

Law and Order In Georgia Adds 6 New Victims

By E. R. McKINNEY

Several hunks of scum passing themselves off as human beings murdered seven and wounded six Negro "convicts" in Brunswick, Ga., last week. These wild beasts were prison guards under the command of W. G. Worthy, prison warden, who, according to one of the "convicts," was full of whiskey at the time he ordered the massacre. This drunken lout claimed that the prisoners were attempting to escape when he ordered the guards to open fire with shotguns. The prisoners of course were unarmed and totally helpless.

The "convicts" had been taken from the prison to work on a road repair job. Worthy claimed that 27 of the Negroes went on a four-hour strike. Then they were herded into a truck and returned to the prison camp. The chief of the county police was sent for. He arrived with his men, tear gas and shot guns. The prisoners were lined up and given a lecture by the chief of county police. He told them they must obey the warden. Worthy and the police chief said that then Bell, one of the "convicts," attempted to attack the warden. The drunken Worthy fired and the prisoners began running toward a 12-foot barbed-wire fence. "Shot guns roared and men started falling," according to the press report.

PRISONERS' STORY

The prisoner, Bell, told a different story and we believe him. He said that he refused to step out of the line of prisoners when told to by Worthy, "because I know he wanted to kill me." Another of the prisoners said that Worthy had called to him: "Come out, Pewee, I want to kill you." Another "convict" said that the warden started shooting with his pistol and then yelled to the guards: "Let 'em have it." Worthy claimed that he did not order the guards to shoot "I did not say 'Let 'em have it.' When they run, they (the guards) knew to let 'em have it. Those are my orders."

It is clear that this whiskey-soaked savage and his guards fired into these men and murdered seven of them. They were all mad because the men had demonstrated dissatisfaction for some reason or other. They brought them to the prison camp so that they could go through with their "law and order" (Georgia law and order) orgy away from the public gaze; where there would be no witnesses whose word would be taken in a Georgia court against a white man. It is clear that the drunken Worthy began shooting after the men were lined up. After he shot at one of the prisoners, the others began running. Since the prisoners were unarmed, they evidently concluded that it was better to run than to stand in line and be murdered. When they ran the "superior race" began to fire for the protection of "white supremacy" and, of course, "Southern white womanhood." They "let 'em have it."

Worthy claimed that the prisoners were armed with short iron bars and sticks, and that one carried an ice pick. This is interesting even if a little lame. These men had been taken from the prison to work on the road. They carried these iron bars with them. They had to have them when they left the prison because immediately on being returned to the prison they were lined up. Of course it never occurred to anybody to search the men, either when they were loaded into the trucks out on the road or when they lined up in the prison camp. These must have been very short bars or they could have been seen by the warden and guards. Or is this unusual situation to be explained by the fact that the warden was drunk? Were all the guards drunk too? And the county chief of police?

NAACP'S SPOKESMAN

A representative in Georgia of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked for a grand jury investigation. This man, C. M. Morse, is reported in the press to have made the following remark: "We are not upholding wilful law violators, but so many rumors

have been current since this unfortunate affair, we feel that a full sifting of the incidents should be made."

If this was all Moore could contribute, why didn't he keep his mouth shut? Moore knows full well what happened in that prison yard. He knows what Georgia "justice" is for Negroes. He knows what a Georgia chain gang is and what Georgia prisons are. He knows what a Georgia prison warden is and what Georgia prison guards are. If he doesn't know these things, then he is a poor specimen to have representing Negroes in Georgia. Moore must know that a Negro doesn't have a hound dog's chance in a Georgia court. This is especially true of the poor, miserable Negroes who have no money, who are ignorant and backward, who are not "good niggers," or who do not have some "good white folks" to intervene for them.

"We are not upholding wilful law violators." Indeed! This is great consolation for all the Negroes in Georgia prisons and for those who will be there tomorrow and who will face being shot down in cold blood by some hoodlums with the titles of "police chief," "warden," "guard." Moore's business is to defend and protect the victimized and oppressed Negroes of Georgia and not to compromise one bit with Georgia "law and order." His attitude is that perhaps these Negroes did do something "illegal" which acted as a provocation to the warden and his guards.

The "affair" was "unfortunate." Why? Did this killing disturb the "peaceful race relations" in Georgia? Will it induce some more "meddling" from Northern "outside agitators"? Or does it embarrass "the better elements of both race"?

Risk Arrest In Solidarity PW Action

Special to Labor Action

BREST, France, July 11—In contrast to the rabidly chauvinist attitude taken by the French Stalinists toward the remaining German prisoners of war, the Fourth Internationalist Parti Communiste Internationaliste has found ways of practicing true socialist solidarity with these forced laborers in France.

In the port of Brest, for instance, there are approximately 500 German prisoners. Almost all of them have, at one time or another, received the specially prepared "solidarity" packs, containing issues of the German-language Trotskyist "Solidarity" wrapped around cigarettes. The envelopes bear the version "Quickly! Put this in your pocket. Solidarity—Fourth Internationalist."

DISCUSSION GROUP

The work of secretly distributing these packs is carried on constantly, despite the fact that it carries a penalty of eight months' imprisonment if the distributor is caught by the police. The French bourgeoisie, in this case fully supported by the Stalinist bureaucrats, finds it necessary to guard against all attempts at fraternization between the French workers and their imprisoned German brothers.

Recently a group of prisoners in the Brest area formed an "Anti-Fascist Discussion Group" for the purpose of discussing the differences between the various working class tendencies. As soon as the authorities learned about the group, it was ordered to dissolve. At the same time, the Catholic Church (which in France represents a particularly reactionary political tendency) has been granted permission to do work among the prisoners—work which is not at all confined to religious services.

LIST PCI ADDRESS

Although it is illegal for our comrades to distribute their material among the prisoners, all the papers and leaflets carry the address of the Brest PCI headquarters. Since the suppression of working class organs among the prisoners is not widely known in France, the PCI has taken the position that a public airing of the question, which a trial would involve, is worth the risk of an eight-month prison sentence.

The Brest PCI headquarters, from which much of this work is carried on, is decorated with copies of the Trotskyist press from all over the world. A copy of LABOR ACTION is prominently displayed, together with copies of "Arbeiter und Soldat," an underground paper published by the French comrades for German soldiers during the occupation, and other pieces of literature in all languages.

LABOR ACTION will carry more news about the work among the prisoners of war from time to time.

LABOR ACTION

JULY 21, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

U. S. and Russia Build War Blocs in Europe!

Sing for Your Supper!



The 16-nation parley in Paris, meeting to consider the Marshall Plan, ended its sessions on July 15 and selected its committees, which are to report to the United States by September 1. Thus the first practical step in the formation of a Western European "economic and political" bloc directed by the United States has been taken to challenge the Eastern European bloc organized by Stalinist Russia.

No great secrecy surrounds the purposes of either bloc—its organizers declare openly that they are antagonistic formations. Thus, two years after the greatest war in the history of mankind has ended, the former allies find themselves locked in death-like struggle which must end in another war of even greater magnitude than the last one.

Form Tenant Committee In Detroit

DETROIT, July 10—More than 300 tenants at a neighborhood meeting held by the Blaine Tenants Council yesterday, voted to oppose signing of leases, to oppose paying any rent increase, and to support any tenant evicted for not signing a lease or not paying a rent increase.

Tom Downs, legislative representative of the Michigan State CIO Council; Ben Probe, PAC director of the Wayne County CIO Council; and Bill Nicholas, co-director of the UAW Housing Department, spoke at the meeting and supported the organizing of tenants' councils.

A motion was passed in support of forming building and block committees by the tenants present at the meeting. And over one-third of the tenants stayed after the meeting to implement the motions by giving their names as workers for immediate organizing of the neighborhood.

Another large meeting is going to be held by the end of July after a larger Tenants Council is formed in

In its formal aspects, the Paris parley considered two points which only by the widest stretch of the imagination might be regarded as non-political matters: (1) the development of production of the major European industries, by intensive effort and inter-European trade cooperation. (2) The import of essential commodities from other parts of the world, primarily the United States and other parts of the Western hemisphere. The executive committee of the parley is composed of Great Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway.

RUSSIAN BOYCOTT
The stated aim of giving economic assistance to the nations which participated in the conference under the "Marshall Plan," does not, this time, conceal the more important objective of the United States which is political and military, as well as economic. The U. S. State Department has in mind only one important thing by the Marshall Plan: to mobilize the Western European nations not under the control or influence of Russia into a pro-American bloc, through which the struggle over Europe will be fought.

The Russians, who at first seriously considered participating in the conference, finally rejected all the proposals of the Marshall Plan and proceeded to boycott the conference by preventing the participation of such countries as Czechoslovakia, Finland and Austria. It had even warned Sweden and Norway that participation in the conference might result in a deterioration of their relations if the Marshall Plan turned into the organizing center of an anti-Russian drive.

Russia was swift to act in reply to the Secretary of State. It proceeded immediately to arrange for trade agreements with its Eastern European satellites, providing for an exchange of goods presumably of mutual advantage to Russia and the satellite nations. This bloc of Eastern European nations is being welded into a solid military, economic and political alliance which Russia will employ in its current struggle with the United States over control of Europe, China and in part, the Middle East.

