Labor's "Generals"

# FIGHT. FOR MARCH ON WASHINGTON, LOUIS LIGHT LOUIS 24-HOUR DOWN-TOOL ACTION!

**Editorial on Tax Bill Veto** 

## Tax Structure Is Easiest on Rich, Hardest on Poor

As was forecast in some circles, President Truman vetoed the Republican tax bill because it would very "likely . . . induce the very recession we seek to avoid." With this action, he unloosed a barrage of criticism from Republican quarters, which charged him with playing dirty politics and denying the mandate given to the GOP "by the people in November." The executivecongressional struggle will sharpen as a result of this action.

There is indeed justification for the charge that the Republican bill was a rich man's tax bill, for it would have produced savings of a few cents a week for the average worker and low income groups, while providing savings of thousands of dollars for the millionaires and near-millionaire financiers and industrialists of the country. And when the Old Guard Republicans talk about a mandate from the people, they really mean instructions from the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.

But now that President Truman has vetoed the bill what effect will that have upon the millions of low-income groups whose taxes remain as burdensomely high as they were during the war years? By the President's action, they will continue to work a hardship for tens of millions of peoplethe only ones who are truly in need of tax relief. The President and the democrats who support him offer no relief to the mass of people.

The tax structure worked out by the capitalist government in Washington is not based on ability to pay! It is easiest on those who can pay and hardest on those who cannot pay!

Yes, a revision of the tax structure of the country is long overdue. Truman did not exercise his veto powers because he regarded the GOP measure as a fake tax relief bill; he vetoed it because it called for a \$4,000,000,000 budget reduction, thus interfering with the administration's world and domestic program which rests in large measure on maintenance of a tremendous military budget. But the President is in no ways interested in solving the problem of taxation for the tens of millions of people who are

We are for a real tax relief bill such as advocated by the program of the Workers Party:

TAX THE PROFITEERS!

By E. R. McKINNEY

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

Philip Murray made a fighting speech at the CIO rally in New York to protest against the Taft-Hartley Bill. Murray was mad. The week before, Bill Green made a fighting speech in the

same place and against the same bill. Bill Green was mad, too. The mayor of New York City (O'Dwyer) was a speaker at these rallies and he is also mad.

Everybody on the platform at both meetings was making fighting speeches and getting madder and madder. This all took

place in Madison Square Garden in New York City. While all these fighting speeches were being made in New

## No Contract, No Sailing, for a veto. Say Seaman

JUNES 17-Refusing to sail ships without a union contract, members of the National Maritime Union and three other maritime unions have put a crimp into port activities all over the nation with a "sit-in," now in its third day, against what they have charged is a lockout by shipowners who will not bargain in good faith with the union. Seamen are continuing their regular duties aboard ship, except for sailing the vessel. The maritime workers are asking a 20 per cent wage increase, a health and welfare fund, improved vacation schedules and three other. demands. (Last week's LABOR AC-TION presented the case of the seamen, and discussed several other problems confronting the unions.) Meanwhile, with goods destined for shipment clogging the ports, the Association of American Railways has imposed an embargo on all freight headed for Pacific, Atlantic and Gulf

creased militancy, to independent

working class political action; for-

ward to the dismantling of capitalism

and capitalist society and the estab-

The most astounding part of Mur-

ray's speech was his statement: "It is

a fascist measure and indisputably

so." First of all, the bill is not a fas-

cist measure and when Murray closes

compounds his own ignorance and

adds lamentably to the confusion and

unclarity already in the ranks of la-

bor on important and serious politi-

cal issues. To play around, in such

an irresponsible manner, with the

question of fascism is a really crimi-

(Continued on page 2)

with his "indisputably so," he only

lishment of the socialist society.

York City, the Taft-Hartley Bill was on the President's desk. It had already been passed by Congress and was waiting Truman's signature or his veto. That was what the meeting was about: to petition Truman

> The puny descent of a few dozens of labor bureaucrats on Washington was over. Writing "a post card to your congressman" was over. Hundreds of thousands of post cards and letters, unread and unopened, had gone into the paper baler in the Capitol basement for sale as waste

The new slogan was "write to the President." "Demand that President Truman veto the Taft-Hartley Bill." These, too, will go into the paper baler to be sold as waste paper. All that will be accomplished by this mass letter and postal card writing is an increase in the revenues of the Post Office Department and local post

## WHAT COMES NEXT?

Suppose Truman does veto this bill. What will the labor leaders do then? Recommend a new campaign of writing "to your congressman?" Resume their feeble lobby on Capitol Hill? Will the CIO and AFL call another meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York City? To make more fighting speeches? To show how mad

That's the weakness of this whole procedure. Murray and Green got fighting speeches away from the place where Congress does its dirty work. They didn't call the labor movement out to march on Washington while the bill was in Congress. They didn't call the labor movement out for a 24-hour work stoppage. All they did was twiddle their thumbs moan about "slave labor" and wait for a Truman veto.

Should Truman veto the bill, things are back where they were before the bill was passed. The Republican and Democrat hatchet-men will demand passage of the bill over the veto. They have the votes to do this. But labor has the power to stop them in their tracks.

Labor can't do this, however, by remaining at work in the factories, or yelling ourselves hoarse in Madison Square Garden in New York City.

If Truman vetoes the bill, labor should do its demonstrating at the Capitol in Washington where the capitalist Congress will be doing its axe work on the labor movement. (Continued on page 4)

# O'Dwyer Shows True Colors on Fare Rise

## "Labors Friend" Proposes "Educational" Campaign to Foist Added Burden on New York City Subway Riders

of the Democratic Party. Should Truman veto the bill it will be because the vote of the South for the Democratic Party in 1948. Taft and the Repend on the middle class of the cities and rural areas and the most conservative workers. The Taft-Hartley Bill is a sop to these groups.

Murray said that there is "venom" and "hatred" in this bill. Perhaps. But we have our doubts about any appreciable measure of hatred. Venom yes, but not so much hatred as the determination to protect the interests of the capitalist class. Murray may get this into his head some day.

at the heart of democracy." What does this mean? Whose democracy does the bill strike at? Does the bill take any democratic rights from the employers? Or from any section of

Another "friend of labor" showed his true colors last week. Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York, having just gained nation-wide publicity for speaking out against the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill, rudely shocked his devoted followers by coming

out for a higher transit fare. The

mayor, a loyal Rooseveltian, certain-

ly learned from the old master how

"It's a Fascist Measure!" Cries Murray, But . .

Refuses to Organize a Fighting Labor Protest

capitalist democracy. And that's the

kind of "democracy" we live under:

capitalist democracy; the democracy

of private property and private prof-

it, of exploitation; democracy whose

outstanding feature is the rule of the

minority who own and take the

This reign of the capitalist class

will continue so long as the working

class permits it, so long as labor's

struggle is in the hands of the Mur-

rays and the Greens, so long as labor

is not politically organized with a

workers' government. Only under

to time his punches. He learned a few other tricks, too. Instead of stating his position flatly, the mayor told reporters that he is now "disposed" to favor a fare rise. However, a committee of top city administrators will first make a study of the situation for him. The newspapers make it clear that the committee's real job is to decide whether the fare should be raised from 5 cents to 7 or 7½ or 8-1/3 or 10 cents.

The Board of Estimate, highest financial body of the city government, will have to vote the rise, and finally the capitalist ruling class? Of course the voters will have a chance to denot. This bill strengthens the hold of cide the issue for themselves at next you rather see some payless pay is being written, three full days after

isn't it? Very democratic. In fact, the whole procedure seems a little silly. In these times how many ordinary citizens who ride the subways, elevated and buses are going to vote themselves an extra yearly bill of \$30 (for one rider in the family) or \$60 (for two)?

the capitalist ruling class on its own ine democracy, that is, the rule of the ganization for mutual protection.

bill, "this American labor movement

will endure." Of course it will, but

Murray doesn't know why. His and

of the Taft-Hartley Bill through Con-

actions which will cause the labor

movement will endure because capi-

operate. The class struggle itself

exploitation and oppression.

MORE THAN "ENDURE"

labor program, a labor party and a talism must have labor or it cannot

workers government can labor have throws workers together in depend-

anything which can be called genu- ence on one another, producing or-

majority; without Taft-Hartley bills, Furthermore, the capitalist does not

Murray said that in spite of this and the others. The capitalists today

gress and today are not the kind of labor movement will "endure." But

movement to endure. The labor is a labor movement which merely

Green's activities during the passage submit to a Taft-Hartley Bill.

But the mayor isn't going to be satisfied with asking on the ballot whether an increase in fare is approved by the voters. He is going to stage a vigorous campaign "to educate the public on the inexorable arithmetic of municipal finance." A course in why the poor always have to pay instead of the rich. And he is going to put on the pressure. He is going to say to the transit workers, school teachers, firemen, police and other city workers:

"The city is heading for bankruptcy. Do you want pay increases-or at least your present pay? Or would

November's election. Fair enough, days? Would you like a few additions to the staff to ease your heavy burden of work a little? Or the opposite?"

want to get rid of the unions. Espe-

cially so long as they are lead by

men of the type of Green, Murray

are reconciled to the notion of work-

want a labor movement which will

The capitalists are correct: such a

of what service to the working class

endures? That should be clear now.

The labor movement must do more

than "endure," it must move forward;

forward to the organization of the

ing with organized labor. They only

He is going to say to parents, "Do you want a few new schools to replace some of the 50 to 75 year old relics? And how about a few new playgrounds?"

## And so on.

He expects plenty of help in this "educational campaign" from groups of "good citizens," who are deeply interested in civic improvement-so long, of course, as the money comes from those least able to pay.

He expects that AFL and CIO leaders, whether conservatives or liberals or Stalinists, will keep fairly quiet. After all, at the big mass meetings against the Taft-Hartley bill didn't these leaders have their members yelling themselves hoarse that they wanted O'Dwyer as the next governor? And haven't they kept as quiet as dead men up to the time that this

the mayor first spoke on the fare issue? Not a word even from Mike' Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, loud defender of the "peepul" on the City Council and faithful follower of the Stalinist line

## NEW BURDEN

Ordinary reporters of the capitalist newspapers, without any hesitation at all, asked O'Dwyer, "How come?" Only four months ago he had held two very full days of public hearings on this question of a higher fare and had stated that it wouldn't solve the city's financial problems and that millions of New Yorkers couldn't afford any further burdens because of the high cost of living.

