Union Leaders Rely on Truman, Not on Labor!

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The Hartley Bill has passed the House, the Taft Bill has passed in the Senate and both bills are now in the hands of a committee of the two Houses. While these bills were being debated, after they had passed and now while the bills are being prepared for final passage, the leadership of 15 million organized workers did nothing that makes any sense, nothing that will make any impression on the Congress or raise the morale and self-respect of labor.

The labor leaders know, or ought to know, what is the source of this labor control legislation. They know, or ought to know, that the Republican Party, the most reactionary and most moth-eaten political section of the ruling class, is ravenously hungry and wants to stay at the trough today and from 1948 on. The labor leaders should know that this party is directly amenable to suggestion from the big business interests, because of its traditions, because it has been away from the trough for 14 long years. Also the Republicans believe that they can depend on the support of the middle class.

The labor leaders should know that the Republicans have allies in the ranks of the Democrats: that there is a bloc between the Republicans and the Southern Democrats, and that Truman himself wants some form of 'union-control" legislation. That is, the leaders of the 15 million organized workers ought to understand by now that both the Republicans and Democrats are in favor of antilabor legislation. The fact that Wagner says he will vote against the bill, that Senator Green calls the bill a plan of "the industrial bourbons." that O'Mahoney is mad and that Kilgore is against the bill, will make no difference whatsoever. The Senate-House bill will pass despite the opposition of these "liberals."

With all these brutal facts staring them straight in the face, the leadership of labor does nothing. They provide no leadership, not enough to justify even one-half the salaries they are paid. They have no program and no plan of attack. Labor sits and waits for some sign of leadership, but sees none.

The trade union leadership today has abdicated everything except its offices, salaries, expense accounts and its bureaucratic hold on the unions. They are incompetent, sterile and senile. They are well-fed, paunchy, well-groomed, and listless except when some worker in his union takes the floor to exercise his democratic rights to demand action, to demand that something be done to halt the depradations of the employers and the Congress of the employers. Then, these crafty and aging bureaucrats come to life and spring into action. After they have squelched the "revolt," they return again to slumber or the quiet repose of the union headquarters. They do nothing that makes sense about the Hartley and Taft Bills. They do nothing which does any good about wages and the high cost of living. They do nothing about the fact that their members live in shacks, that they don't get enough decent food and decent clothing. They meet in the union convention to brag and bluster about the progress the union has made, but they have no program for the continuation of that progress in the face of the attack being made on labor by the employers and the government of the employers.

We Propose: National 24-Hour Protest Strike

LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

By the time this issue of LABOR ACTION appears the House and Senate Committees, meeting for the purpose of reaching agreement on a joint anti-labor bill incorporating the common aims of the Taft Senate bill and the Hartley House bill, will have completed their work. The differences between them relate to specific concrete questions and in no way touch on the fundamental aims of the reactionary Congress.

They both seek to outlaw the closed shop, grant the government the right to seek injunctions against labor, outlaw "unfair" union practices, grant employers certain rights of injunction, ban unions for foremen and other supervisory employees, forbid the checkoff unless writ-

Raise It In Your Union!

. Various sections of the junion movement have already called for a national 24-hour work stoppage to protest the anti-labor bills. Among these are the Packinghouse Workers Union, the Flint CIO Industrial Council and the Mahoning County CIO Council. The Westinghouse local of the UE in Philadelphia has called for a March on Washington as well as for a work stoppage. Ask your union to follow suit. Call for a conference of unions to plan common action. Raise it on the floor of your union! Demand action!

Labor Backed Slate Wins Oakland Vote

OAKLAND, Calif, May 14-Four out in these parts for many a year. The of the five candidates of the Oakland Voters League won a smashing victory over the big business machine in elections for the Oakland City Council here yesterday. The fifth, Ben Goldfarb, was nosed out by incumbent Frank Shattuck by 1,000 votes. Goldfarb's defeat was the result of a pure fluke as the alphabetical arrangement of names on the ballot placed him in the same row as the four defeated incumbents. He is currently contesting the results.

A record vote was cast heading up the hottest municipal campaign seen incumbents, supported by the strikebreaking city machine dominated by Joe Knowland, all-powerful publisher of the Oakland Tribune, tried to get re-elected on the basis of a straight red-scare campaign. Every effort was made by the Tribune and its supporters to scare the voters by howling that Communism incarnate would sit in the City Hall if the Oakland Voters League candidates should be elected.

The working people of Oakland didn't flinch for a moment under the barrage of lies, personal abuse and red-baiting. The Oakland Voters League was created and run by the Central Labor Council, the Building Trades Council, the CIO Council and other labor bodies in the area. The vast majority of campaign workers were trade union members, and the victory was the result of a heavy vote piled up in the East Oakland and West Oakland working class and Negro districts. Even the Oakland Tribune has admitted that labor's victory in this campaign has come as a belated aftermath of the general strike in December when all AFL workers struck against scab-herding by the Oakland police in the Kahns and Hastings department store strike. Though the workers were not scared'by the attacks of the opposition, the policy of the Oakland Voters League in the closing phases of the campaign showed that the labor leaders at the head of the league were unduly impressed. This was demonstrated by the literature put out by the league, which tended more and more to de-emphasize the labor character of the slate and its support. To the general public, the Oakland Voters League tried to appeal on a gen-

plank: "Impartial statesmanship in

(Continued on page 2)

lead to are now close to witnessing

ten consent is obtained from every individual worker, and in general, destroy those positive leaislative measures an organized and fighting labor movement achieved for itself in the Thirties.

FIVE CENTS

The House and Senate are quickly getting agreement without great difficulty. The more drastic House bill was passed as a demonstration against the labor movement, the authors and the champions of the bill knowing in advance that their senatorial colleagues would not accept it.

The more experienced Senate leaders are, in turn, concerned primarily with producing a final measure incorporating the essential aim of the **Republican Party and its Democratic** allies, but one that will make it difficult for President Truman to veto. What reliance can be had in Truman is indicated by the fact that he has signed the bill outlawing portal-toportal pay suits.

What Truman will do on receipt of the bill is not known. He has kept a discreet silence thus far, but permitted feelers to be sent out that he might veto the bill. Truman has his sights set on the 1948 presidential campaign and his action will be determined largely by what he believes will be demanded by that expediency.

Willie Earle's Murderers iriai ot

WORK

STOPPAG

WAITING FOR A VETO

...

These labor bureaucrats don't know enough to unify the labor movement. They don't even know enough to come together for united action against the assaults on labor, and the masses. They are alert to . their own bureaucratic interests but they have no program for the protection of labor which they are paid to serve.

They have learned from reading the papers that Truman might veto the Taft Bill. Immediately they pounced on this and adopted the veto as their program. That's what they are depending on now: a Presidential veto. They expect Truman to be a "friend of labor." It would never occur to Green and Murray to depend on the 15 million organized workers. They quake at the very thought of calling on labor to assemble at Washington and show its power and numbers. A 24-hour stoppage by millions of workers would not be "responsible unionism" in the minds of the Greens and

(Continued on page 2)

Since Comrade McKinney's article indictment: murder, accessory bewas written, there have been the following developments in the Greenville, S. C., trial:

• Judge Martin ordered the acquittal of three defendants who refused to admit participation in the lynching "on the grounds of insufficient evidence.'

• The Judge also ordered the acquittal of seven others from charges of murder and accessories after the fact. • Defense Attorney John B. Culbertson shouted: "Willie Earle is dead Earle was correct, the mob then shot and I wish more like him were dead." him to death.

By E. R. McKINNEY

As I write this, a court in Greenville, S. C., with a jury of 12 white / men, is trying the case of 31 white men charged with the lynching of a Negro. There are four counts in the confessing that they participated in

fore the fact, accessory after the fact and conspiracy. These 31 are charged with taking Willie Earle, a 24-year-old Negro, from the county jail, driving him out on a lonely road and killing him. The 31 were armed with knives and shotguns. They dragged Earle from the car, beat him, mutilated him and chopped him with their knives. While the 31 were hacking away with the knives Earle cried: "Lord you done killed me." To be absolutely certain that

MAY 26, 1947

HOUR

The Need of the Hour!

The day before Earle was hacked with knives, mutilated and then shot to death, he had been arrested and lodged in the county jail for fatally stabbing a taxi driver in a hold-up. Twenty-six of the 31 made statements

the lynching. Six of them made written statements telling how the murder of Earle was committed by the mob.

Here are some of the things these men wrote in their statements and said in their testimony. One said that he wanted to put the same scars on Earle that Earle "put in Brown," the dead taxi driver. Martin Fleming "told the nigger he didn't have long to live and that he shouldn't want to die with a lie in his heart. The nigger confessed and said that he stabbed Mr. Brown." Before Earle was taken from the jail "the jailer asked that no profanity be used before his wife and someone in the mob shouted, 'No more cursing." Hurd, the lyncher who was named as the "trigger-man" by the mob said: "I know what a mistake I made." Hurd also said that before the shooting "Everybody started

Focuses Light on the Lynch System beating him." (Earle) One of the 31 was named as the man who had mutilated Earle. He was sitting with his wife in the courtroom. She "shook with laughter" when one of the statements described how her husband cursed because the butt of his gun was broken while Earle was being clubbed.

DEFENSE TACTICS

All of the members of the mob were not taxi drivers. One was a businessman, one the owner of a lunchroom and a third was the son of a wealthy mill owner. The trial is being held in a small court house with 200 seats on the ground floor for the white people and 100 seats in the balcony for Negroes. The wives of the 31 sat with them as is eral program which had as its labor permitted by South Carolina law.

(Continued on page 7)

The labor movement, however, through its officialdom, has decided to rest all of its hopes on a presidential veto. The AFL and the CIO are pouring out big funds in advertising and publicity campaigns to win the sympathy of the population at large and to increase its lobbying activity and pressure upon the President.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have proposed, as a measure of labor's strength and determination to beat back the bosses' offensive, MARCH ON WASHINGTON BACKED THROUGHOUT THE NA-TION BY A 24-HOUR GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE

No amount of pleading, begging or lobbying by the Greens and Murrays will help the workers of this country. Nothing will more effectively stop the big monopolistic employers who write the anti-labor bills for the senators and representatives whom they own body and soul, than a demonstration of labor's real strength and determination to fight the antilabor conspiracy. Hope in a Truman veto will turn out to be largely illusory. The way out is the one we have proposed!

Mass Resistance Rising Against Starvation

U. S. Rulers Threaten Starving Germans With Death Penalty

By HENRY JUDD

The German food crisis has now reached a critical stage, opening up the definite possibility of death by outright starvation for hundreds of thousands. The food situation has reached tragic depths throughout all of Europe, but in Germany its acuteness affects greater masses of people.

The British and American military authorities are in a panic. Their every word and action reveals it. The American Military Government is utilizing its last, specially hidden 30,000 tons of food for "prevention of disease and unrest" in an effort to combat the crisis. The British authorities are busy blaming everyone but themselves for the situation, while admitting that it has gone beyond their control.

The average weekly ration for a German in the British, American or French zones (the Russian zone is apparently still able to supply higher rations) is reported as follows: Three pounds, two ounces of bread

Seven ounces of meat (one large lamb chop!) Seven ounces of cereal

Two ounces of fat Some fish and potatoes

This diet approximates 1200 calories a day, as compared with the 3,000 calories medically recognized as necessary for normal health. (New York Times, May 18, 1947.) The Russian zone of occupation has failed to live up to its trade agreements with the other zones. Fifty thousand tons of potatoes, for example, have been shipped instead of the promised 160,000 tons. There is no doubt the Russians are quite willing to see the situation worsened, in the interest of their German policy of attempting to strengthen their Stalinist puppets in the western half of Germany.

All this has contributed to a situation where even the ration cards that have been issued, calling for

minute amounts of meat, butter, cereals, potatoes, etc., are not honored. Edward A. Morrow reports, "In the industrial cities, existence is solely dependent upon the people's ability to supplement their rations by paying high black-market prices or by spending large amounts of time scouring the countryside.'

Black marketing, hoarding of grain, feeding of vital foods to cattle by farmers-all these are common occurrences, throughout the various zones. The British zone is hardest hit and, under the leadership of the revived labor and trade union movement, the masses in this area have demonstrated their unwillingness to slowly starve to death. These demonstrations have thrown them directly into conflict with the occupying powers, revealing the basic fact that the very struggle for life in Germany centers around the struggle for na-

tional existence. In Hamburg, 150,000 workers days. Even with this, they are predemonstrated before their union paring an official cut in the calory

headquarters and proclaimed their refusal to perish without a struggle for life. In Dusseldorf, one of the great Ruhr cities, union leaders announced the readiness of their workers to engage in mass strikes unless food was forthcoming. The entire industrial area of the British zone is a network of unrest and readiness for action.