Why does the United States pro-

(Continued on page 2)

Opposition Winning Vote in UAW On Thomas-Addes FE Merger Plan

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, July 13—Opposition to the Thomas-Addes UAW-Farm Equipment merger proposal gained strength in the UAW as key Detroit East Side locals, Dodge Local 3, Lincoln 900, Ford 400, Zenith 104 and Bendix 9 (one of Addes' strongholds) today voted to reject the merger proposal.

Another important test on this issue will take place this week at Chrysler Local 7. The Executive Board of this local voted, by an 11 to 8 vote, to hold a rank and file secret ballot referendum on July 16 on the FE merger question. This represents another important victory for rank and file democracy and exposes even more the bureaucratic approach of R. J. Thomas and the Addes-Lonard-Stalinist bloc to this question. (Their supporters in Chrysler Local 7 voted against giving the ranks a chance to vote by referendum.)

Defeat of the merger proposal in the East Side locals followed a debate on the merger proposal between George Addes, secretary-treasurer, and Walter Reuther, president, before the rank and file of the UAW-CIO at Cass-Tech High School here on Friday, July 11.

DEMOCRATIC ISSUE

Reuther has made it his primary appeal to preserve the democratic and industrial union structure of the UAW-CIO against the bureaucratic machine of Addes. In his exchange with Addes, he was very sharp in his comments on this point. Addes resorted to the old Stalinist song and dance of unity, unity and more unity, to evade the important question: Is this particular merger proposal a sound one?

Although a small Stalinist clique tried hard to disrupt Reuther's speech against this particular FE merger plan, he made mincemeat out of Addes, who stumbled and stammered through a defense of the outrageous behind-the-scenes deal he had cooked up with the FE-CIO-Stalinist leadership.

Addes admitted that 54 staff members would be added to the payroll of the UAW-CIO under the proposed merger agreement.

Reuther pointed out that the Ford department, servicing 150,000, "was allotted only eight members and the GM department, ten staff members, but FE, with 43,000 members, wanted 54 staff members. He denounced it as a crude political maneuver to get votes at the next convention at the expense of the basic industrial union structure of the UAW-CIO. He read the statement of Grant Oakes, president of FE-CIO, who said in the June 12 Daily Worker: "The merger would create a powerful, united and autonomous division within the UAW-CIO."

The rank and file of the UAW-CIO

Latest reports indicate a victory for the Reuther forces on the Addes-Stalinist FE-UAW merger proposal, with the vote running about 2 to 1 against the merger plan.

won an important victory for maintaining democracy in this union when the International Executive Board finally approved the recommendation advanced by Walter Reuther, UAW

president, that verbatim minutes of board meetings be published.

This means that the rank and file will have another weapon in checking on the actions of the top leadership of the union. Far too often, as in the case of the proposed FE merger, the Executive Board majority has been doing and saying two different things at the same time. Now duplicity and distortion will be far more difficult for the officialdom.

The announcement of this board action by President Reuther during his debate with Addes met with prolonged cheers of the large rank and file audience.

Price Rise to Boost Fabulous Profits

Situation Calls for Consumer Committees and Organized Labor Intervention to Halt New Spiral

With a rise in coal and steel prices certain to set off a new, dizzy price spiral on almost all commodities, and with prices already swinging upward on such essential items as meat and butter, President Truman this week appealed to steel and coal profiteers to keep their greediness in check.

In effectiveness and general meaning, this latest price appeal by the President will have about as much value as the price plea he mumbled some months ago. It may serve to win some sympathy for the President as a man with noble intentions. But it won't keep prices down. And, so far as we can see, the President does not propose that anything be done to keep prices down.

When the President spoke on prices a few months ago, and then retired with the feeling of a nice campaign job well done, it induced some merchants to unload unmovable merchandise in the various late and unlamented Newburyport Plans. The coal and steel barons, having ready markets for everything on their "shelves," will not bother with such fakery. They will merely go ahead and raise prices, knowing full well that the President or Congress will do nothing to hold prices in line.

This is, consequently, a time which

requires that the fight for effective price control, through the operation of Popular Consumer Committees, be renewed. And, more important, this is the time to raise again to the fore the famous General Motors strike slogan: WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES.

Figures published in the newspaper PM this week reveal that coal and steel profits are at a phenomenal level, without parallel in war or peace. Were profits lower than they are, it would still be our position that prices must be lowered, that wage increases must come out of profits, and not be passed along to the wage earner in higher prices. But the facts are such as to indicate that wage increases, even the record increase of the miners, could be easily absorbed by the profiteers. Yet the coal industry and steel propose to pass along the increase to the consumer. This must be stopped. And we would, for example, like to see the steel workers, organized in the key CIO union, do the stopping at the source.

A recent report by Robert Nathan, who last year drafted the economic report which was supposed to be the basis of the CIO's demand for wage increases without price increases (and from which the CIO leaders back-

tracked), demonstrates that there is absolutely no reason on earth why an increase in the cost of coal production needs to be passed on in steel prices. Nathan's figures prove that the cost of coal is a negligible factor in steel production, easily consumed by the steel monopolists with their fantastic profits. But quite apart from that, whether coal is a big or little cost in steel production, any attempt by the steel industry to raise prices is a scandalous steal which will be the go-sign for price increases in every industry.

PM's I. F. Stone has compiled a table of facts on steel and coal profits which are presumably contained in the forthcoming report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Thus, while coal companies are announcing price boosts, "in some cases twice as great as necessary to cover the boost in coal wages," and with steel companies preparing to follow suit, the six largest bituminous coal mining companies, according to government figures, made as much profit in the first quarter of this year as in SIX MONTHS of their best previous year. These companies netted, after taxes, \$4,500,000 for the first quarter of 1947, or \$18,000,000 on an annual basis.

Compare this with the following figures:

1942	\$7,500,000
1943	7,900,000
1944	10,000,000
1945	8,900,000
1946	9,800,000

But this is nothing as compared with steel. First quarter profits, AFTER TAXES, were \$124,000,000. U. S. Steel's figure is \$39,234,000 for the quarter, AFTER TAXES, or \$3.78 a share. Bethlehem, the second largest steel company, netted \$16,000,000 for the first quarter, AFTER TAXES, or \$4.84 a share, and Republic Steel, third largest, raked in \$11,516,000 for the quarter, AFTER TAXES, or \$1.96 a share.

With the relation holding true for Bethlehem and Republic, here are the figures for past years for U. S. Steel. Remember that \$39,234,000 for the quarter means \$157,000,000 for the year, AFTER TAXES.

1940	\$102,200,000
1941	116,100,000
1942	71,000,000
1943	63,400,000
1944	60,700,000
1945	58,000,000
1946	88,600,000

There is a hunger for steel in this

(Continued on page 2)

The Boss's Dictionary

Socialism:



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Names Killers of Pennsylvania FEPC

This is the third in a series of articles by the organizer of the Philadelphia branch of the Workers Party, Jack Brad, on the failure of FEPC in Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA - We can give an exact answer to the question: Why was FEPC killed in the Pennsylvania Legislature? We can do this by identifying the killers, those men who live by the exploitation of labor and whose profits increase when labor is divided between Negro and white.

First: the real estate interests, men with vast holdings of city land and houses, like Albert M. Greenfield and the organizations to which his kind belong, such as the Philadelphia Real Estate Board. It is difficult to locate the precise hangman, because many of the strings are pulled behind the scenes.

Second: The various Boards of Trade and the Retail Merchants' Associations, for example, the Philadelphia Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce, which includes most of the large department stores and retail sales outlets. According to the Committee on Fair Employment Practices, "none of these department stores has ever hired Negroes as salespeople or in any other white-collar positions."

Third: The Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association. This is the most

important of all. Through its relationship to Grundy and Joseph Pew, themselves big capitalists, the PMA is, in effect, the Republican Party. Mason Owlett, head of the Association, was put there by Grundy, state Republican boss and, in turn, Owlett is a key figure in the party.

The PMA consists of such corporate giants as United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Sun Oil, Sun Shipbuilding, the Mellon interests and many others. Pennsylvania is one of the largest industrial states in the U. S. and the capitalists, as elsewhere, rule its politics. And it was this class of exploiters who defeated FEPC because they do not want to upgrade Negroes or be forced to hire Negroes at all levels of skill.

The Philadelphia Tribune openly accuses the PMA as the power behind FEPC's defeat: "The Tribune was informed last week that 'big money' is being put out to block all FEPC bills." There is no doubt that the decisive force against FEPC was the PMA and the Republican Party, which it controls. Grundy bosses the party and is a leading figure in the Association. Grundy selected ex-Governor, now Senator, Martin, to front for him. Martin chose Duff, present Governor, first as his Attorney General and later for the Republican candidacy.

What about the Democratic Party? In this state this party is only a jackal, receiving with diffident acknowledgment what small bits of patronage the lion is willing to yield. Walker, a Democrat, introduced an FEPC bill, but neither he nor any other Democrat supported it or fought for it. And on the final vote to kill FEPC, to quote the Courier: "most of the Democrats on this committee voted against the bill."

Since the ballot was secret and the Republicans had a majority, the Democratic tactic was to make sure FEPC was

killed and then to blame it on the Republican majority. The Democrats played with FEPC for their own purposes and in the end voted against it.

MAJOR LESSON

The lesson that cries out to be heard is that these two parties are tied hand and foot to the anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic ruling class. We can only expect that such parties will not represent the wishes of the working class. It was this same Legislature of Democrats and Republicans, after all, that defeated a bill to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan.

Labor needs a party of its own, a party responsible to the working people only and answering their needs.