Only a few days ago he was declaiming against the Taft-Hartley bill on the grounds that it would cause a new depression by weakening the unions and thus lowering the purchasing power of the masses.

old black market top in New York, party of labor.

with other prices at least as high as eyer, with rents about to go up 15 per cent (unless tenants and unions organize to stop the plans of Congress and the landlord), today, O'Dwyer, that "good friend of labor," having already raised the sales tax from one to two per cent, proposes a new burden that will be five to ten

times as heavy as the sales tax. Among that tribe of capitalist politicians known as "friends of labor," O'Dwyer really does stand very, very high. But the hard truth is that labor can't depend on any of the tribe, whether a Democrat O'Dwyer or a Republican Morse or a mongrel Wal-

Labor must depend on itself, in politics as well as in economic action. That is why we say, again and again and again: The way to begin is by turning our backs on all the capitalist parties and politicians. The labor leaders do not do this. The workers themselves must. The way to begin Today, with meat prices above the is by forming a really independent

## The Boss's **Dictionary**

we are accepting the myth that the

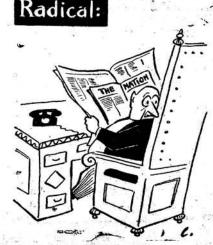
courts are not part of the government. This is very dangerous stupidity. The government is a unit: Con-

gress, President and courts. All three

branches of the government have the

same basic function and play the

same basic role: the protection and



#### The speech of Philip Murray at the CIO rally against the Taft-Hartley The function and the role of the courts, the President and of Congress Bill was an extraordinary utterance. Murray said that formerly the is to protect the class interests of the capitalist ruling class and to strengthen the domination of this class over the working class. That is the mean-

talist society.

maintenance of capitalism and capi-

"courts were against us and the employers were against us," but "we fought it out then in the courts." ing of the Taft-Hartley Bill. Should Murray went on to say that "now the Truman veto the bill, not a word of government initiates the injunction. what is said here will need to be That makes the government a strikechanged, If Roosevelt were still alive breaker. That throws the worker and President, not a word would against his government." have to be changed. In all his cam-And so, according to Murray, there paigns Roosevelt pounded this idea is some fundamental difference now. Before, the employer initiated the ininto the heads of the ruling class. It was there as big as day for the labor junction in the court and labor fought bureaucrats to see but they are blind it out with the employer without the men, astoundingly stupid men, men intervention of what Murray calls who are more receptive to ideas com-"the government." If we accept this ing from the capitalist class than to

## ON FRIENDS OF LABOR

Truman may veto the bill but this will not and cannot make Truman a friend of labor. It will make him a friend of Truman's presidential aspirations and of the factional interests he believes that this step is necessary in order to hold the labor vote and publicans know that they must de-

ideas from the militants in the labor

Murray said that the bill "strikes

## "EDUCATIONAL" CAMPAIGN

The proposal contains the follow-

FE to come into UAW as an autono-

mous division. A director of this di-

vision to be a member of the Inter-

national Executive Board. This direc-

tor to have an assistant, and an en-

tire staff. The members of this di-

vision to have special membership

cards marked UAW-FE, charters to

delegates are eligible for all posts in

ing features

the union.

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Addes Plan Wins on FE-UAW Merger

CHICAGO-The International Exec- role that the union leaders played unions do not dissipate energies fightutive Board of the United Automobile Workers-CIO adjourned a week long session on Friday, June 13, with no more action taken against the Taft-Hartley bill than an ineffectual appeal to President Truman to veto the bill.

Failure to support the surging demand for a 24-hour protest strike, and a March on Washington of stewards and committeemen, can only be attributed to a retreat before the GM corporation, produced by the latter's counter-attack, through firings, after the Cadillac Square demonstration. The board simply by-passed the entire question.

#### FE-UAW MERGER

The agenda consisted of cleaning up left over items of other Board meetings-approval of strike votes at Ford, Briggs and Bendix-and included a last minute coup on a proposal for merger with the Farm Equipment Workers Union-CIO.

FE and UAW have CIO jurisdiction in the farm implement field, a mistake from which the workers in the industry have suffered. FE's main strength is in International Harvester. The FE, a completely Stalinist dominated union has for some time now been involved in one jurisdictional dispute after another. They were indirectly caused by the sellout

during the war when the Stalinists were beating the drums for higher and higher production.

The contemplated merger with FE has been discussed in the corridors for some time. At the recently held UAW Agricultural Implement Conference in Milwaukee, the union discussed the question in the open for the first time.

Walter Reuther in his speech there discussed the question in great detail. The essence of his remarks were that UAW has always been for the unification, that it is absolutely necessary to face and beat the industry. However, FE has twice run out on unification. They were supposed to come in at the St. Louis 1940 convention but backed down, and again in 1945, after the National CIO had recommended merger, FE turned it

Reuther pointed out that because of the fierce animosity that exists between the membership as a result of disgraceful campaigns in Melrose Park, Evansville, Waterloo and Louisville, it was necessary to develop a practical program of collaboration before unification.

The recommendation of a practical program, later endorsed by the conference, consisted of the following

1. An agreement whereby the two

# "It's Fascism" - -

(Continued from page 1)

nal procedure. This is especially true right after Hitler with his concentration camps, gas chambers and all the other horrors of the fascist regimes. If the Taft-Hartley Bill were a fascist measure, that is, if the country had gone that far away from capitalist democracy, Murray would not have been standing in Madison Square Garden making that speech unmolested. He ought to get this simple truth in his head.

#### ON FIGHTING FASCISM

This aspect of the question of fascism is extremely important but there is something else. If the Taft-Hartley Bill is a "fascist measure," how is it that Murray and the labor leaders have done nothing more than wait for a presidential veto? Is this Murray's conception of the way to fight fascism? Doesn't he know that if the ruling class in this country is ready for fascism, it would not be deterred by a presidential veto? Doesn't he know that Truman would be sent to a concentration camp if he did not submit, along with Murray and all the leaders of labor?

Murray did not even call on the measure."

workers to put on a mass protest; he did nothing. This is a queer way to fight fascism and particularly after labor's experiences with Hitler and Mussolini. We want to tell Murray right now that long before any real "fascist measures" are introduced into Congress, the fascists will have been organized and prepared to take over. We want to tell Murray that long before bills are introduced the fascists will be running wild in the streets, breaking up workers' meetings and committing other depredations. We want to tell him, the whole labor bureaucracy and above all the workers, that labor will have to fight in the streets and armed, against the fascist gangs. A postal card, a letter or a Madison Square Garden meeting is a woefully impotent and pitiable activity to use as a measure against

a "fascist measure." The Workers Party has proposed a March on Washington and a 24-hour stoppage. If the Taft-Hartley Bill were a fascist measure, that certainly would not be enough. A far different type of organization and far more drastic action would be called for. But Murray doesn't even do that; and yet he says that the Taft-Hartley The bill is a "fascist measure" but Bill is "indisputably" a "fascist

With the Workers Party

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

AKRON

Write to Box 221.

BALTIMORE 21 West Preston St.

Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Public forums every second Friday of each month.

BUFFALO 639 Main St., 2nd floor.

Office hours: 11 a. m.-2 p. m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings every Saturday, noon-2 p. m. Open house Friday nights at 8. Educationals, Refreshments. CHICAGO

1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone: CHEsapeake Office hours: 3-5:30 p. m. daily.

Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. CLEVELAND Workers Party meets every Sunday

at 8 p. m. Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Write to: Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DETROIT 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Telephone: PLaza 5559.

LOS ANGELES 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7, Cal.

Telephone: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours: 2 to 5 p. m., daily.

LOUISVILLE Write to: Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

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Office hours: Tuesday-3 to 6 p. m.; Wednesday-12 to 3 p. m.; Saturday-FORUMS every Friday at 8:30 p. m.

NEW YORK CITY CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St.,

3rd floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 7 p. m. Wednesday and Thursday until 10:30 p. m. Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.

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

8:15 p.m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.) Room 16. CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesday.

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

m., at the City Center, 114 West INDUSTRIAL BRANCH: Thursday 8:15 p. m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St. B'KLYN - DOWNTOWN BRANCH:

Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 276 Fulton St., B'KLYN-BROWNSVILLE BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the De Luxe

Palace, 538 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Friday, 8:15 p.m., at the Workers Party

headquarters, 276 Fulton St., Brook-

lyn, 2nd floor. PHILADELPHIA 1139 West Gerard Ave., 3rd floor. Meetings Wednesdays at 8 p. m. Forums every Friday, 8:15 p. m. June 27: Symposium on the FEPC. July 11: The Future of PAC.

READING Write to P. O. Box 1671.

ST. LOUIS

Write to: Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbitt Ave., University City 14, Mo. SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Write to: Labor Action, 466 Tenth St., Room 206 Oakland 7, Calif. SEATTLE

Write to: P. O. Box 29, University Post Office

## Notice to New York City Readers of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is now on sale on all leading newsstands in Manhattan and the Bronx. You may purchase your July issue from your favorite stand.

ing with each other.

2. An end to vilification and slandering of the UAW as was witnessed at Melrose Park and Evansville. An agreement, before merger, not to cut each other's throats publicly, and to coordinate activities as should have been done in last year's Allis-Chalm-

3. Establishment of joint coordinating committees; a wages and contracts clearing house.

4. Joint contract clause coordination where both have plants (IHC). An understanding that no contract is to be concluded without coordination, as a practical demonstration of the desire for unification.

ADDES' PROPOSAL WINS That sums up Reuther's position on the question. The Addes position was presented to the Board on the day of adjournment. The Reuther faction was given fifteen minutes to read the proposal. Reuther asked that the matter be tabled and a special meeting be held on June 23 to discuss this question. This was voted down, and the Addes mechanical majority voted to accept their merger proposal.

## **UAW LEADER SAYS** SITUATION DEMANDS POLITICAL ACTION

By HERB MASON

BUFFALO-There is evidence from the meeting held June 4 at the Hotel Statler in Buffalo, that the recent anti-labor legislation has finally made some of the top UAW officials-at least in the Reuther camp-see the necessity for a new approach to political action. This meeting was ealled to consider the proposed anti-labor legislation and what steps could be taken to counter-act it. Martin Gerber, the UAW Regional director, called this meeting and was the principal speaker.

Emil Mazey, member of the IEB of the UAW, who has expressed support of an Independent Labor party, was supposed to make the main speech but he could not attend the conference. However, the program which he has spoken for lately elsewhere, was in substance the content of Gerber's speech.

To the assembled stewards and committeemen-about one hundred-Gerber pointed out the terrific damage the labor movement would suffer if the proposed Labor Bills are made into law. He analyzed the meaning of the elimination of the closed shop, the restrictions on the union shop, the emasculation of the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction act.

