohibit Negroes from

living where they please and which confine them to the terrible slum area of the South Side? There is nothing whatever in their record to justify the hope that they will raise their voices against Jim Crowism in general and the restrictive covenants in particular.

### SOME QUESTIONS TO BOSS PARTY CANDIDATES

Will either Kennelly or Root take measures to provide free lunches to school children in the working class districts? I venture to say that neither one of them will do more than utter a few pious platitudes about the need for such a thing.

Will either Kennelly or Root abolish the strike-breaking squad on the police force? I can say with assurance that they will not.

Will either of them participate actively in a struggle against the proposed anti-labor legislation in Congress and in the legislatures of many states? They will not.

The conclusion is inescapable. Neither the election of Root nor the election of Kennelly will result in any noticeable improvement in existing conditions. They are representatives of two different parties but these parties base themselves on the same fundamental principle—the preservation of the profit system. They represent two different political machines in the city of Chicago but these political machines differ only in the sense that each machine wants the spoils of office for its own members. It should be clear to everybody, by this time, except to some fake or blind liberals, that Kennelly is a candidate of the Kelly-Arvey machine just as Root is a candidate of the McCormick-Green machine.

Some people claim that to vote for a candidate representing the ideas of socialism means to throw away one's vote. In actuality he who votes for Root or Kennelly is throwing his vote away, because this means preferring one corrupt political machine as against another.

Only they who are satisfied with conditions as they are have a right to vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate. But those who are dissatisfied, those who want to see a radical change, can best register their convictions by writing in my name as candidate for mayor on the Workers Party ticket.

### A WRITE-IN VOTE FOR GOLDMAN

If you write in my name on the ballot you thereby indicate your belief that only a socialist will really make serious attempts to solve the housing problem for the masses of the people.

If you write in my name on the ballot you indicate not only your dissatisfaction with the transportation system, but also your belief that only a socialist will deal with that problem, having the interests of the people at heart.

If you write my name on the ballot you thereby indicate that you know that only a socialist will struggle against every form of Jim Crowism and take every measure to destroy the restrictive covenants.

And a vote for socialism has a significance beyond the local elections. It indicates your hostility to a system of society where production is carried on for the profit of the few instead of for the benefit of the many.

A vote for socialism means that you protest against a system which utilizes its tremendous productive capacity only during a war, for death and destruction.

Write in my name on the ballot and have the satisfaction of protesting against a system based on exploitation, greed and racial and national hatreds.

Write in my name on the ballot and indicate that you are in that way at least participating in the struggle for socialism, which means peace, true democracy and real equality for all mankind.

Come to the campaign meeting of the Workers Party at its headquarters, 1501 West Madison Street, Saturday, March 29, 8:30 p.m. Write for literature and information about our party. Good afternoon and vote for socialism.

# Austrian Socialist Disappears; GPU Machine Suspected

A release recently issued by the magazine Politics calls attention to the disappearance of Karl Fischer, Austrian socialist, in the Russian zone of Austria. In the circumstances of the known record of the Stalinist murder machine in dealing with opponents, in view of the particular facts surrounding Karl Fischer's disappearance, there is every reason to believe that the GPU is responsible. This information comes on the heels of the revelations in the book of Louis Budenz, ex-Stalinist leader, concerning the murder of Leon Trotsky by the GPU agents operating from New York. These were described in great detail in last week's LABOR ACTION. Karl Fischer's disappearance provides additional evidence of the nefarious activities of the international murder machine which has its seat in the Kremlin, and which stands as a threat to the labor and socialist movement in every country.

Karl Fischer, employee of the Labor Chamber in Linz and member of the Austrian Socialist Party, born Sept. 23, 1918, disappeared in Urfahr, Upper Austria, in the Russian zone, on Jan. 22, 1947. Fischer had been a member of an oppositional communist group. He was sentenced to five years in jail by the Schuschnigg regime in Austria, and released in connection with a general amnesty in February, 1938. After the Anschluss, he went to France; in 1943 he was delivered to the Gestapo by Vichy authorities. Fischer was imprisoned in the Buchenwald concentration camp until his liberation by the American Army in 1945.

In Buchenwald he was persecuted not only by the Nazis, but also by the Communists, who had some important jobs in the inter administration of the camp, because of his independent socialist opinions. When the American troops were approaching, the leaders of the Communists in the camp tried to get rid of their adversaries by placing them in special dangerous labor gangs.

### ESCAPED DEATH ONCE

Karl Fischer escaped death with the help of Benedict Kautsky, a son of the socialist theoretician Karl Kautsky. The Communist Party leader Otto Horn, who is now one of the main leaders of the Communist Party in Austria, was particularly active in persecuting Fischer. Horn succeeded in excluding him from the first transports of liberated prisoners from Buchenwald to Austria. On

his release, Fischer decided to go to Linz in the American zone, where he worked until April 1, 1946 as secretary of Captain Rozan in the French Liaison Office. After the dissolution of that office, he worked in the office of economy and statistics of the Labor Chamber in Linz.