And high up on the platform of such a party would be opposition to all forms of Jim Crow and race hatred, beginning with job discrimination.

We have placed the history of state FEPC under a political microscope. No matter how you look at it, it is a case-study in the futility of supporting Republicans or Democrats, be they "good" or "bad," Negro or white. Every man on the big tickets is a captive of the big corporations. An independent labor party can give us a real stake in politics which we can use to advance the interests of all workers, regardless of race.

Prices, Profits - -

(Continued from page 1) country and the rest of the world. Europe is desperate for coal and steel. There is a great need for these essentials. And the steel and coal profiteers propose to exact the last possible cent from the people in "answering" that need.

JOB FOR LABOR

And make no mistake about it. The people pay for it. We do not buy steel billets directly, but we do buy, directly or indirectly, the products that are made of steel. And so the price rise is handed down the line. A rise in the price of meat may affect us more directly and quickly, but a rise in the price of steel affects us no less.

According to White House sources used by Mr. Stone: "The coal wage boost would add 65 cents a ton to the cost of coal. A cent and a third of coal goes into the making of each ton of steel. That would add about 88 cents to the cost of each ton of steel. Steel billets now sell at \$42 a ton and the composite price of finished steel is \$66 a ton. Obviously so small an increase in costs could be absorbed easily."

"Actually captive mine costs are believed to be somewhat lower than that because of increased mechanization... and 60 cents is probably closer to the real increase in costs. ... Even this 60 cents is expected to be shaved by more efficient operations. ... But as against this increase of 60 cents or so... coal companies have already announced price increases, ranging from 75 cents to \$1.75 a ton."

This is clearly a case demanding the intervention of labor. It is labor's responsibility to champion the cause of the great majority of the people and thus lead the people. The price situation is one of gravest concern to everybody, and it requires a broad social outlook.

Wage increases that are eaten up by price increases are useless. Thus, it must be a paramount concern of the union movement to keep prices down. Yes, this represents labor's interference in the so-called prerogatives

of "free enterprise." Yes, it amounts to a declaration that labor proposes to interfere by demanding a voice in the determination of prices, wages and profits. It necessarily raises such demands as "Open the Book." And that is as it should be. As we said at the time the GM slogans were first used, they are of the utmost revolutionary significance; they break the path for new social advances.

Right now we have to interfere to prevent our earnings from being whittled away by constantly rising prices. The demand for price control, real, bona fide price control, must be heard anew. And with that demand, orienting it, giving it the fullest body of meaning, must come the demand for union intervention and activity to prevent price increases. We can make our stand on the GM slogan: WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES; OPEN THE BOOKS!

POSTAL CLERKS SEEK 16 PER CENT RAISE IN WAGES

NEW YORK CITY—Postal clerks of this city, affiliated to the AFL, will ask the New York State convention of that body, this week in Utica, to support their demands for a salary increase of 16 per cent which they feel is necessary to bring their purchasing power up to par with existing living costs. They will also seek support in their fight to secure 26 days of annual vacation, which is granted to all other civil service employees of the federal government.

Employees of the postal service suffer discrimination in that they get a lesser vacation of 15 days. In addition, a strong demand will be made that the AFL use the full force of its power in urging Congress to enact legislation that will direct the Post Office Department to pay substitute employees the overtime rate of time and a half for all services performed over eight hours daily and forty hours weekly.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By E. R. McKinney

TWO COURT RULINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

A federal judge in South Carolina has rendered a decision against the rules of the Democratic Party which holds that this outfit in South Carolina is a private club to which Negroes are not eligible. That is, this judge says that voting in the Democratic primaries cannot be confined to "white Democrats." The decision means that Negroes are eligible to register for and vote in the Democratic primary.

It is an interesting fact that Northern white Democrats have never taken a position against this practice of their Southern wing. They have always left the struggle against disfranchisement in the South to the Negroes or have merely waited to see what the Supreme Court would say. One reason of course is that the Democratic Party does not need Negro votes in the South. This party wants Negro votes in the North but the party leaders believe that this can be taken care of by passing out

a few choice jobs to "deserving" Negro Democrats.

The same Judge Waring rejected the petition of a Negro that the University of South Carolina be restrained from refusing to admit qualified Negroes to the university law school. The court decided that the university must admit Negroes to the law school the next school year unless the state had provided adequate law training for Negroes at the state school for Negroes by that time. That is, if the state does not organize a law department in the state Negro school in the next three months, the university must admit Negroes to its law school.

What does this mean? Only this: that by the middle of October, say, South Carolina will install some kind of ramshackle, make-shift law course at the Negro school.

The court gave the university another alternative: "The state furnish no law school education to any persons of either the white or Negro races." To this we can only reply: ain't "the law" wonderful?

The court's decision is based on the well-accepted theory that segregation, in and of itself, is not discrimination. That is, if Negro schools are as good as the white schools, then Negroes are not being discriminated against. If separate accommodations of any kind for Negroes are the equal of those for white people, this is not discrimination. A variant of this nonsense is the position taken in interpreting civil rights laws, that the ruling that Negroes be accommodated does not mean "any and all" accommodations. That is to say, that if a theater admits Negroes but confines them to the gallery, this is not a violation of their civil rights and of the law.

Judge Waring used the term "sophistry" in connection with the private club notion of the South Carolina Democrats. By the same token one can certainly use this term in connection with segregation without discrimination. Of course there are other and more important things to be said, but there is not space right now.

US, Russia Build War Blocs - -

(Continued from page 1)

would turn to the "east," Marshall declared: "I ask you to consider most carefully the implication of such a development for the future prosperity and security of our country." There is, as anyone can see, no altruism involved in the Marshall Plan. It is a plain and simple endeavor to prepare for a future war. This is borne out in the new approach to the future of German industry. The latest instructions given to Gen. Lucius Clay is that he must assist in the rapid reconstruction of German industry to enable that country, or the part under control of the Allies, to participate in the Marshall Plan as part of the Western European bloc—to prevent at all costs Russia achieving control over the whole of Germany.

ECONOMIC BASE

The Marshall Plan does not envisage any returns from any investments the United States may make in these countries. With this in mind and although he has not yet received assent from Congress to proceed with his plan, Marshall is already lining up individual congressmen behind the plan, as well as the governors of the several states as a means of applying pressure upon congress and rallying mass support for his program.

In speaking before the Conference of Governors, the former Chief of Staff declared in "secret" remarks that "there is no blinking the fact that this country now stands at a turning point in its relations to its traditional friends among the nations of the old world. Either it must finish the task of assisting those countries to adjust themselves to the changed demands of a new age, or it must reconcile itself to seeing them move in directions which are consistent neither with their own traditions nor with those of this country."

Declaring that if the United States did not succeed in its plans the whole continent of Europe

detail, but its essential division is already established.

If the Western bloc is not yet a finished product, it is only that the United States began somewhat tardily with the carrying out of its new policy, hoping by some fate or other to come to an agreement with Russia. That point in the conflict has, however, already been passed. The U. S. will catch up quickly with Russia in point of organization and cohesion of its own bloc, even though Stalin will do everything possible through his international battalions, the Communist parties, to make it difficult for American imperialism to realize its program in Europe.

The fruits of the last war are being gathered now. Anyone who doubted what LABOR ACTION wrote through the long war years, namely, that the war was imperialist on both sides, that the end of the war would witness the outbreak of new imperialist struggles, new rivalries and the preparation for a new war, have the opportunity now to verify our point of view.

TURN IN POLICY

This marks a complete turn in the former American policy which had in mind a weak industrial Germany. To what degree the industrial reinvigoration of Germany will develop is difficult to say now, but it is obvious that the United States and Great Britain will do all in its power to make Germany a powerful Allied satellite in the struggle against Russia. The plea of Max Lerner, PM editorial writer, that Great Britain be made the economic directing center of the Western European bloc is pathetic liberal thinking because it overlooks the specially favorable geographical location and industrial position of Germany in the European set-up.

It is no longer news that Europe has been divided in two. Perhaps the dividing line between Russia and the United States is not yet completed in

Only we had a correct explanation for the war and pointed out what would happen once that war ended. The world faces a new world war between the former Allies. This time the two camps are being organized under American imperialism on the one hand and Russian imperialism on the other. With the aims of such a coming war, the peoples who reside in the nations of the Western bloc, as well as those who live under the slavery of Stalinist Russia, have not now and cannot have anything in common.

Trace back history. We find that about every 20 years we have the horrors of war. Did you ever read "War, What For?" Parents who have grown up sons will find it wonderful revelations. There is a cause for everything and everything has a cause that produces the effect! It seems to me that if we didn't have the war mongers in the first place that caused the war, for instance the last war, they wouldn't have the war criminals to execute in Germany and Japan.

Many people wonder why a degenerated system is kept up that brings up nothing but untold misery for the pauper and millionaire as well. Why, people will go to the imperialist polls to vote—to vote themselves out of house and home! Why, parents who have grown up sons will go to the imperialist polls to vote for a bug-house system that produces war, consequently sign the death warrant of their own sons and don't know it.

This is something to think about. This is something that has astonished all thinking people in all corners of the great world. To eliminate war is to eliminate the bughouse system that produces war. Thus: we'll eliminate the war criminals, war mongers who are after all the original war criminals. Men of noble minds, men of honor, men of fame, have foretold coming events in the long, long ago. May the masses of mankind be led out of the wilderness of misery into the light of reason. Those war mongers, war criminals, will be of no importance. May the masses lead the human thoughts to eliminate the system that produces war.