He told the rank and file that letters and post-cards to Congress have proved themselves worthless except as a tactic. The task before the labor movement today, that is the task of maintaining hard won rights attained over a period of years, can only be achieved by building an Independent Labor Party in America which must be independent of both the Democratic and Republican parties and politicians.

Gerber's position was received with unanimous approval by the assembled unionists. Although no mention was made of a program for the Labor Party or what particular organizational form it should take, the fact that a few leading Reutherites are now advocating the necessity of the Labor Party is of great significance. Gerber also demanded that functional unity, if not organic unity, be achieved immediately by all organized labor.

A resolution was offered by the president of Local 501 calling for a national work stoppage for 24 hours and a local demonstration in Buffalo against the pending labor bills. The resolution was passed unanimously.

be issued in a similar manner. Representation to the November Atlantic City convention to be based upon per capita payments paid into FE, and

The cynical manner in which the Addes majority bragged about how they had put 450 convention votes in their back pocket leads to the conclusion that they have executed a "smart" maneuver which should disgust those who genuinely believe in the absolute necessity of unity in the agricultural implement field. The conditions at first glance seem to be a capitulation of Addes to the Stalinists in turn for support to elect "their" men in Regions 3 (Indiana-

Illinois) and Region 4 (Chicago, Wis-

consin Iowa) and to defeat Walter

Reuther for president. There are many loose ends in this proposal. It is not clear as to how the UAW farm locals are going to work with this autonomous section. There is no provision for the reinstatement into membership of all the UAW members who were expelled by FE from the International Harvester Mc-Cormick and Tractor Works, and the Peoria, Illinois, Caterpillar Plant. Also, pointing to the possibility of a maneuver, they are in a perfect position to withdraw, if they do not get their way at the international convention, because they have kept their

apparatus intact. The proposal will be submitted to the UAW locals before July 15. The unity argument is powerful, and will be demagogically exploited. UAW militants are confronted with a real problem. Hence, they must obtain all the facts, view the situation in its entirety and determine just what policy will advance the best interests of the workers and their union.

## FIRST QUARTER PROFITS AFTER TAXES FOR AUTO AND AUTO PARTS COMPANIES

Increase Over

First Average Average

Average

al vi	Quarter 1947	Quarterly 1940	Quarterly 1946	Quarterly 1940
Borg-Warner	\$4,684,481	178%	\$2,258,707	\$1,682,616
Briggs	1,408,580		1,095,029	1,532,720
Budd Company	1,812,568	172%	(d)994,884	665,892
Chrysler	21,502,408	128%	6,722,323	9,450,570
Diamond T	466,280	680%	241,054	59,772
Divco	218,912	152%	238,535	86,820
Eaton	1,793,095	140%	896,470	748,664
Federal-Mogul	718,808	384%	666,710	148,497
Fruehauf Trailer	1,745,591	357%	1,359,895	381,750
General Motors	65,818,019	35%	21,881,578	48,928,752
Houdaille-Hershey	836,065	43%	371,783	583,272
Hudson	. 1,791,225	25.	595,660	(d)376,945
Kelsey-Hayes	1,120,069	190%	(d).15,641	386,217
Mack Truck	1,380,759	206%	(d) 220,549	451,455
Nash-Kelvinator	4,322,508	762%	645,569	501,717
National Automotive	- X - X - A P		14	3.1
Fibers	472,204	135%	308,510	200,602
Packard(	d)1,148,173	94 📡	1,208,878	193,537
Reo	1,336,475		888,959	(d) 323,091
Studebaker	1,655,760	212%	237,202	531,158
Total	111,935,634	70%	\$38,385,788	\$65,833,975
	—Rep	rinted from	n UAW Rese	arch Report

## Chrysler Delegates to Back Labor Party Resolution at Michigan CIO Conference

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, June 14-Although neither the anti-Reuther nor pro-Reuther caucuses in Chrysler Local 7 ran candidates for the Michigan state CIO convention on a program that included the important Labor Party plank, the delegates selected approved of a resolution for a Labor Party, and the executive board of Local 7 likewise endorsed it! And if this contradiction seems confusing it is only because it illustrates so well the irony and opportunism, of politics in the UAW-CIO today.

The so-called left-wing in Local 7 had a leaflet urging support of its candidates without any reference to the question of independent political action. The program advocated by the left-wing simply stated it was for CIO policies.

The so-called right wing plank on political action said, "Defeat the horse and buggy politicians who are stooging for big business in Lansing and Washington. Organize for election day to picket them with ballots."

## **Oakland Transit Workers** Take Economic Offensive

OAKLAND, Calif.—This city's 3,000 transportation workers successfully tied up all buses, street cars and trains in the East Bay area when they walked out Wednesday morning, June 11, demanding a substantial wage increase and improved work-

The two AFL unions of carmen and shopmen are striking for an increase their base pay up to \$1.56. Other ma-48 to a 40 hour week, and an eighthour working day in a spread of ten hours instead of the present twelve

The answer of the Key System, which monopolizes all transportation in the East Bay cities as well as between Oakland and San Francisco, was a miserable offer of six cents an hour increase and arbitration between that and \$1.35.

Last December Key System workers demonstrated their militancy when police-escorted scab truck drivers broke through picket lines at Kahn's department store. Streetcar drivers at the scene walked out, tving up traffic and precipitating the Oakland general strike. Key System workers are again demonstrating their militancy by voting 95 per cent to strike for better conditions.

This is in sharp contrast to the conception in wide sections of the labor movement that Congress must be appeased; that labor, in order not to provoke Congress or the President, must lay low and merely preserve the conditions already gained. Despite the inconvenience resulting

from a transportation tie-up, the militancy of the workers was wide among both the working class and the middle class.

FARE RISE DODGE

However, the strike is not without its weak points. The Key System is of 36 cents an hour, which will bring a subsidiary of the growing monopoly, National City Lines, which in turn is part of the huge General Motors empire. To carry on a really effective fight against this giant it is necessary that all the small local unions organize on an industry-wide basis in order to bring the combined might of all transportation workers throughout the country to bear on National City Lines.

> Secondly, the Key System in answering the demands of the unions came up with the same old storyinability to pay. Besides using this as a weapon to fight the unions, the company is paving the way for a probable fare increase. Therefore, as wage increase without a fare increase is of particular importance. That is. the wage increase must come out of profits and not from those who pay the fares.

If the company says this is impossible the union can demand proof by telling the company to OPEN THE BOOKS to union representatives.

The appearance of the right-wing leaflet created some sharp protest because it was in direct violation of the policy unanimously agreed to at a pro-Reuther caucus meeting of Local 7, where it was voted to re-affirm the Unity Group plank of independent political action, and turning the PACe n that direction. The authors of the leaflet simply smuggled their own conservative views into the leaflet, apparently under the direct influence of ACTU, the reactionary influence in the Reuther caucus. Interest in the election of the dele-

gates to the state CIO convention wasn't very high among the men in the shops because of the dull, and uninspired programs of the slates, and the fact that the election was held on a Sunday. The right wing leaflet, and its conservative approach, came out without approval of militants in the caucus, of the union president, and some other officers. It was a terrible retreat from the splendid program that swept the present Local Union 7 administration into office. If this seems bad, it was mild com-

pared to the maneuvering and duoble-crossing in the left-wing caucus. The most important single feature of the left-wing campaign was the fact that a well-known advocate of the policies of the Communist Party had a red-baiting and Negro baiting job done on him by members of his own caucus. Part of his own caucus went around using the vilest Jim Crow arguments against his election. Ditto on his CP sympathies. It was a truly disgusting spectacle, and the source of this gutter level politics is pretty well known. It involves a bitter dispute within the left-wing caucus for control.

After the election which resulted in an 8 to 7 victory for the rightwing-really a defeat in comparison to the huge 2 to 1 majority it piled up in the recent local union election -the matter of policy for the delegates was brought up. A resolutions committee for the delegation accepted a Labor Party resolution presented by Nick Di Gaeteno, editor of Local 7 Citadel, and a member of the left-wing caucus, and Jack Widick, an advocate of the Labor Party in the Reuther caucus. The executive board subsequently approved this resolution.

In an effort to avoid any clash on program, and to avoid an intensification of differences in both caucuses, the delegates and later the executive part of the general fight against the board voted endorsement of the labor rising cost of living the demand of a party resolution which commits Local 7 to fight for it at the Michigan CIO convention, and to support all moves in the direction of a Labor Party. Unionists who were against the idea of a Labor Party before the election of delegates had a sudden change of heart. It still remains to be seen how the delegation conducts itself on this issue at the convention.

## Pennsylvania Solons Duck **FEPC** Action

PHILADELPHIA-There will be no FEPC law from this session of the Pennsylvania State Legislature. The legislature adjourned this week without even the first step toward enactment having taken place. Such a first step would have been the placement of FEPC on the House agenda for debate. But on June 10, a week before the end of the session, the House Labor Committee defeated consideration by the decisive vote of 17 to 6. The Pittsburgh Courier estimates that with this vote "went any possibility of passage of the measure in this state for the next two years."

Need for an FEPC law is deeply rooted in the racial bigotry which Negroes, Jews and all other minority groups suffer. By fomenting race hatred the capitalists attempt to divide the working class. Among other things, this serves them in depressing and generally in blocking the unity of the working class.

This situation is becoming more and more intolerable. Unemployment is increasing. Negroes are, as a rule, the last to be hired and the first to be fired. In Philadelphia a large number of Negroes live by part-time, seasonal or irregular employment. Their wages are usually lower than that paid to other workers in the same trades. Layoffs are today occurring at an increasing and alarming rate. At the State Employment offices the lines grow longer, and the meaning of "unfair labor practices," that is, job discrimination, is revealed in its daily reality on these lines.

#### DEMAND SPECIAL SESSION

No FEPC for two years means two years in which unemployment may steadily increase, with Negroes getting the worst of it. It means two more years of that degrading sense of job insecurity which all workers share and is ten times worse for Negroes. There is danger of a depression during these two years. Will the Negro again be the "first to be fired"? That is the meaning of the action of the Republican machine in its defeat

The Workers Party of Philadelphia claims that two years is too long a wait. We, therefore, propose that all Negro and labor organizations organize a united campaign for the purpose of demanding a special session of the State Legislature to be held immediately for the purpose of enacting FEPC into law.

