

Towards a March On Washington And a Nationwide 24-Hour Stoppage!

In several recent issues of LABOR ACTION, the Workers Party has advocated that the labor movement organize a MARCH ON WASHINGTON. We said that such a mass demonstration of labor at the Capitol while Congress was considering the "union control" bills would be an effective means of checking passage of this anti-labor legislation. It was our position, and it still is our position, that labor must not continue merely to mark time while the capitalist ruling class runs wild.

While it is true that this assault on the rights of labor was planned outside of Congress, and by the organizations of big business, it is the Congress which is in process of making the commands of the capitalist bosses into law. Therefore we suggested and urged that the organized labor movement—AFL and CIO—assemble its forces in Washington, at the Capitol, for a demonstration against what is taking place there. We said that thousands of workers could and would go to Washington if the leadership of the two big labor organizations issued the call.

Since the bill must have the approval of both houses of Congress, we said that a joint session should be demanded to hear the objections of the labor movement. We know that it is far more impressive for 10,000 AFL-CIO members to be camped around the Capitol while their elected spokesmen present labor's case to Congress than it is for these spokesmen to be running from congressman to congressman imploring them to vote against the bill. The 10,000 AFL-CIO members outside would add to the prestige of their spokesmen and would make Congress far more attentive to what they had to say. In fact, we can see nothing wrong with labor filling the galleries, or the floor of Congress, for that matter, while the labor leaders were speaking against this bill.

10,000 WORKERS CAN BE PERSUASIVE

The CIO has been moving its people into Washington, a hundred at a time, for activity in connection with this bill. This process is too slow and totally ineffective. A few members of Congress may know that they are there but Congress is not aware or disturbed. The "representatives of the people" go right on with their anti-labor speaking and voting. They have no fear of a hundred or more workers scattered among the members of Congress in their private offices.

But 10,000 workers camped around the Capitol; that is something different. That is more persuasive. Such a demonstration would be highly educational. It would make Congress understand that we can read, that we know what is going on and that we have resolved to do something about it.

Millions of workers voted for these congressmen. We think they were wrong and have said so, again and again. But they did vote for them. These congressmen, when they were seeking election, "went to the people." They told us over and over, "I stand on my record." Now let labor go to Congress. Why wait until next year for these congressmen to come to us when they seek election again? We have something to say to them right now. They are passing an anti-labor bill. Let's tell them FIRMLY not to pass this bill.

We can think about next year while we are in Washington, demonstrating at the Capitol. Congress will also be induced to think about next year if we face its members there. They will not only think about next year but the year after that and the years that follow.

AND A 24-HOUR WORK STOPPAGE

The capitalist employers will also think when they read in their press that 10,000 workers from the AFL and CIO have marched on Washington and are holding an organized and formal discussion with and in the Congress of the capitalist ruling class. They will ponder over these things as they count their profits, distribute the dividends, pack their warehouses, boost prices another few cents and plan how they can squeeze more blood out of us to make up for the miserable 15 cents increase they have so reluctantly granted.

We can do more than demonstrate in Washington. We can demonstrate in every town and city. On the day that we demonstrate in Washington we can stop work for 24 hours in protest against the passage of this bill. The workers in Detroit demonstrated at Cadillac Square. All the workers, all over the country, can demonstrate—all on the same day! All that is necessary is for the CIO-AFL leadership to give the word. Why wait for this bill to pass and then go in for a period of mourning and moaning? After the passage of the bill sterner measures will be required.

This is the first indicated joint action for the AFL and CIO. To be sure, Green and Murray are not in favor of such mass actions of labor. But they are not the bosses of labor but our paid leaders. We can tell them what we want. We can tell Congress what we want too. Why not? Who will stop us from exercising our full democratic rights? Surely not Murray and Green, our elected representatives.

Of course Congress will not like to have us in Washington by the thousands. They prefer that we stay at home and wait for them to come to us and tell us about their records. They only like to see us assemble at the polls by the thousands and vote for them. Nor will employers like either our demonstration at Washington or the 24-hour stoppage. They don't like to see so many organized and disciplined workers in the streets. They only like us organized by them and disciplined in the factories, tied to the machines, grinding out profits and dividends.

Now we are only marking time, or doing a side-straddle hop. There are workers who think that labor has become tired out by strikes. Perhaps so. But we can wear ourselves out jumping up and down in one place also. The capitalist bosses think they have labor licked. We know that is not true, but we've got to show them that it is not true. We've got to do something about this anti-labor bill. Labor can defeat this bill. That is a little something; not enough, but it is something.

LABOR ACTION

MAY 12, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Mass Action: The Way To Bring Prices Down!

By EMANUAL GARRETT

"Today's abnormal conditions severely limit the reliance that can be put on the semi-automatic regulation of prices by the market."

So reads a statement issued through the National Planning Association by what the press calls "a cross-section of heavy industry fabricators and retail merchandisers," totalling some 23 prominent business men. Included among the 23 is General Electric's president, C. E. Wilson, whose reputation in business circles rests not only on his presidency of a huge company but on his opposition to decent wage increases.

Stripped of the mouthiness of the "professional economist,"

what the statement means is that anybody who looks to prices coming down of their own weight is acting the fool.

New Political, Social Crisis Wracks France

We scarcely need the testimony of big business representatives to tell us that prices are out of line. But let us get their testimony on record, anyway, before we discuss their motives and our own program to meet the situation.

Over the issue of wage increases, demanded by the French Communist Party in the form of bonus payments for production efforts by union workers, a new political and social crisis has been precipitated in France. This new crisis is the latest in a never-ending series of conflicts that divide France.

When the Stalinist members of the cabinet of Ramadier, Socialist Party leader, proposed a wage increase in the form of bonuses, in opposition to the premier's policy of wage-freezing, the crisis that led to the ousting of the Stalinists from the government began. The coalition government of Stalinists, Socialists, middle-class Radical-Socialists and conservatives of the MRP has been in constant conflict since its origin with the new French constitution. Its duration has always been only a matter of time. The cabinet rejected the Stalinist proposal. The dispute then shifted to the National Assembly, where Ramadier demanded and received a vote of confidence, with the Stalinist members abstaining from the vote.

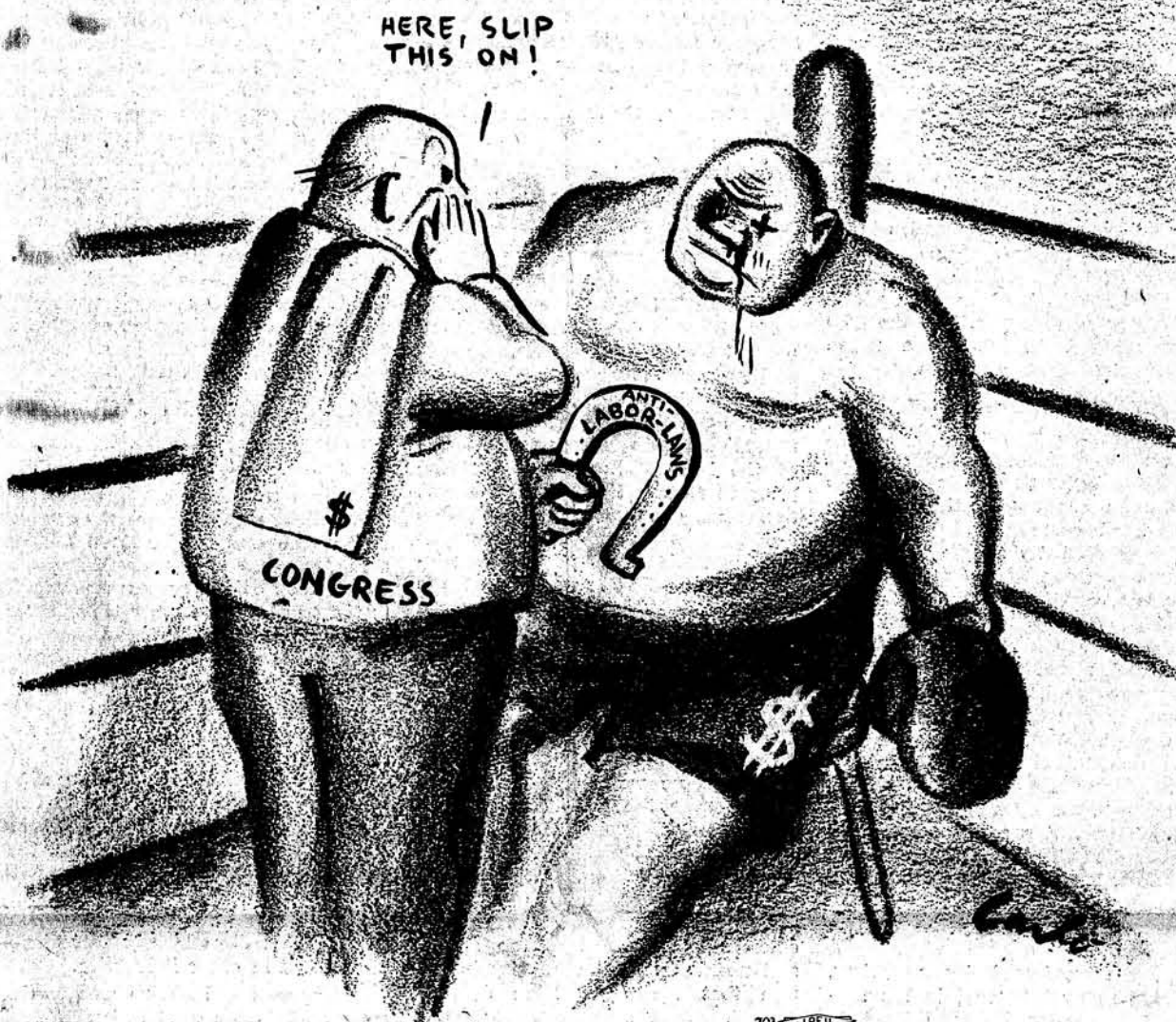
OUTCOME UNSURE

Ramadier then forced the issue by demanding that the Stalinist members of the cabinet (including Maurice Thorez, leader of the French CP) resign for failing to have voted for him and his financial policies. The reluctant Stalinists, anxious to remain inside the government and retain their hold over various ministries, were then dropped and the coalition consists today of only three parties, with Ramadier temporarily continuing as Premier.

The outcome of this fight is still far from sure. The Socialist Party, committed previously to a stand that it will not participate in a government without the Communist Party, is now faced with the task of either reversing this policy and continuing to govern with a coalition of the right wing parties; or of withdrawing from the government itself. The dispute within the SP between the pro-Stalinist elements of the Seine Federation and the Blum leadership now comes to a head, with the definite possibility of a split in the party. What kind of government will emerge from the crisis is as yet unknown.

Many factors lie beneath this (Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)



Supreme Court Decision Perils Personal Liberties

A little noticed but highly dangerous decision has just been announced by the U. S. Supreme Court which makes easier future violations of basic civil rights. The decision, which removes limitations on the powers of "law enforcement officials," has been denounced by a dissenting minority of the Court as tending to destroy guarantees against unreasonable search and seizure in instances where persons are arrested in their homes. It is especially ominous in view of the current "anti-red drive" being conducted by the government, the provisions of which are so deliberately loose and vague that they may apply to any dissenter from official opinions.

The case which came before the Court was not a clear-cut matter of civil liberties and therefore tends to obscure the issue which the Court injected into it. One George Harris of Oklahoma City was suspected by the FBI of being a thief. It had secured arrest warrants in order to search his house for two cancelled checks, proof of his alleged guilt, which they sought but could not find. During their search they found draft

cards, altered notices of draft classification and other material indicating that Harris was violating the Selective Service Act. He was tried and sentenced to serve five years.

Harris fought in the courts of the ground that his constitutional rights had been violated by an unreasonable search and seizure. He protested search without a specific issuance of a search warrant.

By a 5-4 ruling the Supreme Court upheld the government and rejected Harris' appeal.

PROFOUND IMPLICATIONS

We say the case tends to confuse the basic issue involved because in this instance it involved a man obviously engaging in personal theft. But the decision has profound political implications as well. These implications are made quite clear in several dissenting opinions, of which the bluntest is the statement of Justice Murphy. He charged that the majority of the Court was "resurrecting" and approving in effect "the use of the odious general warrant or writ of assistance."

Murphy further declared—and this

is the essence of the matter—that "A warrant of arrest, without more, is now sufficient to justify an unlimited search of a man's home from cellar to garret for evidence of a crime, provided only that he is arrested in his home. The principle established by the Court today can be used as easily by some future government determined to suppress political opposition under the guise of sedition as it can be used by a government determined to undo forgers and defrauders."

That is exactly the point. The majority decision can be understood if seen as part of a pattern in American society today; the increase in power of such repressive agencies as the FBI which, while conducting activity against gangsters, is increasingly used to witch-hunt liberal and radical government employees and intervene against labor in strikes.

Now, according to the Supreme Court, the FBI can get a search warrant on one accusation and then rummage through a private home for purposes of political intimidation. During the recent miners' strike, the

(Continued on page 7)

Picket Race-Hater's Meeting in Philadelphia

WP and SWP Branches Form Joint Committee to Initiate Call for Action; Hold Indoor Rally After Demonstration

PHILADELPHIA, May 1—With provocative brazenness, Gerald L. K. Smith held a meeting here today, the first of May, the international holiday of the working class. The meeting was held at Town Hall, in downtown Philadelphia, just a few blocks from City Hall. On hand to meet the fascists was a well organized, militant picket line of 250 persons, carrying banners and chanting anti-fascist slogans. Hundreds of others who watched the demonstration, many of them trade unionists, joined the picket line from time to time.

The picket action was initiated by a joint committee of the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party. All other labor and socialist organizations were informed of the proposed action.

It was necessary to spread the news of Smith's meeting since, in his usual fashion, there was no advance

publicity. The newspapers and city administration joined with Smith to maintain a conspiracy of silence. News of Smith's attempt to sneak into town, in order to avoid a demonstration, leaked out when a professor at Temple University passed out tickets to his students less than 36 hours before the scheduled meeting.

On this very short notice this joint committee of the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party was formed to take the emergency measures required. The major unions of the CIO and AFL were informed first and invited to take the initiative. Herbert Moyer, secretary of the CIO Council, agreed to notify all CIO locals. Neither he nor any of the locals, however, took any initiative nor made any concerted or organized effort to get their members down. Moyer himself, however, appeared on the picket line.

In spite of the lack of attention to

this information by the trade union leadership, a number of union militants did participate in the demonstration. Workers came from the RCA, Camden plant, from Westinghouse Local 107, UE, SKF, several small steel plants, Baldwin Locomotive Works and a handful from the NMU.

The Communist Party knew about Smith's meeting but did nothing in its own organization or the union locals it controls. Notably absent from the line was any sizeable delegation from UE Local 155, controlled by Dave Davis, publicly avowed CP leader. The Stalinists had no contingent and, to the knowledge of other pickets, no representatives at all. The AYD claimed to have no knowledge of the Smith meeting when informed of it, and apparently did not attempt a serious mobilization after it did know. There were some AYD members present, largely from Tem-

ple University, who joined the anti-fascist ranks in spite of the conspicuous absence of their leadership.

The American Veterans Committee did attempt to bring down some of its members. Two of its city-wide leaders were present. Hashomer Hatzair was well represented by a contingent of active and militant young people.

Carrying banners and shouting, the 250 pickets marched for almost two hours under such slogans as "Drive Smith Out of Philadelphia," "May Day Is Not Fascist Day," "Stop American Fascism Now" and a placard which asked: "A Tisket, a Tasket, Who'll Carry Gerald's Casket?"