D. C. Calvin, Mo.

With the Workers Party

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

On Income Taxes And Subway Fares

Dear Editor: In your editorial on the subway fare, printed in LABOR ACTION of July 14, you propose that the bond steal be ended or else that the real estate taxes be raised.

This is an unsound proposal. You are implicitly assuming that the real estate tax is paid by the real property owners. In reality, of course, this tax is paid by the consumer. Your rent includes your landlord's real estate tax; the price of all consumers' goods includes the rent the seller pays. In short, it is a tax which is easily passed on.

The way taxes are levied merits far closer attention by the labor and radical press than it has received so far. The income tax is only one tax by which the masses are fleeced. I think a more serious concern with these matters is necessary than you show by your proposal.

The following are some of the ways by which the wealthy could be taxed without directly affecting the workers and lower middle classes: A tax on luxury cars, a tax on apartment rents at \$120 or above; a sales tax on high priced consumers' goods. The SWP has, on several occasions, proposed a tax on Wall Street transactions, which also could not be passed on to the consumer.

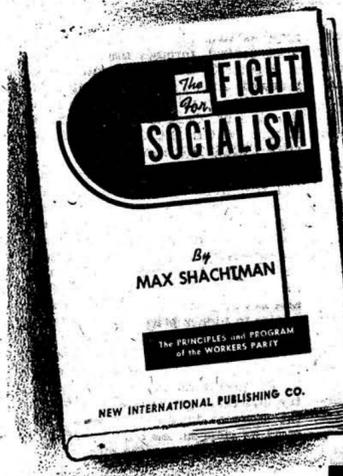
Such taxes would yield sufficient revenue to operate the subways on an efficient basis, could even finance their expansion. Most important, however, they would not affect the consumer.

E. Keller, New York, N. Y.

Similarly on rents. Real estate profits do not depend on \$120 a month apartments. Not enough people live in these, although we are entirely in favor of taxing them heavily. The greatest revenue comes from "cheap" real estate properties—the auto manufacturers as a whole comes from the sale of the less expensive cars, and not the limousines. The masses are fleeced by the income tax because the income tax now reaches down to the low income brackets and they are, in addition, heavily fleeced by the indirect taxes. We say: Soak the rich!—Ed.

War Mongers

Dear Editor: Some people wonder and ask questions: what causes war? To this question it might be said, several reasons. Thus: greed, the danger to the system of control, idle labor, foreign investments, or call it foreign policy. General Butler stated that all the wars he fought were to protect foreign oil wells, American capital. Darrow stated: "The world is bughouse." People in foreign nations seem to be interested only in one thing: a change from imperialistic slavery to social transformation. People in foreign nations have also learned of the many disagreeable conditions confronting the masses here, such as panics, foreclosures, strikes, strikers shot by the militia. It seems the people fear imperialist democracy and want no part of it. American history seems to them very gloomy. It is for this reason they are going over to the socialist parties. We hear a great deal about war criminals, also war mongers. Every nation that has a standing army has its war mongers. Are not war mon-



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Editorials

Murray's Test

As a test of the Taft-Hartley Act which prohibits such endorsements by union officials, Philip Murray, president of the CIO, has endorsed Edward A. Garmatz, Democratic candidate for Congress in a special election in Maryland's Third District. The CIO will issue material over Murray's signature calling upon Maryland labor to vote for Garmatz. It has also been rumored that AFL president, William Green, will likewise call for a test action on the law by endorsing Garmatz.

It goes without saying that we are all for testing the law and defying the law by every possible means. However, we cannot but think that this endorsement is more of a test of labor's patience than of the law. Whatever benefits may accrue to labor in this particular challenge will be cancelled out by perpetuating the fraud that it represents.

Were this a case of labor putting forward its own candidate on its own ticket, then it would be a step of immense importance and inspiration to the whole of the labor movement. It would be a sign that labor has learned the major lesson to be derived from passage of the hateful law. It would be a practical demonstration of labor's independence, of its determination to challenge with its class might the law AND the capitalist government which mothered the law.

Unfortunately, it is not that. Unfortunately, it is an endorsement from which the capitalist politicians will profit more than labor. Let us say that the challenge is not ignored, and that, according to the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act, Murray (and/or Green) is hailed into court. The case drags on. Finally comes the verdict. Let us assume that it is the best possible verdict according to Murray's desires. The court (let us make it the Supreme Court) holds that the unions are within their constitutional rights and that that section of law pertaining to political endorsements by unions is unconstitutional. It is not at all certain that the courts will so decide, but we are assuming that they will for the sake of argument.

What then? Labor will have won the right to support capitalist politicians! Labor will have won another ride on the senseless merry-go-round of "rewarding its friends" and "punishing its enemies." Labor will still be harnessed, to the extent that the labor officialdom can keep it in harness, to the political tools of the industrialists and financiers whose servants produced the law, the Democratic and Republican parties—or those elements in these parties which find it politically expedient to parade as "friends of labor."

If we are going to defy the Taft-Hartley law, then we must defy it militantly, as a class, in direct actions and in frontal assaults, with secondary attention to the wearisome court tests. And if we are going to defy the law politically, then we must really do so; that is, do so in such a way as to strike at the very heart of the system which supported the law.

No, supporting Garmatz is a picaresque challenge at best, a disorienting, a criminal challenge. The situation cries for the formation of a Labor Party. We cannot expect the labor officialdom to initiate the formation of such a party; it is against their whole ideology which is based on blunting the independence and power of the working class. The impulse, the insistent demand will therefore have to come from the ranks, arguing on the union floor, proposing the organization of committees-for-a-Labor Party, demanding, for example, that PAC BE TURNED INTO A LABOR PARTY!

That would be a test, a real test of the law, an unbeatable act of defiance. With millions rallying to independent political labor action, let the governmental flunkies of capitalism then try to stop it! They would not be able to, not with all their courts, not with all their laws and not with all the apparatus of their state!

Green's Speech

If ever there was a confession of the idiocy of "rewarding your friends" (like Garmatz) and "punishing your enemies" (a Garmatz by another name or label), it came in a speech by William Green to the New York State convention of the AFL, Green, of course, did not understand his own remarks as the self-indictment that they are. Nor did he make any sense in his conclusions. That would be too much to ask. But a brief examination of the point is valuable because the labor leaders are presumably pledging a ceaseless fight on the Taft-Hartley Act and because they are proposing to make support to such candidates as Garmatz in Maryland a part of this fight. (See above.)

Telling the convention that the AFL will never make peace with the Taft-Hartley Act, Green got around to discussing the Senator from New York, Irving M. Ives, a cog in the Dewey-for-President machine. Ives, you see, was a "friend of labor." According to Green, "a lot of people voted for him in the last election because he left the impression that he was their champion." More than that, though Green did not mention it, Ives got a bit of a play in the union press for some maneuvers which were at the time interpreted as being against the Taft-Hartley Act. But, said Green, "Ives stood with reactionaries all the way." And, "I'm going to ask the New York State Federation of Labor Convention to put in their diaries that when he comes up for re-election, to vote to keep Senator Ives at home."

Following Green, George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the AFL, said that "Ives must bear the full responsibility for this vicious legislation" because "he went to Washington with more ex-

perience in this field than almost anyone in Congress."

As to the latter, we won't quarrel. We don't know for sure what kind of experience Meany is talking about, but we think there are quite a few in Congress with experience in this matter of befuddling labor, with the connivance of the labor officialdom. Hartley is one. Yes, Hartley, who was "experienced" enough TO GET THE ENDORSEMENT OF WILLIAM GREEN.

Green is squawking because "the friend of labor" deception came home to roost in the case of Ives and Hartley, and loads of others. However, he proposes that the AFL continue to be a party to the same deception, now and forever. If the case of Ives makes any sense at all, and we think it does, it illustrates the fatal flaw in this policy of the labor bureaucrats, a policy they propose to duplicate.

The very choice of words, "FRIEND of labor, indicates one who is not PART of labor. It does not matter whether this 'friend' is an Ives or a Wayne Morse. One may vote for an anti-labor bill; the other may vote against it. When the chips are down, when the fundamental interests of the capitalist system are at stake, they appear as what they are: representatives of a party (Democratic or Republican) which is itself a representative of a class, the capitalist class. There are differences, to be sure. One believes that labor can best be restrained by wielding a whip; the other believes labor can be best restrained by the honey of "friendship." It is a difference, but it is not an important enough difference to warrant the support of either.

Take New York City's Mayor O'Dwyer. He appeared at this same convention as a "friend of labor." Ever since his strategists told him that such acts as ordering martial law in the tug boat strike are not the best way to get elected governor and whatever comes after governor, he has been busily working at the "friend of labor" business. No matter if along the way he takes a rap at labor by proposing a fare rise. He's a "friend." And at the convention, he proved it. "We put up all the fight we could against it [the law]. Now it's the law and we have to obey it. But that does not mean it is going to be the law forever. It is up to you to get busy and change it."

Having assisted the labor leaders in putting "up all the fight we could against it," which concretely meant keeping labor from putting up such a REAL fight as would have been contained in a 24-hour general strike, O'Dwyer now presumes to give labor further advice. And it is to our shame that the man was not howled down at a union convention. "It's the law and we have to obey it." There's "friendliness" for you. The very kind of friendliness that is guaranteed to keep it "the law forever."