What has been the American and British reaction? (Of the French zone, where food conditions have . been appalling for many months, little is known due to stringent French censorship.) The British are completely dependent upon America, inasmuch as England has a food crisis all of its own. The British authorities have, therefore, turned completely to the United States to pull them out of the situation. They are hoping that America can meet its promise to ship 1,200,000 tons of food to Germany within the next 75 into action. •

ration to 1,200 per day from 1,500, indicating they have little hope of alleviating the situation.

American imperialism, in occupation of a huge area of Germany, has spoken out in the unmistakable tones of the conquerer, threatening and hysterical, one at the same time. A "get tough" with Germany policy is announced by the military government. Imagine these ungrateful Germans! We are shipping food to them -true, not enough to prevent them from wasting away at a slow but moving American constabulary forces in Germany, amounting still to 150,steady rate of deterioration that can only lead to an early death-and 000 men. they, wretches, are daring to com-Starve if you must, say the American authorities, but by God starve plain! They even protest, threaten quietly, peacefully and in perfect us with strikes and demonstrations, demand more food and a purging of order, or we will let you have it! Those who have wondered what the administration we set up for them! We will show them, proclaim American penetration and domination of Europe and Germany might the voices of authority. And, straight from the books of Hitler, they swing

the answer. It is too early to say A scoundrel named Dr. James R. whether there will be large scale and Newman, Military Governor of Hesse, continued popular demonstration,

threatens the Germans with the death penalty, in a radio talk; he also promised to invoke his powers of search and confiscation; cutting off the rations of protesters and blamed everything upon the Germans. The Military lations. Governor of Bavaria, a Brigadier General Muller, repeated the same threats to labor unions and farmers in his area. General Lucius.D. Clay, head of the entire administration, has pointedly reminded the German people of the powerfully armed and fast-

but certainly the American authorities will not hesitate to use American troops against starving German workers who refuse to pass out quietly, according to military regu-

The celebrated German-born author, Thomas Mann, has contributed his contemptible bit to the general attack upon the German people. One would almost think that the days of the war have returned! "Germany is again already misusing her liberty and democracy," says Mr. Mann. If only the Germans would recognize that others too are suffering from hunger and food shortages! This recognition, apparently, would help alleviate their hunger. Little wonder that Mann fears to visit Germany where, he acknowledges, he would have to travel around "with an American MP or conducting officer at my side.'

A press campaign is already underway to place full responsibility for (Continued on page 7)

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Modify GM "Disciplinary" Penalties

By BEN HALL

DETROIT - The General Motors Corporation replied to the mass demonstration of April 24, during which half a million Detroit workers laid aside their tools and left their machines, by disciplinary penalties affecting almost 500 unionists. Over 400 were laid off for one and two days; twenty-six local union leaders were given 30 to 60 day layoffs; fifteen other leaders including several local union presidents were discharged outright.

Negotiations with the company were instituted under the direct supervision of the top policy committee of the UAW. A meeting of the presidents of all UAW locals in this area pledged full support to the disciplined workers. The union negotiators made clear that insistence upon the above disciplinary actions would mean a strike and, that in any case, if a single worker remained discharged the GM plants would be closed down by the union. The company representatives retreated many steps but refused complete satisfaction to the union, saying in so many words: "If you refuse to compromise, hit the picket line!" A compromise settlement was agreed to: all discharges were revoked and all disciplined men maintain full seniority rights. However, the one and two day layoffs stand; the 26 men who



Compiled by JACK RANGER

Communism; theoretically that advanced stage of socialism where all need for force in society will have vanished, since there will be an abundance of goods and services for all, and since people will have become accustomed to observe the elementary conditions of social existence without force and without subjection. The economic premise for communism is that the economic powers of mankind should have reached such a high development that productive labor will have ceased to be a burden, and the distribution of life's goods, existing in continual abundance will be democratically controlled by education, habit and social opinion. That state of society where the antagonism between mental and physical labor has disappeared. Company union, a general term applied to employes' organizations promoted and controlled by the employer. In the ordinary sense, they are not unions. Often they are not called unions, but have such names as Employes Welfare Plan, Mutual Benefit Association, Employes Representation Plan, Associated Independent Unions, etc. They are used by employers as a means of blocking organization of employes into genuine trade unions. Company unionism is, based on the theory that the employer and the employe have the same interests and should cooperate. Some company unions actually engage in collective bargaining, taking up such piddling questions as company picnics, extra drinking fountains or toilets, etc. If the workers in such an organization actually bring up important matters such as wages, hours, etc., they can do little since the organization is not equipped to struggle if necessary. A company union has no connection with the organized labor movement, it has no strike fund. Occasionally, company unions have been converted by the workers into genuine unions.

received lavoffs were to return to had led the company to adopt an ir- ther group had opposed the demonwork immediately but without back pay for the more than two weeks loss of work; twelve of the fifteen originally discharged go back to work on the first week in June and the remaining three in the first week in July without back pay. (These three are particularly hated by the company for their record as union militants: Anderson of local 15, Petrill and Mitchell of local 735.) The top policy committee voted that the International Executive Board which called the demonstration. was to

compensate the men for lost time.

THE SETTLEMENT This settlement was endorsed by an overwhelming vote of the affected GM workers and was accepted by a unanimous vote of a meeting of local union presidents held on Monday night, May 12. The top policy committee gave unanimous approval to it. However, no one contended that this settlement was really satisfactory but it was accepted for the following reasons:

1) It was clear that nothing more could be gained by "peaceful" negotiations and that rejection of this agreement had to be accompanied by strike action.

2) The strike would have had to be a bitter one especially because anti-labor developments in Congress

reconcilable attitude of arrogant confidence.

1

3) Steel shortages had resulted in losses of work through temporary layoffs and the immediate prospects ahead were for a continuation of these shortages. 4) The GM workers had them-

selves gone through an exhausting, four-month strike and needed a certain respite to recover their strength. Despite these considerations, had a single worker remained discharged a strike would have unquestionably followed.

This settlement is undoubtedly a setback for the union. The April 24 demonstration had the full support of the International which pledged 'to back up anybody who suffered for answering the call. GM has succeeded in penalizing many participants although it was compelled to modify its stand. What was at stake here is an important political principle. The workers decided to stop work not to make any demands upon their own bosses but in order to put their demands before the government; the government which they consider, however erroneously, their government.

GM has arrogated to itself the dictatorial right to declare that it will use its power over the workers' jobs to prevent them from engaging in certain types of political action. The company has therefore not only hit out against the unions but it has struck a blow at the very heart of the workers democratic, political rights in the most direct sense. The representatives of the bosses in Washington utilize their political power to strengthen the position of the capitalists. The capitalists spearheaded by GM utilize their economic power to shield their representatives from the wrath of the workers. We would not be so foolish as to

believe that every and all grievances, under any and all circumstances must be fought out to the bitter end by strike action. However, in this case it was and still is possible to transform the undoubted setback for the union into a blow against the company and into an advantage for the union. But that can be done only if the leadership of the union or some section of it has a clear understanding of the political policies which the labor movement must adopt and a determination to carry them out. It is necessary to broadcast to all, to the union members; to all workers, to all sections of the population the *political* meaning of the actions of the GM company. This incident proves that the big capitalists utilize their control over the nation's wealth to dictate to the workers and to control the government. It is necessary to destroy that political power by expropriating the Sixty Families. It is necessary to form an Independent Labor Party in order to do this. But the leaders of the unions, including the UAW,

stration but they took a different tack after it had been conclusively proven that the demonstration in Cadillac Square was finally called upon the motion of Emil Mazey, one

of the leading men in the Reuther

group. It is true that thousands of GM workers did not stop work for this demonstration. It is also true that during the OPA demonstration of last year, the Ford Rouge plant controlled by the Addes group did not stop work. These incidents betray an element of disunity in the ranks of the working class. This disunity must be overcome. But where does it arise from? Is it the "fault" of the GM or Ford workers? Does it result from what someone said to so and so over a bottle of beer?

These elements of disunity are the direct result of the policies of the union leadership during the war years. The top leadership planted disunity in the ranks of the workers; they insisted upon disunity. All the leaders without exception upheld the no-strike pledge. They preached about the sanctity of contracts. They demanded that their members cross picket lines. They put administrators over locals which insisted upon striking. In the Rouge plant under the leadership of W. G. Grant of the Addes-Stalinist bloc they helped the company to fire militant union men. And now, demagogues who are themselves responsible for breaking the unity of the working class during its wartime struggles play the role of sanctimonius advisers to the GM workers! And this hypocrisy serves to conceal their total inability to offer any program to combat the attacks of the bosses, politically and economically. (At the meeting, the spokesman of the Addes group, Richard T. Leonard, already hinted that his policy will be to support Truman in 1948.)

One militant from the Budd local made a beginning in putting things. in their proper light. He pointed out how the decision to accept the modified penalties was a direct consequence of the compromising policies of the union leadership on the political field. He demonstrated the futility of continued support of the Democratic and Republican politicians. He showed that the tremendous power of the Cadillac Square demonstration proved that the workers themselves were ready to follow their unions in a renewed offensive, given the proper leadership. But more voices like this must be

heard in the UAW.

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

President Truman has no doubt gained his limited objective of boosting his popularity by conducting the sham battle against high prices. But the battle was and is a sham, and the kickback is going to be a stunner. After all the ballyhoo, there have been a few scattered puny decreases, but these have been balanced by increases in other commodities. Everything is the same or worse, and here are the facts.

Corporation profits climbed to an annual rate of \$15 billion in 1947's first quarter, according to the Com-merce Department. That's \$3 billion above 1946 profits. The N. Y. Stock Exchange reported, May 17, that 322 companies reporting for the first 1947 quarter earned a net of \$707 millions, up 112.9 per cent from the corresponding 1946 quarter. Machinery and metals companies were up 247.5 per cent; steel and iron, almost as much; railroads, up 171.3 per cent; amusement, up 155.6 per cent. etc.

As to the widely heralded "10 per cent off" sales in the small towns, those were largely devices to pawn off shoddy merchandise on the public. The "Newburyport" plan was dropped in several areas after it fizzled. The South Side Chicago Merchants Association tried the plan for a few days. Sales jumped 50 per cent the first few days, then quickly dropped below normal. In Hingham, Mass., the plan was abolished after local merchants reported "no appreciable increase" in business volume

In the past seven weeks, the N. Y. Journal of Commerce weekly wholesale price index has been virtually stable, fluctuating within the narrow range of 1.3 points. Of the 110 commodities used, 52 were unchanged, 26 moved lower-and 32 moved higher.

What is more, it is the important commodities, like food and steel, which are not budging. Let's listen to the authentic voices of the masters in these industries:

Clarence Francis, General Foods Corporation chairman, says housewives shouldn't expect a sharp break in prices. Profit for his company's first quarter this year was equal to 98 cents a share (after plunking aside a million for contingency reserves), compared with first quarter profit in 1946 of 83 cents, said Francis smugly. While asserting that a downward trend in food prices would be "a healthy thing" for the economy, Francis shows no disposition to play doctor. "We are working on the smallest over-all gross margins in our history," he says.

Benjamin F. Fairless, president, U. S. Steel Corporation, purses his lips and says his company is giving no consideration at this time to price reductions. The Journal of Commerce backs that view. "Current expectations are," it reports, "that the steel industry will resist attempts to have it cut quotations notwithstanding that first quarter earnings reports show highly satisfactory results."

You see, the demand for steel is still far greater than the supply. Mr. Fairless and his colleagues are capitalists, and quite properly therefore believe in gettin' while the gettin' is good. They don't give a hoot in hell for Truman's demagogy.

And don't count on any significant reductions on manufactured goods. The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York in its current issue reports that the prices of raw materials are "too high" for finished goods to come down. The Guaranty voices the complain that one hears more and more from capital and industry-namely, that it is food prices that are too high. This is the traditional viewpoint of industrial capital, which

doesn't mind lower food prices, because this means lower living costs for the workers, and less pressure on the factory-owners for higher wages. At the same time, the less the workers spend on food, the more they will have to spend on the products of industry.