The type of audience Smith attracted was in marked contrast to the vigorous unionists, veterans and students who picketed. His audience was made up mainly of women, few of whom were under 50. The chief sponsor of the meeting was the Blue

Star Mothers of America. They looked like left-overs from the Townsend movement of the middle 1930s. Yet it must be noted that this gang of old women was different in one respect from the similar audience Smith attracted in Philadelphia last year. A very large number of those attending were extremely well dressed and obviously wealthy. The "Main Line" was in considerable attendance.

The distribution of tickets by a Temple University professor highlights the social ramifications of the nascent fascist movement. Also, this interesting commentary, for those who ask us not to try to stop Smith from speaking in the name of freedom of speech; the Communist Party postponed its May Day parade and meeting because of its inability to obtain a hall, while Smith had no such difficulty. Yes, we are referring (Continued on page 7)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

U. S. Seamen Fight Panamanian Registry

NEW YORK, May 5—The struggle against the transfer of American vessels to Panamanian registry is rapidly reaching a climax. All the maritime unions concerned are laying plans to meet this assault on the security of American seamen.

2. That the four-watch system, forty-hour shore week, be instituted.

New York Telephone Operators Ordered Back by Union Leaders

NEW YORK, May 5—The first serious break in the nation-wide telephone strike occurred today, with the heads of the four independent unions of the New York Telephone Company employees ordering their workers back to work.

A similar situation of mystery exists in the union of the operators, the Traffic Employees Association. Mrs. Horn, president of that union, has so far refused to make public the results of a poll that was taken Saturday among 2,300 Manhattan operators on the issue of acceptance or rejection of the \$4.00 agreement.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

THINGS ARE TOUGH ALL OVER

A pretty reliable index of economic conditions is to be found in the sales of newspapers and publications. Recently your favorite newspaper ran a subscription campaign. Sub-getters for LABOR ACTION reported that many workers apologized for not subscribing, with the words that they just didn't have the dough to spare.

LABOR ACTION is the indispensable paper to keep you up-to-date on what is happening in the world, how it affects the working class, and what is the socialist program to transform society.

It is some consolation to discover that the Big Business press is running into real difficulties today to retain readers. Four leading magazines, according to the Wall Street Journal, are finding subscriptions running 45 to 50 per cent below a year ago.

A PLUG FOR THE UNIONS

Each of you probably has one or two scissorbill acquaintances who still haven't got through their skulls the immense gains which unions have made for the working class in the past century.

"Store must be open from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. the year round. Each employee must pay not less than \$5 a year to the church and must attend Sunday school regularly.

You can give a great big hand to unionism for busting up such conditions and liberating the workers from long hours, stupid moralizing and heavy-handed paternalism.

Every man and woman who works for a living today owes an immense debt of gratitude to the union move-

ment. The best way to pay that debt, and to live a life with meaning, is to get into the union movement and make it even better.

Incidentally, the "management engineer" who dug up the above item was complaining that the worker, in gaining shorter hours, higher wages, and "independence from the boss' rather heavy paternalism, has lost something: he has lost touch with things."

It seems that an employee who had just received his 25-year service pin from a boss, didn't know when his company was founded, the number of its plants, more than two of its 200 products, the location of its headquarters, the source of a single raw material, details of the operation which preceded and followed his own, the name of the company's president, or the meaning of "free enterprise."

What really irks the "management engineer," however, is the fact that this worker knew the names of his union, of three of its five officers, of two columnists of the union paper, and knew of some direct benefits the union had secured for him.

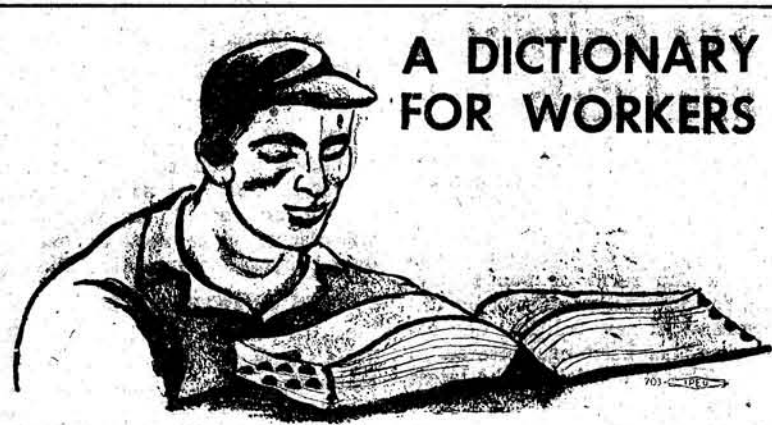
NATIONALISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

Some weeks ago I wrote of the background of the International Trade Conference now under way in Geneva, Switzerland, pointing out that some far-sighted representatives of Big Business in this country had figured that, with industry abroad devastated by the recent war, it would be smart business for U. S. manufacturers to launch a worldwide campaign to cut tariffs and other barriers to international trade.

Well, the U. S. program is having tough sledding these days. In the first place, U. S. businessmen filed more than 1,000 briefs demanding that specific items be eliminated from the lists on which the government was prepared to lower tariffs.

The Wall Street Journal correspondent reports that delegates from Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia and France, "are generally disappointed with U. S. offers of tariff concessions."

The profit-hungry capitalists of the world, even to save their own necks and their own system, can't organize the earth's economy to permit the free and unhampered flow of goods.



A DICTIONARY FOR WORKERS

Compiled by JACK RANGER

Capital, the name given to the means and implements of production or to money when these are used by their owners for the acquisition of profits by means of the use of wage labor.

Capitalism, a system of economic and social organization which developed with the growth of modern business and industry, and which replaced the older feudal society following a series of violent revolutions.

Careerist, one who wishes to live at the expense of organized labor and not for organized labor, usually a man devoid of principle who wants to get ahead.

Check-off, a system of union dues collection whereby the employer agrees with the union to deduct dues from the payroll and turn them over in a lump sum to the union.

UAW LOCAL 856 AT GOODYEAR AIRCRAFT VOTES MILITANT LINE IN WAGE PARLEYS

By SIDNEY CARTER
AKON, April 20—At a special meeting held today, Local 856, UAW-CIO (Goodyear Aircraft) voted 13 to 1 to empower the Executive Board to call a strike if the outcome of the present negotiations with the company prove unsatisfactory.

MYSTERY SURROUNDS RETURN

Considerable mystery surrounded the sudden decision of the New York unions to bring an end to the strike before an adequate national settlement has been reached.

The United Telephone Organization, the union of the maintenance men here, had held a series of membership meetings on Thursday and Friday, at which all sections of the membership had voted to reject the \$4.00 wage pact, and to stay out on strike.

When interviewed by reporters, Parsons refused to explain his reasons for reversing his stand.

Mass Action Is Way to Bring Prices Down --

(Continued from page 1)

But apart from electioneering aspects of the statement by these gentlemen, their motives are worth a little attention. Especially so as their statement is issued one day after one of the big representative bodies of American profiteering, the Chamber of Commerce, issued a statement warning against pressure to reduce prices.

Not by a long shot! Their statement is calculated to achieve the exact opposite: to forestall the development of a mass pressure on prices under the pretense of leadership in the matter by big business itself.

These 23 men are worried about what may come. They are afraid of a "serious price slump later." They are afraid that the mass of people might actually force a genuine reduction in prices.

PROPOSE STATUS QUO
It is, for example, significant that a prime mover in the statement is Beardsley Fuml of the fabulously rich R. H. Macy & Co.

What do these men propose? "Prices... must be brought down as rapidly as orderly readjustment allows." That is the sum and substance of what these "responsible," "public spirited" profiteers offer.

What is his opinion and his interest. Ours is different. Wages must be brought into line with prices and, in addition, provide a basis for a BETTER STANDARD OF LIVING.

borhoods and coordinating their activities on a city-wide and national scale.

Such committees can exert organized pressure on price chisellers from the big manufacturer down to the neighborhood retailer. Such committees can organize, among other things, the much talked of buyers' strike. Buyers' strikes are a limited form of action; they can achieve so much and no more.

WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES.

Mr. Wilson, in contributing his few bucks to the production of the statement we have discussed above, is particularly concerned that wages do not go up. The man who now pretends to be so concerned about the effects on consumer income of rising prices, some months ago issued a statement calling for a moratorium on wage increases.

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Can, then, nothing be done about prices? We of the Workers Party and of LABOR ACTION believe there is much that can be done. In our last week's issue we outlined a plan of attack. Here we shall repeat it only briefly.

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passing, we note that the industrial lords of this nation who howled that wage demands cannot be dealt with on a national basis when the CIO, in the famous Nathan Report, proposed a 30-cent wage increase, because it presumably did not take into consideration the ability of different industries to pay, are now mighty anxious to establish a general wage pattern.)

Much else enters into a comprehensive program on prices. We have, for example, omitted one essential part of any real price program: A RISING SCALE OF WAGES, OR ESCALATOR CLAUSE, so that wages can keep pace with prices.

French Crisis --

(Continued from page 1)

latest development. The Stalinists, dissatisfied with French foreign policy and its growing orientation toward America (as seen at the Moscow Conference), are once more exerting their powerful influence, due to their leadership over the French working class, upon the government.

The legitimate economic and wage demands of the workers are skillfully played upon by the French agents of Russia (the leaders of the Communist Party) in an effort to halt the drift of France toward American imperialism. It is a game of political blackmail, with the Stalinists manipulating millions of workers organized in the French Confederation of Labor (CGT) on the one hand, and the Socialist leaders, Blum and Ramadier, together with the right-wing parties, using the promise of further credits and food imports from America on the other hand.

LIKELY ALTERNATIVE

The Socialist Party must decide what to do. Will it govern without the Stalinists and thus run the risk of facing a wave of mass strikes by the Stalinist-led workers? The 30,000 Renault workers have already demonstrated, through temporary work

with various of the problems that confront labor, notably the anti-labor drive.

We have proposed, in connection with the anti-labor drive, that the unions be called upon to organize a MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON and GENERAL 24-HOUR WORK STOPPAGE!

With a labor movement conscious of the need for action and of its own strength, and speaking plainly its intention to throw its organized forces into the fight on every front, one action, however limited in immediate scope, can serve for many purposes. We are confident that a forthright declaration of labor militancy on one issue will spell victory on other issues, and that it will rally to the side of labor the great mass of people whose interests on prices and other matters are essentially the same as labor's.

stoppages, their eagerness for strike action. Or will it resign from the government and let the right-wing MRP and its supporters form an outright pro-American, reactionary government? Or will it make new and further efforts to win back the Stalinists to the cabinet, accepting the thesis that one cannot get along with them or without them?

This last alternative seems the most likely one to be followed. The Stalinists seem prepared for such a move, anxious as they are to remain in the government. Florimond Bonte, a powerful Stalinist leader, declared that his party was "a government party, all the more responsible for being the first party of France."

Next week's LABOR ACTION will contain a more detailed analysis of the French crisis, based upon reports directly from that country.

Harlem Branch Invites You to "A NIGHT IN MONTE CARLO" MAY 10 - CITY CENTER 114 W. 14th St., N. Y. C.

A Program For U. S. Labor In Post-War Capitalism!

1. Introduction

THE period ahead in the United States will be characterized by sharpening class struggles. The issues around which they will be fought will transcend the traditional trade union level and increasingly force the labor movement to concentrate on the broad social and economic questions that constitute the fundamental problems of our time. This development will continue to heighten the political consciousness of the working class and, in turn, will be spurred on by the latter. The sharpening struggles, the nature of the issues involved and the heightened political consciousness of the working class will lead to a political re-alignment on the American scene with the working class undergoing a rapid growth of class consciousness resulting in the establishment of labor as an independent class political force.

The objective basis for this political development will be the limited economic boom that will characterize American economy for the coming period. Though the emergence of a boom in American economy in this stage of world capitalism temporarily "reverses" the historic trend, it does not eliminate it. Born of the special position of American capitalism in the post-war world, of America's traditional resources in industry, agriculture and manpower and of the unique internal economic situation (accumulated individual savings mostly in the hands of the middle class, and tremendous consumer demands assuring a ready market) which resulted from the war economy, the economic boom will exhaust itself as a short cycle within the historic tendency of capitalist decline and will be absorbed by the latter.

However, the political line of our party, unlike its programmatic principles, must be based directly upon the immediate cycle, rather than upon the historic curve. Our party, therefore, bases itself upon the prospect of working class struggles that develop in accordance with the forms of struggle produced by a period of relatively high employment and economic instability characteristic of an inflationary period with constantly changing wage-price relationships. The forms of working class struggle under these conditions are primarily strike struggles that are born of the self-confidence of the workers in a period of high employment and the pressure of rising prices upon their living standards. However, the nature of the historic epoch of capitalism as well as the immediate problems confronting the workers does not permit these mass struggles to remain at the simple wage-level.

DEVELOPING AN ARENA OF SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

The relationship of wages, prices and profits forces labor to face the problems of the economy as a whole and, thereby, challenges capital's unlimited control over production. Strikes that have as their objective labor's intervention in controlling prices and profits challenge the fun-

The resolution of the Situation in the United States which is printed on this page was adopted by the National Convention of the Workers Party held on May 30-June 2, 1946. The convention adopted the resolution in draft form and authorized the incoming National Committee to edit and elaborate it. The reason for its present publication lies in the nature of the current economic and political situation in the country, and conforms with our practice of making public the most important political resolutions and statements of the Workers Party. The "boom" period, through which we are now living, reflected by almost total employment and a

high rate of production, also reveals sharp contradictions which prepare for a coming economic crisis of great severity which is bound to have a determining effect in intensifying the struggle of the workers in order to live. The present "boom" is also accompanied by an offensive of labor centered in the most reactionary Congress the country has ever seen.

We are certain that our readers will find this resolution of extreme interest; it will serve them as a guide to an understanding of the situation in the country and the problems which face the economic and political organizations of the working class.—Editors.

has brought in its wake an intensification of all the contradictions of world capitalism and, therefore, a worsening of the internal problems, either immediately or within a short period, of each of the capitalist nations. The United States, regarded as the one "lucky" power, the "real victor," etc., is not immune to this basic development. The vitality shown by American economy in its war production, which surpassed the most optimistic estimates, cannot obscure the fact that for ten years preceding the war (1929-39) American economy was in this grip of a paralyzing depression. Unless American imperialism can set world economy on its feet and stabilize it, as a precondition to exploiting it, world economic chaos will plunge American economy back to its pre-war levels and beyond.

WORLD STABILITY, PEACE IMPOSSIBLE

American policy is, therefore, directed toward the achievement of world stability, peace and equilibrium as the indispensable prerequisite to the achievement of its world aims. As part of this policy is its support of the United Nations, the World Bank, the UNRRA, the International Labor Organization, and other measures of international control in which the United States is assured the final, decisive voice. Also as part of this policy of stabilization is its building up of counter-weights to the Stalinist parties where they achieve mass influence (primarily Western Europe) in the form of the Social Democracy and "liberal" Catholic parties. Of the same pattern is its intervention in the colonial struggles on behalf of negotiated solutions which avoid wholesale violence against the oppressed nation but divert the latter from a revolutionary struggle for genuine independence through compromise arrangements which benefit primarily the colonial bourgeoisie.