In the meantime we propose that the Negro and labor organizations of Philadelphia organize a militant and all-embracing campaign to demand of the city council of Philadelphia the immediate enactment of a Philadelphia FEPC law, as an interim law until the state legislature acts.

UNION OBLIGATION

Both the CIO and AFL are in favor of FEPC. They have in their ranks tens of thousands of Negro members; active, militant members in good standing. The rights of these members are in jeopardy and they must be defended inside the union and out. The ability of the unions to defend their members' rights and to fight discrimination would be strengthened by FEPC. The labor movement has a vital concern in such an antidiscrimination law.

The labor movement is powerful enough to demand and enforce its demand for such immediate legislation in the city and state. Unemployment is a threat to the labor unions, and to the entire working class. FEPC is not a solution for unemployment among Negro workers or to racialhatred. It is merely a first legal step which the unions will be able to use to strengthen their own fight against discrimination, for equal seniority rights and for equal pay for equal

work. There are 250,000 organized workers in the Philadelphia area. A quarter of a million workers organized around such a campaign could make the reactionary politicians who are a front for the Manufacturers' Association take notice!

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

## Not All Was Lost In Telephone Strike

Toward the end of the recent telephone strike, the Los Angeles Daily News reported the following incident. One of the unions had voted to return to work. They felt they could continue the fight no longer. They would have have to settle for quite a bit less than they had originally asked for. Not only that, but a general air of defeat prevailed over the meeting. One of the older union men obtained the floor, and said that he had fought to build the union for ten years and now he said, he saw it dissolving before his very eyes. At the conclusion of these remarks he went

Read and Subscribe to LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL out of the room with tears in his

The entire history of the American working class movement is full of incidents which at first glance appear to be defeats, but in spite of this the workers have forged ahead, growing, learning all the time.

I share some of the feelings and disappointment of this fellow tradeunionist but I would like to offer him a bit of encouragement. To show him what appears to be at first a defeat was but a preliminary battle for the future battles ahead. And how out of his recent experiences he can gain confidence and knowledge for the

My father is a telephone worker, not a socialist or even at all radical. I used to try to explain to him why I was a socialist and radical. I don't think I ever convinced him, but during the last strike, he told me a number of things that surprised me. In a very short time he is eligible for a pension from the company. A number shame with their militancy. of years ago he would have thought

day he looks with contempt at it. "I strictly financial terms we won't get gave them thirty-five years of my life and now they offer me a pittance" is what he says today. During the strike in a roundabout way, the company approached him with the idea of working during the strike. He told them he realized his pension might be at stake, but he would rather have his friends (fellow union members) than the pension. The point I want to make here is that there is no end to the self-sacrifice the American workers will engage in if they feel it necessary.

Several of my cousins also on the picket line I had a chance to talk to. asked Earl the attitude of the women. They are still full of fight. This was after three weeks of the strike. At one point during the strike the operators were offered a \$2.50 raise. "Rather than take that we'll quit our jobs. It would be too great a humiliation to go back for that." Also in many cases they put the men to

What do you think you will gain it pretty nice of the company, but to- from the strike, I asked one. Well, in

too much. To get what we really want, we'll have to go to Washington. I cite these few talks I had with

my cousin, Earl, to give an idea of a general feeling workers today have. I think these examples I give are fairly representative. There are some things more important than money. (My fellow union members, a feeling of solidarity that transcends the money issue, the workers' dignity as expressed by the women's remarks about humility.) The humiliation suffered is a very important factor in present day strikes. Then, too, the increasing consciousness by many workers that to win any important concessions, one had to deal with the government. And also the potentiality to fight in the women workers.

The man with tears in his eves thinks he has lost, but he shouldn't underestimate what has happened. The trade union movement has come a long way. It hasn't won every fight. It didn't get every cent it asked for, but all the time, it is getting stronger.

The company thinks it won, but it too underestimates the telephone workers. Let them ponder this over. Do they really know how the man with tears in his eyes, my father and cousin, the many women, have been trained and steeled to conduct the future battles?

RICHARD PAGE.

## Correction on **AVC** Article

California.

In last week's LABOR ACTION a serious typographical error reversed the meaning of a sentence in the article on the AVC convention by W. Fargo. In the fourth column of the article on page one (bottom) the sentence should read "most qualified spokesman and champion of the veteran," as is clear from the context of the article, instead of "least" quali-

## Editorials

## On the 4 Pages

As announced in last week's LABOR ACTION, we have been compelled by rising costs to reduce the size of LABOR ACTION to four pages. In presenting the first of the four-page LABOR ACTION we are aware that our readers will miss much of the material that they looked forward to in the eight-pager and for which we no longer have room. However, we believe that LABOR ACTION, even in its reduced size, will-continue to be the outstanding revolutionary socialist paper in the country.

It has been necessary to omit entirely several interesting articles, and to reduce the size of others. Some analytical material necessarily went by the board. But we do not intend that LABOR ACTION shall become a "newspaper" in the simple sense of merely reporting the news. LABOR AC-TION will continue to analyze, interpret, educate and agitate, from a revolutionary socialist point of view, and as such our readers will find it as indispensable for an understanding of the problems of our day as the eight-page paper.

... In last week's issue, we detailed the problems that forced this unwelcome retrenchment upon us. We pointed out that the response of our friends was truly magnificent, allowing us to REACH the income we had estimated when we undertook publication of the eight-pager, but that the steady rise in costs had far exceeded our expectations.

We do not propose to remain as a four-page paper any longer than is needed. The job we must do demands a larger paper. Continued support to the four-pager on the same, and perhaps greater, level as that given the eight-pager, will make possible our early return to a six or eight-page paper. Printing costs have DOUBLED in the past year. We therefore need your sustained help, your regular contributions to the LABOR ACTION FUND, to stabilize the financial situation of LABOR ACTION. which is now saddled with heavy debts, and to prepare for a new advance at the earliest opportunity. MOREOVER, WE PROPOSE TO PUBLISH OCCA-SIONAL SUPPLEMENTS. The frequency of these will depend not only on the issues which in our opinion warrant extra pages, but also of our financial ability to meet the additional cost.

To allow for the greatest amount of room, we are making some editorial changes. Everything that can be condensed will be squeezed to its limits. We want our readers to continue to write to us, but we ask them to make their letters and articles as brief as possible. Certain features that appeared weekly, such as "Tapping the Wall Street Wire," and "Off Limits," will now appear on alternate weeks. The Business Manager's column will appear approximately once a month. There will no longer be a regular book column, though we will from time to time review books. Some of the changes we are making are already indicated in this issue, such as smaller type for editorials, and others will appear in subsequent issues as we determine the best possible arrangement for the four-pager.

LABOR ACTION is YOUR paper. It is a paper that is NOT supported by the titans of industry. It has no "angels." It publishes no commercial ads. (And even periodicals which depend entirely on capitalist advertising have either reduced their size or raised their price!) LABOR ACTION is a worker's paper, and it is financed by the nickles and dimes contributed by workers. It is YOUR paper. Criticize it. Help make it better. Support it. Work with us toward a larger circulation and a 

## And Prices Rise!

W. Car

The people of New York City had some "good news" last week. They learned of the proposed new "rent control" bill which would make it possible for landlords to charge fifteen per cent more rent with the "consent" of the tenants. They learned of Mayor O'Dwyer's proposal (only a week after this capitalist politician spoke at AFL and CIO rallies) for a referendum on a ten-cent subway fare and that he favored a rise in the fare. And they learned that the prices of meat had gone up to an unprecedented high; that beef was selling for over \$1 a pound.

A lot of "good news," eh?

You will remember, no doubt, the speeches made in Congress after the destruction of price control. Why, said these great minds in Congress, you just let the "normal workings" (whatever that may be!) of the nation's economy proceed unhampered and you'll find that prices will go down without government intervention. Well, the "normal workings" of the economy have been proceeding now for some months and we see that the price of meat is twenty-five per cent higher than it was during the period before price control was

If that's the normal workings of capitalist economy-and every indication shows that it iswe want no part of it. It may be great for the capitalists, but a little more of that kind of "normality" and we're sunk.

The reason the big meat trusts and their friends in Congress were so eager to abolish price control was that they knew there would still be a 'buyers' market" for some time and that therefore they would be able to jack up their prices and reap in some fat profits. Which is exactly what has happened!

In the meantime, the people have been filched left and right. Prices have skyrocketed without being equalled by wages. Of course, prices will go down sometime in the future. But by then a large part of the workers' savings will have already

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Vol. 11, No. 25 June 23, 1947 EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor EDITORIAL BOARD ALBERT GATES HENRY JUDD IRVING HOWE

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been eaten up by the price jumps and jobs will be getting scarcer and everything will become tighter. In other words, prices will go down when the workers won't be in as advantageous a position to take advantage of that trend.

That is, if the "normal workings" of capitalist onomy are allowed to continue unimpeded....

But if the workers move into action demanding wage increases to meet the price jumps; if we organize tenant committees to squelch any attempts to raise the rents; and if we organize consumers' action to fight high prices-then conditions needn't be as dictated by the "normal work-

The economists of the capitalist class would have us believe that there is something inexorable about such matters as wage conditions, prices and rents. But we know that if workers organize they can improve their position on these matters; that the results always depend on the struggle which

## **Stalinist Trials**

The Stalinist coup in Hungary has only highlighted a series of similar events which have occurred in eastern and central Europe. Stalinist Russia is solidifying its hold on these areas in characteristic fashion-a total disregard for the opinions and feelings of the mass of people who inhabit these countries. It is fair to say on the basis of previous experiences that, given complete freedom of choice, the peoples of eastern and central Europe would reject Stalinist rule over-

The native Stalinists would obviously be unable to achieve their present domination of Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary-and now it appears that Czechoslovakia is next in line-without the presence of the Russian army and the vast secret police network which dominates the peoples by terror, and without the access given them to these lands by their erstwhile imperialist partners at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam.

The method the Stalinists are employing in the current purges in Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Hungary, are only too reminiscent of the Moscow Trials frame-up. The only difference being that the Moscow Trials were directed against the last representatives of Lenin's party, while in Europe they are directed against the opponents of the native Stalinist parties and the Russian puppet regimes, opponents who range from capitalist reactionaries to working class revolu-

Is it not singularly odd that in each of the countries mentioned the opponents are guilty of a plot against "democracy," and the "peoples' government?" That many of these are indeed scoundrels whose politics is against the interest of the people is true. But that is not what motivates the Stalinists. What is the plot? Only that they are opponents of the Stalinist gangs who took power. That and nothing more. Given the present police regimes, the Stalinists obtain "confessions." The "confessions" declare that the confessors and their collaborators were opposed to the dictatorial regimes. That is all that is needed. For what will follow not are a series of trials over a good part of the continent which will lead to convictions and thereby a solidification of the new dictatorial regimes, ruling under the protective wings of the Russian army and the GPU.