-By JACK RANGER-

But food shows no signs of coming down. In fact, and this is the explosive factor in the situation, food may very easily make the sharpest advances in the next year. Why? The foreign situation. The workers' food riots in Germany the other day are the tip-off that the crisis in Europe is coming swiftly to a head. Food, and yet more food, must be shipped across to remove the sharp edge of revolt from Europe's millions. Food is Wall Street's weapon against revolt abroad, and Wall Street will use that weapon to the full. Here or there a food item, in temporary over-supply, may be cut in price, but do not look for any significant drop in food prices for some time.

Returning to the industrial viewpoint, here is the National Industrial Conference Board, crying that the real cancer in the present price structure is "the extreme imbalance" within the price level rather than the general level of prices. Translated, this means that Big Business believes ITS profits are about right, but that food prices are too high. "A pair of shoes was equivalent to 18 pounds of butter in 1939, and 16 pounds in 1941," the NICB report states. "Today it purchases only 10 pounds. A factory worker receives in exchange for his dollar only 39 per cent as much farm produce as he did in 1939-1941, or only 54 per cent as much as in 1926.... Should the government continue its support of high farm prices or aid speculative movements through a repetition of its disorderly purchase program in the first quarter of 1947, the spread between farm and factory prices would widen rather than narrow."

ECONOMIC NOTES

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

Well, look at foxy Joe trying to chisel Atlantic passengers off the competition. The Soviet State Fleet has announced it will inaugurate this month a regular passenger service between Odessa and New York, and at prices far below those fixed by the North Atlantic Passenger Conference. And between New York and Mediterranean ports, the Russian state fleet will charge only 2,000 rubles-which works out at about \$20, compared with \$160 to \$360 on other vessels. That is indeed low-cost transportation. . . .

Trade union secretaries, take note: The three west coast states of California, Washington and Oregon are expected to have 5,800,000 workers in the labor market by 1950, an increase of 1,500,000, or 36 per cent, from 1940, according to the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Argentina is following the example of South Africa in industrialization and has completed contracts for its largest peacetime project, involving \$100,000,000 worth of plant construction machinery, and equipment. That country will construct a completely integrated steel mill on the River Plate at San Nicolas, northwest of Buenos Aires, to be in operation early in 1950. The project will be financed under Argentina's recently announced five-year plan, with the profits garnered by the government from the spread between what it pays the nation's farmers for meat and grain, and what it sells those commodities for in the world market. Our State Department bellows at the rooking the Argentinian farmers are taking. Well, how do the Washingtonians think this country was industrialized if not at the expense of American farmers? . . . American textile exporters are already worried that MacArthur is being too generous with the Japanese by proposing to let Japan operate 4,000,000 spindles. Before the war Japan had 12,000,000 spindles.

Union Heads Rely on Truman, Not Labor

(Continued from page 1) the Murrays. They wait on Truman and rely on Truman. Bill Green spoke over the radio recently against the Taft-Hartley bills. He uttered a great deal of nonsense as Green always does. John L. Lewis remarked once that he had looked into Bill Green's head and, said Lewis, "I give you my word, there's nothing there.". Green called the Taft-Hartley bills "slavelabor legislation." This is not strictly correct of course. And if this characterization were correct; one would be at a loss to understand Green's amazing ineptitude and lethargy in the face of his belief that the labor movement was about to be enslaved. The only way that capitalism can enslave labor today is to resort to fascist action. Does Bill Green believe that fascism is on the way in this country? If so he will have to find a better weapon than his wailing radio orations.

The capitalist ruling class under- him next year when The Man from class converge on Washington, labor

stands today that it cannot destroy Missouri makes an effort to keep his remains in the factories and its leador wreck the unions. If they try this, present address for 1948-52. Tru- ership tied to their desks. No un man, of course, knows these things and he and his advisers are busy trying to expose the Republicans as the enemies of labor. There are Kilgore, Morse, Green, Ives, Wagner, O'Mahoney and Thomas. They are 'friends of labor." But they stay in the Republican and Democratic parties: the party of Taft and Hoover, of the biggest of the capitalist bosses and the party of the Jim Crow Southern lynchers. Friends of labor

- Compulsory arbitration, a policy of the government which forces a union to accept arbitration and which prohibits strikes, thus greatly weakening organized labor. Such arbitration laws are often claimed to be impartial inasmuch as they usually state that the employer is likewise restrained from instituting a lockout. However, the employer can always shut down his factory if he so desires. Compulsory arbitration is usually favored by employers when the unions are strong, aggressive and successful. Employers have never clamored for such laws when the union movement was weak or nonexistent.
- Conciliation, an effort to bring about peaceful agreements between unions and employers. The conciliator is assumed to be that fabulous character, a neutral person. Neither party is bound to accept decisions of a conciliator, thus distinguishing conciliation from arbitration.
- Congress for Industrial Organization, the CIO, originally the Committee for Industrial Organization, formed under the leadership of John L. Lewis within the American Federation of Labor late in 1935, to work as an organized group within the AFL to promote the cause of industrial unionism. Suspended by the AFL Executive Council in the Spring of 1936 and reorganized as an independent federation, it today claims a membership equal to that of the AFL. The CIO is a national federation of about 40 international unions, many of an industrial character embracing the workers in such basic industries as aluminum, auto, needle trades, oil, radio, rubber, shipbuilding, steel, metal mining and textiles. It is generally assumed to be more progressive than the AFL because the CIO contains many semiskilled and unskilled workers whom the AFL refused to accept, because of the industrial structure of the unions, because bureaucracies have not yet had time to solidify as they have over the AFL unions.

upport the capitalist political parties. They accept as God-given the "free-enterprise" system of rule by the big monopolists. It is the political backwardness of the labor leadership that allows GM to strike at the union.

WHOSE FAULT IS IT?

At the May 12th meeting of local presidents, in the absence of any serious opposition, the representatives of the Addes-Stalinist bloc had a field day. These demagogues, without any political ideas to propose, were in unanimous agreement with the proposed settlement. But they used the occasion for a parade of bombast against the workers in those GM plants that did not participate in the walk-out. Every difficulty. every problem, every loss was due to the fact that a lot of GM workers had stayed on the job, said they. And you see, Reuther is head of the GM department. Therefore . . . Originally they had come prepared to repeat the rumors that they had been

analyzing the General Motors-UAW



Two Articles . . . '

planting to the effect that the Reu-

situation and the roles of the various political tendencies will appear in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.

BOSSES CAN'T WRECK UNIONS

Green also said that the purpose of the bill is to "weaken and destroy labor unions." Bill Green either understands nothing about capitalist society today, his role in that society -or he was merely taking up time. Undoubtedly the purpose of the bill is to weaken labor unions. Capitalists do not want strong unions, that is, strong in the sense of being unions that will fight and express the solidarity of the working class. They want unions that will be docile and tender in their approach to the problems of wages, prices and profits. It is not true, though, that the ruling class wants to smash the unions. This is not the beginning of the 19th century. The capitalist ruling class has no objection to the unions being large so long as they do not use their size in a militant manner, for resolute and determined struggles against the employers and the government. Capitalism today prefers that labor be organized so long as it is under the domination of a leadership which is willing to "sit around the council and arrive at conclusions which are to the mutual interest of both labor and capital." The capitalists are willing for the workers to be organized under the Murrays and the Greens so long as the Murrays and the Greens corral labor for support of the imperialist wars of the capitalists. The big employers are willing for unions to be large so long

as they do nothing to upset the Jim

Crow employment policies of capital-

ing class to deal with that will not be quieted by the Murrays and the Greens. The capitalist bosses know that labor can best be controlled by accommodating labor leaders who are willing to "listen to reason," as reason is interpreted by the capitalists themselves or their political representatives at Washington.

NOT OUR GAME

When Bill Green talks about the capitalists wanting to destroy the unions he is totally ignorant of what his role in the labor movement should be. He is also ignorant of what the ruling class conceives his role to be. Why should the ruling class want to destroy a labor movement which only marks time while a Hartley-Taft Bill is being passed? Why should the capitalist bosses want to provoke or infuriate a labor movement, which has such pliant and do-nothing leaders as Murray and Green, ever ready to hold the working class in check. What harm will a labor leadership do to the ruling class if it is busy only buttonholing congressmen, or writing letters to the President, or begging for a 15-cent increase, or whining over the radio, or waiting for a capitalist President to veto a bill? Such a leadership will never be effective against disgracefully low wages, high prices, robber profits or anti-labor bills.

It is difficult for Green and Murray to get these things inside their skulls. The Taft crew in Congress, aided and abetted by the "liberal" Republicans and the Southern Democratic Party Southern lynchers, are out to stifle labor as a reward to the middle class to whom they promised a reduction in income and other taxes. After they have given this anti-labor sop to the middle class, they will be in position to make a smaller tax reduction than they promised. After the middle class has been appeased and softened up by the anti-labor bill, they will be willing to accept any slight tax reduction and give their votes to the Republicans next year. At least that is what the Republicans hope for.

Also, Taft wants the nomination. Dewey also wants the nomination. Dewey is working underground to upset Taft. He has his men in Congress. The great "liberal" Ives is Dewey's man. The Republicans hope that Truman will veto their bill so.

indeed! And all the while that this maneuvering and conspiring goes on, the leadership of labor sits and waits for a veto by Truman. While all the scoundrels of the capitalist ruling

action by labor. Labor only remains "at ease." •

The Republicans, Democrats and their^t masters know that 1948 is coming. They are jockeying again to divide the spoils and keep the plunder in the family. What is the trade union leadership doing? They are hoping that the capitalist bosses will not be too tough, too unreasonable, too "un-American." They are at their wits end trying to decide which group of brigands to support, which gang to sell labor too: the party of Bilbo or the party of Taft. This was where they stood in 1944, this is where they stand today, and that is where they will stand in 1948.



(Continued from page 1)

labor relations." Leaflets against racial discrimination in the city government were distributed only in the overwhelmingly Negro districts of town, no mention of this plank being made in the general literature of the league. In their final appeal for fair play in the campaign, the candidates issued a statement including a list of "sponsors," not one of whom was a labor man.

This weakness in the platform and approach of the candidates and their strategy committee should serve as a warning to the workers who regard them as THEIR candidates, Labor in Oakland showed in the general strike that there can be no "impartiality" between strikers and scab-herders and those who hire them. Labor has shown in the election campaign that, if properly organized and sufficiently militant, it can be just as powerful on the political stage as it is in its economic organizations. The workers of this city can justly

feel that they neither want nor deserve representatives in the City Council who are "impartial." They have won the right to have the four men they have elected represent them with exactly the same "impartiality" as is being shown by the capitalists' representatives in the City Council, the state legislature and the

national Congress. With its four hold-over councilmen, and with the fluke election of Shattuck, the big-business machine still that this act can be used against has a majority in the City Council. in future elections,

But everyone in Oakland, both on the side of the workers and on the side of the bosses, knows that the workers of this city actually won the election, and that they are not going to stop now, or lie quietly while the phony majority in the city council walks up and down their frame.

HEAT ON COUNCILMEN

The working men and women of Qakland have won a major political victory with their own strength and their own organization. Once and for all this should demonstrate the stupidity of those, both inside and outside the labor movement, who cry that labor can't win if it strikes off politically on its own. But the victory in the election campaign can be turned into a defeat later on if the rank and file of labor just sits back and expects the four new councilmen to do what is right. The weakness of program and approach shown during the campaign can well turn into a down-right sell-out under the pressure of the business machine if the workers aren't organized to keep the heat on their councilmen during their whole period in office.

And there are further campaigns to be fought by labor. What is needed here in Oakland to cinch the victory and extend it is a permanent political organization of labor, set up on a basis of representation from the unions which will keep the four councilmen toeing the mark, and be prepared to run independent candidates

Crisis of Franco's Regime Highlighted By Bilbao Strike



By A. FERRARRA

The most important and powerful demonstration of working class opposition to the Franco régime since civil war days, a strike of approximately 30,000 steel, foundry and ship yard workers in the vital industrial center of Bilbao, brought industrial life in that area to a virtual standstill during the first and second week in May. The immediate occasion of this challenge to the Franco tyranny was a series of reprisals ordered by the Madrid government against thousands of workers who absented themselves from work on May 1. The order given by the Civil Governor of Bilbao, Janaro Riestro, that 14,000 May Day absentees be fired and com-, pelled to re-apply for their job as beginners with consequent loss of seniority and reduction of pay, brought thousands of other workers out to join their class brothers in protest.