However, the advanced stage of disintegration of world capitalism will not permit American imperialism to achieve any serious measure of international stability and peace, even for a short time. Economic stabilization is only possible on the basis of an acceptance of a standard of living drastically below their pre-war levels on the part of the majority of the nations of the world. The voluntary acceptance of such a status under conditions of American exploitation of world resources and markets is completely excluded. The prospect is for quite the opposite—sharpening class conflict and continued political instability within the impoverished nations and a rising tide of national resentment and resistance to American domination. Despite all its "liberal" and "pacifist" policies, American imperialism is rapidly earning the well-deserved hatred of the oppressed and exploited peoples everywhere, as has been the case with every oppressor nation throughout history. For behind these policies directed toward world stabilization is the driving will of the American ruling class for an "American solution"

However, the United States has achieved this unique and unprecedented world position in a period of historic decay of international capitalism and under conditions of general ruin and chaos in the most important centers of civilization (Europe, Asia). The very process of eliminating its rivals, destroying its enemies and bankrupting its allies, by which American imperialism emerged on top, has also created a world situation that renders the full exploitation of its dominant position all but impossible. The imperialist war, through which the leading imperialist nations sought to resolve their internal economic problems,

The only serious rival to American world domination is Russia, with whom American imperialism must share domination of Europe and Asia. In fact, Russia remains the only nation not subject to direct pressure of American imperialism. However, despite many advantages which the Russian ruling class enjoys over the American in the form of its nationalized economy, its totalitarian regimentation, its greater manpower and land mass and the peculiar influence it wields in key countries (France) through the Stalinist parties, it remains incomparably weaker in the decisive sphere of industrial productivity.

(Continued from page 5)

2. Capitalism At War's End

The United States emerged from World War II as the dominant world power. Already the world's most powerful industrial nation at the beginning of the war, the United States, far from suffering war-time devastation as affected every other



Japanese Elections Reveal Sharp Shift in Political Relationships

By JACK BRAD

The second national elections in post-war Japan were concluded on April 25. It is possible now to make a more precise analysis of the relative importance of the classes and political parties in Japanese life.

A comparison with last year's elections reveals a great change. Most amazing is the drop in the number of voters. The total vote cast last year was over 35 million; that is, almost the entire eligible electorate turned out. In the tally for the lower house of the two-chamber legislature, 25 million people voted. This was a considerably higher total than the number participating in the elections for the upper house and in the prefectures.

Details are not yet available here because the heavy MacArthur censorship slows up communication. It is apparent, however, that there was a much smaller falling off in the countryside than in the cities. The drop in the vote becomes, therefore, a most notable feature. This must be interpreted in the light of the active class struggle that the working class has waged in the cities throughout this past year up until the aborted general strike on January 31.

CLASS PROGRAM EMERGES

This period was characterized by great mass activity of a comprehensive political character. Frequent mass demonstrations took place in all the large cities. The political keynote was the demand for an end to the Yoshida government of the Zaibatsu (Japan's monopolists). Stormy meetings before the ministerial palace in Tokyo sought to oust Yoshida physically.

Sharp criticism of the government's stupid and lethargic inability to meet the crisis of inflation, collapse of food distribution and mass unemployment filled the press and speeches of demonstrators. Out of these criticisms arose a dynamically distinct class program demanding workers' control of food distribution, a sliding scale of rations, workers' control of production and an end to the criminal Zaibatsu.

The Social Democracy recorded impressive gains. Receiving only 18 per cent of the vote on April 10, 1946, the party rose steadily in popularity until toward the end of 1946, in a poll taken by the newspaper, Asahi, it reached a high of over 45 per cent support, whereas 67 per cent stated opposition or coolness to the government. This was the case despite MacArthur's consistent support to the reactionary coalition of Yoshida's Liberal Party and Foreign Minister Shidehara's Progressive Party (recently renamed Democrats).

During this period the trade unions grew rapidly, from no members and no organization in August, 1945, to about 5,000 unions containing four and a half million members today. This phenomenal expansion was accompanied by great militancy and in several cases the workers took over control of production. The activities of the trade unions reached a head with the attempted general strike. This strike was broken by the direct intervention of MacArthur's staff.

Until the attempted general strike the class struggle was characterized by wide extra-parliamentary activ-

ity, which drew into its orbit the growing mass of organized workers at the head of a national movement which achieved actual majority support from the middle classes as well. MacArthur followed his strike-breaking with the call for a new national election with the object of taking advantage of the effects of the strike's collapse to derail this extra-parliamentary activity into "normal" and controllable channels inside the government.

MIDDLE CLASS SHIFT

The decreased popular vote means, then, that large sections of the working class do not yet have faith in MacArthur's new legislature and its ability to solve their problems. They have learned the value of controlling the factories and streets rather than legislative seats. It also means, however, that the setback that followed January 31 still weighs heavily. For since that date no serious strikes or demonstrations have occurred. To this extent MacArthur's treacherous tactic succeeded.

Nevertheless, the workers emerge from the election as an organized political class, though the instrument for this expression is the ineffectual, compromising and faction-torn Social Democracy. Last year the SDP received over eight million votes. This year the SDP received only 6,600,000 votes, but this represents a proportionate increase of the reduced total, giving it about 145 seats or the largest single representation in the lower house. The SDP also is the largest party in the upper house. In the prefectural councils (state legislatures) the SDP is not the largest party, but it has a substantial representation of 242.

The Liberal Party received 12,000,000 votes last year and the Progressive received 10,700,000. This year the two parties together received 13,500,000, or a drop of almost 10 million votes. It is, therefore, obvious that the major shift has occurred among the middle classes, who early in 1946 were increasingly disillusioned with the reactionary parties and tended to support the SDP as representative of the proletariat's national leadership. After January 31, 1947, this sentiment fell rapidly as the working class took no new initiative to meet the terrible "March crisis" which has lasted through April as well. The conclusion is inescapable that substantial sections of the middle classes were abstentionist in the election because of disillusionment in the present régime and without an alternative.

STALINISTS DECLINE

MacArthur has made great publicity out of the severe defeat of the Communists. His gloating has considerable justification. The CP was the largest proportionate loser in the elections. Its loss is over 50 per cent, from two million to 870,000. In the prefectural legislatures it has no representatives, only three in the upper house and retains its four lower house seats.

The CP's decline is part of the growing fear of the masses of involvement in another war. MacArthur has exploited this fear to tie the Japanese increasingly to American imperialism. The new MacAr-

thur constitution prohibits a separate Japanese military establishment. Yet Japan is caught between two monstrously huge contending imperialisms. It seeks protection from one, and MacArthur has driven home America's permanent imperialist interest in Japan.

There are other factors as well, such as the repudiation of strikes for political purposes by Sanzo Nozaka, the CP leader, at a time when the workers felt the power of their mass actions. The CP has not differentiated itself programatically in any remarkable fashion. It tends to tail-end the pronouncements of General Kuzma Derenynka, the Russian representative on the Tokyo Allied Control Commission. Its political program calls for a "popular front of all democratic elements." In the trade unions it is to the right of the Syndicalists and the left wing of the SDP. Its handling of the general strike was ineffectual. Recently some of the tightest Stalinist controlled unions have begun to break away.

For the moment, then, MacArthur appears to have accomplished his purpose in strengthening the hand of the reactionaries in Japan and in disorienting the mass struggle. However, neither he nor his quislings have taken the first step toward resolution of the overshadowing economic crisis. After a brief period of waiting for parliamentary results, the working class may again be forced to the streets and factories for results.

The election results have not upset
(Continued on page 6)

Industrialists Finance a Survey and Their

"Scholars" Find Wages Are Unimportant!

By WILLIAM BARTON

FOR a time, some sections of American capitalism have been trying to find out how best to placate their workers without giving them too much power and yet maintain high production. Much money has been spent on research projects. Frequent small-scale experiments have been attempted while scholars of "industrial relations" craned their necks to see the results.

One of the most extensive research jobs has been done at plants of the Western Electric Corporation, large AT&T subsidiary, by the Harvard Business School under the direction of one Elton Mayo. These studies have become the basis for most commentaries on the subject. By actually studying workers' attitudes they discovered the essential fact that the old schemes of profit sharing, company publicity, model villages and all the paraphernalia that comprised the company union approach were laughed at by the workers. The apparently startling revelation was made that workers usually felt themselves apart from

and opposed to the company, and that trade unions not only formed a mechanism for their struggle against the company, but gave them a feeling of belonging which they could not find in the factory itself.

Summarizing much of this research and experience was a series of articles in Harper's several months ago by Peter Drucker, previously most famous for his book with the fantastic title, "The End of Economic Man." Motivated by a strong desire for "industrial peace" and the preservation of capitalist democracy, he examined the history of "industrial relations" and wrote these magazine pieces as advice to the industrialists.

WAGES UNIMPORTANT

Drucker claims that the most important common error to be clarified is that the "wage question" is a major cause of "unrest." It has been shown, he says, that far more important are the following: the workers' resentment toward working conditions (which includes hiring, firing, promotions and job classification), the attempt by employers to set workers against each other, the lack of any feeling of meaning in their work, the effects of assembly-line production upon the individual, the over-all insecurity of the job. To decrease "conflict," increase productiv-

ity, lower fatigue and develop as much satisfaction on the job as possible, he offers a program predicated upon "intelligence" and the absence of a spirit of "guerrilla warfare" on the part of all concerned.

First of all, there must be some form of democratic control of "plant community" life, based upon the participation of workers, as directly as can be worked out, in the determination of working conditions (but not such things as pricing, financing, buying and selling, which must remain exclusive prerogatives of management). Unions have already assumed some of these functions, but they rarely control enough of the plant life and they frequently do not allow for enough participation by the individual worker. His idea of possible solutions are the examples presented of several shops where workers' committees in regular and frequent meetings with full publicity actually determine, alone or in consultation with the company, factory conditions. In some cases they even decided production policies.

He then tells of various plants that have discovered means of eliminating the worst features of assembly-line work, of replacing atomization by group loyalties, of encouraging initiative, of giving the worker some meaning in his job, of thus increasing satisfaction and productivity. But

he always ties it in with his essential point—the need for the worker's participation in "plant government" to make him feel that he is an "adult and responsible citizen" in the community which is his factory. "Intelligent management" must learn to utilize the results of these few valuable experiences.

WORKER'S SOCIAL INTERESTS

There is the story of the Ohio war plant which had no time to seriously plan its work at the top and, because of that, developed a conspicuous group initiative and morale and resultant high productivity. As an answer to the automaton producing assembly line, the case is given of a Detroit plant that had a complete aluminum part manufactured by a single worker from a chart, a set-up that was frequent in other shops during the war. The learning process was a little longer but the ultimate result was, again, more interest in work, greater productivity, better efficiency and less fatigue.

A few more examples here and there and Drucker has completed his scheme—the intelligent application of some form of "industrial democracy" and the realization that workers are not just raw material, to be used up and tossed aside, but something akin to the machinery, to be utilized and maintained with care

and interest. He realized that the problem of insecurity is too big for one firm, despite guaranteed annual wage plans; that it involves the entire economic system, which he mentions only in passing. He is likewise astute enough to realize that employer-worker committees for the mere sake of taking up worker suggestions for improving production, so much publicized during the war, mean little to most workers, who regard them in the same light as profit-sharing and model villages—futile, snobbish and condescending attempts to show that all were part of one big, happy family.

Drucker's articles are interesting indeed, especially since they come from an avowed apologist for capitalism. His discounting the importance of the wage issue sounds a little wild, but it is well calculated. No, the pocketbook still looms large in the eyes of the worker, and any attempt to ignore this, however scholarly the approach, must be treated with a little contempt. It is the capitalist theorists' attempt to defend profits. At the same time it indicates that the worker is interested in all problems of his life and not only wages.

The items emphasized by Drucker as being closest to the worker's heart reveal far more than he realizes.
(Continued on page 5)

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Editorials

Start Now to Fight Rent Boost

The press has given considerable attention to prices these past few weeks. Of course, nothing was being done by "responsible" business circles except to snatch a little free publicity for their respective enterprises under the pretext of discussing the price situation. However, while the press found it expedient to give columns of space to the utterly phony "Newburyport plan" and similar schemes to "change" the general price picture, one aspect of that situation has been generally overlooked. We refer to rents.

Everything appears to be calm on the rent front. It would seem as though the real estate lobby had withdrawn in defeat; that rent control was safe for at least the coming year. But nothing could be further from the truth.

The fact of the matter is that the House has, if we may borrow a sentence from a New York Post columnist, VOTED TO RAISE YOUR RENT! Yes; voted to raise your rent. And it did so in the very bill extending "rent control" to December 31.

The bill itself is supposed to make you feel as though the fight is won. But as the Post columnist Van Devander says: "The real estate lobby got just about everything it wanted." Thus, this "rent control" bill provides that a landlord and tenant may "agree" to raise the rent 15 per cent if there is a two-year lease. Now, we could go into details about how landlords will go about persuading tenants to sign the "agreement"; but we suspect that every reader is sufficiently well-acquainted with the ways of landlordism. We'll cite only one way in which this can be done; the bill provides that a landlord can secure the eviction of an uncooperative tenant by announcing that he plans to "remodel" the apartment.

There is much else in the bill, including a provision for "home rule" which allows states and municipalities to lift controls

What Did the Gentlemen Prove?

Twenty-seven economic experts have just prepared a report on the future of America for the Twentieth Century Fund, an institution organized and financed by Edward A. Filene, Boston merchant. The gist of this lengthy and expensive report is that the industrial development of the United States is nothing short of a miracle as expressed in the rise of productivity which placed the country at the top of the capitalist heap.

On the assumption of a normal future—no war and no economic crises—the experts predict a rosy future for the American economy and the mass of inhabitants of the nation. This forecast is buttressed by a great deal of historical data which shows the great changes that have taken place in the last 150 years. Certainly history will bear out the unquestionable economic progress of the country rooted in a series of special factors typical only of the United States. But, apparently, the report, according to initial summaries of it, does not take into account the rise of American capitalism in the period of the world decline of the social order; nor does it demonstrate forcefully how the national economic order rests on the condition of the rest of the world. It does not, for example, point to the inherent contradictions based on America's highly rationalized productive organization and the capitalist system of private expropriation of the national product. It is this factor, the contradiction of concentrated wealth and concentrated poverty, which contains the germs of the future collapse. This was already visible in the crisis of the Thirties which marked the end of the upward march of American capitalism.

The report has to take cognizance of several factors which bear out the above,

without a popular referendum. Add to this the various schemes already afoot to allow for rent review in given areas, to relieve "hardship" cases, and it all totals up to a pending rent boost. Local laws in various states that presumably protect rent control will be of little use. In New York State for example, there is a rent control law, but it is operative ONLY if Congress completely eliminates controls.

That's the situation. The real estate lobby has realized that it can execute its designs more favorably in obscurity. Too much hollering out in the open about raising rents merely brought mass protest. It is much better for them to work quietly with their loyal stooges in government.

This particular bill is not yet signed into law. There is consequently time to act. But not too much time. Already rents are going up in city after city. When the big and public landlord drive was on some weeks ago, it provoked a mass protest which, while disorganized, was still sufficiently pointed to force a temporary retreat.

There are many things that demand our attention and active intervention: the anti-labor legislative drive, the whole price situation and much else. While we attend to these other things, we must, however, also remember to take appropriate action on rent. Prices, rents, anti-labor drive, and so forth—all of these are but different aspects of a common problem: defending the welfare, rights and living standards of the people in general and of labor in particular.

If we are not to succumb to the crushing effects of uncontrolled rents, we must organize in our neighborhoods and cities, and through our unions, to serve notice on the rent profiteers that the people, backed by the organized strength of the labor movement, will not permit ANY KIND of rent boost!

namely, that one-third of the nation continues to live at sub-standard conditions, that the national net income of American families is below what the report considers to be a good standard of living, that housing for the mass of people is an abomination and does not reflect the technological progress of the country, etc., etc.

In other words, the report loses sight of the most important things: the contradictions of the economy, and the real, the concrete life of America's millions. Therefore it can show by figures the possibility of a high standard of living provided . . . there are no disruptions in the future. Yet, the whole future promises nothing but disruption of the normal processes.

The fact that technological development in this country is capable of producing a decent existence for all the people is something we socialists have been saying for a long time. We say there is not need for poverty, homelessness, starvation, and all the other ills of capitalism. There is enough wealth and potential productivity to raise the standard of living for everyone far higher than even the report indicates. But it cannot be done as long as the means of production belong to a small class of capitalists and as long as production has only one objective: profits and accumulated wealth for the capitalist class.