This is as good a time as any to remind those liberals who endorsed the Moscow Trials frame-up that the conviction and executions of 1935-37 had as much validity in truth as the present confessions and convictions have—that is, absolutely none. It is also as good a time as any to hear from ex-ambassador Joseph E. Davies, who became Stalin's chief propagandist in this country in support of the lynchings carried out by the Moscow Trials.

## JOINT PROTEST STRIKE BY ARABS AND JEWS

Forty thousand Arab and Jewish civilians employed by the military declared a one-day strike last week against the large-scale dismissal of War Department employees without compensation. The strike was a demonstration of the determination of thousands of employees to obtain fair labor conditions for which they have been fighting for the past six years. These include: basic rates of pay, bonuses, Provident Fund, War bonus, sick pay, health insurance, leaving indemnities, annual leave with pay, maternity leave, etc.

This country-wide strike involving thousands of Jews and Arabs demanding their elementary rights as workers is an example of co-operation between the two peoples for their mutual benefit. (From Labor in Palestine)

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A COLOMBIA

# RLD POLITICS

#### WILL AUSTRIA BE NEXT?

In the current offensive of Stalinist Russia to consolidate its position in Europe against the inroads which the United States may make through the Truman Doctrine, the next victim of Stalinist expansion has been clearly marked: Austria. The cynical declaration of the Austrian Stalinist leader, Ernst Fischer, that Russia will not sign a peace treaty with an "unfriendly government"-which means that it will maintain its occupation troops in Austria indefinitely-was the beginning of the "war of nerves" which the Kremlin is waging against the Austrian regime.

We are quite aware of the differences in social character between Hitlerite Germany and Stalinist Russia, but there is no denying a marked similarity in political techniques—the similarity which led Trotsky to speak of the two regimes as "symmetrical." While there are differences in social structure between Hitlerite Germany and Stalinist Russia, both are totalitarian political regimes. The means by which the Russians extend their imperialist domination is therefore similar in many respects to that which the Nazis used: the discovery of "plots," the use of fifth-columns, the blatant disregard of the wishes of the people whose country they enter and rule.

Having for some years been subjected to Nazi rule, Austria is now in danger of being caught in the Stalinist net and becoming a second Hungary. From a number of points of view, the situation is favorable for the Russians. Austria is near economic collapse, its calory level has been one of the very lowest in Europe and there is a general sense of despair among its people. Such an atmosphere makes it easy for a country to be cut up by a large imperialist power.

Hence Fischer's statement and his report that he had negotiated with Prime Minister Figl, of the Catholic People's Party, indicates that the Russians will try to pressure the Austrians into setting up a government "oriented toward the east," as the polite phrase goes. It is unlikely that they will try to pull quite as crude a stunt as they did in Hungary, for the Austrian Stalinists have even less mass support than their Hungarian cronies and in Austria the powerful Social Democracy is not pro-Stalinist as is its Hungarian coun-

#### BACKGROUND OF THE SITUATION

A review of the background of the Austrian crisis clarifies the present situation. After the end of the war in Europe, the victorious powers pledged at the Moscow Conference that a free and independent Austria would be established. In the case of Austria there was less of a pretext possible for military occupation than in the other European countries; for she was not an Axis power but rather a country which had herself been overrun by the Nazis.

However, the scramble for positions in Europe between the Anglo-American and Stalinist blocs of imperialism, could not allow such humane considerations to play any role—and Vienna was and remains a crucial point in Europe. Hence, the tiny country which had suffered ferribly under its own native fascism (the Dolfuss regime which had destroyed the Socialists in 1936) and then under Nazi occupation and then during the war (21 per cent of Vienna was destroyed by bombing!) was now

principality by one of the four occupying powers. Vienna, the heart of Austria, was likewise sliced into quarters. Obviously no economic recovery or reorganization was possible so long as four separate zones, each of them with separate and conflicting regulations, were maintained in Austria. And no recovery has taken place!

In November 1946 there was an election for a Chamber of Deputies. The conservative Catholic Peoples Party won a majority with 85 seats; the Social Democrats gained 76 seats; and the Stalinists got merely four. This was a terrific blow to the Staliniststhough wherever in eastern Europe there have been reasonably free elections, the Stalinists have been similarly defeated. The Peoples Party thereupon took the lead in forming a cabinet.

#### RUSSIANS TAKE OIL FIELDS

The Russians worked with fierce concentration to lift everything they could from their zone in eastern Austria. This zone is in some ways a key area: its control by the Stalinists means that they would thereby completely control the Danube and means as well that they would have at their disposal the largest oil fields in Europe, the Zisterdorf fields. The Russians proceeded to grant themselves extraterritorial rights in their zone and gradually took over the Zisterdorf fields. They drove out the Austrian authorities and tried to bribe the workers with a sharp wage increase at this field-something they did nowhere else in Europe.

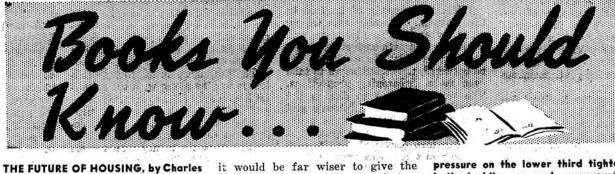
Simultaneously they applied every sort of pressure on the Austrians. They asked in February 1946 for 70,000 acres of land, one-fifth of Austria's arable land, in order to feed their army of 75,000 occupation troops. After a refusal by the Austrian government, the Russians took over in March 1946 some 104,000 acres in Lower Austria. Afterwards they cut this down to 80,000 acres which they still exploit for their own use.

The Russians broadly interpreted the provision of the Potsdam Agreement which allowed victorious nations to take over property of German nationals and they thereby assumed control of most industries in their area. When the Austrian Parliament passed a bill for the nationalization of most basic industries, the Russians in the occupation council vetoed the bill because it would have cut into their economic loot.

Simultaneously the other occupying powers either milked Austria or by their behavior made the minimum degree of economic recovery impossible. (Imagine a country the size of one of our smaller states cut up into four conflicting economic zones!) This is the price which the Austrian people have paid for the imperialist occupation of their country.

The situation has gotten so bad that the Austrian Parliament recently passed a resolution requesting all of the occupying powers to get out of the country. ONLY THE STALINISTS OPPOSED THIS RESOLUTION.

Now Austria faces the current offensive from Russia. The question must therefore be asked of all those in the revolutionary movement who have scoffed at the idea of Stalinist imperialism: if what the Stalinist regime has done in Hungary and is trying to do in Austria is not imperialist, then what is it? We eagerly await clarification.



New York, 1946. \$5.00. Reviewed by HENRY NEWMAN.

"In 1892 Trinity Church, then holding extensive slum properties, refused to comply with an order of the New York City Health Department to install running water in its tenements. . . . It argued, among other things, that the pipes would freeze, that the tenants did not complain, and finally that the law was a burden imposed upon landlords for the ease and comfort of tenants and clearly in violation of constitutional guarantees."

This is one among many lively and informative statements in a recently published book, THE FUTURE OF HOUSING, by Charles Abrams, lecturer, real-estate operator and legal advisor to a raft of public housing

## HOME-OWNERSHIP DANGER

Abrams has divided the subject of housing into five parts. In the first, The Problem, he outlines the history of shelter in the U.S. A. and introduces the various persons and legal institutions that enter into the picture. Part II describes the real estate and construction enterprises from land holding, the mortgage sys-tem and the building and materials industries to-the slum. The Era of Enlightenment and The Housing Agencies, Parts III and IV, give an exhaustive account of the long movement toward housing reform and the recent alphabet of New Dealcreated agencies. The last section, entitled Toward Solution, contains Abrams' concept of planning and his ten-point program for housing re-

Studded through the book there are trenclant and penetrating comments about housing practices and institutions. Home ownership is one example. Home ownership is one of the most dangerous myths of all. At best it is a risky undertaking involving the greatest single expenditure any man is likely to make in an entire lifetime, with the everpresent hazard that he may lose it all through a single defaulted payment. Abrams asked a high official of the Veterans Administration what the reason was for the provision giving the veteran only two years from the war's end to take advantage of the "easy ownership" provisions of the GI Bill of Rights. Since the retaining of a house through the years demands an absolutely steady income, to a permanent decision to root himself to one spot. The answer, however, reflected the general attitude: We want him to settle down as quickly as possible and stay put." (Forty-three per cent of all houses built in the boom after the First World War faced foreclosures between 1926 and 1936.) Says Abrams, "The home-purchase

transaction is grounded upon the ability of the owner to carry through his obligation for the duration of the mortgage period. For default in a single payment, the homeowner may lose everything-home, equity and sometimes even a good name. The foreclosures that took place during the last depression should have shattered the illusion of security. Home ownership, the sacred cow of the twenties, became a white elephant in the thirties. Single-family foreclosures (excluding farms) from the years 1926 to 1940 totaled more than onesixth of the single-family owner-occupied residences in our urban areas in 1930."

"Moreover," says a footnote, "foreclosures are not the only index of distress since deeds may be voluntarily surrendered or sold for nominal sums."

## EXPOSES AN ILLUSION

One of the most widely held misconceptions about housing is the idea that the slum dweller will eventually be benefited by housing built for the upper income brackets. It is commonly assumed that when a wealthy family moves into a new mansion. a less wealthy family moves into its former and so on down the line until somewhere a slum family moves out of its hovel and into what had just the "profit mechanisms" are prebeen an acceptable middle class

Abrams devotes a number of paragraphs to exposing this dangerous illusion. "A constant shortage of habitable dwellings plagues the lowestincome group," he writes. "When building is resumed, demolition by the private builder occurs most frequently in areas where obsolete dwellings predominate; these are chiefly occupied by the lower third. Public authority is most inclined to vacate or tear down unfit or unsafe dwellings in these areas, making the shortage more severe. Alteration of old dwellings also occurs in the same areas, and dwellings once available for the lowest-income group are remodeled for higher-income occupancy. As the

pressure on the lower third tightens, Abrams. Harper and Brothers, young veteran a maximum of time both doubling up and overcrowding to get established before entering in- mount and slum ills multiply, No amount these families. In fact, resumption of private building is more likely to diminish the supply of dwellings available at their price. . . . The law of supply and demand seems to be operating today within the confines of three separate compartments. While some filtering occurs, after a long lag, from the upper to the middle level, the process rarely functions down the whole line. . . . If we experienced the greatest building boom in our history, second-hand dwellings would still not become available to the slum dweller."