Doubt remains as to whether the Franco authorities intend to enforce the penalties decreed against the strikers who finally went back, to work on May 9. A New York Times writer in Bilbao during the strike reports that despite the Civil Governor's insistence that the decree would be carried out business men and working class spokesmen informed him that such was not the case. The same sources informed the New York Times reporter that thousands of workers had been jailed by the police and many tortured in an attempt to break the strike.

The same Civil Governor, Riestro, who insisted that economic sanctions would be carried out, also declared that there had been no large-scale arrests since the strike movement. The attempt of the Franco authorities to depict themselves as unafraid of the workers is belied by the hesitation to take economic action against the strikers which might immediately set the workers in motion again, and by the secret attempt to break the strike with police measures, a move that obviously failed.

Although the strike did not spread to other parts of Spain, particularly Catalonia, where recent months have

seen a steady and ascending wave of strikes take place, the political significance of this general strike in Bilbao, Spain's second most important industrial city after Barcelona, is enormous. It reveals the weakness of the Franco regime when confronted by united and serious working class opposition.

It also reveals that the Spanish proletariat is regaining its selfconfidence, is reforming its fighting ranks, and is testing its combative power in these preliminary skirmishes. But most important of all, such independent class action on the part of the Spanish workers deals a blow to the rotten maneuvers of the Spanish government-in-exile and the socalled Spanish working class parties and trade unions. These people are trying to consummate a deal with the Spanish bourgeoisie and its new candidate for power, the pretender to the Spanish throne, Don Juan, to install a monarchical régime with "liberal" trappings to replace Franco before the Spanish proletariat once again enters the political arena.

How far along the road toward a new betrayal of the Spanish people to the bourgeois politicians and their allies the parties of the Spanish working class have gone is revealed in the program and the background of the new Spanish Republican government-in-exile headed by the "Socialist" Rodolfo Llopis. At the insistence of the right-wing Socialists, the Socialist-dominated union, the UGT and the anarchist CNT, a coalition headed by Indalacio Prieto, the former Negrin government was dissolved.

The purpose of this move was twofold: First, to get rid of the Stalinists on whom Negrin was relying too heavily, and secondly, to establish the political formula for making a deal with the Monarchists. Llopis announced that the program of his government was based on the unity of all anti-Franco forces, and that he

(Continued on page 6)

STR TTRACKS STREAMS 20th Century Fund Study Proves Need for Socialist United States

magazine 1250ton

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

By ALBERT GATES

May 26, 1947

THE digest of the 20th Century Fund report called "America's Needs and Resources," sets out to prove that between the years 1950-60, the development of technology in production will have reached such a height that the standard of living of the population in the United States will, or can, rise immeasurably. Financed by Edward A. Filene, Boston businessman, former New Dealer, and a bit of philanthropist, the fund committee, composed of an assorted group of economists and stat-

isticians, examined a variety of factors to prove their contention. The report, if one is to judge by

the digest, has only a limited importance, since the material presented is not wholly new or pointed. Yet it adds to the accumulation of data to prove the contention of revolutionary socialists that modern productive methods have reached a level of growth capable of supplying the basic needs of the masses and raising their standard of living beyond that which the richest capitalist nation

in the world is ready, willing and able to give. The factors cited in the report which promise a high level of production in the coming years has already been presented before. For example, the resolution of the Workers Party on the United States which examined the development of the war economy on the basis of the vast material submitted by govern-

ment agencies and private economists, described the tremendous growth of production but showed how this very growth created all the conditions for a future economic collapse of great magnitude. It was on the basis of this growth too, that so many economists forecast a sharp crisis in the reconversion period with millions of unemployed. They erred, not in their fundamental analysis, but in their timing, for the factors which led them to make that prognosis still hold good.

PRODUCTIVITY IS KEY TO ESTIMATE OF FUTURE

The Fund Report enumerates several important factors in the present American economy and endeavors to show how these can lead to what it calls a new period of vast prosperity. Let us summarize these, but also show some of the contradiotions which accompany them.

1. Population growth. While establishing a definite limit to population growth (end of immigration, smaller families, decline in birthrate, etc.) the committee records the fact that the war with its full employment, coming after the long years of the crisis, was an impetus to marriages, a growth of families and births as a temporary phenomenon. For the period of 20 years, between 1940 and 1960, the fund foresees an additional growth of 22 million. While this would normally create a larger home market, it will also provide a larger working population and increase the potential army of unemployed. However, given the primacy of the heavy goods industries and the necessity for an increasing production and export of capital goods, the increase of the home consumers market, will not have much weight in favor of a future long-lasting prosperity such as the fund projects provisionally for the above years.

2. What will this increase in population mean concretely, in relation to the actual working force. Using the war years as a standard the fund foresees a working force of 60 million in 1950 and 63.4 million in 1960. On the basis of figures taken over a long period of years it assumes that five per cent of the working population will normally be unemployed even in years of high prosperity.

3. Productivity is, of course, the key to the whole estimate made by the fund. Here the rate of growth is interesting indeed, for it exposes more than anything else the exploitive nature of capitalist saciety in the fact that the tremendous technological advances which accompanied the enormous rise of productivity on the part of the workers individually and as a class, did not redound in favor of the masses but wenf to increase the profits, wealth and incomes of America's capitalist class.

	$Total \ Energy$	Per	Cent Supplied	nt Supplied by:				
	Output (Billions of H.P.)	Mechanical Energy	Humans	Anima				
1850	17.6	6	15	9 79				
1870		12	15	73				
1890		28	12	60				
1910	131.4	57	. 8	35				
1930		84 -	. 5	11				
1940		90	4	6				
1950	410.4	94	3	3				
			ene i serie centre.	100.007				

The above index records this growth.

Between the years 1860 and 1940 the volume of production and the use of energy increased 11 times. From the above figures, the fund draws the conclusion that the technological advances and the increase of productivity did not necessarily lead to an excess working force and that the inventions in turn produced new jobs to absorb workers thrown out of jobs by technological changes. The fund believes that the future years will see a repetition of the features of an economy in growth. In making this forecast, however, the fund's economists have apparently overlooked the meaning of the 1929-39 crisis.

REPORT OVERLOOKS FACTORS OF DECLINE

The report makes a provisional estimate, also on the basis that everything will be normal, that it is reasonable to expect a "gross national product of \$177 billion in 1950 and \$202 billion in 1960." Is this good? It would mean that a fifth more goods would be produced in 1950 than in 1941 (a war year!). But the coming years will also bring higher taxes and lower savings, and despite the fund's hopes, a relatively shrinking home market. Although the report declares that the increase in productivity for the coming years will mean a higher standard of living for the masses, they overlook the factors of high prices, declining quality of goods, lack of housing and other decisive elements which go to make up a standard of living.

Yet the capacity of American industry, not necessarily continues to grow, but even if this is static or declines, the basic mechanization of industry does not make this a serious factor. The war years have shown that given the existing industrial plant in the country, rapid ex-

not make up part of the estimate provided by the digest of the voluminous report. But one can easily see what is wrong with its basic approach. Its analysis is not truly all-embracing, It does not take into account the relation of American economy to world capitalism. The meaning of the crisis of the Thirties plays no part in it either, nor does the special nature of the war economy and its "artificial" expansion through government demand and monies. Yet it is upon a proper placing of these factors that one's prognoses of, the future of

America depends. It has been clear to the Marxist economists, at least, that the crisis of the Thirties was no ordinary cyclical crisis, but a collapse of permanent character, the decline being precipitate and halted only by the outbreak of the greatest world war in the history of mankind.

America came out of the war the undisputed power of the world with a highly expanded economy. The domestic market can in no way meet the requirements of this expanded industrial potential which was given such impetus by the war. To meet the needs of its new industrial expansion, American⁴ capitalism must conquer the world market, otherwise, a decline of production, and a contraction of the industrial potential must follow. That would mean not a new wave of prosperity, but a new series of sharp crises signalizing the collapse of the one remaining capitalist economic power.

ONLY HOPE FOR SOCIETY IS SOCIALIST VICTORY

Without considering this decisive factor, the fund could only draw a series of lovely portraits of what is possible given the enormous American industrial organization. Here is the nub of the whole question. Given a capitalist society, the wonders that are possible with this

living on the basis of figures alone, the real capitalism does not operate that way. The post-war years have already seen a diminution of the standard of living of the people even though industrial production is high! Given peace and the absence of government funds, private capitalism has returned to its more classic forms of operation. For all the wails of the bourgeoisie, it continues to take such an enormous share out of the total production under conditions of a contracting home and world market, that a rise in the standard of living of a whole people is not possible without a sharp cutting into the profits of America's ruling class. And given capitalism, the process works otherwise: profits are maintained, if there are any profits to be drained out of production, at the expense of the masses. In the absence of profits, there would be no produc-

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tion at all. What the report does point out in abundance is that the precondition for a decent life is present in the industrial organization of the country. But this could be realized only with a total reorganization of society and by an elimination of the private ownership of the means of production, and of profits as the motive force in the production process. A socialist reorganization, of society, which would establish production for use on the pasis of a production of abundance, could, given even the present industrial apparatus, provide for a decent standard of living for all the people. And given such a social organization, there could not possibly exist, for example, the present housing crisis which will continue as long as the sole interest of the housing industry is profit.

If one wants to see how rotten the body of capitalism has become, he need only examine the 20th Century Fund Report and relate it to the real society we are presently living under. The need for socialism will loom only greater in his eyes.

NEXT WEEK:

The Housing Problem-A review of Abrams' book by Henry Newman

Railroad Freight Rates Reflect Fight Between Capitalist Groups By JACK RANGER Back in the 1880's the American farmers got fed up with being milked Now that the U.S. Supreme Court by the railroads, set up state railroad

has upheld the Class Rate decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, lowering railroad class rates 10 per cent in the South and West, and raising them 10 per cent in the East, the governors of the eight southern states are voicing rebel yells of victory. Ex-Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, that liberal phony who initiated the fight for lower railroad rates in the South, has sprained his

commissions to defend themselves, and elected Populists to office on antirailroad platforms. The railroads, to defend their game, set up the Interstate Commerce Commission and had it granted the monopoly of policing interestate freight rates. The ICC is essentially a stooge of the railroads. It also regulates domestic water transportation and the truck lines. might ask: How (You come truckers let themselves be regulated by a rail-minded body? Well, part of the answer lies in the fact that very many of the big trucklines-far more than ever imagined by even astute trade unionists-are secretly owned by the railroads.) The railroads are constantly seeking to extend the authority of the ICC over ocean water transportation and air transportation, but the latter know the score too well. U. S. ocean transport is controlled by its own "front,"' the Maritime Commission, air transportation by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

decentralizes to the point where its holdings in the South and West are as important as its base in the East, rail freight rates will be more equalized.

These basic facts presented here re-

fute Arnall's claims, of course. But they do more, they explain certain features of the class rate decision which have been puzzling some shippers for two years, such as why the decision handed out an UNSOLICIT-ED 10 PER CENT INCREASE in

arm patting himself on the back. It can't do any harm to ventilate this situation with the truth, and here is the straight dope.

OWNED BY 60 FAMILIES

The U.S. is one of the few nations in the world whose railroads are owned by private capitalists instead of by the government. For the past 100 years, U. S. railroads have had one great basic principle of ratemaking-to charge all that the traffic will bear. This principle has been disguised and overladen with all sorts of fine-spun theories of rate-making which we haven't space to examine now. This principle has been modified by several factors. To meet or undermine the competition from water and highway transportation, the railroads will often set a freight rate that actually fails to cover the operating cost. Such are some transcontinental rail rates (aimed at intercoastal steamships) and less-carload rates with pickup and delivery service (aimed at the truckers).

That principle of charging all the traffic will bear is also modified by the fact that the great financiers among America's 60 Families who own the railroads also often own the industries which ship their materials and products over the railroads.

Example: The Morgan-First National group controls 11 major railroads. But this group also controls Pullman, Inc., General Electric, U. S. Steel Corporation, Kennecott Copper, Phelps Dodge, American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation, Continental Oil, Montgomery Ward, National Biscuit, Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron, Baldwin Locomotive, Glen Alden Coal, St. Regis Paper, A. T. & T., International Telephone & Telegraph, Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y., etc.

Example: The Kuhn, Loeb investment banking house controls five major railroads-Pennsylvania, UP, SP, Milwaukee Road, and Chicago & North Western plus two minor roads, the Katy and the Delaware & Hudson. This firm also controls Western Union.