Labor's policy must be based on DEFYING the law, as labor would and should defy an outright injunction. There has been ample evidence that the ranks of unions want precisely such an approach, an approach which will assure the advancement of labor's interests. Repudiating any kind of trafficking with the likes of Ives or O'Dwyer is an essential part of that policy. Supporting "friends" is the road to ruin, as relying on our own strength, building our own party, winning to our side the lower middle classes by a demonstration of aggressive leadership against the bankrupt profiteers and monopolists, is the road to victory.

GPU Terror

A report released in New York this week by International Rescue and Relief Committee charges the Russians with maintaining twelve large concentration camps in their occupation zone in Germany and with purging former officials of the Social Democratic Party. Some of these concentration camps were formerly used by the Nazis. Thus, in the notorious Buchenwald camp, according to information gathered by Max Brauer, Social Democratic Mayor of Hamburg, there are 800 Social Democrats among the 11,000 prisoners. Two thousand Communists are also imprisoned in the same camp!

Two new concentration camps are reported to be in the process of construction. In addition, the Russian Secret Police are operating an unknown number of smaller slave labor camps.

Among the Social Democrats reported to be imprisoned are Mayor Albert Stolz of Rostock, Mayor Leistner of Dresden, Willi Jesse, former chief secretary of the Social Democratic Party in Mecklenburg, County Commissioner Benz of Wanzleben, Trade Union Secretary Scheriff.

We have absolutely no reason to doubt that the report is an accurate one. Concentration camps, slave labor camps, purges and physical extermination of opponents—these are the equipment and methods of Stalinism. The Stalinist assassination and terror machine reaches into every country. Where it rules, its despotism is merely more unbridled. The slave camps of the Russian zone in Germany duplicate the slave labor camps in Russia proper. There have been authenticated reports that the Russian secret police are operating extra-territorial prison camps in France, to which emigre Russians are kidnapped for murder or for shipment to a prison camp in Russia.

Reference to the 2,000 Communists in Buchenwald is especially noteworthy. These are undoubtedly men and women who have the genuine right to call themselves Communist, unlike their totalitarian jailers who use this magnificent name as a cover for their bestial practices.

As we have often pointed out in LABOR ACTION, the list of victims of the Stalinist machine is a long one. It includes working class opponents of every political hue—Ehrlich and Alter, Polish socialists murdered in Russia; Ignace Reiss, who was murdered in Switzerland because he refused to have anything to do with the totalitarian activities of the GPU; Rudolph Klement, secretary of the Fourth International, murdered in France; Leon Trotsky, the great revolutionist killed in Mexico, and many, many others. Though the greatest weight of Stalinist terror falls on those who fight Stalinism with the weapons of revolutionary Marxism no opponent, however mild his protest, is safe.

A great many Social Democrats in the Russian zone of Germany, in Poland and in other countries controlled by Stalin, have thought it most expedient to make their peace with Stalinism, to collaborate with it. Those who have not—they are the ones in Buchenwald.

Against this despicable murder machine, every worker in the world, in HIS own interest, must protest. The Stalinist gang is the assassin of revolution, an enemy of every worker. It is our duty to break down the walls of the concentration camps with a mighty international protest. We owe this to ourselves. We owe this to our brothers in the concentration camps.

WORLD POLITICS

Political Morality and Indonesia

By IRVING HOWE

Were American political journalism anything but a reservoir for hypocrisy and cynicism, the recent events with regard to Indonesia would not be buried in the back pages of the newspapers. I think it can be said without fear of contradiction that only in the revolutionary socialist press, as contrasted to rare occasional articles elsewhere, has there been consistent reportage of the Indonesian events.

At the moment this situation has reached another of its periodic crises; were it not for the intervention of U. S. imperialism there would have been open warfare in Java. The Dutch are pressing hard their demand for a "joint police force," which means, of course, their control of the police. And that means control of Indonesia. But first a word on the background.

When the Japanese took over the wealthy islands which comprise the Indonesia group, they removed as rulers the Dutch imperialists who had exploited the country for decades. The wealth of these islands is incalculable: oil, rubber, sugar, pepper, quinine. These products were the basis of Dutch profit; it was with them that the tiny nation of Holland could enjoy a position on the world market far more favorable than its own resources warranted. The story of Dutch rule is one of the most terrible records of bestiality in modern history; it is every bit as vicious as that of British rule in India.

When the Japanese came, the Indonesians thought that perhaps they might now gain a measure of freedom—at least some of them thought so. But this was an illusion. Japanese imperialism was as ruthless as its predecessor, with the result that Indonesian nationalism was forced underground. The Indonesian national movement, the left wing of which had been tinged with Marxism, had a long history of struggle; time after time it had desperately erupted against the Dutch. Now it felt that its opportunity would arrive when the war ended—the Japanese defeated, the old imperialist rulers lacking power to re-establish their hegemony and the nationalists organized into militant groups.

BRITISH ROLE IN INDONESIA

The Dutch could never have re-established their imperialist control by themselves. By the time they would have been able to send troops to Java, the nationalists would have had the island tightly controlled. As it was, the Indonesians organized a government and an army of their own. The British intervened by sending troops to Indonesia, presumably to protect the poor suffering Dutch wives and children interned by the Indonesians, but actually to hold the line for the Dutch until they could organize an expedition to reconquer the islands.

The British and a small Dutch contingent, using American lend-lease equipment (the highly moral U. S. government insisted that they take off the U. S. labels from this lend-lease equipment, though it had no objection to its use against the Indonesians), overpowered the Indonesians by means of their modern armament. Also responsible for the re-establishment of imperialist control in Indonesia was the Indonesian leadership itself: a coalition of bourgeois and petty bourgeois politicians who failed to rally the masses in a revolutionary socialist struggle. But that is another story. Suffice it here to say that the British held the line until the Dutch could send reinforcements.

Now the Dutch have 100,000 troops in Indonesia. As was exclusively reported in LABOR ACTION some weeks back, the Dutch have been straining to let go with a full-scale offensive against the Indonesians, who are not present in a favorable position to resist. The reactionary Catholic Party, which is the dominant political force in

the Dutch government, would like to begin an old-fashioned punitive war to wipe out Indonesian nationalism and to establish rule by the iron fist. Only the intervention of U. S. imperialism has balked this perspective: the U. S., fearful of the entire Far East bursting into a conflagration and desiring an immediate resumption of its highly profitable trade with and exploitation of the Indonesian economy, has reined in the Dutch. Aware as is everyone else that the U. S. dollar is today the most persuasive diplomatic argument in the world, the Dutch heeded the signals for restraint which flashed from Washington.

In recent weeks there has been an intermittently tense situation. The Dutch have demanded the right to exercise what amounts to a veto over Indonesian politics through a "crown representative" and they have also demanded a "joint police force" which under the circumstances means a Dutch-controlled police. In return the Dutch are supposed to recognize Indonesian independence by January 1, 1949.

INTERVENTION OF U. S. IMPERIALISM

Now the Indonesians had already made serious concessions to the Dutch—such as partial recognition of the Dutch claims to regain their former property, which would be the best means for them to re-establish their economic domination over Indonesia even if they granted it formal political independence. When, therefore, Premier Sutan Sjahrir of Indonesia accepted the Dutch ultimatum three weeks ago, there was such resentment among the Indonesian people that every political party was forced to repudiate him. Sjahrir resigned and was replaced by a mild Social Democrat, Sjahriffoedin, who resumed negotiations with the Dutch.

At this crucial point the U. S. stepped in. A note was sent from Washington to the Indonesians which promised to discuss the possibility of financial aid to Indonesia—provided agreement between the nationalists and the Dutch were reached. This was an example of the Truman Doctrine at work. The note was a means of blackmailing the Indonesians into accepting the Dutch provisions, which in effect means accepting Dutch control of Indonesia. By proffering possible economic aid, it tempted the Indonesian leaders, not the most strong-willed and revolutionary of leaders, with the carrot of dollars if only they would abandon the struggle for their country's freedom. For it is clear that there is at present no other basis for an agreement with the Dutch.

The U. S. has its own reasons for wishing to see an "agreement between the contending parties," that is, the return of the Dutch. American capitalists have considerable investments in Indonesia. Standard-Vacuum in oil, Goodyear and U. S. Rubber in rubber and other corporations in pepper, kapok, quinine, tea and sugar have been unable recently to rehabilitate their properties because of the strife in Indonesia. Dutch control would mean a green light for their imperialist investments, too.

The Indonesians are in a tough spot. For various reasons, including the social backwardness of its own leadership, the Indonesian nationalist movement is at present at an ebb. It has been driven by its own errors and by the massed might of world imperialism into a position where, short of a revolutionary reorientation, it has no alternative but to knuckle under. And that is what it will probably do. If and when that happens, remember that U. S. imperialism is one of those most responsible.

American liberals have maintained silence on this matter, as on so many others. They are too busy huzzaking for the Truman Doctrine, or pontificating about Morality (a word which seems to them so much more impressive when capitalized!); or regarding their cosmic existence with "fear and trembling"—to deign to notice how "their" government is helping the suppression of a colonial people. Only the revolutionary socialists, so often and so wearisomely smeared as "amoral," do that.



TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

THE FAILURE OF UNION LEADERSHIP

A few weeks ago Ed Lahey, reporter for the Chicago Daily News, fiddling around with some Labor Department statistics, came up with an interesting comparison. He made up a "theoretical package" of four pounds of round steak, two pounds of bacon, a ten-pound ham, three pounds of butter, and two pounds of cheese. Lahey found that before Pearl Harbor this package cost \$7.48. In April, 1947, the cost to the consumer was \$14.24. In November, 1941, the typical manufacturing worker, represented by the average hourly earnings for all manufacturing, could buy the above package with nine hours and 35 minutes of labor. In April, 1947, he worked 12 hours for the same amount of food.

Though the above comparison applies only to food, an investigator would find that the average worker has lost approximately the same ground when applied to clothing, furniture, fuel, amusements, and almost everything but rent. (With Truman's signature on the real estate lobby's "rent decontrol" bill, rents too will bound up shortly to the same degree as the other commodities.)

All this means that the American worker today is WORSE OFF than he was before the war. The bosses, the farmers, the professional classes, are much better off than before the war. The working class (including the white collar workers), is much worse off. The American trade union movement, with all its 15,000,000 members, has not done the job of protecting the American workers.

What is wrong with the trade union movement? Not the membership which has shown time and time again that it is ready and willing to fight stubbornly and bravely. What is wrong is the trade union leaders—the Murrys and Greens and Lewises and Bridges and Dubinsky and Tobins and Currans and Reuthers. Not a one of them has fought militantly enough, has shown any deep understanding of the workers' needs, has been able to present a fighting program around which to rally the class.

NOT A SINGLE LEADING TRADE UNION OFFICIAL HAS DARED BREAK WITH THE TWO OLD BOSS PARTIES AND RAISE THE BANNER OF THE NEW NATIONAL LABOR PARTY. For the workers to fight without a political party of their own in the politically-charged atmosphere of today is the same as for a Joe Louis to enter the ring with his right hand tied behind his back. The boxer wouldn't have a chance against a good opponent, and neither does the working class, fighting with only its unions.

ADVISE "COURAGE AND RESOURCEFULNESS"

That is the conclusion we draw from Lahey's figures. However, there is a columnist for the Chicago Journal of Commerce, Wilbur J. Brons, who draws different conclusions. Brons is a dreary writer who, day after day, reflects the stand-pat prejudices of the average reader of that paper. He follows the reactionary "party line" much as his counterpart on the Daily Worker applies the same old Stalinist twist to the news.

Brons dismisses Lahey's figures contemptuously, though admitting they are "interesting and, to a degree, instructive." Does he deduce that the workers should strive for higher wages to recover the ground lost since Pearl Harbor? Of course not. His advice to the workers is that "courage and resourcefulness are required to stay within the family budget. . . . If the current budget allowance for clothing cannot be stretched to include a fur coat, a cloth coat might be managed. Or, if the family manager so desires, the educational fund can be cut down to accommodate a cloth coat with a fur collar."

Brons concludes by observing that, after all, "the small businessmen, many professional men and women, thousands of self-employed and even more thousands of junior executives in the \$5,000-\$15,000 salary bracket—all have had to compromise one way or another. . . . But it seems to have become our custom to weep only for the factory worker, as though he and his women and children were somehow distinct from the rest of us."

Observe how he "covers up" for Big Business and its ruthless profiteering. Observe how often he is to the actual plight of the working class—as though the mother in a working class family today could think of purchasing a fur coat, or would think of cutting down on her children's schooling in order to purchase a fur collar. Observe how he bristles at any feeling of compassion for the workers, who, after all, with their families constitute the majority of the American people, and who, though the most exploited, produce our "national wealth." And note his helpful advice: "Use courage and resourcefulness to stay within the family budget." Christ Almighty! With food prices out of sight, with rent up 15 per cent, with fuel up, with everything up but gall and piss advice, what good are hymns in praise of "courage and resourcefulness to stay within the family budget."

WON'T ADVANCE WITH TIMIDITY

Why even attempt the impossible task of staying within a family budget that becomes more inadequate with each Friday's newspaper advertisements. The courage and resourcefulness that Brons appeals to can be put to good use if and when it is applied to reorganizing the forces within the union movement to oust the old and cowardly misleaders at the head of the union movement, and to spew out their rotten policy of playing tail to the Republican-Democratic party.

That is the only road out for the American workers. If organized labor refuses to take this road, the plight of the workers will become still worse. But if the working class makes a mighty creative effort, gives the boot to the present piecemeal artists, and begins the long-term work of building a national labor party, the workers cannot only quickly recover the lost ground but can open up the road to seizing political power in the nation and—yes—to changing the whole course of history, to swiftness all mankind onto the tracks of a world socialist society.

Those who are today still too timid or too ignorant to take this road will find no other open to them.

Capsule Edit

Dictator Franco polled an 80 per cent vote in the recently held Spanish plebiscite. Glass ballot boxes were used. (See story on page 4.)

Use Natives As Slave-Labor In South-Africa Farm Areas

Recent reports from South Africa, sent directly to LABOR ACTION by our correspondent there, have revealed a system of semi-slavery in some farm areas rivaling Nazi concentration and Stalinist slave-labor camps. Most publicized are the Bethal potato plantations in Eastern Transvaal, but observers agree that similar conditions are widespread throughout the country.

The slave laborers are Negro natives recruited from "illegal immigrants" who cross the border from Nyasaland and Rhodesia and are given the alternative of returning to poverty-stricken homes or of signing six-month work contracts. With these contracts they are under complete bondage to the farmers.

An on-the-spot reporter gives the following description of their lives in the Capetown Guardian of July 3: "They sign on for a six-month contract under which the most handsome remuneration is 12 pounds sterling for 30 days. The contract spins out to eight or nine months in most cases as Sundays and rainy days are not working days. At the end of this contract, the laborer has twelve pounds. From this is deducted three pounds one shilling to repay the farmer for his journey to Bethal from the border of the Transvaal."

"They are housed in barn-like buildings with concrete floors, often with no windows, and no chimney or hole in the roof for the smoke from the braziers or open flames in tin cans suspended from the roof with wire, which serve as lights. We saw not a single blanket in any of these compounds. The laborers sleep on sacks."

"Working hours are long, especially at the height of the season. Some laborers get up at three o'clock in the morning and work till after sunset. On moonlit nights during the season work in the field continues until midnight."

"Those workers who fall ill in the late afternoon—perhaps only an hour before knocking off—are not paid for the portion of the day they have worked. Those who fall ill for several days receive no compensation at all."

"Attempts at escape are very common and often successful. Because of the shortage of labor in the area, and because the farmer has to pay a five or six pound fee to the farmers' organization for each recruited worker, all means are used to prevent escape and punish those who make the attempt. Workers are often kept in barbed-wire compounds, guarded by dogs. Beatings are frequent, particularly for those who have run away and been caught."

knocked to the ground, kicked above and below the eyes as they lay there.

"A third African said he and another laborer had asked whether they might not be allowed to stop work earlier as they worked till after sunset. He was beaten with a sjambak, taken to a storeroom, ordered to undress and beaten again, and then chained with some donkey chains to another African and chased naked back to the compound where the two Africans slept, still chained together."

Similar exposures have been published several times during the past twenty years. Both government and farmers' organizations have declared their intention to alleviate the most drastic abuses, particularly in view of the approaching investigation of the entire Negro labor situation by the UN Assembly. As yet there has been no reported improvement. As the Guardian writer concludes:

"Meanwhile the feudal farmer tyrant continues to reign supreme on his own land. Nationalists and Unity Party caucuses listen to his voice from the platteland, and his vote will be eagerly solicited by both parties in the coming elections."

This Issue of LABOR ACTION

Our readers will note that this issue of LABOR ACTION is somewhat different from others. Where we normally give heaviest emphasis to the specific problems facing the American working class—rents, the Taft-Hartley Act, and so forth—we have in this issue given a relatively greater amount of space to international events, reports from and on other lands. The limitations of a four-page paper make it impossible to deal adequately each week with the many vital domestic and international problems that concern us. In concentrating most heavily on domestic issues, we have been compelled to omit a considerable amount of valuable material. We are therefore presenting in this issue material, such as the article on Bolivia which we have had to omit from recent issues. We are revolutionary socialist internationalists, and it is a basic tenet of our program that the problems which face any particular group of workers in the world are of greatest importance for the American working class as well. While our fight for socialism in this country necessarily revolves around our "own" problems, while we fight day to day on the various specific issues facing the labor movement here, the struggle of the oppressed peoples in every land are of intimate concern to us. We are bound to the worker in France, the Indian in Bolivia, the coolie in China by ties of class solidarity and political interest. Our battle is theirs. Their battle is ours.

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MacArthur Seeks to Restrain Japanese Labor Protest, Backs Katayama Coalition Government

By JACK BRAD

The first government to take office in Japan under the new MacArthur constitution of May 3 is headed by a Socialist, Tetsu Katayama. For the first time in its national history an avowed socialist and working class party operates the state. This is an event of overwhelming significance. It is a legal expression of the emergence of the working class as the sole dynamic factor and the dominant force in the country, dominant in the sense of growing economic and political cohesiveness as against the continued prostration and servile quislingism of the capitalist class.

The Social Democrats emerged from the April elections as the largest single party. Behind them stand the bulk of the Japanese workers, organized into two major trade union federations numbering over five and a half millions. Hundreds of thousands of small farmers are organized in various farmers' unions. Until February, 1947, at least, the bulk of the middle classes seemed to support the major actions of the workers.