There is so much in the book that is valuable that the reviewer hesitates before criticizing it in a short essay for fear that undue weight may be attached to the limitations of the book. With these words of caution, however, I shall risk a brief comment on Abrams' weakness as a

## WHERE HE ERRS

In the last paragraph in the book Abrams writes, "Yet housing has always offered a third choice. In writing a comprehensive housing program we can grant the largest measure of benefit to the rank and file and still respect the profit mechanisms which public attitudes want preserved. . . . "

This idea, which permeates all his programmatical concepts, seeks to solve the housing dilemma by artificially extracting it from the economic system that gives rise to it: a "solution" obviously valid only in the laboratory. To begin with, we doubt that the "public attitudes" of the "rank and file" care greatly whether served or not; the auto strike, the railroad strike and the miner's strike were blows against the profit mechanism and showed little respect for it. There is a direct contradiction between "the largest measure of benefit to the rank and file" and a respect for profit mechanisms. The people of this country will begin to have housing when they begin to sweep away the whole profit system, and with it such profit mechanisms as slums

Abrams has vividly described the present of housing. Despite his title, the future of housing is still to be written. But it will be written by others; by people who have freed their thinking of the contradictions of capitalism.



By JACK RANGER

DIAMOND AS BIG AS THE RITZ

Years ago, Scott Fitzgeralli wrote a short story with the above name, a young boy's fantasy on how the rich live. Later, Ferdinand Lundberg in his splendid study, "America's 60 Families," devoted several chapters to document the private lives and possessions of the wealthy that comprise the royal families of the United States. Just the other day there appeared in the press a little footnote to this subject, and here it is:

Back in 1886 (year of the Haymarket Riot and the fight for the eight-hour day), 100 wealthy northern families purchased, for \$125,000, Jekyll Island, off the southeastern coast of Georgia. For 61 years the island has been run by a club limited to 100 members, who must be not only millionaires but the active directors of leading financial or basiness interests. On the island's beaches, accessible only by yacht or plane, the Morgans, Rockefellers, Goulds, Bakers, Baruchs and Pulitzers have relaxed in privacy. The owners refused to permit bridges or causeways to connect Jekyll Island with the mainland or other nearby islands. Civilization has touched the island only for the comfort and recreation of its owners. Most of the island's 3,500 acres have been left to great sea turtles which lay their soft eggs in the sand, and to wild deer which occasionally invade the 18-hole golf courses.

The island's nine miles of beaches are the finest in all Georgia. Indeed, of the 140 miles of beaches along the Georgian coast, only three miles are open to the people of the state. The late J. P. Morgan was president of the Jekyll Island club. There, in the pleasant months of winter, America's royalty retires to pass the days and nights amid sumptuous luxury and carefully-preserved natural beauty. The golden isle is far from the canyons of Wall and LaSalle Streets, far from the mills and mines and factories and the despised horde whose sweat and toil balances the masters' easy lives.

When Ellis Arnall was governor of Georgia he raised the issue of purchasing the island from its millionaire inhabitants and converting it into a state park "for the plain people of Georgia." The demagogue never pushed the issue to embarrassing lengths, however, Now Governor Thompson has asked the island's owners to sell the place for six times what they paid for it. Bernon S. Prentice, New York banker who succeeded Morgan as president of the island club, told Thompson curtly that the island is not for sale.

#### JOBS FOR COLLEGE GRADUATES

The biggest job market of all time awaits the privileged college men graduating in 1947, according to an employment survey of 113 colleges and universities by Northwestern National Life Insurance Co. Placement officials of 64 schools state that most of their available graduates are already placed and that they expect the remainder to be employed within, a few weeks after commencement; 34 more schools estimate 90 per cent placements by July 1. Thus, 98 of 113 schools estimate 90 to 100 per cent placements by July 1, the survey points out. From 80 to 90 per cent of the male graduates on most campuses are veterans. A considerable part of the current recruiting of college men is for company training programs that will develop what business refers to as "junior executive personnel." Demand for college graduates is coming from almost every field of industry, but the most active fields of employment are the heavy industries, such as steel and machinery manufacturing, chemical concerns, the rubber industry, department and chain stores, wholesale concerns, petroleum industry and insurance. Starting salaries average 10-20 per cent above last spring's beginning pay.

It sound like a far cry from 1929 and the 1930s, when young men and women used to march, in cap and gown, from the college commencement program to the nearest WPA headquarters or the relief office.

There is no doubt but that conditions have worked to make the present crop of college students more conservative than those who preceded them by 10 or 15 years. The GI monthly educational allowance—inadequate as it is—and the booming job market have combined to lead present-day students to believe that they actually have a future under capitalism. Because of this mistaken bellef. capitalism is the short-term winner. But for the long pull, capitalism will lose. It has little indeed to offer today's college graduates, and even less to offer the hundreds of thousands who remain on the campuses. Most of the veterans will be graduating two or three years hence, when the whole system will be heaving and cracking. The shocking letdown will be immeasurably sharper than it was for those who came out into the cold world of the

When that day comes, most of today's aspiring "junior executives" will be unceremoniously tossed out on their ears, and will meet the new crops of graduates in the employment offices. Then the veterans will remember some of the things they learned in the course of the war. Then they will have to turn toward socialism, the only movement that can offer them hope and insight and great goals. Then their real education will begin.

## O. K. Men!.. Any Questions?

"Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower called on the citizenry of the United States last night to take leadership in reinforcing development of international cooperation and arbitration as a barrier against war."

-New York Times, May 28, 1947

"Magistrate Robert F. Mahoney in Probation Court found ten members of two pacifist organizations guilty of disorderly conduct yesterday in connection with their attempt to stage a demonstration on Fifth Avenue Easter Sunday.

"Two of the defendants, James Peck and Marion Coddington, were sentenced to pay fines of \$50 or spend fifteen days in the workhouse, while the eight others received \$10, or three days.

"... The group was part of fifty persons associated with the New York Fellowship of Reconciliation . . . and the War Resisters

-New York Times, May 28, 1947

## LABOR ACTION PRESENTS A FIRST HAND ACCOUNT OF THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE\_

# Railway Strike Highlights French Economic, Political Crisis

By MAX STERLING

PARIS, June 13-Yesterday, after six days of unrelenting struggle which struck at the roots of French society, the railroad workers returned to their jobs. With the greater part of their demands granted, the workers had cause to be proud of themselves. For the first time in French history the railwaymen carried through a successful strike against the capitalist government of

The strike is truly historic. In 1910 and again in 1920 the railwaymen threatened to strike. In both cases the then privately owned railways enlisted the aid of the government to invoke war-time powers to successfully prevent the strikes. Again in 1938, when labor protested against the Munich pact with a threat of a general strike, the railwaymen were requisitioned into the army by the infamous Daladier. During the three general strikes of 1935, 1937 and 1938 the railwaymen abstained from the struggle, in the first two cases directly, and in the last case by their being requisitioned into the army.

Such is the social climate of France today that Premier Ramadier, who still retains until July 1 the powers of conscription, did not dare to invoke this authority against the workers. The air of France is charged with the electricity of class struggle. The Renault strike was only the first great flash. Then followed a whole series of strikes, among them the bakers, the power workers, gasoline workers. metal workers and now new threats and strikes from telephone and post office workers, teachers, metal and mine workers, and even students who for some time now have not gone to classes in protest over reduction of the education budget and the reduction in the number and value of scholarships.

spark was needed to start it. It came in a very modest form. On Monday, June 2, the window washers of the trains in the town of Villeneuve St. Goerge, just outside of Paris on the rail line to Lyon, protested against the lack of bread during the strike of the bakers. They were soon followed by 4,500 railwaymen of the locality. The Federation of Railwaymen, controlled by the Stalinists, was in the beginning opposed to the strike and certainly to its extension. However, aware of their disastrous experience with the Renault workers (see page 3) they soon went along with the strike in order not to lose their hold on the workers.

#### RAMADIER'S DESPICABLE ROLE

From Monday, June 2 to Friday, June 6, despite the coolness of the leaders of the Federation toward the strike, and even against the advice of the latter, the railwaymen moved slowly toward an extension of the strike. On Friday, June 6, the strike movement took a big leap forward, and quickly embraced all the railwaymen of the nation. All trains came to a dead stop except for those carrying food, and this only by permission of the workers. Passengers were stranded and thousands of trucks, cars, airplanes, ships-everything with or without wheels that could not be called a train-was enlisted to take care of the general chaos. Harbors and depots began to pile up with merchandise. Coal and raw materials failed to arrive at the steel mills. The production of big industry was beginning to feel the

Four hundred and fifty thousand railway workers were on strike, the whole French economy was endangered and the capitalists looked to their passing idol, the "Socialist" Ramadier, to save them. He, the man This is the charged background of who had bested the Stalinists and

the strike of the railwaymen. Only a had thrown them out of the cabinet, this small man known as the "beard" by his colleagues, who had shown such unexpected firmness was now called upon to drive the workers back to their jobs.

From the beginning Ramadier attempted to play up to this role. He had previously accused the Stalinists of being "the hidden conductors behind the orchestra of strike struggle." But now it was evident to all, above all the capitalists, that the Stalinists far from being the initiators and inspirers of the strikes, were just as fearfully being carried along by the flood and dared not lose contact with

The so-called socialist Ramadier strutted like a tough capitalist boss and, to the wild applause of the socialist and rightist deputies of the capitalist class, in a meeting of the Assembly on June 11, shouted: "I repudiate the use of force and I will accept only the proofs of prudence." To the workers he cried: "The government will negotiate only when the workers have gone back to their jobs." To the Stalinist leaders of the CGT (General Confederation of Labor with 6,000,000 members) and the Federation of Cheminots (Federation of Railwaymen) he admitted "The strike was not ordered by anyone. No one takes responsibility for that. The Federation of Railwaymen has not given the order to strike. Twice, and this morning again, I have told you: 'Here is the situation that the country is in. You have not taken the responsibility for the strike. Advise the workers to return to work. Take the responsibility in the national interest. Otherwise, do you not abdicate your leadership of the trade unions?' '

Before this traitorous counsel the Stalinist Deputy, Dupuy, cowardly replied: "The trade union organizations have done all they could to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation" and then went on to plead that the strike had already cost the government more than the claims of the strikers. "If one wanted to avoid the strike," he added, "a little understanding would sfluce." Then, offering his services to the capitalist class, he warned, to the applause of all the Stalinist deputies, "Take care! Do not misuse the authority of the trade union leadership because the country will be in need of it."