Example: The Mellon group controls the Virginian Railway, and also controls Gulf Oil. Koppers Co., Aluminum Co. of America, Pittsburgh Coal, Westinghouse Electric, Jones & Laughlin Steel, American Rolling Mill, Crucible Steel, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, United Light & Power, etc.

THE CLASS RATE CASE

Because most of the wealth in the country is concentrated in the eastern states, because there the population density is heaviest, there is the center of industry, and there is where other forms of transportation compete sharply with the railroads, freight rates have generally been lower in the East, higher in the South and West.

Ex-Governor Arnall and other southern politicians and industrialists several years ago began agitating for lower freight rates. The ICC held hearings on the matter and in 1945 issued its class rate decision? The railroads tied the decision up until a few days ago when the Supreme Court in its decision upheld the ICC. Actually, the class rate decision is a hoax upon the South, and no victory at all, and here is why. There are all sorts of rail freight

rates-commodity rates, class rates, exceptions, etc. AND VERY LITTLE TRAFFIC MOVES ON CLASS RATES IN THE SOUTH. For instance, within the eight southern states, only 1.8 per cent of the traffic moves on the class rates, now reduced by 10 per cent. From the South to the North, only 0.9 per cent of the traffic moves on the reduced class rates. BUT FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH, 12.6 per cent OF THE TRAFFIC MOVES ON THE RE-DUCED CLASS RATES.

Thus, the class rate decision is a victory for the North, not for the South. As one southern rate expert commented, the class rate case is the biggest hoax on the South since Dr. Cook's "Discovery" of the north pole. How could it be otherwise? Northern capital still controls the government. Perhaps when northern capital

class rates to the eastern railroads. Now it is true that this question of rail freight rates is not a working class issue. It has to do strictly with the quarrel over surplus value between northern capitalists and industrialists, and their southern and western rivals. Nevertheless, I am sure many workers will find of some interest the points raised herein.

pansion is always possible. The growth of productivity over the past nine decades has averaged 18 per cent per decade. The fund estimates that from 1940 to 1960 another 30 per cent growth can take place.

All of these positive factors serve as the basis for the fund's optimistic picture of the next decade or more. Naturally, the factors of decline do

industrial organization will never be realized. For, under capitalism, the one decisive motive of production is profit. The slightest disruption in profit, its decline, which would attend America's inability to conquer the world market, would lead to a cessation of industrial activity at home and usher in the new crisis.

While the report does foresee the possibility of a rising standard of Economic. Trends in the U.S. by Abe Himboy

An Estimate of the Telephone Strike and Unions

U. S. Protects Its Island Interests Through Trujillo: Santo Domingo's Bloody Dictator

By GASTON BRUYERE

THE Republic of Santo Domingo which shares possession of a West Indian island with the Republic of Haiti, has been strangled by one of the darkest and most blood-thirsty tyrannies in history. The omnipotent tyrant who for the last 17 years has held in his bloody claws all the power of the country, has proven worse than even the most famous of South American military dictators; more brutal, gross, sanguinary and vengeful by reason of his cowardice.

Ever since 1930, when Rafael Leonidas Trujillo seized power by a comic-opera military conspiracy, he has bled the generous people of Santo Domingo white in the persons of their finest sons. Brandishing a threatening whip and standing with his soldier's boot pressed down on the neck of the population, this colonial-plantation overseer has kept himself in power by means of fraud, persecution and murder as his normal régime. The barbarous foreman has known no limits; no curb has been put on the uniformed beast who

offends human conscience with his thousands of crimes. The most aggressive U. S. imperialists have never found a more loyal lackey than the Dominican tyrant. This abortion of Yankee imperialism grew up to political life about twenty years ago, and ever since then, while he stereotypes his smile to Wall Street, he has been brutally thrashing the blood-stained backs of the Dominican people. Reciprocating this abominable service, Wall Street and the State Department have given limitless support to the dictator. Con-

fronting them, in the struggle against the powerful forces in the U.S.A. which uphold Trujillo and his sanguinary régime, the American people in general and the revolutionary Socialists in particular, are in duty bound to help the Dominican revolutionaries and people to free themselves from the yoke of this tyranny in Santo Domingo. There are thousands of Dominican revolutionaries in exile at the present time preparing an armed war against Trujillo. To them will fall the task of setting an enslaved people economically and socially free.

Trujillo is not only the murderer of his people. He is also-and on a big scale-the colonial bridgehead of the most aggressive part of U.S. imperialism. Little by little, insensibly,

this imperialist faction is turning into the American expression of fascism, making its objectives clearer daily. In the struggle for full dominion over universal economy, the Yankee imperialist-neo-fascists are beginning to make their first attempts at liquidating all democratic manifestations in the country, with a recrudescence of racial and political chauvinism, anti-labor legislation, and the exacerbation of the lowest anti-Semitic passions. The game is already marked out; to submit declining British imperialism to the position of a Yankee agent in Europe, to reinforce the Chinese and Japanese bourgeoisies in Asia, and to support unreservedly the Latin American tyrants. With the American continent in its fist, the U.S. A. expresses, through

its ruling classes, the essence of Hitlerite policy. In the Caribbean area, Trujillo's dictatorship is a military base against the revolutionary-democratic policies in Cuba and Venezuela. Today, Cuba and Venezuela have, upset the balance of feudo-imperialist politics. Both nations are headed, although with petty-bourgeois timidity, toward a social-revolutionary policy, and against them Trujillo expresses the spirit of self-defense as well as the desires of Yankee imperialism."

RAFAEL LEONIDAS TRUJILLO-As a consequence of the decadent Monroe Doctrine of considering all the Americas as belonging to the U. S. A .- a faithful imperialist interpretation-the Republic of Santo Domingo was invaded by the U.S. mili-

tary forces at the close of the first World War and occupied by them for the space of eight years. The pretext was the usual one: pacification of the island; the basic objective was the possession of its riches with the penetration of imperialist capital. It was a long and bloody intervention, and during the course of it the natives rose many times against foreign occupation, taking to the high mountains of the Cibao region, where they held out and conducted guerrilla operations. The American military repression was unspeakable: the murder of thousands of defenseless people by drunken troopers, the complete control of the whole state apparatus, and the founding of large factories for industrializing the sugar (Continued on page 5)

A Lesson in Capitalism for the Strong World

On page three of the Sunday, May 18, edition of the New York Times there appears a photograph of a huge pile of potatoes. The headline above the picture reads: "A Large Order of Potatoes Goes to Waste in Alabama." Under the picture there is this description: "More than fifty tons of the surplus vegetable grown in Baldwin County are dumped by the government near Foley because of a glutted market. Kerosene was poured over them to make them unfit for consumption."

It is a great pity that copyright laws

prevent us from reprinting the picture. We should have liked to enlarge the picture several times its size in the Times, and to display it prominently on page one of LABOR ACTION. For this mountain of potatoes speaks volumes - about the government, and about capitalism.

Starvation is rampant over the world. Detailed reports on this starvation in Germany, England, Poland and other European and Asiatic countries, have appeared in the Times. It is really a tribute to the restraint of the copywriter on the Times

and the venerable editors of this venerable paper that they are able to compose so modest a caption, "a large order of potatoes goes to waste." We lack the capacity for such admirable restraint.

Waste, indeed! Nothing as simple as "waste" can describe this revolting spectacle, this murderous crime committed against the starving peoples of the world. It took kerosene to make the potatoes unfit for consumption. Capitalism turns one's stomach without benefit of the simple poisons.

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Science Serves the Warmongers

How much criminal insanity can man entists thus had to reject 37 diseases as endure? Potatoes are burned while a world cries for food. And science advances with the perfection of bacterial warfare.

With World War II barely ended, we are treated to the consoling news that "Germ, War Threat Worse Than A-Bomb." (PM -Monday, May 19.) Two scientists have just published their report on Bacterial Warfare in the Journal of Immunology. "The report," says PM, "analyzes, in cold scientific terms, the possibilities of 33 disease producing bacteria and viruses in spreading pestilence and famine among enemy nations."

And a rare choice we have too. Anthrax, botulism, undulant fever glanders, influenza, malaria, meliodosis, black plague, psitticosis, tularemia, typhus, yellow fever, and other pestilences, rare and common. Midst such splendor and variety the latest announcements from the atomic front, including the atomic cloud ray announced last week, must fight hard to hold their attraction. Nor are the methods of dissemination limited, although the best method is found to be by aircraft sending out vast clouds of droplets.

Lest there be troubled consciences over the complete effectiveness of bacterial warfare, we are assured that scientists have become so exceedingly skilled under the opportunities afforded them by our system of free enterprise and investigation that they are able to immunize the germs themselves. Just don't think that anybody is going to defend himself easily against bacterial attack. The scientists have developed germs that are immune to decontamination!

However, there is comfort for the faintyield to man's easy manipulation. The sci- ons, the weapons of social liberation.

unfit for military use. These rascally diseases include bubonic plague, cholera and typhoid—for which mankind ought to give them a special vote of thanks by, perhaps, · letting them feed on the diseased brains of the imperialists.

Our indignation is tempered by the vistas these discoveries open. There is virtually no limit to their military use: reducing cities, disorganizing industrial areas, "scorching" the earth, murdering rapidly in close fighting and rapid movement.

Somewhere toward the end of their report, the two scientists urge some kind of international control on these achievements of man's industry and brain. It is a feeble, self-conscious, embarrassed end, for it is so patently ridiculous.

Scientists who bend themselves to such perversion cannot be relieved of their blame, though the blame is only secondarily theirs. The few scientists, for example, who refused to participate in the fashioning of the atom bomb truly acted according to the conscience of scientific inquiry. For science should be used to advance man not to destroy him.

It is our opinion that men of science should have refused to work on these weapons. However, the principal guilt lies not with the accessories, but with the trigger men and the master-mind, the dangerously lunatic system of imperialism. That is where the locus of the disease sits, embracing in its deadliness all the menace of the 33 militarily fit diseases. Its rottenness spills over in famine, wars, exploitation.

To permit this diseased body to walk about freely is to succumb to madness. Elementary social hygiene demands that we protect ourselves from its virulence by hearted in the refusal of some plagues to interring it with our own scientific weap-



Struggle in Java Continues

Two months ago the Cheribon Agreement was signed between the Dutch imperialists and the Indonesian Republic, according to which the conflict between the two was presumably settled. Recent reports from Java indicate that nothing of the kind is true.

LABOR ACTION

A report to the New York Times of Sunday, May 18, 1947, indicates that not one of the issues in dispute has actually been settled. The basic issue-shall the Indonesian countries remain under the rule of Dutch imperialism?-continue to exist, agreement or not.

The Cheribon Agreement was really a patched-up compromise between the Dutch, who had been hard pressed in Indonesia since the end of the war, and the so-called "moderates" among the Indonesians. The "moderates" are the bourgeois elements, those ready to make a deal with the Dutch and betray the desires of the Indonesian people for national independence, expressed since the end of the war by unceasing struggle against the Dutch. The ascendency of the pro-Dutch 'moderates" was accompanied by the partial suppression of the more intransigeant nationalist elements among the Indonesians.

Yet the situation remains one of armed truce. A basic provision of the Cheribon Agreement was that the Dutch imperialists should get back their plantations. Though the agreement allowed for a formally free republic of Indonesia, it reestablished the economic domination of Dutch imperialism and thereby actually the sovereignty of the Dutch in every aspect of Indonesian

Now the Times reporter, Robert Trumbull, writes that "Lack of progress toward the promised return of the Java and Sumatra plantations to their pre-war operators has confirmed the opponents of the Cheribon pact in their skepticism...." He continues: "Republican officials have informed the Dutch that non-Indonesian estate owners or lessors may return now to their prewar holdings in the interior. At the same time, according to authoritative Dutch informants here, the Indonesian leaders are forced to acknowledge that they cannot guarantee the safety of the Dutch in the interior."

RESIST RETURN OF DUTCH EXPLOITERS

Trumbull continues: "Apparently the Republican Cabinet is willing to transfer the plantations, in accordance with the Cheribon Treaty, but the acquiescence of the Indonesians now actually in possession of the estates is another matter. Thus the present impasse arises."