The way to realize the potentials inherent in the productive system which now exists, and which was developed by the labor of tens of millions of workers, is to socialize production, abolish private ownership of the means of production, create a socialist society in which production would be carried on under the democratic control of the workers themselves for use, for plenty for all. Until then, the future for the people is indeed hopeless.

Books You Should Know...

THE FLIVVER KING, by Upton Sinclair, Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kan. 25 Cents.

Reviewed by N. JOHNSTONE

Written ten years ago, this novellette concerning the career of Henry Ford, America's prime industrialist, created a sensation in the working world. The CIO purchased two hundred thousand copies for distribution to its members as educational material. It is a good antidote for the press eulogies touting Ford as the most benevolent capitalist-employer in the United States.

Sinclair has drawn together the salient aspects of Ford's life and gives the reader a portrait of a semi-ignorant man who will long be remembered in labor circles as the peddler of the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion, the anti-Semite and labor-baiter par excellence. The most highly touted capitalist in America with the exception of John D. Rockefeller, who handed out dimes to cloak his voracity in accumulating millions, Ford and the myths that have been built about him are exploded by the author, which is a service to the public.

Ford's historic pronouncement on a five-dollar daily wage earned him his undeserved appellation of America's "good-hearted" employer. The gullible believed this was a panacea and yearned that all capitalists might take a page from his book. They erroneously believed this would be the means of preventing the usual business cycles and would avoid depressions permanently. It is an indictment of the press that it, in its abject genuflection toward his mem-

ory, purposely neglected to mention the things he did that will cause the working class to remember him in a different manner.

THE INDUSTRIAL "GENIUS"

Abner Shutt is a neighbor of Ford's. He sees him working in his garage on a new contraption. Ford to him is a genius. He obtains employment when Ford starts work on his primitive "999" model car. After many years, Abner begins to see what it is like to work for a genius turned capitalist. The terrific pace he must maintain at the assembly line as his job becomes more simplified but increasingly arduous is the chronicle of progress under capitalism. He suffers the abuses of Ford's gestapo and the spying of one employee upon the other in order to keep in good graces.

Sinclair describes personages and events: Harry Bennett, former gangster and lieutenant of Ford, whose surveillance and strict control of the workers' actions both at work and in their leisure moments was a model for scores of industries. W. J. Cameron, publicity agent whose suave lubrications served Ford well in conditioning the public to condemn the workers when they sought to organize against their "beneficent employer." Ford's venture into the publishing field with his Dearborn Independent, which spouted fascist lies and was a veritable gold mine for people like Gerald L. K. Smith, Father Coughlin, Fritz Kuhn, the KKK and other hate outfits. Ford's puerile attempts at stopping the First World War by sponsoring the now famous "Peace Ship" which failed ignomi-

ously and had no chance whatsoever of stopping hostilities. This is the mental capacity of the man who put faith in such inept gestures toward preserving world peace.

Sinclair also shows Ford's hate for Wall Street bankers, who he believed were all Jews' a la Hitler, and were conspiring to take over the country. His evasion of going to the bankers in time of stress, and compelling his dealers the country over to purchase cars which they couldn't sell so that he might lift himself up by his own bootstraps. We also have visions of the Titan at play. Here we see him as the foremost proponent of the square dance. His ludicrous philosophizing about the tremendous amount of good will created in meeting seven other people is satirical, and demonstrates his naive reasoning powers. His hobby of reconstructing American landmarks such as Stephen Foster's home and so forth, toward the end of perpetuating himself in the annals of American history.

The story ends with Henry and his wife driving home in the armored Lincoln. Henry is pondering whether he actually is succeeding in doing something good for mankind. The good will created by meeting seven other people probably is unconvincing, even to him. The car swerves in order to avert hitting two people stumbling along the roadside. "Drunks" is the observation of the chauffeur and the bodyguard. The "drunks" are the union organizer and his wife, who had been waylaid and beaten up by members of Harry Bennett's goon squad.

"Scholars" and Wages - -

(Continued from page 3)

Most of them substantiate the contention of Marxian socialists since way back—that workers' basic enemy toward the economic and industrial structure has its foundation at the point of production. He claims that the cause is modern industrialism itself, in which he is joined by many well-wishing humanitarians. The few examples of alleviation of essential factory grievances he does present disproves this. The undemocratic absence of citizenship in the plant and his failure to find sufficient meaning in his work stem directly from the social process of production which is capitalism. It is based upon what Marx so vividly described as "alienation of labor."

Drucker is absolutely right; labor is treated as easily replaceable raw material; at best, it is considered as an average piece of complex machinery. Therein lies the heart of the class struggle and the need for a revolutionary transformation of society.

The few tidbits of plant citizenship and the alleviation of the most physically and psychologically destructive features of factory work are the results of the struggle of the workers. They have come as a result of the workers' own assumption of democracy, or granted by capitalists to avoid a greater assumption of democratic rights by the workers; they have never been willingly bestowed from above. Even company

unions were organized to combat genuine trade unionism. But, under the present economic system, they must remain limited. The few more advanced attempts of independent control of factory life and production plans by workers' representatives are mild forerunners of a better, socialized world. They contain elements similar to public roads, libraries and parks. They are as likely to become as common under capitalism as the House of Morgan subsidizing LABOR ACTION. For our entire social structure today has as its guiding theory—domination on the part of the rulers and obedience on the part of the ruled.

WE SEE THE FUTURE

Drucker makes much of the fact that there is probably little difference between the relations of the worker to the factory in capitalist industry in the U. S., "nationalized" industry in England, and "socialized" industry in Russia. LABOR ACTION has frequently dealt with all that has developed in England under the Labor Party government, as well as the new exploiting society in Russia. The alternative—workers' power—has been illustrated by history, though as yet in incomplete form. The trade union movement is actually a beginning in that direction; inspection of the books and sharing control over production plans, as has existed in many European countries, is a more advanced step. Actual

workers' planning and operation of economic life without complete political control of the state, has also occurred partially in several places, notably in Spain in 1936 and Russia in 1917. Finally, the working class assumed complete power in Russia in the October Revolution in 1917. The exact nature of these events, the shortcomings, difficulties and compromises have all been often discussed in these pages, as have the many phases and problems of workers' control of industry. The fullest development of social democracy, can come only with socialism, which of course we have not yet seen.

History has given up an idea of the future in embryonic form. Only with popular control of economic life at the point of production can there be any real meaning in work, any genuine group morale and initiative, any widespread attempt to eliminate the tyranny of factory life or any serious beginnings to make man the master of his productive machinery instead of its slave. Labor will then no longer be either raw material or machinery, but merely the instrument for bringing them both together for the benefit of all.

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BIG FOUR

Future War Rests on
 U. S.-Russian Rivalry

By HENRY JUDD

In the White House sits a little, confused man—certainly one of the most inept and unqualified figures, from any standard, ever cast into the office of supreme head of the world's greatest and most powerful imperialist nation. The disproportion between this man's talents and the requirements of his job were never more strikingly revealed than in the incident, now deliberately buried by the press, of his vetoing a bill he had intended to sign. Confusion in this complex world is understandable; but this act belongs to a lower order of human behavior! It is best not to describe it.

This man has the task of directing American imperialism at one of the most crucial and complex points in its world history—the period when it must prepare nothing less than its ultimate and back-breaking effort for complete mastery and conquest of the world. This means, concretely, the job of executing the shrewdest, slickest and most successful maneuvers possible with the aim of being in the most favorable position for winning a future war against rival Russian imperialism.

The major weapons of American imperialism are, of course, money, credits, food, exports, war materials. These are counterposed to the demagogic propaganda of Russian imperialism which, only because of the continued stagnation of Europe two years after the war's end, can still arouse false illusions of agrarian and socialist revolution. But America's loans and food come at a high price; they are doled out as rations in exchange for political favors in preparing the war against Russia. France is now the main target of this policy. The ousting of the Stalinists from the French cabinet was unquestionably engineered with the approval, perhaps insistence, of the American State Department. The last French loan is expiring; the need for dollars to pay for more food and coal from America is still present.

AMERICA'S GROUP OF SPECIALISTS

Truman operates under the guidance of an increasingly small and narrow group of "specialists," men who think of themselves as master strategists, American geo-politicians who think in terms of the Burnham conceptions of world politics. Marshall, an isolated, flint-faced, cold fish if one ever existed, is the deliberately chosen front of this policy, a criminal policy not only because of its adventurist quality, but because of the certainty with which it leads to World War III. Marshall's conduct at Moscow indicated he never intended to strike a bargain with the Russians. At any rate, not yet. " . . . did not use all his opportunities to talk out basic differences with the Russians and the British." " . . . he isolated himself . . . not only from his own staff and the other Foreign Ministers but also from the important foreign policy developments on Capitol Hill." (New York Times, April 30.) His report to the nation—"the patient is sinking while the doctors consult,"—reveals the part he acted in Moscow.

Truman boasts of a bi-partisan foreign policy. His Republican supporters, principally Vandenberg and John Foster Dulles, are often able to utter thoughts and reveal aims that the Truman-Marshall combo prefers not to discuss. Vandenberg threatens Stalin with separate peace moves—"we cannot wait too long for a peace program which at least unites those who can agree." Dulles hints of a solid American drive, backed by loans and credits, to revive a Western Germany and then unite it into an anti-Russian federation of Western Europe (he calls this a "United States of Europe"). Stassen presses home, in conversation with Stalin, the weaknesses of Russia, and the economic strength of America. Republican Party "isolationism" is forgotten for good, even by these three rival presidential aspirants. The GOP wishes to formulate an acceptable imperialist program; a program it confidently expects will be carried out by the Republican it already sees succeeding the current occupant of the White House.

But the action behind this common front is neither vigorous nor clear. When Truman announced his "doctrine" in the Greek-Turkey aid speech, the Moscow Conference collapsed. The English New Statesman and Nation described Marshall as being "as obstructive as a Communist commissar." American imperialism came back without a single positive achievement from Moscow. Stalin let the conference collapse; he wishes to see what will happen. Meanwhile, Truman has still to push through his \$400 million Greek-Turkey aid bill, requested on March 12. There is as yet no drive or unity of purpose behind America's foreign policy. The State Department bill for \$350 million for a program of direct foreign relief has not only not been passed as yet, but has been cut down to \$200 million. The Republicans, pledged to cut expenditures, are embarrassed by the fact that only greater and greater expenditures of money can advance the foreign program they now hold in common with Truman! The dilemma is insoluble, even by a Taft! The list of 27 "urgent" international matters sent to Congress as requiring action by Secretary of State Marshall still remains—27!

PLUNGING HEADLONG INTO WAR

American policy, above all, wavers with respect to Germany, the economic heart of Europe so far as recovery is concerned. The three Hoover reports, with their advocacy of definite steps, are largely ignored. Some money and food are put into dying Germany, but not sufficient to lift the patient to its feet—only enough to keep a low state of life. The effect of the money is largely wasted, since it is insufficient to get the economic machine going again. This is characteristic of American imperialist policy in all areas. It is caught in the greatest of all imaginable dilemmas—shall it resurrect and revive yesterday's defeated rivals and thus run the risk of making out of them tomorrow's living rivals and competitors; or shall it watch these nations slowly succumb, through stagnation and growing lassitude, to the penetrating techniques of Stalinist imperialism? American policy wavers and drifts; the man in the White House, only succeeding in appearing symbolizes this wavering. He vetoes what he is ridiculous when wishing to appear determined, for; he is for what he vetoes.

The political education of the American working class, and the American people in general, will consist in their growing realization of the fact that some of the men that stand at the head of their government are foolish and bewildered; that the only "positive" and definite action these men are ever capable of taking are steps that lead us closer to a disastrous war with Russian imperialism—inevitable, if these men or their similars, remain in power in both America and Russia.

Workers Party Program for American Labor

The Economies and Political Prospects of U. S. Capitalism - -

(Continued from page 3)

to world affairs, i.e., one that will leave American imperialism in complete and exclusive control of the world market and in control of the political destinies of the world necessary to assure uninterrupted exploitation of its favorable economic position.

America's will to dominate cannot be asserted by diplomatic method alone. The very success of the latter is dependent upon the implied threat represented by American economic and military power. American economic policy dictates which nations shall be reconstructed, at what tempo and to what extent. For many nations American policy dictates whether they shall survive or not in the most literal sense since they are dependent upon the United States for the very bread they eat. And behind American economic power stands American military power, which, in the course of the war, revealed the crushing might of armies that are based upon an endless flow of materials provided by the world's biggest industrial machine. This military power stands poised over the world with accentuated terror because of its stockpiles of atomic bombs and the world's biggest air force with which to deliver them.

AT HOME AND ABROAD CONTRADICTIONS MULTIPLY

Even if the United States was able to force its policies upon a resisting world, and the case of Argentina's successful defiance indicates the difficulties involved, there is no prospect that American imperialism could construct a workable system of world economy, even upon lowered living standards for its victims. All the contradictions inherent in capitalism and at work with such devastating results since 1929, not only remain unresolved but have been further complicated by the effects of the war. The dilemma of American imperialism is illustrated by the problems posed by the future of England, Germany and Japan, its foremost industrial rivals before the war. American imperialism dare not permit British capitalism to decline any further without inviting revolutionary consequences in England and on the Continent. It is therefore forced to aid British industry get back on its feet through a three billion dollar loan. England, however, though no longer the "workshop of the world," is still primarily a workshop. Its rebuilt and modernized industry has meaning only to the extent it increases British exports and improves England's position in the world market. But this takes place primarily at the expense of the

United States. American imperialism cannot, therefore, avoid sharing the world market with Great Britain, even though the latter will not recover its pre-war position.

Likewise with the Japanese and the Allied-sphere of German industry, which American imperialism will re-establish as its advance bases against Russia in Asia and Europe. A going economy in these two highly industrial nations requires access to the world market. Both nations must import raw materials and foodstuffs which they can only pay for with industrial products. Here, too, the role of Germany and Japan in the world market will be kept considerably below its pre-war level, but American world policy will require that it make concessions in the world market to its defeated ex-enemies and present satellites in the anti-Russian front.

All of these complications, both the political and economic, would have some chance of solution by the United States were it not for the fact that the indispensable cornerstone for such world stabilization is economic stability within the United States. It is precisely the latter, however, that the American ruling class cannot assure to itself. American economy has become the foundation for capitalist stability everywhere but, precisely because it is such an integral part of world economy, it cannot escape the effects of world instability nor, because of its own inherent instability, can it invest world economy with any durable equilibrium.

THE DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM

Contributing to all the disrupting factors within the world of capitalism is the prospect of continued strained relations between this American dominated world and Russia's world of bureaucratic collectivism, strained relations which will cause the nations of the world to live in the shadow of World War III even if the necessary prerequisites for the latter do not materialize for the next two decades. The maintenance of the two world spheres as uneasy armed camps with large standing armies, feverish research in weapons of war, stockpiling of strategic materials, dispersal of strategic industries, the operation of the economy in a state of semi-preparation for war production will all act as a deterrent to the "normalization" of economic life and stability in political and diplomatic relations.

It is to be concluded, therefore, that the aim of American imperialism to resolve its own internal contradictions through domination of world economy is destined to failure.

The new world position of American capitalism cannot reverse the historic tendencies of decline which operated with such devastating results from 1929 to 1939. The American bourgeoisie has reached the zenith of its power in an era when any measure of durable stability, peace and equilibrium are impossible to maintain. The American bourgeoisie has begun its empire building in a pe-

riod when all empires are doomed to the disintegrating tendencies of economic catastrophes and violent political upheavals, all beneath the ever-present threat of a new and more devastating world war. World domination cannot, therefore, save American capitalism. The historic tendency of capitalist decline and death agony remains an integral part of its destiny.