From shortly after the occupation until February, the working class grew and consolidated from no organization or expression into the best organized mass force in the country. When the American military victory overthrew the state power of the Zaitatsu and militarists, the workers rushed in to complete the destruction of these criminal classes which had led the country to disaster. The forward march of the workers was accomplished by aggressive mass actions, including mass strikes, occupation of the factories, demonstrations against the government and the establishment of its organizations under increasingly comprehensive safeguards for the solution of the nation's fundamental problems.

MACARTHUR INTERVENES

All this was accomplished under the benign bayonets of the U. S. military occupation, which was secure in the knowledge that the U. S. Army was the real state power, and that the American guarantee of imperial sanctity and support to the new government of pro-American reactionaries were sufficient barriers, at the moment, to social revolution.

MacArthur exercised a minimum of interference in the early stages of the movement, seeking to "guide" it into becoming a tool for the accomplishment of American imperialist aims, and at the same time to transfer it into a mass base for this imperialism. The workers, however, pursued their independent course, to the increasing consternation of the occupation authorities. A series of moves was begun last summer to bring the movement into line. Numbers of CIO, AFL and WFTU officials were imported to teach the Japanese workers "legitimate unionism" and "correct procedures in collective bargaining." The leadership of the Japanese Congress of Industrial Unions was denounced as "red." MacArthur interfered in the railroad workers' and seamen's disputes.

This interference reached its peak in February, when a general strike of all key unions threatened to overthrow the feeble do-nothing Yoshida government of reaction. MacArthur stepped in sharply and brought the strike movement to an abrupt halt by terrorizing the leadership, military intimidation and the threat of withholding food from the hungry masses. He followed this by announcing a new election for May.

The labor movement, which had pursued an extra-parliamentary course until then, was thus forced into an electoral struggle. Since the collapse of the general strike there had been a marked decrease in all types of mass activities. The mailed fist of the American Army had severely shaken the movement.

The election victory of the Social Democrats was the outcome of this conflict between the occupation and the workers. In order to succeed in this maneuver of tying the working class to the American-dominated government and thereby to reduce its activities to parliamentary channels, MacArthur sought the inclusion of the Social Democrats in the govern-

ment. MacArthur's hand is clearly visible in the behind-the-scenes maneuvering between the Social Democrats, Democrats and Liberals. It was the assurance of his approval that finally gave Katayama the support of the Democrats. MacArthur is the architect of the present coalition government.

Nevertheless, General MacArthur was forced to include the Social Democrats because the working class is the most active class, the only class which has presented a national program and initiative to solve Japan's problems. It is out of fear of the alternative that MacArthur is forced to rely upon the Social De-

mocracy.

This government coalition has already proved its complete subservience to the occupation's program. In the process of the shoddy dickering for posts and advantage that preceded the government's formation, Katayama conducted a step-by-step retreat before the MacArthur-directed demands of the Democrats and Liberals, yielding on every programmatic point.

Tokyo newspapers, after observing this method of bargaining, reported that "the emergence of the Socialist Premier actually means almost no change in the policies of the generally conservative cabinets since the

occupation. The joint ten-point program arrived at by the major parties before Katayama's election drops almost every controversial point in the socialist election platform."

This observation is not entirely accurate, however. The coalition will be able to carry out certain reforms in the bureaucratic structure and other measures desired by the occupation authorities precisely because it is led by a Social Democrat. In this respect it will make a break with the completely passive inertia of the reactionaries who preceded it. The Social Democrats are already seeking to utilize their popular support to institute measures for the strength-

ening of the capitalist economy at the expense of the workers.

In this maneuver MacArthur expects better results from his Social Democratic friends than he received from Yoshida and Shidehara. Once again the lesson is presented for all workers to see: the working class cannot engage in parliamentary coalition or seek to operate the capitalist state without surrendering its own interests in the process. And the chief lesson of every event since February is the reactionary imperialist nature of the occupation. To overthrow the imperialist rule and its political quisling servitors remains the first task.

Conflict Between the PPR and the PPS

New Totalitarian Offensive in Poland

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The narrow social base of Stalinism in Poland forced it to permit the existence of various other parties, controlled by the NKD (GPU) as "ersatz" substitutes for the traditional Polish parties. The Stalinist dictatorship governs by means of this "fan" of parties, the real power remaining, however, in the hands of the "Security" (Bezpieka) and the Stalinist party, PPR. This system has its advantages for the Stalinists, inasmuch as it allows a broad field for their maneuvers and deceptions. But it also has its disadvantages, since these other organizations at times express the discontent and opposition of the masses.

In order to avoid this, in order to consolidate the police dictatorship, the Stalinist party is pressing the pro-Stalinist reformists to fuse the PPR and the controlled puppet-PPS into a single "workers" party. This would signify for the Stalinists an enormous increase in police power, and a greater degree of enslavement for the working masses.

The "leaders" of the PPS, Schwabe, Cyrankiewicz and Kurylowicz understand that this fusion would mean the end of their posts in the government and the administrative apparatus, and for this reason they do not wish to submit to this policy or at least to delay the proposed fusion. They desire "greater ideological rapprochement" in the field of common conceptions: "the Polish Revolution, popular democracy, a more profound respect for public laws and institutions, reaffirmation of independence and socialist reconstruction." (Resolution of the Central Committee of the PPS.)

TOWARD NEW TOTALITARIAN PHASE

The Stalinists, however, refuse to give up the

"unity of the proletariat" and the boss of the PPR, Zambrowski, declares in "Glos Ludowy" (The Voice of the People): "We shall struggle against all attempts to weaken the united front and the collaboration of both working-class parties." Since "defeating" the Populist party of Mikolajczyk in the elections, the Stalinists wish to advance to a new totalitarian phase of their dictatorship, to absorb all the organizations of the PPS in order to control that section of the proletariat which has still not been corrupted by the GPU.

As the workers of the PPS oppose with all available means the proposed "unity," the Stalinist bureaucrats proceed to purges in the factories, throwing out the worker-oppositionists. This compelled the Minister of Labor, Kurylowicz, of the PPS, to write in "Robotnik" (Worker) an article on "The defense of the workers against abuses and arbitrary measures," where he accuses the Stalinists of setting up a regime of persecution and terror in the factories. "From all parts of the country fresh reports keep coming of injustices suffered by the workers. The elements alien to the working class behave in arbitrary fashion, and act 'like bosses.' They fire and hire workers without taking into account the opinion of the workers in the plant, scorning the laws, conquests, and social rights of the workers. A clique of self-seeking politicians is being formed. These new dignitaries have discovered that a party book is more important than technical qualifications." (Robotnik, May 7, 1947.)

The Polish worker earns between three and five dollars per month, and must live by the work of his wife and children, who sell bread, candy, flowers, etc. After the offensive against the peas-

ants, the offensive against the workers, the totalitarian pressure, the terror and persecution in the factories is on the increase. The governmental "blo," the "fan" of shadow-parties is to be transformed into a single monolithic party in Stalinist style.

MASS MISERY VERSUS LUXURY

Nevertheless, to achieve any degree of perfection that compares to the Russian model of a police dictatorship, the Stalinists will have to travel a long road. The opposition of the PPS bureaucrats to the forced "union" undoubtedly reflects, aside from their fear for their jobs, the opposition of the working class in the factories to the corruption, bureaucratism, political nepotism, speculation and waste of public wealth by the Stalinists. Wachowicz, secretary of the PPS in Lodz, biggest textile manufacturing center in Europe, publicly accuses the Stalinists of these vices and misdeeds.

The workers suffer in misery while the Stalinist bureaucrats and speculators live in relative luxury, despoiling the people. The opposition of the people to the dictatorship, the pressure of North American capitalism on Russia, the enormous Polish migration into exile with its own press and organizations, the Polish-Americans, all of this puts a brake on the march of Stalinist totalitarianism in Poland. The aged Zulawski, only Independent Socialist deputy, voted, as usual, against the budget for the "Security" and the "Army" and was subjected to all the totalitarian fury, being labeled a "fascist," etc. However, the BEST support for the workers' opposition in Poland would be the support of the working class left throughout the world.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN

Bolivian Plateau: Scene of Native Struggle and Repression

As a companion piece to the article we publish below, we urge our readers to consult the article by Luis Velasco on Latin American Problems, which will appear in the August issue of The New Internationalist.

By JUAN ROBLES

The American Indian belongs to the most unfortunate and enslaved race in the world. Upon the ruins of the vast collectivist empire of the Incas, the Spanish conquistadores built a cruel, feudal system. Hundreds of thousands of Indians were forced to work like slaves in the Potosi silver mines for their conquerors. Others were reduced to the condition of serfs, after being torn from their lands, which were converted into the estates of their new bosses. The Indian rebellions and revolutions preceded the colonial conspiracies and War of Independence, and were always drowned in a sea of native blood. Independence did not bring redemption for the native slave. He continued mining silver and working the landlord's estate.

Formed from the Peruvian plateau, the surrounding valleys and the tropical plains that extend to the Amazon basin, the Republic of Bolivia is the most Indian republic in all South America, even more so than Mexico or Peru. Of its three to five million inhabitants, 80 per cent are illiterate Indians still living in the same miserable state which was their lot under the Spaniards. They are governed by the 10 per cent of whites and half-breeds who exploit them mercilessly, treat them like animals and even worse, since an animal must be cared for and costs more than the Indian. In this brown-skinned, native republic, the word "Indian" is still the worst insult.