These are highly interesting remarks. What seems to have happened is that the "moderate" Indonesian compromisers granted the Dutch their basic demand—the right to continue their economic overlordship—but that the peasants working on the plantations to which the Dutch were supposed to return refuse to acknowledge this point. The peasants understand only too well what a return of the Dutch owners means; they remember only too well the way in which the Dutch have stripped the country of its wealth during the years of their imperialist domination. And so, though the leader of the "moderate" republic, Sjharir, is ready to make "gentlemen's agreements" with the Dutch, the Indonesian people are not. They want national independence and with it the economic substance of national independence: the expropriation of the Dutch imperialists! Their present resistance to the Cheribon Treaty is therefore a highly encouraging sign.

For their part the Dutch are trying in every way to regain the substance of their former imperialist power, regardless of what the formality may be. They are ready enough to allow Sjharir and his cohorts to call themselves "ministers" so long as they, the Dutch, have the actual power. Accordingly, Trumbull reports, they have "announced this week the imminent arrival in Java of the Dutch Second Division, thus materially increasing Dutch strength in the Indies."

And at the same time the Dutch continue their naval blockade of Indonesian ports, its purpose being, Trumbull reports: "to prevent export of rubber and other produce from non-Indonesian properties and the import of military materials.". ANT INSA RADE

DUTCH TRY DEVICE OF DIVIDE AND RULE

Still another means by which the Dutch are trying to reestablish their imperialist controls over Indonesia is by fomenting internal dissension among the various peoples who live in Indonesia. They have created the so-called autonomous states of East Indonesia and West Borneo. This is a familiar imperialist device. The French use it in Indo-China where they attempt to divert the Indo-Chinese revolt by creating a movement for the autonomy of one province, Cochin-China. The British are the time-honored masters of this trick; they have set off Hindu against Moslem, in India for centuries. Behind such moves there is always one central purpose: weaken the movement for national liberation of the oppressed people.

These events in Indonesia should be a matter for some study for all those who have blithely concluded that the era of imperialism is at an end, that the lion is cuddling up to the lamb, that the Western powers are voluntarily surrendering their positions in the colonial world. As we have said time and again, nothing of the kind is true. What has happened is that the Western imperialist powers have had to make certain political concessions, have had to come to terms with the more conservative bourgeois sections of the colonial populations in order more effectively to prevent genuine mass movements for total and unconditional independence. But they have clung with fierce determination to their economic control and have been ready to fight to the last for it.

Wherever the "moderate" bourgeois elements of the colonial nations, have made deals with the imperialist powers, genuine national liberation has not been achieved. On the contrary.

So we see that the fundamental Marxist conception on this matter, as summarized in Trotsky's contention that genuine national liberation for the colonial peoples could be won only under the leadership of their uncompromising working classes, has in actuality been confirmed. New and severe conflicts between the Dutch and the Indonesian masses are certain to take place. Similar conflicts will take place in all other colonial areas. The surge of the colonial peoples toward freedom has resulted in the partial success of formal independence in a few colonial countries, but the task of actual liberation still remains. We may expect that in the coming period this conflict will sharpen in intensity, with the "moderate" compromisers thrust aside by the colonial peoples .--- I. H.

ILGWU Sets A Dangerous **Precedent in Court Action**

LABOR ACTION wishes to comment, somewhat belatedly, on a matter of considerable importance for

Suppose an opposition group in the

pay for a democratic union. You have ILGWU arises which is not Stalinist, to permit slanderous criticism as well which is, rather, anti-Stalinist. Sup- as legitimate criticism. And in any American workers. We are referring pose this opposition group circulates case, it is obvious that those against to the case which recently came up not slander, but accordance and mili- whom the criticism is directed are not in the New York Supreme Court in tant criticism of Dubinsky and his co- in the best position to determine

OFF LIMITS James M. Fenwick

British Troops & Anti-Semitism

Jewish complaints against the conduct of troops have been frequent, but little has been said about the soldiers' attitude. It seems to vary from forthright, naked hate to mild complaints that the Jews are not polite to them.

"We troops who have come from an exenemy country, wish to live and let live, but if our comrades are shot, we'll hate and really hate," one recently wrote to the Palestine Post.

A young officer earnestly told this correspondent: "I didn't have much experience of the Jerries-only in the bombing of London. But I hate Jews more than hated the Jerries."

Another young officer said: "These blokes don't fight fairly. That's what we dislike. This isn't war. It is murder."

-New York Times report

from Jerusalem, May 13, 1947

These blokes don't fight fairly! Our interest in that cry does not lie in its irony. (There are 600,000 virtually unarmed Jews in Palestine brutally policed by 100,000 British soldiers armed to the teeth. That is one soldier for every six Jews. New York occupied on the same basis would have over a million armed men prowling its streets.) It is interesting as an example of the growing anti-Semitism being produced by the British policy in Palestine-and, secondarily, by the policy of such organizations as the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Group.

It is not necessary to question the authenticity of the news report which was, quoted. Anyone with an elemental knowledge of army life and of human nature as of 1947 knows that the attitude attributed to the British soldier is an actual one.

The Roots of Anti-Semitism

The British soldier wants to go home. He particularly resents being retained in foreign service now that the war has long since been declared over. He doesn't understand it. He knows that manpower is needed in England and that his family could use his aid. Nor does he like going after helpless men, women and children with fire hoses, tear gas, and police clubs-people with the tatooed serial numbers of the concentration camps still on their bodies. If only these Jews would straighten up! he thinks. If only they would stop causing trouble! Then he could go home. The army orientation courses further confuse him. He hates the army for what it is subjecting him to, but he hates the Jews also.

The activities of such organizations as the Stern Group and the Irgun Zvai Leumi further alienate him. Shanghaied into an army he has no liking for he looks to the Jews and finds only a stony wall of hate or, at best, dislike. Enlisted men, along with the actual rulers of Palestine (the army officers and government officials) are shot, bombed, or blown up on mined roads and railways as if they were the guilty ones. With each new terrorist success the officers crack down. It is a life of constant tension, constant jeopardy. For lack of a socialist policy of fraternization the terrorist tactics solidify the front of the British officers and enlisted men. Anti-Semitism is augmented.

Soldiers write home. Parents worry over their sons in Palestine. The rotation of troops and their redeployment home completes the diffusion of anti-Semitic sentiments in England.

The U. S. Receives a Legacy

Every day that passes shows that the United tates is g to have to assur Britan mitments in Palestine, One of them will be a growing legacy of anti-Semitism. This residue of British rule will only be increased by the United States, for U. S. capital has no intention of approaching the Jewish question as a human problem. It will be handled only in the light of imperialist necessity. Hanson W. Baldwin, the military commentator of the New York Times, has warned bluntly enough: "... Palestine and the Middle East is a strategic and military problem as well as a human and political and social problem. . . . It must not be weighed solely in the scales of Jewish interests, Christian interests or Arab interests, but any solution must promote world stability and the interests of the United States. And we must remember that the oil of the Middle East is now vital to Britain's great power position. . . .' This policy will, among other things, guarantee the growth of anti-Semitism. The defeat of Hitlerism did not resolve the Jewish problem. In one sense the death of 6,000,-000 Jews has "legitimitized" anti-Semitism: the deaths serve as a precedent numbing the world's sensibilities and permitting a lower, more callous approach to these hounded people. What we are witnessing today is the almost unnoticed beginning of a new growth of anti-Semitism, which like some strange and horrible Pacific jungle-fungus which has been apparently checked, is found one morning corrupting the body of some heretofore healthy person.

I. G. Farben and Its Allies

Amidst all the current hullaballoo and crocodile-tear shedding about the Ameri- sense? Can anyone believe that such can labor movement and how selfish it is shrewd, unscrupulous and calculating cap--just imagine: it wants a decent livelihood for every American worker-the American press has somehow managed to of what their German partners were dobury the news that the U.S. government ing? has just indicted 24 executives of the gigantic I. G. Farben industry in Germany on the grounds of "fomenting and waging aggressive war for mass murder and plunder." What is so especially interesting about this fact is not merely that this huge cartel is accused of responsibility for the war, but rather that I. G. Farben had intimate ties with major American corpora-, tions. Among these are the Dow Chemical, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Aluminum Company of America; these firms are specifically mentioned in the indictment but there are probably others as well.

Now the question immediately arises: Everything which the indictment charges I. G. Farben with is no doubt quite true; every crime it is charged with, it committed. But what about its American subsidiaries and partners?

If Farben is guilty, isn't ALCOA just as guilty?

If Farben is guilty, isn't Standard Oil just as guilty?

Farben is accused of functioning as an international trust; that means it must have had intimate relations with major corporations in other countries. And AL-COA, Standard Oil and the rest were the American cronies of Farben.

The government indictment has rather a difficult time with this problem. It has to admit the obvious fact that these American corporations were in cahoots with Farben. But it tries to absolve them of responsibility, by suggesting that they were not aware of the war-provoking role of their German partners.

Can anyone believe this sort of nonitalist operators as the heads of Standard Oil were merely innocent lambs unaware

This is a story which would be laughed . out of a kindergarten and be sneered at in a nursery school.

For the facts are that the American corporations involved with Farben were just as guilty. You may remember that at the beginning of the war there were sensational disclosures of the intimate ties which these American corporations had with Farben and other German cartels. We reported them fully in LABOR AC-TION. Nothing whatever was done about those disclosures; they were passed by without decisive action.

Now again the facts are coming out. Eager to place historic responsibility for the war on the German leaders, the U.S. government simultaneously discloses the fact that U.S. capitalism was equally responsible.

It is time the facts were known; it is time the entire truth was told. Everything, everything about the machinations of Big Business in the U.S. with its fascist cronies. Then we will see that the last war, as all other wars in capitalist society, was the result of the destructive nature of all capitalist economies; we will see that the guilt which the U.S. government tries to assign exclusively to the German industrialists should rightly be placed on capitalist society as a whole.

Read and Subscribe to LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

which Cutters Local 10 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was upheld by Justice E. L. Hammer in its action of suspending four dissident union members. The four members, obviously Stalinists, were shop workers who had, according to the ILGWU claim, severely libeled David Dubinsky, ILGWU president. The union leadership thereupon suspended the four, whose court appeal was rejected.

Now we, at the moment, do not have very intimate knowledge of the situation in Local 10; but it really doesn't matter, for what is involved this case is a question of union democracy. We are quite ready to grant that the Stalinists did slander Dubinsky. Knowing the Stalinists for what they are, that isn't difficult to believe. (Not that Dubinsky isn't open to a great deal of criticism from a labor point of view. It's just that the Stalinists aren't the proper people to make that criticism.) For the purposes of the point we wish to make here, we are ready to grant the claims made by the ILGWU.

But we believe that the action taken by the union is highly dangerous to the health of the labor movement. The Stalinists must be fought; yes. They must be exposed; yes. But to suspend unionists from membership is to set a highly dangerous precedent: it is to meet the Stalinist danger with the same sort of methods the Stalinists use and it is to give them a demagogic handle which they can utilize for their own reactionary purposes. (Usually union suspension means the loss of a job and the possibility of getting another one in the trade; in this case, the ILGWU announced that the men would not be deprived of their jobs, but only of their union rights.)

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

What has the ILGWU achieved by this action? Has it exposed the reactionary nature of Stalinism? No. Has it convinced workers that the Stalinists are totalitarian opponents of every genuine democratic and socialist ideal, the agents of a dictatorship whose purpose in the labor movement is to distort it for their ends? No.

The ILGWU has substituted police measures for political clarification. It thereby shows its own insufficiency and bureaucratic nature. And it has set a highly dangerous precedent. horts. Is it so incredible that Dubinsky might take the same sort of action against such a group as he would against the Stalinists?

Suspension or expulsion from a union is permissable only on one ground: proof that members have acted in collusion with a boss or have sabotaged a class struggle activity of the union. For instance, if a union calls a strike and a member discloses certain secret information about that strike to the boss, the expulsion is in order. Or if he refuses in any way to fight together with his fellow workers in that strike. expulsion is in order.

HELPS STALINISTS

But once you start expelling or suspending members for criticizing union leaders, there's no telling where you'll end up. You might end up with the sort of dictatorial régime that Bill Hutcheson has in the AFL carpenters union. You might end up with the sort of union set-up the Stalinists try to create whenever they grab control of a union. And by imitating their methods, you give the Stalinists an opportunity to pose as exactly what they are not: defenders of workers' democratic rights.

The ILGWU leaders claim that in this case the Stalinist criticism was slanderous, that it went beyond the bounds of normal dissent. That may well be true. But that's the price you

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By V. I. Lenin:

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which criticism legitimate and which is not.