3. The Immediate Prospect Is For An Economic Boom

While the historic prospect of American capitalism is that of declining production and mass unemployment as part of the social crisis of capitalism on a world scale, the immediate prospect is for an economic boom with a high level of production and a relatively small amount of unemployment. The boom is based upon a conjunction of the following factors: (a) the ready market provided by five years of accumulated demand for consumer goods as a result of curtailed production during the war, (b) the potential purchasing power represented by cash reserves accumulated during the wartime period of full employment and overtime pay (over \$150 billion in bank deposits and war bonds of individuals), (c) the relatively high incomes of five million farm families whose prospects for continued prosperity are good as a result of the vast agricultural areas devastated by the war, (d) the large orders for heavy equipment placed by foreign countries through credits made available by United States government loans (Great Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands), (e) the continued government expenditures for military purposes (though reduced, still higher than any previous peace-time budget), for various subsidies, GI loans and other allowances, and for necessary public works, including those of local governments, (f) the huge cash reserves of corporations piled up out of wartime profits and available for extensive modernization of plants and equipment, (g) the swollen cash reserves of banks available on easy terms for industrial expansion and the financing of consumer credit accounts, (h) the prospect for con-

tinued employment and rising prices, both of which induce workers to invest their earnings in durable goods like houses, automobiles, refrigerators, radios, etc., rather than bank them.

The exact length of this boom is, of course, unpredictable due to the many and varied factors of which it is compounded and of the very real possibility that the inflationary trend will get out of control and quickly drive the economy to a breaking point in the form of a rapid downward spiral of deflation. All indications are that for the period with which this resolution must deal, the boom trend will remain operative.

The danger of a run-away inflation ending in a rapid deflation cannot be discontinued. The lessening of price controls with resulting spiraling of prices in a wage-price chase and a tremendous speculative profit-taking can create such a fast movement of prices upward that credits would be frozen, much construction stopped, huge inventories accumulated through withholding goods in anticipation of higher prices and bigger profits, continuing shortages, depreciation of savings, disruptions of steady production, mounting strike waves, declining purchasing power of workers and rising unemployment. If such an inflationary spiral develops and results in deflationary collapse before any degree of stabilization has been achieved in world economy, the United States could be plunged into an economic paralysis of greater extent than that of 1929-1934 when the number of unemployed reached sixteen million. The probability of such a deflationary collapse within two years is not very high.

4. Present Economic Boom Will Stimulate Struggle

While establishing the unsoundness of this boom and, above all, the fact that it is the forerunner of another, and inevitable, economic crisis, it is necessary to make the existence of the boom the point of departure for the political perspectives of the party in this period. These perspectives are for a period of bold and aggressive struggles by the American working class, the first storm waves having already broken. It is in the period of boom that there is no place in the working class for moods of depression and passivity. It is in such a period that the working class, massed once more by production, feels its economic indispensability and therefore its economic power. It is in such a period that the proletariat is prepared not only to make bold and comprehensive economic and political demands but to enforce them by means of its organized social power.

It would be a fatal error to see the tempo of class struggle in the coming period in terms of the last post-war boom of 1921-1929. There are a whole series of factors that are fundamentally different between the two periods. The most important ones are: (a) the organized labor movement today represents five times the strength it had in the immediate period following World War I, (b) the struggles following World War I resulted in defeats for labor in which it not only failed to organize the crucial steel industry but was routed from the advanced positions it took during the war, while the struggles following World War II resulted in the strengthening and consolidation of labor's position, (c) the American dollar was

able to bring about a relative stabilization of the international scene following the first war while we have seen that this is not likely in the present period, (d) the experience of mass unemployment, the organization of the mass production industries by the CIO, and the experience with the war economy have all contributed to raising the social consciousness of the American working class to a decisive higher level than prevailed at the end of the first World War and (e) the intervention of government in economy is quantitatively and qualitatively so far beyond that of the first World War that its effect upon the politicalization of the working class will not permit the political passivity of labor that developed after 1924.

The whole international situation, plus all the recent experiences of the present generation, plus a vague but growing understanding of the contradictions of American capitalism itself, combine to deprive all classes of real confidence in the durability of the boom. The determination of the working class to reach the maximum security possible during the temporary prosperity will conflict increasingly and more violently with the anarchy of capitalist production and the determination of the ruling class to achieve the highest rate and the greatest mass of profit and a stronger grip upon the political machinery during the next period. Hence the boom opens up the perspective of sharp and widespread class struggles, which, in turn, will contribute to the intensification of the social crisis in this country.

5. Growing Social Awareness of the American Workers

The period ahead will be one of crystallizing social consciousness in the proletariat accompanied and based upon a growing loss of confidence in capitalist stability and in capitalism's ability to provide security. Although still heavily laden with the blinding ideology of the bourgeoisie and of trade union reformism, the advanced sections of the American working class, now that the restrictions and shackles of the war period are largely removed, have already stepped beyond the traditional confinements of the pure-and-simple wages struggle and put forward demands, revolutionary in their implications, for partial control of society. The mine workers

have responded solidly to the demand that their own class organization shall have exclusive control of a health and security fund. The General Motors workers have responded solidly to the demand that their own class organization shall have at least partial control not only of wages but also of prices and profits—and this response was unshaken by the most tremendous single campaign in defense of capitalist property and capitalist control ever organized by the ruling class of this country. The insurmountable disorganization of capitalism is assurance that these and similar and even bolder demands will be made in the coming period by wider sections of the American work-

ing class. They express the determination of the masses to intervene as a class to obtain that social security which capitalism is unable to guarantee. They underline the highly favorable perspective of class struggle and advancing class consciousness in the United States.

It would be most shortsighted to regard the program of the General Motors strikers as "accidental," due to the socialist background of Walter Reuther. Even John L. Lewis would have been regarded as a madman had he sought to present such a program to the CIO ten years ago. It is not the origin of the ideas but their ready and widespread acceptance which indicates the rising social consciousness of American workers. No working class could remain immune to such repeated shocks to its social outlook as were provided the American working class by the depression, the organization of the CIO based on the mass industries and the experience with the "miracle of production" during the war on the basis of government financing and control of production. These experiences have etched deep impressions upon the minds of the workers and are a guarantee against a return to the complacency and passivity of the 1920's.

TRANSCENDING TRADITIONAL TRADE UNION LEVEL

The fact that the GM program is rooted in the objective situation confronting the workers is also seen from the fact that all other unions operating in the basic industries show tendencies toward the same approach in their various demands, regardless of how their programs suffer from greater unclarity and formlessness from that of the GM strikers. The single fact that the CIO as

a whole stands committed to fight for a guaranteed annual wage is sufficient indication of this trend.

The very nature of the boom period economy speeds this process of growing social consciousness. In deflationary periods the unions tend to confine their economic struggles to resisting wage cuts and their more radical social demands to the parliamentary arena. In an inflationary period, the workers economic power is not only vastly greater but the changing price and wage relations force the workers to approach the problem of maintaining their living standard from the point of view of the economy as a whole, which means in this situation linking wages with prices and profits. A struggle of the workers that has as its aim to raise wages while controlling prices, thereby curtailing profits, immediately transcends the traditional trade union level and forces the workers to struggle on a broad social front which challenges the existing relationships of capitalist production. Such a struggle must set its aim, not merely to regulate wages, but to regulate the economy. It becomes the first step in workers' control of production, with the demand to "Open the books" as the necessary pre-condition to such control. It gives labor the leadership of the lower middle class, the farmer, the white collar worker and all other "little people," in short, the leadership of the nation in the struggle against monopoly capitalism. "Wage Increases without Price Rises," "Open the Books," the guaranteed annual wages and union health funds financed by levies upon the employers are all products of the objective economic situation which spur on the social consciousness of the workers and, in themselves, give an indication of its growth.

6. The Main Strategic Aim: For Class Independence!

Never, in any country, have the trade unions been such a powerful force as they are today in the United States. The social weight and political significance of 15 million organized trade unionists is only beginning to be comprehended, even by the Marxists. Its effect upon class relations in this country is profound. The labor movement represents a five-fold increase over that of the period immediately following World War I. The weight of such a movement thrown into the scales of the economic struggle in a period of high employment is overwhelming. The fact that the largest mass strikes were conducted without more than token picket lines in industries notorious for their bloody resistance, speaks for itself.

The powerful bourgeois propaganda campaigns about the "unfairness" of the Wagner Labor Act and the tremendous drive being developed for legislation that will cripple the effectiveness of the unions indicates the inability of the capitalists to deal effectively with the labor movement in economic struggle at this stage. Nor has the expansion of the trade union movement run its course. On the contrary, all indications point to the continued growth of the trade unions in this period.

Yet this powerful force remains completely subservient to the bourgeois political machines, or, more precisely, that of the administration based upon the "big city" machines of the Democratic Party in the north. But more than this specific subservience in party politics is its general petty-bourgeois ideology and conservative outlook. Its class concepts grow but only against the choking effects of the traditional patriotic, pro-profit system, pro-church, white superiority prejudices that have historically characterized the petty-bourgeois mentality of the American labor movement. However, this outlook is being undermined, pressed back and infiltrated by the growing social consciousness produced by the broad social demands labor is forced to struggle for. This often gives rise to confused and contradictory phenomena characteristic of a deep transition in the mentality of a class, such as the manifestation of race prejudice alongside of the most advanced social demands upon the employer and invitations to the picket line and speeches by admirals, generals, bishops, businessmen, American Legion heads, and Edgar Hoover of the FBI at union conventions that pass resolutions against peace-time conscription, for higher taxes upon big incomes, in favor of advanced veterans' legislation and against stool-pigeons. With the development of a class conscious viewpoint by the American labor movement this confusing performance will be cleared and bourgeois ideological influence in the ranks of labor eliminated.

DEMOCRATIC INSTRUMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The revolutionary role of the trade unions can be realized only if the basis of the latter is transformed into broad, democratic, representative, all-inclusive and all-powerful rank-and-file bodies of workers striving to achieve workers' control of production and eventually workers' political power itself. Only such bodies can effectively break the stranglehold of the labor officialdom which always drags behind the po-

litical development of the workers and seeks to divert it into reformist channels. It is the aim of the party to advance these ideas and to promote the organization of such bodies as indispensable prerequisite to the victory of the proletarian revolution in the form of the power of the democratic workers' councils. Hence the need for systematic propaganda and agitation by the party in favor of shop committees, where they do not exist, the increased power of shop committees where they do exist, for the creation of authoritative shop steward councils which cannot be overruled by the local officialdom but are answerable only to the membership, etc., especially in connection with the demand to "Open the Books" to check on production data, labor productivity, etc., as the first step toward workers' control of production and the nationalization of industry.

The party does not make a fetish of a ritual of its program for the formation and the power of such factory committees. It does not conduct an agitation for forming new organizations which can only appear to the workers as artificial, or superfluous, or duplicating those organizations which the workers already have at their disposal or which they feel they can easily convert to suit their requirements, as those bodies already exist within the union framework. The agitation and practical work of establishing factory committees independent of the trade union machinery can acquire significance and value primarily under conditions when the more advanced workers, in large numbers, have lost confidence in their existing mass organizations or feel that they are radically inadequate to defend their interests and cope with their problems, or have become a brake upon struggles and their progress.

The party does not confine its struggle for rank-and-file bodies and rank-and-file control to the existing trade unions in all cases even in the present period. It approaches the many possible forms of independent class organizations with a flexible attitude. It guards against the sterile and ultimatic concept that the workers must proceed according to our blueprints.

It likewise guards against the opportunistic pitfalls represented by the many proposals for measures of labor control proposed by the progressive wing of the labor bureaucracy which are devoid of rank and file power and usually based upon class collaboration. In every critical situation, in every popular struggle against the manifestations of capitalist exploitation, oppression and iniquity the party counterposes to capitalist control, to bureaucratic governmental control, to labor bureaucratic control, the idea of workers' control, the democratization of economic and political life through democratic intervention of the people. In the last analysis it is this that constitutes the heart of Socialism, not the outward form of the nationalized economy.

All the efforts of the party are directed to stimulating such direct controls by the masses. The best example of this is the agitation for price control by democratic representative bodies of workers and housewives; for rent control by committees of workers organizations and tenants, etc., etc. The participation of the masses in networks of such broad committees of control does not only break the hold of capital upon the economic life of the nation and break-up the bureaucratic apparatus of the capitalist state, but it trains the masses in political and economic administration for the democratic operation of their own workers state and socialized economy.

(Continued Next Week)

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Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
 2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
 3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5,000 annual minimum per family.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
 2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy, provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
 2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

A Story of Lost Independence

How American Imperialism Dominates the Island of Cuba-II

By GASTON BRUYERE

ON the basis of the old guild spirit of mutual defense and the anarcho-syndicalist concept of non-political action, the Cuban working class gave its best energies to the creation of a solid organizational basis for itself. But its forces, vitiated by this anarcho-syndicalism, at best became dispersed along the path of non-political action, while at worst they were dragged along in the wake of the wretched demagoguery of police leaders. The struggle for better economic conditions in the trade union field and for freedom of action in the political field, produced the mixed result that while the Cuban workers were solidly united as a class, as individuals they were easily managed by the traditional parties. The first twenty years of the Republic are highly instructive as to what such an attitude will do to trade-unionism. The economic battles, with their repeatedly unsatisfied demands, lit the sparks of a class-policy in our workers when imperialist pressure sharpened class antagonism to an extreme degree.

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 pointed the way to the Cuban workers, and they made ready to form a class political apparatus which would embrace the whole of the workers' vanguard together with all such groups and individuals as base themselves on a revolutionary Marxist standpoint. These efforts lasted for several years, until the Communist Party of Cuba was organized in 1925 with the participation of a small number of workers and a group of University professors and students who had been won to the cause of the revolution.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

Education on the old texts of Marx and Lenin, and thanks to the incontestable rightness of their political program, the first Cuban communist groups soon won over the best elements in the trade union organization. The more advanced workers rapidly joined the ranks of the Communist Party, and the great majority of workers and peasants followed their leadership. The masses were drawn to it by its capacity for work and action, and because of the influence and dazzling attractive power of the workers' state in Russia.

The heroic stage of the first years coincided with the death of Lenin,

the expulsion of Trotsky and Stalinist bureaucratization. Thus, throughout the "Third Period," the Cuban revolutionary movement was put to the hard test of having to form its leading cadres with workers who had no tradition of revolutionary class policy.

The bloody years of Machado's tyranny cost our working class dear. Stalinist bureaucracy, by dint of the influence which its international organization had over the leaders of the Cuban Communist Party, violently extirpated every trace of Marxist spirit from this leadership. As the dictatorship accentuated its repressions against the workers' movement in general, the Communist Party, already Stalinized in its leadership, used the trades unions—which had been forced into illegality—in its street demonstrations against the war, in favor of the USSR, and for the exclusive defense of its own political schemes. The trade unions eventually became red fictions, ghostly creations in the Stalinists' hands, since the real masses of the workers had been dispersed by Machado's terrorist tactics. Once the trade union movement had been disrupted and broken up, the Stalinists kept their pocket-trades-unions in the archives of their bureaucracy, without worrying much about the political-social struggle of the Cuban workers against native tyranny and foreign imperialism.

The whole course of the prostitution and debasement of the Stalinist movement on a world-wide scale, was rapidly mirrored and grossly manifested in Cuba. When Machado's tyranny was at its last stage in 1933 and the workers had come out in a general political strike against the dictator, the Cuban Stalinists gave their support to the tyrant in exchange for the miserable promise of recognizing the Communist Party. The workers, however, refused the Stalinists' summons to return to work and the dictator fell. After his fall, when the petty bourgeoisie took power, the CP carried out a stupid policy against the radical petty bourgeois with the creation of soviets by decree. This, because of the maturity of the national movement and the co-relation of international forces, not only failed to form a basis for the workers' power but also stirred up the military, who threw out the liberal petty bourgeois government by a coup d'etat, unleashed a brutal military-police repression against the workers' movement in particular, and against all democratic manifestations in general. They set up a frightful military dictatorship which kept its boot pressed down on the neck of the Cuban people for the space of ten years. This was openly supported by the Communist Party during the last four of these ten years.