A short time before Fischer's disappearance, the Communist Party leader for Upper Austria, Haider, spoke to the girl-friend of Fischer, Vera Kerschbaumer, whose father is a member of the CP and director of its publishing house in Linz. Haider tried to persuade the girl to spy on Fischer. Vera, 21 years old and only two years in the CP, was shocked and refused; she warned Fischer. Another leader of the CP asked Fischer to end his relations with Vera, warning that something bad would happen to him. Fischer refused this interference with his personal life.

Karl Fischer did not conceal his political views and criticized the Communist Party openly in speech; he also distributed anti-Communist books to his friends. He had tried to bring Vera into opposition to the CP.

### NOT HEARD FROM

On January 22, 1947, when he finished his work at 5 p.m., he went with Vera to Urfahr in the Russian zone. According to Vera, he left her at 5:45 p.m. to go back. Since then, he has not been heard from.

The investigation was very superficial. The Secretary Mantler, the Mayor of Linz, Dr. Koref, and the Minister of the Interior, Helmer, all of them socialists, were informed and promised to deal with the matter. Not until January 27, five days later, were the police ready to publish a notice that Fischer was missing. The notice was first published in the Communist *Neue Zeit* in a distorted fashion.

Fischer's boss, Richard Strasser, Secretary of the Labor Chamber and member of the Association of Friends of the USSR, tried at first to place suspicion on the American and French authorities. Later he started to speak about Fischer's "lack of psychological balance" and hinted at suicide. According to Fischer's mother, who had spent two years in a concentration camp herself and was also freed by the Americans in 1945, there is no truth in this statement.

# French CP Tries 'Clever' Tactic On Indo-China

Many sincere believers in socialism—especially in Europe—suffer from the tragic illusion that the Communist Party represents the ideals of the October Revolution. The well-oiled propaganda machine of the Stalinists, the hysterical "anti-red" demagoguery of Anglo-American imperialism, and above all, the fact that the war and fascism meant a virtual blackout of all political and theoretical discussions among the radical workers of Europe—these are among the factors which account for the amazing prestige of the Stalinist parties in Europe.

For these reasons it is important to paint the true character of European Stalinism. Up to now, the French Stalinists have consistently supported the war of imperialist aggression against the people of Viet Nam. They voted for war credits in Parliament, they cheered speeches in praise of the militarists who direct the war and, finally, they advocated in their press the "independence" of Viet Nam—"within the French Union!"

Last week, however, the Stalinists in the National Assembly suddenly refused to vote for further war credits. This refusal caused a profound crisis in the shaky Paris government—Premier Ramadier threatened to resign unless he had the support of the CP. Thereupon the Stalinists worked out an ingenious compromise, according to which the Stalinist ministers would vote for the imperialist war credits, while the Stalinist members of the Assembly would abstain from voting altogether.

In our opinion, it was meant mainly as a demonstration of Stalinist influence in France. Timed as a reply to the frankly anti-Russian "Truman doctrine," the CP found it necessary to show the world that without them there can be no stable French government.

This fact is underlined by the following episode which was reported in the New York Times of March 23:

"While the Communist Ministers voted with the government and thus kept their jobs, they followed the rest of the party group by refusing to rise with the rest of the Assembly when Premier Ramadier paid a tribute to the 'courage and heroism' of the French forces fighting in Indo-China. INSTEAD THEY APPLAUDED MODERATELY WHILE SEATED." (Our emphasis.)

Need anything further be said?

# "Truman Doctrine" Offers Europe Guns, Not Food --

(Continued from page 1)

the policy applied to Greece and Turkey would become a precedent for the future. Reston, who seems to have a pipeline to the State Department, wrote the day after Truman's speech that "what worries President Truman's advisers at the moment is not the loan to Greece and Turkey now under discussion, but the next one."

The United States, then, is to assume the role of world imperialist colossus throwing its weight in dollars around to safeguard investment of U. S. capitalists and of the capitalists of the other Western powers against the equally greedy encroachments of the Russian imperialism.

Popular reaction in the United States, to the degree that such matters can be estimated, was at the very least extremely anxious and worried. The appalling thought that only a year after one horrible world war, still another and infinitely more horrible war was in preparation, struck terror in millions of hearts. To forestall this reaction and to

smooth the passage of its "loan" to Greece and Turkey, the Truman administration had Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson declare at a Congress hearing that no American troops would be sent to the Near East. This statement may be taken at its face value FOR THE NEXT PERIOD.

It is highly unlikely that the U. S. will send troops to the Near East; it is too soon for that and in any case dollars can probably do the job for the time being. But to say this is in no way to deny the fact that eventually troops must follow dollars if the policy is to continue and succeed. Let us remember President Roosevelt's famous declaration that he would not send a single American boy to Europe. Acheson's promise is worth even less than Roosevelt's turned out to be.

To buttress the flagging and certainly unenthusiastic support for Washington's policy, the administration pulled out one of the most worn-out chestnuts: a "previously secret" document showing the "danger of red infiltration" in Greece and Turkey. That the Stalinists have been supporting and directing the EAM movement in Greece as a means of embarrassing the Anglo-American puppet Greek government and that Stalinist Russia has been putting the squeeze on Turkey—that's hardly news. Truman's corny brain trust thought that a "secret document" might work up some enthusiasm, but the stunt failed completely.