The action of the ILGWU is especially alarming in view of the fact that it comes at this particular time, when there is a virtual red-hunt beginning in the country. This sort of red-hunt will not stop to distinguish between Stalinists and genuine radicals and socialists. By its action, the ILGWU plays directly in the hands of the red-baiters in Washington. But just as bad, it helps the Stalin-

ists. Now, as they undoubtedly are in Local 10, the Stalinists can pose as defenders of democratic rights. And so long as they can do that, their hold on the workers under their influence will not be broken.

It is for these reasons that we be lieve the action of the ILGWU leadership was a serious error. It is one which should not be repeated in any union.

FREEDOM FROM FEAR SECTION

By GERRY McDERMOTT (The following United Press dispatches all were published on May 9th.)

WASHINGTON - The army disclosed today that it is well launched on an atomic age survey of underground sites where war plants would be safe from air attack. Several hundred million square feet of mine space is available for plants and storage.

WASHINGTON - The Navy disclosed today it is conducting extensive experiments to develop means of decontaminating radioactivity. Used in the study, will be ships which survived the Bikini Atomic Bomb tests. These ships still show radiological contamination.

WASHINGTON-Maj. Gen. Philip Fleming, chairman of the President's Conference on Fire Protection, said today he hopes the Army soon will give the nation's communities directions on how to fight fires in the event of an atomic war. "The war has been over two

years." the conference report said, "but no advice has come to fire departments yet from the War Department to indicate what sort of situations may be expected in a sneak atom bomb, incendiary, or biochemical attack on cities.'

Citizens 1st, Veterans 2nd

"One great citizen of this nation who believes the veteran should determine his own future is General Omar N. Bradley, who runs the Veterans Administration. Unquestionably he was one of the most popular field commanders of the war. His interest in his boys has always extended beyond their battlefield usefulness."

-Bill Mauldin, drooling in The Atlantic Monthly, April, 1947

"Gen. Omar N. Bradley told a group of blinded and crippled veterans today that the government had to 'stop somewhere' in giving automobiles to handicapped ex-service men

"Edward J. Beamon of Orange, N. J., armless and deafened survivor of the fighting in Germany, commented:

'If General Bradley rode in a street car, he could understand the situation more fully."

"Proposed bills, which Gen. Bradley, Veterans Administrator, said would raise the cost of the program more than \$39,000,000 also would make cars available to eligible disabled veterans of previous wars and veterans disabled in peacetime.'

-New York Times, May 8, 1947

LABOR ACTION

MAY 26, 1947

Has Workers Party Position Been Confirmed by Events? The Political Situation in Germany: The National Question

By IRVING HOWE

"Last week, General Clay, head of the U.S. Army of Occupation in Germany, declared that any German workers or labor leaders who persisted in "irresponsible" demonstrations for food, would be shot by the occupation authorities. This statement came after German labor leaders in ... The German working class suffered industrial cities had declared that unless food were soon forthcoming they could not be responsible for the actions of the workers. Clav's statement was the answer of the ruling imperialist occupation to the German people who have been living on less than 1,000 calories a day.

To understand the political situation in Germany today one needs primarily to understand the meaning of the few simple facts in the above paragraph. There in a nutshell is con- revolution; they paid, too, the price

tained the relationship of forces in Germany. It is on the basis of these crucial facts that the Workers Party continues to adhere to its analysis of the political situation in Europe as developed in its International Resolution (printed in the April, 1947, issue of The New International).

the most terrible blows during the twelve-year rule of the Nazis. Its most militant and conscious elements were annihilated; its most vigorous sections were destroyed in battle; its political consciousness debased and corrupted by the Nazis first and then the Allied and Stalinist occupation. The German workers paid a terrible price for the treacherous Social Democratic reformism of the pre-Hitler days which time and again aborted the possibility of a successful socialist

for the criminal policy of the Stalin- their political views and heightened ists who refused to engage in united fronts with the Social Democracy and instead shouted the lunacy of "Social Fascism."-the theory that the Social Democrats were greater enemies of labor than the Nazis.

No social class in modern history has suffered such a persistent assault as has the German working class. The Nazi terror; the Allied bombings; the Stalinist slave labor · camps-these were but a few of attacks to which it was subjected. EFFECTS ON ORGANIZATION

OF GERMAN WORKERS What then could have been expected once the war was over and the imperialist occupation began? One theory advanced in the socialist movement had it that the German workers had gone through an experience which had further radicalized

their class consciousness. This theory saw the socialist revolution as a direct and immediate task after the destruction of the Nazi régime.

Nothing of the kind took place, of course. We say this not with glee nor with any "I told you so" attitude; we who said that the German workers' would have to undergo a series of intermediary experiences before they were again ready to attempt a direct struggle for power, would much rather that events had proven us wrong. But events did not prove us wrong. The fact is that the German work-

ers had to begin painfully to reassemble their forces. Trade union organizations arose quickly, but they did not really function as independent unions. Under the circumstances of the occupation, they couldn't and still can't. The Stalinists gained the

class and even in their own zone, neither intimidation nor bribes could bring the masses into their camp. The bulk of the workers either remained passive and concentrated on scrounging for enough food to exist or joined the Social Democracy, which almost amounted to the same thing.

That the German workers could reassemble their forces even to the degree they did, was remarkable testimony to their great and still present tradition of labor militancy and socialism. But in their way stood one major hindrance: the occupation armies. These armies cut the land into impossible economic divisions without rhyme or reason; they lived off the already impoverished land; they curtailed and prevented production at the same time that they took reparations. This situation is very well described in the Workers Party resolution mentioned above:

"The defeat in 1933, the twelveyear long rule of Nazi terror, the devastation of six years of war, the conquest and occupation by the victorious powers and the infamous partition of Germany by the four powers for purposes of scientifically bleeding it of its economic potency and political viability as a nation makes it necessary to begin the task of again collecting in class organizations the shattered and dispersed forces of the German proletariat at the most primitive level. Of all the obstacles this task must overcome, the first and greatest is the military occupation of Germany. Until this condition is ended, the scene will be dominated by the national struggle for liberation. The main slogan around which the German Marxists must orient the struggle in the coming period is 'For a unified and independent Germany!" This struggle begins as a struggle for democratic rights against the military authorities of the occupying powers and their quisling supporters. Freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, of movement, of organization, of communication and the right to vote and the demand for a free national assembly will constitute the issues around which the political struggles will revolve and the masses will rally. Unless the German proletarian organizations take upon themselves the lead in this struggle and conduct it in the spirit of socialism and internationalism, this task will fall to the reactionary nationalists. They will utilize it for the reconstruction of the Nazi movement. . . . Neither the Social Democrats nor the Stalinists can give the proletariat a lead on this struggle. The former plays the role of adjutant to the Anglo-American authorities and the latter is the

creature of the Russian oppressors." In a word, the WP resolution declared that the road to a restoration of the class confidence and power of the German workers was the struggle for national liberation-concretely, to drive out the imperialist occupation. The resolution stressed the need-a need which is invariable and

support of a minority of the working _struggle to rid the country of its imperialist oppressors and thereby make possible a free play of its inner political forces.

EVENTS CONFIRM WP ANALYSIS

'Has' this analysis been vindicated by recent events? We believe it has, overwhelmingly.

Let us take as our test case the recent demonstrations of the German workers for food. These demonstrations represent a surge of desperation: the cry of a people demanding food lest it perish. The demonstrations have been large and promise much for the renewed vitality of the German workers.

One key incident took place in Hamburg. 'The demonstrators some few days back carried placards denouncing the occupation authorities and holding them responsible for the food crisis, as they rightly are. The British tried to back out of their shameful role by placing the responsibility on the puppet German government. But everyone knows that this so-called regional German government is a figment of British im-

sponsible for the famine.

more crude: It simply threatened arrests if demonstrations continued. It was clear that the German workers. so soon as they began to move into demonstrative action, ran smack up against their most powerful and immediate enemy: the military occupation.

The development of the class consciousness and class militancy of the German workers thereby means an increasing conflict with the imperialist occupation. The German workers demonstrate for bread? They are restricted by the occupation. They plan a strike in the factories? They are threatened by the occupation. In this situation the German capitalist class, or what is left of it, functions as the subaltern of the imperialist occupation, quite pleased to allow the armies of the victors do the dirty work for them.

It may be said: "But the German workers do not care about such abstractions as national indépendence or democratic rights. They want bread." Of course, that is partly true. The fact is, however, that even most timid struggle for bread involves immediately a clash with the occupation. On this, score, the WP resolu-

an abstract ideal, but as the only means, in their eyes, of organizing or reorganizing the economic and social life of the country in the interests of the masses and for their benefit!"

This, then, we believe to be the means by which the masses of Germany can be propelled into genuine socialist action. For if they struggle for the removal of the occupation, the very process of that struggle helps break the hold of the Social Democracy and the Stalinists. Dare the Social Democrats join a genuine struggle to drive out the British? Dare the Stalinists join a genuine struggle to drive out the Russians?

There are some signs in Germany that are disturbing. Reports to the New York press indicate that there has been a resurgence of underground Nazi propaganda in highly nationalist terms. That is to be expected and so long as the Social Democrats and Stalinists hold sway and play into the hands of the occupation, Nazi or neo-Nazi nationalism will take root. There is the danger. It can be coped with not by ignoring the struggle for driving out the occupation-for that is a burning and visible need in Germany today-but rather by giving it proletarian and

socialist leadership and direction. The fight for socialism never proceeds along abstract pedagogic lines, necessary as those are. It must be rooted in the most pressing needs of the masses; it must point a road to the struggle for such needs; and it must constantly seek to elevate that struggle into broader social paths which challenge the very existence of capitalist society itself. That, we believe, is indicated by the position of the Workers Party on the current situation in Germany,

Note: Those readers interested in the ideas discussed in this article are urged to read the International Resolution of the Workers Party printed in the April, 1947, issue of The New International.

JEAN MALAQUAIS ON EXISTENTIALISM AT "LEFT FORUM"

LABOR ACTION has received a notice from the Left Forum, an organization of unaffiliated radicals in New York City which holds regular discussions on socialist problems, that it is presenting a lecture on Friday evening, May 23, at 8:30 o'clock, by Jean Malaquais, French novelist and critic. The lecture is to be held at Stuyvesant Casino, New York City. Malaquais' subject will be "The Non-Existence of the Existentialists." Jean Malaguais is the author of a novel. "Men from Nowhere," which won a literary prize in France and was highly praised in a critical arwith the restoration of the status quo , ticle by Leon Trotsky. He is also the author of "War Diary," a brilliant

Trujillo: Dictator of Santo Domingo -second to one of them-who mur-

(Continued from page 3) production as exclusive U. S. property.

During these years to which we are referring, Mr. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo was in jail for cattle-stealing. He had a sound knowledge of the mountainous territories where the Dominican patriots were hiding out and fighting against the interventionist soldiery, and in order to get his jail-sentence shortened he offered his services to the invaders as an expert guide through the mountains and jungles. Thus, as a scout for an enemy army, Trujillo began his sinister career. In payment for these services, the Americans set him free and gave him military training in an academy which they had set up, so as to form the base for a native army as their permanent ally. Trujillo learned the technique of military organization in this academy, and he was one of its first graduates.

3

Once the native army had been or-'ganized, Trujillo became one of the three colonels who composed its high ' command. Through the cheap trick out of power. In order to complete of making one of these colonels believe that his wife was being unfaithful to him with the other, and stirring up a duel of honor between them, in which both contestants were left dead on the field, Trujillo made 'himself chief of staff of the Domini-'can army. Those who were present in the country at the time of this ridiculous and grisly event, say that both duellists appeared to have been killed from behind, and insist that it

dered the pair of them. These two colonels were the only obstacles to Trujillo's sole command of the army. The U.S. Army withdrew from the Republic of Santo Domingo after hav-

ing cemented the sugar industry on very firm bases. They kept the customs' control in their own hands, as a way of recovering the expenses occasioned by the intervention, and left with the certainty of maintaining the native army (whose arms they supplied) under their own control. The sugar industry and the native army reciprocated. The U. S. sugar-farm was well protected by the mercenary army.