The same judgment which led the Stalinists to uphold the dying Machadist tyranny in 1933 was again observed in 1940 when Batista's military dictatorship sought to legalize its regime with their help. They lent their support to both tyrannies in exchange for the advantages which their alliance with those in power gave them in dominating the workers' movement. Thus the fictitious trade unions which they had kept in their hands grew into legal life.

THE WORKERS' CONFEDERATION OF CUBA (C. T. C.)

The Stalinists, whose present political strength was acquired by means of systematic betrayals, capitulations and blackmail, carried out in secret agreements with bosses' organizations and in concubinage with Batista's military-police dictatorship in electoral politics, have used all the most repulsive traditional means to dominate the workers' movement. Last month, when the Fifth National Workers Congress of the CTC was about to convene, the

Stalinists prepared to participate in it with all measures already taken for keeping it under their leadership, as previously, in alliance with the militarists.

The main base of the trade unions adheres to the Cuban Revolutionary Party (the "Autenticos," now in power) but thanks to the trickery and illegal tactics exercised by the Stalinists in the CTC the latter have been able to keep the key positions in their own hands, in spite of rank and file protests. Batista's dictatorship—in return for the guarantee of social peace offered by the Stalinists—allowed them to organize a clique made up of police leaders, reformists and Stalinists, which little by little, sanctioned by the Ministry of Labor's official support, enabled them to impose themselves on the whole mass of the workers. After a long process of murders, violence of every kind, and systematic persecution of the revolutionary vanguard, they got themselves acknowledged as the real leadership of the organized workers in the CTC.

It is from these antecedents that springs the Communist Party's control of the Cuban workers' movement and their recognition as an official party with millions of members and a huge pocketbook—a pocketbook well stuffed by their present positions. And in this way they have dominated the other National Workers' Congresses of the CTC held during the last ten years. They have been the blood-thirsty masters of the trade union movement, just as their allies were the blood-thirsty masters of the whole island.

In 1944, free elections put the democratic petty bourgeois forces into power by an overwhelming majority, under the presidency of the "Autentico" leader, Ramon Grau San Martin. In these elections, the Stalinists were on the other side of the fence: they played the role of vanguard for the opposite candidacy, composed of the military dictatorship backed by the most discredited parties of the native capitalists and foreign imperialism. No sooner was the present government in power, however, than the Stalinists played their usual trick: executing a brisk volte-face, they went to the presidential palace and handed over their trade union organization, and guaranteed the new regime social peace on the island. In return for this, Grau San Martin has given the Stalinists more than a million dollars and many lucrative positions in the state bureaucracy.

As the time for the Fifth National Workers' Congress drew near, the trade union and political forces which oppose Stalinism began to resist the latter's customary dominance and maneuvers. During the last two months there have been bloody clashes between the Communist Party and the "Autenticos" (P.R.C.) to which most of the trade union base adheres. The Stalinists assassinated the leader of the sugar workers in Oriente Province, Felix Palu, who represented the chief menace to Stalinism in the Sugar Workers' Union which he was rescuing from corrupt Stalinist politics. The political groups in tune with Palu's tendency, have on various occasions since then shot up the locals of the Popular Socialist Party (see Communist), wounding a certain number of Stalinists.

Faced with this violent situation, the government suspended the convocation of the CTC Congress and decreed governmental intervention to look into and examine the credentials' commission. This credentials' commission was harboring about 300 false trade unions, whose votes, together with those of the real unions controlled by the Stalinists, would have given the latter an assured majority in the Congress and dominance over the CTC. Although the key to the development of a revolu-

tionary working class policy with broad perspectives is not to be found in this bloody struggle for leadership, as many Cubans believe, still the fundamental question of Stalinism's absolute control over the workers' organizations is being aired to good effect. The Cuban workers, already struggling free of Stalinism's despotic yoke, will find their own path. This path can only be followed through the creation of a solid revolutionary workers' party, under the

guidance of our comrades of the Cuban Section of the Fourth International, who for more than a decade have been marking out the way with concrete aims and correct slogans.

Ever since 1932, when the CP's falseness was unmasked and made plain to the Cuban conscience, a large group of Marxists has been raising a movement against the Stalinist leadership and this group has heroically sustained its condemna-

tion of the criminal politics of the Communist Party in Cuba. This group, beginning as opponents of the Stalinists' bureaucratic violence and their leadership of the Communist International, inside the party itself, later created their own organization outside of it, and for 15 years have been persecuted, informed against and murdered. Today they are the vanguard of the struggle against Communist Party degeneration, and with their clear Marxist vision have

considerable influence over the advanced sections of the Cuban working class.

On the basis of the work of these cadres, the fight against Stalinism in Cuba has sharpened and deepened. And they, sustaining the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky, will be the legitimate guides of the Cuban workers' movement toward the full realization of their historic objectives in the national and social liberation of Cuba.

Bay Area CIO and AFL Get Behind Fight of Striking Telephone Workers

OAKLAND, May 1—The labor movement in the Bay Area, which has been steadily battling on one or more fronts since the end of the war, has gone into action with its usual vigor in the telephone strike.

A joint committee composed of the National Federation of Telephone Workers, which is conducting the strike, and the United Brotherhood of Telephone Workers and the CIO's American Communications Association, which are in full and active support, has been in charge of all strategy and plans. Several days ago, the San Francisco AFL Central Labor Union announced that it was ready to throw its full weight behind the telephone workers' unions only if they would sever all connections with the CIO. As a result, the joint committee has had to remove its ACA representatives, but the CIO organization has continued to participate in every way feasible in all strike activities.

Further attempts to break up the workers' solidarity have been made with the presentation of a separate offer by the telephone company to the UBTW, but officials of this union have thus far steadfastly maintained that they would not act alone. The militant unity on the picket lines among all workers involved has continued throughout. Members of all groups were jointly involved in last week's mass picketing in front of

the telephone headquarters in San Francisco and Oakland.

The San Francisco cops tried to break up the demonstration with billyclubs and the arrest of large numbers of participants. In Oakland, with the memory of the general strike fresh in everyone's mind and with the hot election campaign in progress, the police attempted no bludgeoning and merely arrested a few pickets. Injunctions against the strikers on both sides of the Bay are still being contested by representatives of all labor organizations in the area; at present writing no decision has been handed down.

With workers still parading in front of the Kahn and Hastings stores in Oakland after almost six months, with a city-wide strike against the gigantic Rexall drug chain continuing in San Francisco almost as long, with butchers out against Safeway Stores in the same city for months, with a walkout of lumber workers in the nearby redwood forests still unsettled after more than a year, the capitalists of northern California are preparing legislative and judicial acts against the labor movement. They are not satisfied with the anti-labor drive in Washington. The court injunctions against the telephone workers are one example. Their representatives in Sacramento, with satisfactory help

from the equally reactionary legislators from Los Angeles and the rest of the state are pushing their own variety of union-busting laws.

The most important of these is the continuation of a wartime measure against "secondary boycotting," or the refusal of other workers to handle goods of any struck outfit. The fact that Congress is preparing similar legislation isn't enough for these boys; in the style made famous by California Chambers of Commerce, they want to be first and foremost in everything. At this date, the bill has passed the State Senate and its passage is soon expected in the Assembly.

An even more obvious example of the unbelievably clear anti-labor bias of the State Legislature is the apparently favorable reception of a bill to revive the state railway safety regulations which demand a certain minimum number of workers on the trains. The capitalist press has been shouting that some of these men are "unnecessary" and the unions' insistence on their being in train crews is a form of "featherbedding," or putting too many workers on jobs. Coming after a series of violent train wrecks throughout the country, in which the infamous and locally all-powerful Southern Pacific Railway has probably been the most guilty, these proposals show again that the bosses and their agents don't

mind risking a few lives if they can achieve the happy results of lowering costs and cracking the whip over labor.

OAKLAND ANSWER

The first answer from the labor movement in the political arena has occurred in Oakland in the current election. The CIO, AFL (with the exception of the Teamsters) and many Railroad Brotherhoods have united to sponsor and support candidates against the Knowland-Warren municipal machine whose strike-breaking tactics were responsible for last fall's general walkout. Their candidates received a plurality over the incumbents for every contested City Council office in the primaries on April 15.

They are now preparing a vigorous campaign for the run-off election on May 13. The details of the campaign and the attitude of LABOR ACTION will be fully discussed in another article. The important thing to point out here is that labor in the Bay Area is continuing to show that it is fighting mad, both on the picket line and in the polling booth, and that this fighting spirit must become stronger and sharper if its mighty enemies are to be defeated.

Foreign Marriage Ban In Russia Embarrasses British Stalinists

The capitalist press has seized on the refusal of the Soviet government to allow the fifteen wives who married British subjects to leave the Soviet Union.

A letter in "Reynolds" correctly points out they have not given like publicity to the plight of the children of American Negro soldiers in Britain who were not allowed to marry the mothers because of the reactionary regulations of the American Army. This campaign on the part of the capitalist press is shot through with hypocrisy. Nevertheless, coming after the unprecedented and reactionary ban on marriages with foreigners, this petty and cruel action shows clearly the attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy toward the Russian masses.

The "Daily Worker," in a frantic and embarrassed fashion, has tried to justify and whitewash this action of Russian bureaucrats by references to the tens of thousands of Russians in Germany, and by the printing of fantastic letters. So far as the Russians in Germany are concerned, there is no ban on their going home. And even if there was, does this justify the action of the Russian government?

One letter in the "Daily Worker" (10th April) printed without comment, is worthy of quoting. In justifying the ban, Rutland Baughton, Newent, Glos., writes:

"...Until I began to think the matter out it seemed inhuman and likely to afford new arguments to anti-Soviet people, here.

"Then these ideas came to my mind: "1. The shorter endurance of emotions based on sex as compared with the emotions based on patriotism. In its first urgency, passionate love is capable of swamping patriotism.

"A large part of patriotism is connected with habits and customs, and if love is not reinforced by friendship, and the sympathies which arise in national traditions, a married woman may be very unhappy in a foreign country.

"The other day I heard a young woman (a foreign war-wife) weeping, and asking to be sent back to her own country. We have enough divorce complications of our own without adding unhappy Russian brides to unhappy American brides.

"2. The possible bourgeois bias of the few Russian women preferring Englishmen, and especially Embassy officials, to their own countrymen. This is the only possibility with any sinister implications.

"The fact that so many Russian women fell in love with British Embassy officials may mean that such officials are especially lovable men. And at the time they were married it must certainly have seemed to

them that those officials were as anti-fascist as themselves.

"Now that our Foreign Office seems to be pursuing an anti-Russian policy the wives may not even want to come here unless they themselves are anti-Soviet.

"Some day intermarriage among peoples will be free; but all sorts of difficulties will arise until the peoples themselves are free—especially from the sort of men who seem to be running our foreign policy today."

That such a letter should be printed in a so-called "socialist" or "communist" paper is a disgrace. To any conscious socialist the letter speaks for itself.

Such an occurrence in Lenin's day would have been impossible. But to the bureaucracy which has sent whole small republics, men, women

and children, to Siberia, such a storm as has been provoked by action against fifteen people is surprising and unexpected.

No doubt the Stalinist bureaucracy could not visualize the disgust which such actions would evoke among the British workers. The important thing for them is that even fifteen people, not under their direct domination or tied to the bureaucracy through their jobs, would be dangerous. They might talk to their husbands' friends and reveal the lack of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union.

The episode is symbolic of the real attitude of the bureaucracy, which has nothing in common with Lenin's ideas of what a workers' state and workers' democracy should be.

—From the British Socialist Appeal, Mid-April issue.

American Committee for European Workers Relief

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Election in Japan - -

(Continued from page 3) the coalition of Liberals and Progressives. The Yoshida government, so thoroughly hated, remains intact, and is not subject to parliamentary upset since the two reactionary parties maintain a majority. However, this is not enough, if MacArthur's electoral purpose is to be fulfilled. What he seeks is inclusion of the Social Democrats. Since this inclusion

can occur only on a subordinate plane it would mean responsibility for the government but without power; it would mean a policy of cautioning the workers, of restraint and of bringing the labor leadership under more intimate subjection to MacArthur's pressure. MacArthur seeks also to strengthen the right wing of the SDP, led by Tetsu Kotayama, as against the left of Yamakawa.

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Public forums are held second Friday of each month.

For details of Workers Party branch, contact above address.

BUFFALO

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

CHICAGO

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

Telephone—CHesapeake 5795

Office hours: 8-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLEVELAND

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

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

For additional information, write to Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1199, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DETROIT

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

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

LOS ANGELES

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

TEL.: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9667).

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

LOUISVILLE

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

NEWARK

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

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

May 16, Robert Shaw—"The Nature of the Russian State."

May 23, Saul Berg—"The National Question in Eastern Europe."

NEW YORK CITY

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 6 p.m.

Telephone: CHelsea 2-9661.

You are welcome to attend all open branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

BRONX BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1339 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.

HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 124th St.), room 106.

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

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

Industrial Branch meets Thursday at 8:30 p.m., at City Center, 114 W. 14th St.

Brooklyn Downtown Branch meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at 276 Fulton Street, second floor.

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

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

READING

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

PHILADELPHIA

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

Workers Party Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Coping events at Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Avenue:

Friday, May 16, 8:15 p.m.—Forum: Fight the Anti-Labor Legislation! Speaker, Arthur Parks.

Saturday, May 17, 8:30 p.m.—HOT JAZZ, The Folk Music of the World. A lecture on the social significance of jazz, illustrated with recordings. Invited speaker, Al Rose, publicity director of the Philadelphia Jazz Festival Society.

Sunday, May 25—A symposium, Marxism and Science. Invited speakers from the scientific professions: "The Scientific Method," F. E. Carmer; "The Dialectical Approach," Isadore Dintzis; "Social Backgrounds of Science," Walter Grey. Questions and discussion.

Sunday, June 14—Workers Party picnic.

ST. LOUIS

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

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

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

SEATTLE

Write to P. O. Box 23, University Post Office, for information.

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

UN Debate Will Not Benefit Either Jew or Arab-Masses

By GENE VAUGHN

A special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, called for the purpose of discussing the Palestinian question, is at the time of this writing in its second week. Great Britain, forced by the impasse into which her Palestinian policy has led her, has come to the General Assembly with a request to appoint a committee of inquiry into the internal situation in Palestine. Once more the Jewish question and the Palestinian problem become the official chessboards upon which the imperialist struggle between the United States and Great Britain on one side and Russia on the other side, the Near East have-not-nation, is played. The aspiration of peoples, the hopes and future of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons, all these become the plaything of highly placed politicians and imperialist nations. Great Britain, the country which made the request that the United Nations take up the Palestine question, blesses the efforts of the United Nations in advance by informing the UN that it does not consider itself bound to abide by the findings of any committee of inquiry appointed by the General Assembly.

The big imperialist countries, Britain, Russia and the United States, face a dilemma for which they can discover, at the moment, no way out. Their problem is: How to guarantee for themselves the right of continuous exploitation of the Near East oil fields and at the same time remain on speaking terms with the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine. To them, the resolution of this dilemma appears to be an impossibility, for in their bid for the control of the Near East they look for support to the reactionary feudal Arab aristocracy, the Arab League, in order to assure themselves their supply of oil and military bases. It is through the Arab League, a creation of the British Foreign Office, that the British and now the Americans propose to rule.