### MILITANCY FORCES RETREAT

While this comedy of traitors in the National Assembly was taking place, wherein the Stalinists and Socialists vied with each other on the best way in which the workers could be betrayed, the strike began to take even more threatening proportions. The workers began to discuss the cessation of all food shipments and events began to move toward a national general strike. The workers of the gas and electrical plants, prevented two weeks ago from striking by the Stalinists who yielded before Ramadier's threat to requisition the plants with the use of the armed forces, began to show a new spirit of combat. In the Paris region they slowed down their work until 50 per cent of the lines were turned off. The metal workers, too, engaged in slowdowns and sporadic strikes. To meet this threat Ramadier reversed himself and settled the claims of the gas and electrical workers. Not only did he fail to requisition the plants, but he had to yield on a 13 per cent increase in their wages.

Thus the will to struggle broke the agreement entered into by Ramadier and the Stalinists to postpone the granting of the demands of the workers until December 1. On Tuesday, Ramadier was compelled by the situation to go back on his strong-man role of not negotiating until the workers returned to their jobs, and in fact began negotiations with the Stalinist

ernment even broadcast over the radio what its terms would be.

To the trade unions' claims for an additional 12 billion francs for the last half of 1947, which would go for increased salaries, pensions, bonuses, and family allowances, Ramadier countered with an offer of eight billion francs. In the meantime, the strike was costing the government over 350 million francs a day in receipts. The government produced figures to show how disastrous the increase would be to the financial economy. The Minister of Finance, Schulmann, revealed that the 100 billion franc loan ceiling from the Bank of France was practically exhausted as the government had only 20 billion francs left of it and 40 billions more were needed to take care of the 10 billion franc deficit on the nationalized railroads and the 30 billion francs for the new increases to the workers. In addition, 94 billion francs more were needed for government bonds that were falling due in the next two months. It was estimated that the 100 billion franc ceiling would be raised by another 100 billion francs and in some quarters the prediction was made that the government would be compelled to print and put in circulation 200 billion franc paper notes.

#### INFLATIONARY SPIRAL

An inflationary spiral seems inevitable. In May, despite the phony effort to hold prices down by the sensational 10 per cent price reduction decrees of Blum and Ramadier, prices rose six per cent. At the same time the government refuses to devalue the franc although, without any substance to back it, the franc on the free market undergoes increased devaluation. Because the government lacks foreign exchange with which to import, it stubbornly refuses to devalue its money as it would then be able to buy less from the outside. It is a vicious circle indeed for French capitalism since inflationary prices make its products too costly to interest buyers from foreign countries and thus contracts the sources of foreign exchange.

The French capitalists are trying to solve this problem on the backs of the workers. They and Ramadier have tried to freeze the wages of the workers for as long as possible. That was the sense of the agreement entered into with the Stalinists to postpone a solution until December 1. The capitalists do not propose to solve the problem by inroads on their in-creasing share of the national income which jumped from 27.4 per cent in 1938 to 44.1 per cent in 1947.

The Stalinist solution to the problem is to play along with the Socialist lieutenants of the capitalist class and their aim is to share the governmental power with them. To the demand of the government spokesmen as to where the money would come from for wage increases, the Stalinist Duclos suggested that there be a decrease in the salaries of the Deputies of the Assembly. This piece hypocrisy and demagogy was shown up by another deputy for its mean-

## POLITICAL ALIGNMENT

It was only to prevent a worse catastrophe that Ramadier and the Stalinist trade union leaders came to an agreement on the railway strike during the early hours Thursday, June 12. A compromise was reached to give the workers 9,900,-000,000 francs of increases for the second half of the year 1947. As the overwhelming majority of the workers who are in the lower categories (I believe there are 15 categories) were earning between 6,000 and 8,000 francs monthly, this would amount to an increase of between 1,200 and 2,000 francs a month, with the lowest categories receiving the

leaders of the trade unions. The gov- lesser part. When one recalls that in terms of dollars the workers were making between \$50 and \$65 a month it can be readily seen how miserable are their living standards and why even the Stalinists cannot hold them back from struggle.

It is for this reason that the masses of the workers are no longer in the Socialist Party which openly carries out the will of the capitaliss class. Even there one sees reflected the opposition of the workers in the demand of its so-called left wing for an extraordinary national conference to put before the membership the capitalist politics of the party and especially of its leadership. One sees this even more among the Young Socialists, many of whom are sympathetic to the Trotskyists, and who only two weeks ago manifested their hostility to the big wigs of the Socialist Party on the occasion of the annual homage to the Communards before the wall of the Pere LaChaise cemetery. There they booed the hypocritical leaders of the Socialist Party who had the indecency to pretend that they were in the tradition of the fighters of the Paris Commune. And to emphasize their hostility to these misleaders they joined up with, and warmly applauded, the delegation from the Trotskyist PCI (International Communist Party) and the Vietnamese comrades. It is not for nothing, then, that the leaders of the Socialist Party have tried to dissolve the Political Bureau of the Young Socialists, to undermine their fighting ogran, the Drapeau Rouge (the Red Flag) and to

break up their organization. While disillusion with the Stalinists is proceeding much slower, the process increases day by day. The workers joined the Stalinists in the first place because they thought that in contrast to the Socialist Party they really stood for the class struggle and for the proletarian revolution. The workers misjudged the Stalinist role in the Resistance. They did not understand that there was a difference between its fighting ability there and its treacherous politics.

the CP's change in line is in consid-

a head on collision did take place-

in the Renault strike-and that a

further development along the same

lines would have done irreparable

damage to Stalinist prestige. (Also

involved, of course are matters of in-

ternational politics. Kremlin line.

U. S. pressure on the French govern-

ment, etc. But these considerations

One of Paris' more sensational

weeklies, "France Dimanche" (France

Sunday), summed up the Renault

strike and its effect with a banner

headline across the front page that

read "Un petit ouvrier de 25 ans a

force Auriol a 'revoquer' Thorez"-

that is, a little 25 year old worker has

forced President Auriol to kick the

Stalinists led by Thorez out of the

cabinet. The 25 year old worker is

Comrade Bois, leader of the central

strike committee of the 30,000 Re-

Statistics published in "Les Nou-

velles Economiques" make clear the

basis of the workers' dissatisfaction,

which needed no artificial stimula-

tion. Based on an index of 100 for

both wages and cost of living at the

beginning of 1940, we have the fol-

Wages

430

Since production in January 1946

was still far below pre-war produc-

tion, the slight lag in wages at that

time in relation to the cost of living

seems not bad at all. Now look at

the situation has worsened consider-

ably since October, 1946, but even

then the workers had already suf-

fered almost a 50 per cent cut in real

Is it any wonder that the workers

no longer believed what the Stalin-

ists in the government had been tell-

ing them-that "the strike was the

arm of the trusts," that what they

needed was production and more pro-

duction, and everything else would

right itself (shades of Taft)? It is a

literal fact that in the face of the

tremendous Stalinist machine, and

its collaboration with the bourgeois

government, the workers did not

move into action until they could not

There is a genuine and well-found-

exist on their wages.

what has happened since! Actually,

Cost of

Living

nault workers.

lowing development:

October 1946

January 1946 ..... 320

STALINIST THUGGERY

are outside the sphere of this column.

today, sharp as they are, even the Stalinist maneuvers are not so agile that they can avoid their increasing exposure. The Renault strike was the beginning. We can get an idea of what is happening inside the Stalinist Party by what transpired recently in a meeting of the 11th Arrondisement of the Parisian Communist Party, the bailiwick of no less a' Stalinist than Andre Marty. In an assembly of 3,000 members of the Communist Party, 1,300 openly repudiated the treacherous course of its leadership.

PCI INFLUENCE SPREADS In the trade union sphere it is reflected by the growth of the CNT (National Confederation of Workers) which only a little while ago had barely 600 members and now has 120,000 members. Perhaps many more would have left the Stalinist CGT for the anarchist-controlled CNT were it not that the Trotskyists advised the workers who are in opposition to the course of the CGT leadership to remain within it and to build its opposition around the left Front Ouvrier (Workers Front) tendency. Moreover, the workers are beginning to form their own factory committees after the example of the Renault strike. Thus, there has now been formed an inter-factory committee of the factory committees of various plants of the metal industry.

The slogans of the Trotskyists (PCI) for a sliding scale of wages to meet the obvious inflation, for a minimum wage of 10,300 francs a month, for a 40 hour work week, for workers' control of the nationalized industries, for workers' control of the distribution of the means of life, for opening the books of the corporations, for factory committees and inter-factory committee, for a general strike and a workers' and farmers' government, are increasingly popular. It is no wonder that everyone overestimates their actual physical forces. The entire French press is talking about the Trotskyists and contrasting their boldness to the vacillations of the Stalinists. Where In the social and class struggles of, it was once difficult to approach

workers of the Communist Party because of the poisonous calumny against the Trotskyists fed to them by their leaders one now finds a ready ear.

The bourgeoisie understands its problem. Thus, in today's issue of Le Monde, the organ of the big bourgeoisie, the following appears: "At this time when the railway strike is ended, to the satisfaction of all, and which solution can become catastrophic for our economy and our finances, must we, on our part, look for a souvereign arbitrator who will impose his mediation between the state and the salaries of public employees. Look for it in vain in a democratic republic. It is necessary in effect to have a man, a demi-god, more powerful than the state itself."

De Gaulle is therefore not kept in the wings for nothing. He is increasingly emerging to remind his audience that he exists. Who else indeed will be able to fit in with the bills of regimentation that are now being considered in the National Assembly?

So urgent is the situation, that the workers did not even receive their present victory too enthusiastically. When the proposal was brought to the workers many were opposed to it and a great many abstained from approving it. They wanted even more than they were able to wrest from the hands of the capitalists acting through their Socialist Party agents, abetted by the Stalinists. In the present position of French economy the revolutionary program of the Trotskyists may well register significant gains.

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## French Socialist Youth **Defy Party Decision Ousting National Bureau**

PARIS. June 7—At a meeting on June 5. the National Bureau of the Socialist Youth voted 10 to 1 to refuse to recognize the June 4 decision of the National Committee of the Socialist Party, to dissolve the National Bureau of the youth organization. Stating that it was democratically elected at the Montrouge Convention of the Socialist Youth to represent the political orientation of the overwhelming majority, the Bureau announces its intention to continue to function and charges the SP National Committee with seeking to prevent the youth from pursuing a socialist policy.