### WIDE REPERCUSSIONS

Congressmen, after their first flush of war hysteria, began to be a little more cautious about the nonsense they uttered in public. Imme-

diately after Truman's speech they went hog-wild. Rep. Van Zandt (R., Pa.) said: "I guess I may as well get my Navy uniform out of storage." Rep. Reed (R., N. Y.) chimed in: "It's very much like a declaration of war covered with relief veneer." And Sen. McCarran (D., Nev.) declared that "We will have to go in there with men and materials, if we go at all."

This kind of talk didn't sit very well with the folks back home, so now they had Acheson make his face-saving speech. But the "Truman doctrine" did give Congress a cover behind which to continue its anti-labor legislation: the setting of urgency seemed to them a good atmosphere for cracking down on the workers.

Internationally, the repercussions were numerous. The Moscow Conference (see page 3 for full story) continued its sharp verbal sparring with the fate of Germany—that is, the fate of Europe—at stake. In France the Stalinists tried to show

how much trouble they could make for the uneasy coalition which governs that country by abstaining on a motion to support French imperialism in Indo-China, even though they had voted for such motions in the past (see page 8 for full story). And in Greece and Turkey the reactionary, dictatorial régimes took heart at the thought of U. S. dollars flowing their way.

### UN IGNORED

One reaction to the situation—which can be viewed equally as humorous or pathetic—was the cry by U. S. liberals that the United Nations should not be by-passed. To placate these elements, Washington announced that a statement "informing" (sic) the UN about U. S. actions would be issued. And so the liberals were happy that the UN would not be "by-passed" even though it didn't make the faintest bit of real difference (see story on page 3).

In the meantime the depressing and inescapable fact was that the major powers were again beginning the mad imperialist race which pro-

duced two world wars in this century and which, if unimpeded, would produce still another: the War of the Atom Bombs. At the moment the U. S. was on the offensive and it was quite possible that the Russians would be forced to retreat. But such a retreat could only be preparation for new conflict. Which giant imperialist combine—Russian or the

Anglo-American—would rule the world, was the basic question. It became clearer each day that this struggle would end only in a terrible, civilization-consuming war unless an aroused international working class would sweep aside the capitalist and Stalinist régimes and substitute a peaceful socialist world of its own.

# BRITISH OFFICERS FEAST WHILE GERMANS STARVE

Fleets of lorries bringing food, wines and flowers from Holland—500 guests at a banquet of eight courses which included oysters, lobsters, crab, chicken, several kinds of cheeses, and a bottle of champagne per head. The scene of this "party" was the Dusseldorf Yacht Club in the British zone of Germany, recently.

The banquet was "thrown" by officers of the 53rd (Welsh) Division to mark the occasion when the name of the Division was changed to the 2nd Infantry Division. Preparations for the "party" were as lavish and wasteful as the banquet itself. A ten-yard bridge was specially built over the Rhine and leading to the club. The interior of the Yacht Club was altered to resemble that of a baronial hall, complete with "minstrels' gallery." All the work was done by German labor. German workers were employed to wait on the 500 guests.

In grim and bitter contrast to this criminal display of guzzling and wastefulness staged by the officers of the 53rd Welsh Division, are the miserable conditions of hunger and cold which is the lot of thousands of German workers and their families in and around Dusseldorf.

While the banqueting and "high jinks" went on at the party, thousands of German families were without bread, heat or light. At Essen, near Dusseldorf, the wives of German miners were urging their men to strike in protest because they could not get their meager daily bread ration and a number of strikes have taken place recently in this area because the workers could not get even their potato ration. (Reprinted from *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of England.)

### NEXT WEEK IN LABOR ACTION:

LABOR ACTION will next week feature a special series of articles on the SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORKERS PARTY. These articles will outline the work and principles of the Workers Party, and we believe our readers will find them of especial political interest.

In addition, next week's LABOR ACTION will carry SLAVE LABOR IN EUROPE—An AFL Manifesto as well as our regular analyses of events in the labor movement and on the domestic and international political scene.

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### Report Large Mass Underground Active In Franco Spain

A news dispatch from Madrid, published in the New York Times of March 22, reports the trial for military rebellion of eleven members of the secret national committee of the Anarchist National Confederation of Labor. Their conviction in a Franco court is to be taken for granted and it is expected that the eleven anarchists will receive sentences of twenty to thirty years.

Despite the fascist repression, the report states that the Anarchist CNT and the Socialist UGT (General Labor Union) still have 500,000 dues paying members in Barcelona alone. Evidence that the Franco dictatorship takes this secret opposition seriously is indicated by the fact that the accused, who include Cesar Broto, Gonzalo Aienza, secretary and vice-secretary of the CNT respectively, were not charged with specific acts of military rebellion, but with participating in a meeting of the supposedly defunct CNT at Carabana, outside Madrid, in 1945.

LABOR ACTION is trying to obtain additional information on the activity of the Spanish underground, and will publish such information when available.