To Great Britain and the United States, the Arab League is valued as insurance against the possible uprising of the native Arab masses against foreign imperialism. And the reactionary Arab Effendi refuses to be reconciled to a Jewish Yishuv in Palestine. Under the circumstances, unless the imperialist policies toward the Arab League change, and this does not appear likely at the moment, all three imperialist nations must and will in the final instance choose not to antagonize the Arab reaction with which they work so well. They must therefore throw to the wind all consideration for the welfare of Europe's remaining Jews. For those Jews who see Palestine as their only salvation, the future is indeed black.

ANOTHER COMMISSION!

Great Britain requests that the United Nations appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate the Palestinian situation. And why not? What harm can it do? There have been so many inquiries since she first came into the mandate. Why not another inquiry? This proposal for an inquiry by the UN comes after Great Britain refused to accept the decision of an Anglo-American commission which called for the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. Britain, fighting the battle of "Disintegrating Empire," needs Palestine very badly as a base for the protection of the Suez Canal and as an outlet for her oil supply. She refused to abide by the decision of her own commission, and now she informs the UN that she will not be bound by the decision of the new commission of inquiry. It must be Britain's imperial policy to delay and delay the day of reckoning, the day when she must leave Palestine and the rest of the Near East bag and baggage. With tongue in cheek she comes to the United Nations for moral support. Britain shows her great concern for the Palestine problem. She requests the help of the United Nations.

At the second session of the General Assembly, once the procedural matter of electing Dr. Aranha of Brazil to the presidency of the session had been disposed of, the several Arab delegates introduced a resolution calling for a discussion of the Palestinian question on the floor of the General Assembly instead of merely appointing an investigation committee. Russia immediately jumped to the support of this resolution.

NEXT WEEK:

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE

CONCLUSION OF WORKERS PARTY RESOLUTION ON UNITED STATES

THE 20TH FUND REPORT

lution. Russia, which as yet is not a Mediterranean power, favors the greatest amount of open discussion and fact-finding on this question. Discussion can only serve to weaken the position of the United States and Great Britain in the Near East and Palestine. This was particularly so in this instance because of the fact that the Arab delegation soon coupled this demand with a more radical demand for a free and independent Arab Palestine.

In supporting this move, Russia first of all carried favor with the Arab League and secondly favored a resolution which weakened Great Britain's position in Palestine. This was strongly opposed by the United States and Great Britain. Instead of this resolution, the United States offered a counter-resolution calling for the appointment of a commission of inquiry by the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly. This motion by the United States was carried in the Assembly by a vast majority. It is an accepted fact in the Assembly chambers that the United States' opinions on this problem of Palestine will prevail.

The next controversial issue to come before the General Assembly was the matter of representation of the parties involved in the dispute. The Jewish Agency for Palestine is recognized by the League mandate as the official representative of the Jews of Palestine. The Jewish Agency requested to be seated at the General Assembly without vote as the representative of the Jews. Again, flowing from its policy of favoring as much discussion as possible and in front of the largest and most important body as possible, Russia came out in support of the request of the Jewish Agency. By supporting the demand of the Jews in this procedural matter, Russia in no way committed herself to supporting immigration to Palestine but attempted to put Britain on the spot by calling for the greatest exposure of conditions in Palestine. It must also be recalled that the Jewish Agency for Palestine likewise favors a free and independent state in Palestine, but only a Jewish state.

AMERICAN DEVOTION!

Great Britain and the United States violently opposed the right of the Jewish Agency to represent the Jews upon the floor of the General Assembly. Mr. Austin, the American delegate to the United Nations, had the following to say: "The Assembly as possibly the greatest parliamentary body in the world could not lower its dignity by giving non-governmental organizations the right to speak on its floor whenever they wished. No parliamentary body extends such privileges." What better example can there be of the hypocrisy and two-facedness of the American government on the problem of Palestine? The American government lays claim to being the great friend of the Jews. Its Congresses pass, and presidential administrations issue, resolutions regularly and religiously in support of Zionism and the struggle for a Jewish state in Palestine. Now, when the United States comes to grips with problems of imperialism and control of the Near East as part of the Truman Doctrine, the Hon. Warren R. Austin turns to the niceties of protocol in order to stifle discussion and retain an imperialist hold on Palestine. Says Delegate Austin: "We must not be impatient with one another. Claimants must not be impatient with the United Nations. We are engaged in the greatest cause which mankind has ever essayed."

We must be patient, says this politician to the Arab and Jewish masses of Palestine who stand in danger of losing their lives as innocent bystanders under the waves of terror. And this is one quarter of a century since Great Britain acquired a mandate to "lead the people of Palestine on to the road of freedom and self-rule." You must be patient, he says to the DPs who rot in European concentration camps two years after the great holocaust is over. Mr. Austin can well afford to be patient. He has nothing else to do but walk the corridors of the General Assembly and "engage in the greatest cause which mankind has ever essayed."

Picket Race-Hater -

(Continued from page 1)

here to the same CP that did NOT join in the anti-fascist demonstration.

JOINT RALLY

At 9:15 p.m., the picket line changed its course and paraded uptown to the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, where an anti-fascist rally was held. One hundred people attended this meeting, which was addressed by Jack Brad, organizer of the Workers Party, and Max Geldman, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. After a brief discussion, three resolutions were adopted. The first one condemned Mayor Samuel and his city administration for protecting the fascist thugs with at least 50 police stationed around Town Hall at least one and a half hours before the meeting began.

A second resolution called upon the labor movement to boycott Town Hall and all other properties belonging to the owner if he plays host to Smith or his ilk again. The third resolution initiated an investigation into the circulation of tickets at Temple University. It is significant to note that this same university outlawed the AYD on the campus last week on the excuse that it is a front organization for the Communist Party. Both speakers, Brad and Geldman, stressed the need for united action of the labor movement as the only method of victory over fascism. Those present were invited to leave their

names and addresses for future preparations against further fascist provocations. A large number did leave their names, addresses and telephone numbers. The joint committee of the WP and SWP intends to carry through the resolutions of the rally and to develop further measures of anti-fascist defense.

Spreads Filth

That Smith was not prevented from speaking in Philadelphia on May Day is a serious failing. The labor movement must be made aware of the great dangers of a policy of complacency in the face of fascist provocation. The joint committee will attempt to inform the trade unions of all the facts and propose a program for united action.

What is behind the Truman policy of support to the Greek and Turkish governments, Haskell asked. The defenders of American imperialism would have us believe that they want to save Greece and Turkey from totalitarianism. The embarrassing fact that the Greek and Turkish governments are two of the most reactionary, anti-working class governments in the world, is there for all to see. All the talk in Washington about Greek and Turkish "democracy" is merely a moral cover for military strategy in the struggle between American and Russian imperialism.

Greece and Turkey are not important to American capitalism economically. They are important against Russia militarily, however, and the end of military strategy is victory in war. The continuation of capitalism can lead only to World War III, Haskell warned.

On the other hand, Russia fits into this same pattern of imperialist "diplomacy." A socialist state would and could rely on the solidarity of the workers of the world in the revolutionary struggle. But Russia is not a socialist state! Stalinism acts according to the methods of imperialist conquest. This it has demonstrated very clearly in Greece itself. When the

Discusses Imperialist Intrigues, War Aims At Oakland Meeting

OAKLAND—Gordon Haskell, organizer of the San Francisco Bay Area Branch of the Workers Party, addressed an audience of fifty comrades and friends at the Labor Action Forum at Jenny Lind Hall here on Sunday evening, April 13, on "Imperialism, the Road to Destruction."

What is behind the Truman policy of support to the Greek and Turkish governments, Haskell asked. The defenders of American imperialism would have us believe that they want to save Greece and Turkey from totalitarianism. The embarrassing fact that the Greek and Turkish governments are two of the most reactionary, anti-working class governments in the world, is there for all to see. All the talk in Washington about Greek and Turkish "democracy" is merely a moral cover for military strategy in the struggle between American and Russian imperialism.

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Greek people arose against their ruling class in December, 1945, Stalin, through his agents in the EAM, was able to use this revolt to embarrass his imperialist competitor, Churchill. Also, through the Stalinists in the EAM, Stalin was able to head off the revolt before it could become a successful working class revolution that would achieve workers' power in Greece.

With America's direct subsidization of the Greek and Turkish reactionary governments, the conflict of imperialist interests between the ruling classes of America and Russia becomes more naked than ever before. Support of either camp in such a struggle can lead to only one result—a third world war.

Likewise, at home, the capitalist rulers of America are preparing the groundwork for their foreign policy of world domination. If the American working class were to act independently in their own interest and that of their working class brothers throughout the world, they would threaten the whole structure of capitalist rule. Hence the anti-labor drive. An iron control of labor at home is the first prerequisite of capitalist control of the workers abroad.

"The American workers must break their alliance with their main enemy, the American ruling class, and come to the aid of their only friends—the workers and farmers, the suffering common people of the world. The Workers Party shows you the only road that leads out of the blind alley of both American and Russian imperialism," Comrade Haskell concluded.

PRESS MANAGER'S

PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

APRIL NEW INTERNATIONAL ON NEWSSTANDS:

By now, all New International agents and Workers Party branches will have received the April copy of the magazine, featuring the article of Max Shachtman on "The Nature of Russia." This issue promises to be a sellout, and in great demand. It is on display and sale on several hundred newsstands in New York City, and those who have not yet purchased their copy can get it from their favorite stand. The May issue is now in preparation and will shortly be issued.

DETROIT AND CHICAGO BRANCHES LEAD LABOR ACTION SALES DRIVE:

The Detroit and Chicago branches of the Workers Party are busily engaged now in public, mass sales of LABOR ACTION at meetings, union gatherings, etc. Local New York of the Workers Party has likewise begun preparations to engage in this kind of necessary activity. The Detroit and Chicago branches have had excellent results, indicating that it is easy to sell LABOR ACTION to workers and people interested in political events.

From Detroit, Bill Miller writes us of the great success experienced there: "We now have a permanent LABOR ACTION sales squad. The people on this squad bear the brunt of LABOR ACTION work and usually have one assignment for sales each week. We took your suggestion seriously and will push it here."

"We took good advantage of the 600 copies of the last issue of LABOR ACTION which we ordered. We sold just under 500 copies of the paper—481 to be exact. The combination of the tremendous turnout of workers and our sale of LABOR ACTION made us feel very good." Bill also enclosed a substantial payment on his bill and seven subscriptions to LABOR ACTION—all the result of this effort to sell the paper publicly.

And from Chicago, Shirley Waller who is really knocking them down with her Sales Crew of LABOR ACTION aces, requests several hundred extra copies and makes a good sized increase in the regular Chicago bundle order. Shirley also writes, "Since I last wrote, we've had the following sales: UAW Local, 50 copies; Telephone Workers picket line, 50 copies; CP Meeting, 100 copies, etc. Our total sales for the past two weeks amounted to \$30—or 600 copies of LABOR ACTION."

And that's going some! Shirley also says that the Chicago sales crew is going to have newsboy agent's aprons, with pockets for holding the paper and change, made. Chicago has really been showing the way to the rest of the country these past few weeks. What are other branches doing about getting LABOR ACTION out into the streets, in front of political meetings and union halls? Chicago and Detroit are proof that LABOR ACTION can be sold and sold in large quantities.

Here's a list of new subscriptions and renewals that arrived during the past week, with Detroit at the top:

| | |
|---------------|----|
| DETROIT | 9 |
| Buffalo | 5 |
| Akron | 5 |
| Youngstown | 3 |
| Seattle | 3 |
| Cleveland | 3 |
| New York City | 2 |
| Los Angeles | 2 |
| Newark | 1 |
| San Francisco | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| TOTAL | 36 |

PHILADELPHIA ACEWR CHAPTER HOLDS SUCCESSFUL DINNER FOR ITALIAN RELIEF

PHILADELPHIA, May 1—The Philadelphia chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief, with which the Labor Action Relief Service has been merged, held a highly successful Italian Night Benefit Dinner on April 27 at 1303 West Girard Avenue, with 120 people in attendance.

With virtually all the food contributed by Italian business firms, together with contributions from friends of the committee, \$250 was cleared for the relief of Italian workers abroad.

Goldy Goldman, director of the Philadelphia Chapter, greeted the many friends who, by their attend-

ance, contributed to the aid of the Italian anti-fascist fighters. She explained the purpose of the committee, its aims and listed some of the many achievements in rendering material aid in food, clothing, medicine, etc.

The merger of the LARS with the Philadelphia ACEWR gives great promise for the growth and extension of the work accomplished. Special mention should be made of the excellent dinner prepared under the supervision of the hard working committee member Irene Rose. The enthusiasm and excellent cooperation of the entire committee made possible the successful Italian Night Benefit.

CONCLUSION OF WORKERS PARTY RESOLUTION ON UNITED STATES

The Workers Party of the United States has adopted a resolution on the United States. The resolution states that the Workers Party of the United States is opposed to the imperialist policy of the United States government towards the Near East and Palestine. The resolution calls for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from the Near East and Palestine, and for the establishment of a free and independent state in Palestine for the Arab and Jewish masses. The resolution also calls for the Workers Party to support the struggle of the Arab and Jewish masses for their liberation.

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COMMENT ON THE AFL AND CIO UNITY MEETING

A United Labor Movement Is an Urgent Need

By E. R. MCKINNEY

Right at the time the Senate, under the leadership of Robert Taft, was hacking away the rights of the American working class; committees of the CIO and AFL were meeting in Washington and trying to agree on a formula for merging the two organizations. The two committees did not reach agreement on unification, nor did they take any steps toward practical collaboration in fighting the "union control" bills of the House or the Senate.

William Green announced after the conference that it was the unanimous opinion of the AFL and CIO "that organic unity should be established within the American labor movement. . . . This decision is based upon the modern trend of economic, social and industrial life. . . . In the meantime we shall continue our efforts to prevent the enactment of highly objectionable anti-labor legislation now being considered in the Congress of the United States."

The AFL proposed that the CIO unions affiliate with the AFL on the same basis as the miners had affiliated in 1946. This was a change from the former demand of the AFL that the CIO unions functioning in fields which had been originally chartered by the AFL, turn over their members to the AFL union having jurisdiction in that field. This proposal of the AFL that the CIO affiliate does not, of course, settle the question as to whether or not the CIO unions are to maintain their or-

marily on differences in principle, the division is of such a nature as to lead, ultimately to basic economic and political principles. Inherent in the situation and the division is the question of how, and by what road shall the labor movement proceed to solve the main problem facing the working class today.

In the CIO program for unification the problems are at least hinted at, when the demand is made for safeguarding industrial unionism and for "labor political-action machinery." Such proposals demonstrate that labor is, to say the least, becoming aware of the necessity for something more than mere economic action of the traditional trade union variety. Also, there is recognition of the superiority of industrial over craft unionism, not only in the sphere of economic demands, but also the greater effectiveness of industrial organization in the promotion of political organization and activity.

While the leadership of the CIO does not understand and grasp the full import of their program, the AFL leadership understands this far less. Green and the AFL international presidents do not understand the meaning and power of industrial organization, but they do know that what the CIO proposes is not conducive to the strengthening and perpetuation of their old-fashioned craft unionism. They know also that industrial unionism tends to promote a form of centralization which gives a more unified program to the labor movement than is desired by the big international presidents of the AFL. Above all, these AFL bureaucrats understand that industrial unionism opens the way for greater internal democracy, wider educational development for the rank and file and tends toward greater mass militancy. They know all this will lead to new modes of thinking, new demands and to a heightened militant and political consciousness in the ranks of labor.

AFL FEARS MILITANCY OF MASS UNIONS

The AFL bureaucrats are aware of these things. They are aware too that there outmoded craft union mentality, their 1886 trade union philosophy, cannot possibly stand up against the pressure of the mass production workers. Their bureaucratic interests are involved. They do not plan to abdicate their craft union thrones. They resist every effort of the lower orders in industry to disturb the dominance of the labor aristocracy. Hence, the impudent and reactionary proposal of 1939 that certain CIO unions turn over their memberships to AFL internationals. Now they only propose that the CIO unions affiliate with the AFL in the same way that the UMWA did.