The SP National Committee, in which only three members (Yves Suzanne Charpy and Jean Rous) opposed the motion to dissolve the youth bureau, has been engaged in a war against the revolutionary development of the youth organization. As listed in the statement of the Youth Bureau, the SP Committee forbade the publication of the youth convention resolutions in the "Drapeau Rouge" (Red Flag); led a campaign of calumny against leading youth members; sought police intervention in an attempt to discredit a young revolutionary opponent, Dunoyer; prohibited the publication of a statement adopted by the youth delegates to the National Committee affirming the sondarity of the youth against the provocations of the SP leadership; organized a campaign in various party federations to destroy the Socialist Youth.

## POLITICAL REALITIES

In their statement, the Youth leaders charge that at stake are vital issues of policy, and that "no juridical or bureaucratic quibbling can hide the reality." This reality they set forth as follows:

"Even though the Party Congress declared itself for wage increases, reduction of military credits and peace with the Viet-Nam, the Ramadier government pursues a colonialist militarist policy and more and more anti-labor.

"Marius Moutet leads a war to the bitter end in Indo-China and obstinately refuses any peace proposition with the Ho Chi Minh government.

"Ramadier and Daniel Mayer are opposed to any increase in wages despite the fact that living costs and production continue to rise.

"One sees manifested, in this manner, the characteristic desire to abandon the class platform of the Socialist Party and to make of it a party of the Radical type, defender of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

"Guy Mollet, elected at the last Congress as representative of the 'left,' is in fact covering this policy together with the right wing.

"It is, as well, absolutely clear that the National Committee (SP) leads the offensive against the Socialist Youth who unconditionally support the workers' struggles, who fight for immediate peace with Viet-Nam, who demand a massive reduction of military credits, against the bourgeois governmental coalition and the anti-labor policy of the Ramadier government."

Refusing to yield the mandate voted it at the Montrouge convention, the National Bureau, with one exception (Delpech), rejected the request of Guy Mollet that members of the Youth Bureau in order to continue functioning with SP permission, sign a "declaration of fidelity." In their appeal to the youth members they write:

"We continue as the National Ruredu of the Socialist Youth, the only one which has been regularly elected by a national congress. Only another national congress may take from us the mandate which we have received. The National Committee (SFIO) wishes to bureaucratically name, from above, another National Bureau. Such a Bureau does not represent the will of the JS. You cannot recognize its authority.

"Inform your groups and federations, as soon as possible, of present events. Call meetings of groups and of federal informational assemblies, protest against the decision of the National Committee. "Democracy continues in the JS.

All tendencies can express themselves whether or not they are in accord with the political line of the National Bureau. But the comrades who recognize the decisions of the National Committee (SFIO), by such an action, place themselves outside of the Socialist Youth. Whether they be majority or minority, on the local level, you should no longer allow them in our organization. In the sections or federations which they control, form new local or federal bureaus.

"Undertake the battle in the Party. Ask the adult sections and Federations, to protest against the bureaucratic decision of the National Committee, show the political character of the measure taken against us, and make them understand the real significance (support of Ramadier and Moutet).

"If you are menaced by dissolution or expulsion, take no account of it. Refuse to recognize all measures taken against you, against your groups, your federations. The Party may ask you to recognize your 'errors' and to swear fidelity to it by á written declaration. Sign nothing. "We ask all the groups, all the federations in agreement with the political line adopted at Montrouge, to empty their cash boxes in order that we may be able to continue to defend this policy. We ask each militant to make a personal effort of assistance. Until further notice send the funds to Maurice Brassart, 68; Boulevard Diderot, CCP. Paris 457.

"With their revolutionary will, with the devotion of their militants, the Socialist Youth will live in spite of the reformists and the traitors to the working class.

cialist Youth: (signed) Marcel Rousseau, National Sec'y., Maurice Brassart, Carmen Carmona, Andre Dunover. Francis Fuvel. Jean Lavenu, Edouard Machu, Henri Massein, Michel

Parreau, Robert Sauterey."

"The National Bureau of the So-

(Continued from page 1)

Down Tools - -

That's the place to stop the bill from being passed over a Presidential veto.

A WAY OF ACTION

Thousands of workers can start moving on Washington as soon as the bill is vetoed, if it is vetoed. They can fill Washington and make it burst at the seams. They can camp on the Capitol lawn, on the steps and inside the building: thousands of them. The AFL and the CIO can demand that Congress meet in joint session and hear what labor has to say. Green and Murray can tell these scoundrels not to pass that bill; that labor will not submit to this bill even if it is passed. It's about time that the labor bureaucrats begin taking steps to earn their big salaries. It's about time they really placed themselves at the head of the thousands of militapt workers to let the capitalist congressmen and the capitalist employers know, without a shadow of

## **Newark Meeting** E. R. McKinney

will speak on "FIGHT LYNCH LAW"

Sunday, June 29, 8:00 p.m. Labor Action Hall-248 Market St. Admission: 25 cents

doubt, that these labor leaders really represent labor and its interests. While thousands are assembled in

Washington millions can be demonstrating outside every factory and in the streets for 24 hours. Down tools for 24 hours! Let the machines remain idle for 24 hours! Let the workers in the fields and on the plantations stop their labors for 24 hours! Let the ships remain at anchor in the harbors for 24 hours! Not a ton of coal or a bar of steel for 24 hours! Not a tire, not an automobile nor any other product for the period of the 24-hour stoppage!

That's the way to defeat the Taft-Hartley Bill. That way will defeat this bill. That's the way to make the capitalist bosses and their government at Washington understand. That's the kind of education the whole capitalist class needs today. They are on a rampage. This whole class of profit-bloated exploiters and parasites are engaged in an all-out political offensive against the working class: Republicans and Democrats alike. They have already extracted their pound of flesh. Now they want an extra pound. Later they will demand another, and another. Labor must stop them now.

MARCH O.N WASHINGTON. DOWN TOOLS in every FACTORY, MINE, MILL and FIELD for 24

ed physical fear of the workers toward the Stalinist apparatus. The To read the articles in the capital-Renault strikers, before their resoist press, one would, think that the luteness and international relations present wave of strikes in France is caused a partial change in Stalinist purely and simply a plot on the part strategy, went through several days of the French Communist Party to of actual physical battle with bands blackmail its way back into the govof Stalinist thugs. The strike commiternment. There can be no doubt that tee, which couldn't be reached by the the present line of the CP makes it police, had to barricade itself in that easier for the rank and file workers part of the plant called the Collas to move into action than a couple of sector, where its support was most months ago, when such action meant solid, to protect itself from the Stala head on collision with the CP. But inist strong arm squad. there can likewise be no doubt that

International Socialist Notes

Only after three days of fighting, munist ranks. of continuing the strike, did the CP begin to change its tune. Even the May Day parade was disgraced, as has been previously reported, when Stalinist thugs beat up Renault strikers distributing their strike manifesto along the line of march, and attacked Socialist Youth seeking support for the strikers.

## DEVELOPMENT OF LEFT

The French press was not unaware of the significance of the strike and of the rank and file actions of the workers. The Monde, big business daily, on May 7 said, referring to the left wing in the Socialist Party:

"There are in this minority some orthodox Marxists and some 'Trotskyists,' partisans of the permanent

revolution. Both remain opposed to the program of the government, and to the reestablishment of order in the French colonies. The danger remains then of an opposition led by a large fraction of the Socialist Party, an opposition which could be more far reaching and formidable for the prime minister than that of the CP." "L'Aurore," another conservative daily, stated:

"It is not at all certain that this tendency, if it leaves socialism, will go so docilely to reinforce the com-

"It is more likely to go beyond the communists, to constitute a Trotskyist wing, which will flank from the left Duclos and company."

Even "L'Humanite" itself, the central Stalinist organ, expressed alarm at the fact that the main gate of Renault was covered with the posters of the Trotskyists, and that inside the shop it was obvious that they had carried on much activity.

"La Semaine Economique" for May 9 summed up the fears of both the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists saying: "Will we see, under the banner of Marxist unity, a gathering together of the Trotskyists of the PCI and 'Verite,' of the militant Socialists and certain communist elements attracted by an intransigent program?" Our French comrades hope to an-

swer yest to this question.

## RELIEF COMMITTEE ASKS CONTRIBUTIONS FOR WORKERS MEDICAL CLINIC IN ITALY

The American Committee for European Workers Relief announced that it is asking for donations of medical supplies and doctor's instruments. These will be sent to Foggia, Italy, where the Solidarieta Internazionale Operaia (Workers International Solidarity) is attempting to establish a free medical clinic. The secretary of the Foggia workers' relief committee is a physician. The ACEWR asks for such items as stethescopes, blood pressure measuring apparatus, thermometers, elastic stockings and all items of use for a clinic.

Excerpts from letters made public this week by the ACEWR reveal the continuing food crisis in Germany and the need for an increased flow of gift packages.

An excerpt from a letter from Frankfurt-on-the-Main reads as follows: "We received your two packages with great joy. One was a food package, the other a clothing package. I hardly need to emphasize how glad we were to receive the food package; all of the things in it are rarities for us. The clothing package was also very good-all the things fit us, the shoes, especially, as if they had been made to order.

"Dear friends, when a package like that arrives here, it is as though we had Christmas all over again. Everyone wants to open it up and then we distribute it. Our dear mother is the happiest of all since she does all the cooking and thus has the greatest

struggle with the food problem." A Jewish worker in the Ruhr writes: "Personally, from 1933 to 1945

I was exclusively in jails, penitentiaries and concentration camps. I was politically and racially persecuted till April 23, 1945, when I was liberated by the American Third Army at Flossenburg. I rejoined my family and two children. They were well but had sunk to a very low standard of living and had been robbed of all they possessed..."

"Since I have encountered great economic difficulties because my family was robbed by the Nazis, I wish to make an urgent request. Could you make me and my family happy by sending us some clothing, shoes and underwear for which you have no further use? I would be very grateful to you. Of the 1,000 charity packages which were given out here, hardly one has reached a politically or racially persecuted person. For those who distribute those packages seem to look upon us as criminals

just as the Nazis did." The ACEWR has already started sending packages to this persecuted worker, who spent thirteen years in the prisons and concentration camps of the Nazis. To send relief to this family and to many others it must have the support of people who believe in international solidarity. Will you help? Send a donation to ACEWR, 130 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.