The agrarian structure of Bolivia

and Peru is something unique in the whole world. The owner of the estate is master of lands stolen by his ancestors from the Indian. The latter receives a parcel of land "sayana," from the landlord on condition of giving free service three days, more or less, out of the week in cultivation of the landlord's soil. The Indian can spend the remaining days of the week tending his own plot. Besides the three days, he is under obligation to transport the landlord's products to the city free of charge, he must also serve a week in turn as a domestic servant in the landlord's city house, and serve in turn also as gardener, cowherd and shepherd. The Indian is completely at the mercy of the superintendent who administers the estate, who repeatedly robs him of his harvest, imposes fines and unpaid services for his own profit, and often violates the Indian's wife and daughters. The superintendent is the man most hated by the Indian peasant.

RACIAL OPPRESSION

Aside from the social and agrarian problem, there also exists the problem of national oppression, or, more accurately put, racial oppression. The native Peruvian-Bolivians belong in the main to two races, the older Aymara and the much younger Quechua. The Aymaras, who were the first, organized the plateau and founded the civilization of Thwanakota on the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca, the biggest lake in South America. They introduced the cult of materialistic pantheism, the worship of "Pachamama" (earth), who fed them. The famous ruins of the Island of the Sun date from this epoch.

The second race reached its zenith in the epoch of the Incas, who built the empire of the Quechuas and the civilization of Cuzco, the capital of the empire, which astonished the Spanish conquerors so much. The ruins of the Temple of the Gods of the Sun are a memorial to this civilization.

The Spanish colonials finished off both races and the republic followed the path of the conquest. The sweet Quechua tongue and the precise, logical Aymara have been relegated to the mountains, to the highlands and to the plateau. Spanish, the language of the conqueror, was forced upon the Indians and is still an alien tongue. If the Argentine Trotskyists wish to speak of national oppression, then they ought to pay attention to the oppression of the native American, the remains of the primitive population of the continent. The Aymara and Quechua peoples, as well as others like the Guarajos, and even

many of the forest tribes, are the most oppressed peoples in the world.

Since the feudo-bourgeoisie took possession of independence and, the republic, as they had taken the Indian's wealth, liberation from the Spanish yoke did not fulfill its democratic role. It failed to free the Indian. Not until the 1920s did the petty bourgeoisie, inspired by the Russian Revolution, raise the slogan of emancipation for the Indian. The principal party, famous for its "nationalist" program, was the Peruvian APRA of de la Torre. It was imitated by the Bolivian nationalists, the Chilean nationalists, the Stalinists and even the Peronist movement. But none of these parties has done anything for the Indian, nor can they realize the democratic revolution. The 1947 APRA, which governs Peru on behalf of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, bears no resemblance to the APRA of 1920. The Bolivian nationalists massacred the Indians in the fashion of the feudo-bourgeoisie. After the popular revolution of July, 1946, the Stalinists solemnly proclaimed their principal aim to be the "democratic revolution" and the liberation of the Indian. With their ministers in the Bolivian cabinet, the Stalinists today form part of the coalition government, and we can see how the democratic revolution "begins."

RAISE SOCIAL DEMANDS

On the first of May, the Local Workers Federation (FOL) gathered 4,000 natives under its banners and marched through the streets of the city. The Federation is affiliated to the Anarchists and fights against the political parties. The natives formed a Departmental Agrarian Federation which proceeded to the unionization of the Indians; the peasant unions embrace the Indian masses and represent a considerable social and political force. The principal slogan of this movement is "Land and Freedom," as in the times of Herzen and Bakunin, which is understandable, given the social and economic state of Bolivia. The natives adopted it with the restraint and taciturn passion proper to their race. To this they added the demand for native schools. What a beautiful example of consciousness and dignity on the part of this beaten and brutalized race, which, despite the abuse and beatings of four centuries, gathers in front of the government palace and shouts, "We want to learn to read and write." "We want schools." All of this is based on a program of defense against the abuses of the landlords. The Indians have risen up en masse to make their social demands

in order to embrace that liberty lost for so many centuries.

On the estates of Caquiaviri and Anta on the plateau, several thousand Indians gathered to demand a settlement of old accounts delayed by the landlords. They ended by killing the landlord Prieto and his niece, "Miss Vilela." This movement is not the first. A few weeks ago in the Cochabamba region, the Indians killed their landlord, a general. In different regions they attack the house of the estate, seize the cattle, the cereals and the land. These are the typical forms of a peasant movement. Assassinations take place in all peasant rebellions, given the degree of spontaneity of the masses, its lack of discipline and degree of culture. But these assassinations are acts of collective justice, generous even in their cruelty when compared to the ferocious oppression which has lasted century upon century.

The reaction of the feudo-bourgeoisie was a "sacred wrath." They demanded severe and bloody repression from the government. Army planes and army and police expeditionary forces swarmed out onto the plateau. Thousands of Indians were seized, subjected to questioning and arrested. Hundreds were brought to La Paz and thrown into jail. The government is taking "adequate" measures, not those it promised—neither schools nor land nor liberty—but is putting the Indian leaders on trial while the rest are to be deported to the fever-ridden, forest region of Ichilo. The white man can resist the tropical climate more easily than the Indian of the plateau, who dies, wracked by fever and nostalgia for his mountains, for their cold altitudes and snow-covered peaks.

STALINISTS AID POLICE

The pride and flower of the plateau, of the authentic Bolivian nation, is in jail, condemned to die behind bars or in the tropical forests. Meanwhile the police and military expeditions continue to massacre the Indians. The police have arrested the FOL, whose leaders are to be subjected to "common justice" and put on trial by the government's attorney-general.

This is how the feudo-bourgeoisie deals with its peasantry, this is how it answers the cry for "land and freedom" from the unfortunate race oppressed for so many centuries.

And how do the Stalinists, their ministers, their deputies and their trade union leaders react? Was it not they who propagated the idea of the "democratic revolution" in alliance with the progressive bourgeoisie? Now this alliance exists, the peasant movement also exists, typically dem-

Examines Meaning Of the Fraudulent Franco Plebiscite

By A. FERRARRA

In the true style of his late and unlamented totalitarian masters, Hitler and Mussolini, the petty Spanish tyrant Franco has confirmed his "law of succession" (a decree establishing him as lifetime ruler and giving him the power to choose his successor) by means of a prearranged plebiscite. According to "official" returns, 80 per cent of the votes cast favored Franco's law.

The fraudulent plebiscite does not alter the fundamental fact that the majority of the Spanish people are bitterly opposed to the Franco regime and that a "cold" civil war rages in Spain. Nothing else explains the fact that there are more than 150,000 political prisoners in jail and that 138 persons have been executed on political charges between January and May of this year alone.

In addition, the hunger-wracked and politically conscious proletariat of Catalonia and the Basque regions have demonstrated their hatred for the regime with a swelling tide of strikes which culminated in the Bilbao strikes the week of May 1-7. More than 25,000 workers went out on general strike and paralyzed that highly important industrial center for days.

GETS BANK CREDIT

However, the July 6 plebiscite was no hollow gesture on Franco's part. Franco did not intend to prove he has popular support. The purpose of the plebiscite, at home and abroad, was to show that he, Franco, is master of the situation and that the opposition of both left and right, monarchist and working class, is disoriented, divided and incapable of overthrowing his regime. Unpleasant though the truth may be, the plebiscite was a success in both respects.

An immediate consequence of the plebiscite is the report that a group of American banks have granted Spain a credit of \$200 million with which to buy American cotton for the textile mills of Catalonia. Coming on the heels of a financial agreement signed with the British not so long ago, this new pact will help Franco to bolster Spain's shaky economy. Furthermore, Franco is enabled to retain the support of an important layer of Spanish industrial capital-

ists who, finding the situation intolerable because of lack of machinery and raw material, bureaucratic corruption, etc., were ready to support a change in the regime four months ago.

As for the opposition, Franco has succeeded in winning over a section of the monarchists by a studied combination of threats and friendly negotiations. By dividing and demoralizing the monarchial forces, Franco has also succeeded in defeating the plans of the working class parties and trade unions which pay allegiance to the Spanish government-in-exile. While one section of this group has been pleading in vain for the UN to oust Franco, another and more important section, consisting mainly of Socialists and Anarchists, has been working for an agreement with the monarchists to set up a transitional monarchial regime. In the light of Franco's plebiscite it is ironical to note one point in this agreement was to have been a plebiscite to decide whether or not the Spanish people wanted a monarchy or a republic!

WORKERS' OPPOSITION

Does the fact that the Spanish masses did not heed the instructions of the working class opposition to boycott the plebiscite mean they are ready to give up the fight and that Franco has firmly consolidated his position? That Franco has temporarily strengthened his position is undeniable. But it would be a serious error to think the Spanish proletariat will fall back into passivity.

Given a concrete political or economic objective, the Spanish proletariat is capable of dealing the Franco regime powerful blows, as was the case in the Bilbao strike. In the instance of the plebiscite, the Spanish workers understood that the isolated slogan of the boycott was inadequate. What was lacking was a clear program of economic and political struggle for which the slogan of the boycott could serve as a point of departure.

Again, the lessons of the civil war are repeated. Franco's victories are the product not only of his own forces and imperialist aid, but are also due to the bankruptcy of the official working class and republican leadership.

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