When Green states that "organic unity should be established within the American labor movement" and that "this decision is based upon the modern trend of economic, social and industrial life," while at the same time the AFL refuses to do this, or fails to understand the real content of that statement, no effective basis is established for unification and effective functioning after unification.

What is this "modern trend" that Green mentions? It is the accomplishment of mass production based on scientific discovery, technological development and the tremendous growth of human needs and wants. It is the victory of industrial capitalism over merchant capitalism. It is the tremendous expansion of capitalist production, which creates a place for the assembling of thousands of workers in a single plant and in a single industry. It is the passage from the hand tool to the automatic machine. It is the change which created the mass industrial working class and which made this group of workers the decisive

workers in industry. The craft worker has been forced into a subordinate place in the production process and in society.

CLASS STRUGGLE DEMANDS UP-TO-DATE METHODS

On the social side the "trend" means a tendency toward the unification of the working class, for greater efficiency in the struggle for its economic and social demands. It means the widening of the horizon



of labor to include political action as the capstone of the struggles of the working class.

Furthermore, it is not enough to speak vaguely, as does Green, about "the modern trend of economic, social and industrial life." We must speak precisely of the modern trend

of capitalist society, in its economic, social and political aspects. We must speak of the modern trend in the class struggle and how the labor movement should participate in that struggle. To attempt to understand the problems of labor today in any other way is only to court disaster and failure. It is to go on in the old way, to proceed as though the labor movement were back in the eighties, fighting for the eight-hour day and for the establishment of "wage consciousness."

The CIO program contains all of this in inchoate and somewhat primitive form. It demands "complete recognition of the principle of industrial organization" and "the creation of effective labor political-action machinery. . . ." The CIO leaders do not know it, but hidden away in this program, implicit in such demands, is the inference that industrial unionism is, or should become, unionism based on the principle of class struggle and not class collaboration. It is not primarily structure, important as this is, but the functional aspects of industrial unionism which should distinguish this type of unionism from craft unionism. On the whole, and in a very elementary way, this has been demonstrated in the life of the CIO.

Here is trade unionism on a higher level than in the craft unions. The whole trend has been to move toward class struggle and away from class collaboration. This instinctive movement of the mass production workers has been consciously retarded by the CIO top bureaucracy, with its deliberate class collaborationist policies. On all the fundamental issues of relations between the working class and the capitalist

ruling class, the CIO leaders see eye to eye with the AFL leadership.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AFL AND CIO

The hardened and astute AFL bureaucrats, however, discern the difference between the AFL and CIO. That is why they reject the CIO unification program. They want a unification that will leave the principle of craft unionism intact. They do not want the CIO unions to maintain their identity in anyway which will promote the progress of genuine industrial unionism.

This may account for the fact that the AFL refuses to lay any stress on the need for practical collaboration today between the two federations. Not only has it been impossible, up to now, for the organizations to agree on a unification formula, they have not yet been able to collaborate nationally against the present offensive of the capitalist ruling class! The CIO proposed that the two federations establish a joint legislative committee to oppose "vicious legislation." The AFL is not for this; they want immediate unification. Obviously there is something wrong here. What is wrong is precisely what we have said above. The AFL is desirous of ridding itself of the competition of industrial unionism and all that flows from "the principle of industrial organization." This is the principle of craft unionism in its most gluttonous and reactionary phase.

The labor movement should be united. The realities of the situation show that unification cannot or will not take place now. However, for either leadership to put their own bureaucratic interests ahead of the

mass interests of the working class is a stupid and criminal procedure. Collaboration is urgent, imperative and can be organized immediately. The millions of workers in the AFL-CIO will respond and function together against the common enemy. Such collaboration will give a lift to the labor movement and spread disquiet in the ranks of the capitalist ruling class.

A UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT IS CURE

Organized labor today is not even putting up a very stiff defense against the assaults of the ruling class. The CIO leadership has emerged from wage negotiations in a cold sweat. They entered the negotiations in fear and trembling. They knew that their leadership had not given their membership any cause to believe that their wage demands could be won. They knew that they were in no position to call strikes. This leadership was in full retreat before the sluggings of the capitalist employers, their Congress, their President and their courts. They had no way out except to try to beg a few cents more from the capitalist bosses. This goes for all of them; Murray, Reuther and the Stalinist agents of the Kremlin.

The AFL leadership with their atomized craft federation believe they are in a better position. But they are fools, bloated, reactionary and ignorant fools, with Bill Green at their head and in their protective custody. They are the "sensible unionists," the "responsible trade unions," they sit on their treasuries and long for the return of the good old days of "sweetheart" agreements. Like the Catholic Church hoping

that the Protestants will see their "error" and return to "Mother Church," the AFL hopes the CIO will see its error and return to the "House of Labor."

In the meantime, Hartley and Taft pound away for the National



Association of Manufacturers in Congress. The capitalist bosses barricade themselves behind their billions in profits and dividends. The big capitalist gougers maintain their hold-up prices and store production away in their warehouses, bins and refrigerators.

The cure for this, and the only cure, is a united labor movement, militant and fighting labor movement, labor movement which organizes itself and plans to take the offensive against its class enemy. A labor movement striving to place its own representatives in its own congress, in its own government, a workers' government!



organizational integrity. What does affiliation to the AFL mean? This was no problem with the miners, since the AFL miners union was a small and relatively insignificant union. At any rate, the Progressive Miners of America (PMA) left when the UMWA was admitted. Very serious "jurisdictional" disputes could arise, however, in connection with the affiliation of unions in maritime, metals, chemicals, office workers, electrical industry, etc.

CIO POSITION IS FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The CIO took the position that "any new organizational structure shall give full and complete recognition to the principle of industrial organization." Also, that the new organization "shall provide for the creation of effective labor political-action machinery for advancing the legislative objectives of organized labor, between elections and at election time. We regard the exercise of the rights of citizenship as a cornerstone of democratic trade unionism." The CIO also proposed that AFL and CIO unions operating in the same field "should also meet to explore the possibility of joint action in the carrying out of the above program in their respective fields."

The two committees got nowhere on these concrete and significant proposals. And right here is revealed again the deep and fundamental differences at the root of the disagreement between the two organizations. While the division is not based pri-

CP Opposition Group Must Examine Theory To Find the Source of Stalinist Degeneration

By CARL DAVIS

In our previous articles we described the peculiar character of the current Stalinist opposition groups and tendencies in the United States, tracing their fundamental contradiction in (1) their adherence to Stalinism and (2) unyielding rejection of the theories and practices of the Communist Party in the United States. The new magazine, *Spark*, issued by the PR group in the Bronx, and NCP Reports, published by the National Committee for Publications, both call for the organization of a new "Marxist" party on the ground that the CP has "left the road of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

What do these groups and their colleagues have in mind? They assert that in contrast with "socialist" Russia and the Communist parties of other countries, the American CP is an opportunist, class-collaborationist, anti-Marxist party, dedicated to the cause of betraying the working class. In their specific criticisms of the native Stalinists they re-echo many things that we have written for almost two decades. Presently they are appalled by what they seem to regard as complete principled degeneration in contrast to periods when the opportunism was merely "tactical."

EXCEPTIONALIST THEORY NOT A TENABLE ONE

They charge the "new" leadership of the CP (new only by virtue of the elimination of Browder, for his most intimate collaborators remain) with betraying the cause of socialism in general and the day-to-day interests of the working class. In this, say the oppositionists, the American CP differs fundamentally from the other Communist parties. If we grant for a moment what is not true, namely, that the CP in this country is different from the Stalinist parties of other countries, what is the cause of this difference? Why is the CP here different from the CP in France or Italy? Reading the explanations of the various opposition groups, you can only conclude that there is something distinctly poisonous about the air, or water, or food in this country. For they make no other explanation. Actually what they have done is to adopt a position for which one used to attack the old Lovestone group, namely: American exceptionalism.

In our articles we have stated that no explanation of the degeneration of the American CP is possible without understanding its roots in the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the triumph of Stalinist revisionism. The intense struggle in the Russian Communist Party on the question of bureaucratism after Lenin's death only foreshadowed the deep theoretical conflict which followed and produced the nationalist degeneration of the Revolution and the whole Communist international which came under the control of the Stalinized Russian CP. From then on, the degeneration developed progressively until the whole Comintern became a GPU instrument and the Communist parties were transformed into nationalist organizations—but with a difference. They became nationalist parties not in the capitalist sense, i.e., they

did not support their respective national ruling classes, except insofar as it was necessary to strengthen Russian foreign policy. They became Russian nationalists! Before the Second World War broke out, Trotsky expressed the opinion that the war might witness the collapse of the Communist parties; the world over because we would see them betray Stalin and join the camps of their respective ruling classes. This did not occur except, as we have said, to the extent that their support to the warring governments coincided with Russian interests.

TRACING THE ROOTS OF DEGENERATION

In directing the attention of the CP oppositionists to the origin of the degeneration of their party, we asked them to look into the prevailing theory of their whole movement: the theory of socialism in one country. If these groups consider that the most important task before them is the revival of Marxist theory they must begin first with principled conceptions of Marxism and that means to reject first of all the above anti-Marxist theory. This theory had one decisive influence on the Stalinist movement above all others: it caused the national degeneration of a world party, a degeneration rooted in a theoretical departure from Marxism. What followed was not merely a deviation from Marxist theory, but the practical transformation of a revolutionary international into a counter-revolutionary, nationalist, anti-working class world police organization serving one interest: the Stalinist regime in Russia.

Do the CP oppositionists really believe that the American Stalinist Party has supported, supports now, or will support in the future the capitalist class in this country against Russia? Apparently! And it is this which disorients them completely. They have attacked the CP for making deals with the government during the war, selling out to the bosses in the factories, retreating before the demands of the labor bureaucracy, and in general comporting itself not as a revolutionary but as an opportunist party. They cited how the party led the fight for the no-strike pledge, incentive pay, held back strike struggles, etc., and while justifying it in the immediate past on the grounds of the needs of a great War of Liberation, they denounce the manifestations of these policies in the post-war period because "the Soviet Union is endangered." Thus, whether they realize it or not, the oppositionists are themselves merely another expression of the same nationalist degeneration which afflicts the whole Stalinist movement. They differ with the CP only in that they wish a more militant policy in the defense of Stalin's Russia than they believe the CP is actually carrying out.

So, we have asked them, what is the difference between the policies of a Foster, and a Pollitt in Great Britain, a Thorez or Duclos in France, and a Togliatti in Italy. Have they not also played the game of capitalist politics with even greater acumen and enthusiasm than their less competent American comrades. It is, as a matter of fact, not even a matter of

competence, because Stalinism has had the effect of leveling the abilities and intelligence of its world leaders. No, the apparent superiority of the European parties arises out of particular European conditions, greater experience and above all, greater numbers.

But, the CP oppositionists should remember, the degeneration of the American Stalinist movement—if it is possible to speak of any degrees of differences among Stalinist parties—has not reached the full bloom of some of the European organizations because they have not shared state power. Is the American degeneration greater or less than the French CP which is part of the government and helps sustain a dying French capitalism? Or the Italian CP which continues to support the decrepit clerical government in Italy and only yesterday voted for making the Catholic Church the official state



church to be supported with government funds? Have not the European parties held back the working class from taking power? Have they not time and again followed identical policies with deadly uniformity?

Every "new line" adopted by Stalin and his totalitarian gang is reflected in every Communist Party in the world automatically. And the GPU agents which run the various parties are there to see to it that there is no deviation from the world policy and no betrayal of Stalinist Russian interests. Here again, do the CP oppositionists really believe that Stalin's "representatives" permitted what they call the degeneration of the CP here, its betrayal of Russia's interests?

RECENT HIGHLIGHTS OF STALINIST POLICY

Then, beginning with more recent days, it is necessary to remember: The Russian policy of collective security which called for a bloc of Russia and the democratic imperialists was reflected in the uniform propaganda and activity for it by every CP in the world. The Hitler-Stalin Pact, which made

possible the beginning of the Second World War in September, 1939, and which resulted in the first partition of Poland between Hitler and Stalin, surprised every CP equally. But with the same unanimity of thought, they all responded at once and on the same day to support of this imperialist alliance.

The post Hitler-Stalin pact period found every CP in the world denouncing, not Hitler's role in the war, but the democratic imperialists, U. S., Great Britain and France, and logically, Roosevelt, Churchill and Daladier.

When Hitler double-crossed Stalin and invaded Russia the CPs were just as stunned as Stalin, but with the same speed of reaction as the Russian Stalinists, the CPs suddenly became partisans of the democratic imperialists and Roosevelt, Churchill, and now de Gaulle, together with Stalin, became great "benefactors of mankind."

The war years found all the Stalinist parties loyal and efficient supporters of their respective capitalist war machines. The guilt of Browder is not that he invented a new policy, but that in his stupid naivete he took for good coin the Russian propaganda and stretched it beyond the point of Stalin's requirements. Having gone out on the limb too far, he was no longer useful in the post-war period of Russian policy. But Browder is not entirely discarded—he is still useful and may be even more useful in the days ahead.

In the post-war period, every CP, as though one, became more "militant" and aggressive, reflecting again the increasing tension which exists between the two main imperialist rivals in the world today, the United States and Russia.

CAN'T PROGRESS WITHOUT BREAK FROM STALINISM

Within this whole period of about ten years, Stalinist policy the world over was, from the point of view of Marxism, opportunist, class collaborationist, anti-working class, counter-revolutionary. The task the oppositionists have before them, if they believe they are correct, is to determine in what fundamental way

the American CP differed in all these stages from other CPs, and more important, from the basic orientation, and the policies it produced, of Stalin's Russia. Better yet, compare the diplomacy of Stalin's Russia with the invigorating, hopeful, socialist internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky's foreign policy. Once you do that, you will begin to see that what is wrong in the Communist movement today has its roots not in Washington, New York, London, Paris or Rome, but in Moscow, in the Kremlin, in the Politburo of Stalin's bureaucratic party. And if you cry about the lack of democracy in the American CP, the bureaucratization, the leader-worship, the deadly, unthinking, automatic adoption and revisions of policy, in what important way is that different from the CPs elsewhere? Or from Stalin? Quoting Stalin's writings in the '20's is poor sport. Better go to his writings and speeches in the late '30's and '40's.

While the growth of public opposition to the CP is a good sign, it is not nearly enough. The present opposition is still based on Stalinist theory and practice. It is not a clean break with an unhealthy totalitarian ideology; it is still an attempt to square a purely traditional adherence to the most generalized concept of socialism and the class struggle, with its antithesis. For that reason the movement of the oppositionists is doomed unless they break fundamentally with everything that is Stalinist.

Hard as it will be for these long-time members of the CP who have absorbed too much of Stalinist theory and its reactionary tradition, they will make not the slightest progress until they strike at the roots of the evil: Stalinism and its nationalist doctrine. They will make no progress and will most certainly be smashed on the political rocks unless they give up their utterly false and disorienting belief that Russia is a socialist state to be defended at all costs. For in that belief they are as guilty of nationalist degeneration as the CP. And that is what makes their differences with the official, recognized Stalinist party merely petty.

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WP Protests Arrest Of Indian Trotskyists

The cablegram below was sent this week by the Workers Party to Nehru, head of the Indian interim government, and to the leader of the Madras Congress government. This protest is based upon the arrest, previously reported in LABOR ACTION, of a group of Madras labor leaders, members of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India. As yet, no reply has been received, nor has there been any report of the release from imprisonment of these Indian Trotskyists.

TO: Pandit Nehru
Vice-President, Interim Government
New Delhi, India
and President, Madras Congress Ministry
Madras, India

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