But in spite of all this army repression, the Dominican people elected Dr. Horacio Vasquez - who had fought against the intervention-as president of the Republic. The new president took office under the enmity of the army, which resisted him slyly, until in 1930 Sr. Trujillo, who was by that time General-in-Chief, managed a coup d'etat and threw him Dr. Vasquez's presidential term, the primitively opportunist Trujillo installed the former vice-president, Dr. Estrella Urena, as president of the Republic. When the new elections came up, they took place under circumstances of terror, violation and fraud. In these elections, the now omnipotent Trujillo ran for president as the one and only candidate and, of course, he won office. This was 1930. The long years of U.S. military inwas Trujillo himself-who acted a tervention had passed. The satrap's

apprenticeship had been well assimilated by Trujillo. The jail-bird and informer had become, in the space of a few years, the president of the Republic, an ally of the State Department, the head of the army, and the sinister master of Santo Domingo.

HOW HE EXERCISES **TRYANNICAL CONTROL**

A few months after Trujillo took office as president, the island was scourged by a terrible tornado which destroyed nearly the whole of the old capital, ruined the harvests and blew down a third of the houses. The thousands of deaths produced by the tornado, famine and epidemics, stirred world solidarity. Help was sent from everywhere, especially in the form of money, to protect the wasted population. Trujillo kept this money for himself, and sold to the wretched people, at high prices, the food and medicines which countries all over the world had sent as presents to the Dominicas. With the funds of the national exchequer which had been destined for reconstruction purposes, he set up monuments to himself all over the place. The whole country was changed into a museum for exhibiting statues of the coarse and vulgar figure of the ridiculous tyrant. From the pauperized Dominican people, he snatched away all manifestation of political expression. Ever since 1930, only one party has existed in the country: Trujillo's party. All state employees are forced to belong to it, as well as anybody who hopes to do business or to lead a quiet life. The sinister dictator fixes the elec-

tions, nominates the candidates, and also has the faculty of suppressing legislators whenever they do not suit his wishes. Thus, with every element of action and defense destroyed and under a régime of barbarous exploitation, the Dominican people, drag out a miserable life between the prison and the graveyard.

belongs to the dictator, except of course the sugar production, which belongs to the U.S.A. The peasant classes work exclusively for the heavy-handed master. Trujillo is the personal owner of nearly all the rich and fertile soil of the Republic, which he obtains by the simple procedure of murdering its real owners. He has absolute control over the herds of cattle, the milk, and all food products. The low acquisitive capacity of the population, nourished on root-vegetables, has resulted in a lack of interest by American exporters in the Dominican market. Inflation, developing there as in nearly all parts of the world, has put this little country out on the border of civilization and history. The minimum daily wage of city workers is only 70 cents. They are the favored few, since the rest of the hungry population, in the country and the smaller towns, earns much less. In spite of various electoral mas-

querades in which the tyrant pulled all the strings, and in spite of the fact that on one, or two occasions puppets of his creation have held apparent office as president of the Republic, the real master of the country since 1930, the strong man who governs its destiny, has always been Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, the Dominican satrap.

ASKS TRUMAN To End Amnesty **Board Delay**

Pointing out that three months have elapsed since the hearings of the President's Amnesty Board, the Rev. A. J. Muste, chairman of the Amnesty Committee, wrote President Truman that unless he grants a gen-

perialist imagination; it has no real power whatever. The Hamburg workers were absolutely correct in placing responsibility on the occupation powers. It is they, by their criminal restrictions on production, their large-scale looting of industrial wealth, their absurd division into four zones, who are re-

The American occupation was even

NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

tion very succinctly states:

"The masses quite correctly did not identify, their desire for democracy ante bellum (situation before the

Workers Party

Program of the

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!

All the key positions of power are under the absolute control of Trujillo's numerous relatives. The most repugnant member of this grasping and pitiless clan is one of Trujillo's brothers, known familiarly as "Black Trujillo," whom the dictator has at present made head of the army. This Lombrosian type spends the army funds for his own uses, just as the rest of the relations spend the other funds. With the taxes which he squeezes out of the prostitutes and brothels, he pays for the upkeep of an extensive international spy system. When the recent World War caused the wretched exodus of European peoples to the lands of America, the tyrant encouraged thousands of refugees to come to Santo Domingo, where he despoiled them of their resources and then made them work in near-slavery conditions on the sugar plantations. Thousands of them have

eral amnesty, conscientious objectors of World War II will continue to be penalized for many more months. Selective Service Act, 1,000 are still

in prison. Among them is Thomas J. Leonard, who was sentenced to six months for walking out of a CPS unit and who is nearing the second month of a hunger strike at the Danbury,

Conn., federal prison.

"It is clear that the board does not propose to recommend a general amnesty and is, as a matter of fact, proceeding to the processing of Individual cases," Mr. Muste's letter said. "It is conceded that several more months will be consumed in this process before any recommendation whatever is placed before you. In the meantime thousands of unquestionably sincere and exceptionally useful citizens are deprived of certain civil rights and seriously handicapped in admission to employment, especially

Every branch of the economic field in certain professions."

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since died and their wives have been

handed over as tribute to the mercen-

ary troops.

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constant-for persistent propaganda and education for the idea of socialism, of a Socialist United States of Europe. But it posed the central tac-Of the 13,000 men jailed under the tical concept of bringing the masses to a struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe by taking the leadership in the immediate and burning

war), of the power of the old bourgeoisie. . . . There is no democracy in the abstract, and democracy was not an abstraction in the minds of the masses. They wanted and want democracy-democratic rights, democratic institutions, political democracy in general-not for its sake as

record of his experiences in the recent war.

His subject is one of great interest since the existentialist movement has created a considerable stir among contemporary intellectuals. Malaquais is expected to subject this movement to vigorous analysis.



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LABOR ACTION

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JUAN PERON'S ECONOMIC EXPANSION

By LOUIS VELASCO

Page 6

Argentine industry during the course of the last war went through a tempestous development. The number of industrial workers rose more than 100 per cent. The Argentine market is no longer sufficient for it and the bourgeoisie is taking the toad of economic expansion to neighboring countries. The program of economic (and political) penetration of the Argentine dictator comprises the commercial agreements between Argentina on the one hand and heighboring countries-Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. Peron is trying to form an economic bloc around Argentina, to make sure of markets for the growing Argentine industrial production.

The Stalinists consider this policy as the realization of the democratic bourgeois revolution in Argentina, and lend their whole support to the Argentine dictator. Even certain "Trotskyist" sectors in the Argentine cannot free themselves from the powerful political pressure which Peron exercises in his country. These sectors attribute a very progressive role to Peron's policy, considering it as the carrying out of Bolivar's and San Martin's program, the program of the democratic revolution, and the political, economic and social emancipation of Latin America, and its unification. There is no better proof for investigating and analyzing Peron's policy than his commercial agreements with Chile and Bolivia.

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THE TREATY WITH BOLIVIA

The commercial agreement with Chile caused some stir in the American press; it was the first surprising effort of the upsurge of Argentine economy. Its basis is the sale of Argentine agricultural products to Chile and the buying of Chilean minerals and other products. The credit of 300,000,000 Argentine dollars to Chile and the free customs régime assures Argentine industrial penetration into Chile. The same general lines are followed in the commercial agreement between Argentina and Bolivia. In spite of his open support of Villaroel's fallen régime and his equally open repudiation of the revolution, Peron did not hesitate to propose this agreement to Dr. Hertzog's government. The agreement opens the doors of such a backward and semi-feudal country as Bolivia to the Argentine industrial and agricultural penetration.

Argentina has made sure of having almost a monopoly for the importation of Argentine agri-cultural products at, of course, very high prices. Between 1947 and 1951, Bolivia will buy from Argentina the following:

			and an internet of	
	Wheat	60,000	tons	
	Pork Fat	3,000	tons	
	Sebo	2,000	tons	
	Table Oil	1,000	tons	
	Washed Wool	1,000	tons	
	Cotton	2,000	tons	
•	Extract of Quebracho	1,000	tons	
	Beef on the Hoof	50,000	heads	
	Pork on the Hoof		heads	
	Frozen Beef	500	tons	
	Frozen Pork and Mutton	300	tons	
	Spun Wool	100	tons	
	Caustic Soda	200	tons	

Although these figures are not large for big power capitalist countries, they are of decisive size for a very tiny economy such as Bolivia's. They eliminate nearly all the products of other countries, or even Bolivian products themselves, for a period of several years, submitting the Bolivian market to Argentine domination.

On the other hand Argentina is introducing herself, for the first time in history, as a buyer of Bolivian products, minerals and rubber. As we know Bolivia is a country which produces only minerals, tin being the first among them. The production of more or less forty thousand tons of tin determines the national budget and Bolivian pol icy. The tin produced is sold partly to England and partly to the United States. The price which these two imperialist buyers dictate to Bolivia is what determines not only the standard of life of the miners, but also the national budget, the buying capacity of the country and its foreign balance, that is to say, the gains of the medium bourgeoiste and the living level of the middle class. The present economic crisis and the July political revolution itself were influenced by the fall of Wolfram, antimony, lead and tin in the international markets, temporarily saturated and too weak to acquire any more before the industrial situation is cleared up. In spite of the diminishing of reserves of tin stocks in the United States, the American buyers haggled with the Bolivian producers for a long time over the 76-cent price for a pound of refined metal, producing an impasse and also insecurity in the economic life of the country. Peron broke the impasse by offering the price demanded for 8,000 tons of tin. And not only this, Argentina offered to buy up to 12,000 tons of tin which was surplus in the quotas of this already bid-for production. The affect of this Argentine policy was rapidly apparent and obliged the United States to accede to the Bolivian producers demand for 76 cents for a pound of refined tin. Now the whole production of Bo-

period. Argentina will acquire from Bolivia they grain milling and industrial camp. following:

1.1.1.0.	the true
Tin ' '	. 8,000 tons
Lead 3,500 t	o 7,500 tons
Wolfram	1,000 tons
Cocoa	600 tons
Hides	_ 300 tons
Wood	_ 3,000 tons
Asbestos	_ 300 tons

Besides this. Argentina has engaged to buy annually from Bolivia 2,000 tons of Bolivian rubber from the tropical regions of the country. The Bolivian rubber production bought by the U.S.A. during the war years varied between 3,000 and 5,000 tons. Now the rubber plantations are in a state of abandonment, malaria is taking its mortal toll among the rubber workers, misery is scourging the country, but there is no place to sell Bolivian rubber. - 244 ET 2

PERON'S IMPERIALIST POLICY

In order to activize Bolivia's economic life and give vigor to the signed contract, Argentina is forming a society of Argentine-Bolivian finance, with a capital of a million Argentine dollars, The task of this society will be in reality to control the working of the agreement, as well as to facilitate the penetration of Argentine capital and industry in Bolivia, especially in the eastern frontier districts. Five hundred thousand of these dollars will be devoted to planting rubber in the tropical region of Beni. Apart from this Argentina will give a million dollars to create transport and communications by land, river and air in Bolivia. Anyone who knows the real state of things in Bolivia will un-

means controlling the national economy. The upholders of the theory that Peron is the realizer of a "democratic revolution" and the "emancipation" of Latin America from Yankee influence, will be able to adduce the "progressive" and "revolutionary" role of this contract and of the economic policy of Peron, which sets American imperialism back. But prominent Bolivian Marxists adduce other arguments.

derstand that controlling the roads of this moun-

tainous and wooded country, partly unexplored,

In the first place, they say, the handing over of the Bolivian market almost as a monopoly of the Argentine "Institute for the Promotion of Exchange," a kind of Peronist monopoly of foreign commerce, especially to the Argentine exportation of agricultural produce, will put a heavy brake on the development of Bolivian agricultures, maintaining Bolivia as a one-product country, which constitutes not only its weakness face to face with imperialism, but is also a sign, an evident proof of its dependence and semi-colonial economy.

The purchase of Bolivian tin and lead, although it temporarily relieves the country's situation, has no decisive character for saving it from Yankee pressure, and by putting a brake on the development of agriculture makes the economic slavery of the country deeper. The commercial exchange is so unfavorable to Bolivia that Argentina has been obliged to grant a credit of 50,000,000 dollars in order to settle Bolivia's commercial balance. This fund will serve to cover the pay of the Argentine exporters being subject to a percentage of 31/2 per cent annually. Not only the commercial balance but also the loan in favor of transport and industrial penetration by Argentina gives proof of Bolivia's economic dependence and its submission to a new master. The free customs régime for the produce in transit favors Argentina, since their importations will be much greater than the Bolivians'.

These same comrades believe that in spite of certain short-time advantages, the commercial agreement between Argentina and Bolivia will have as its most fundamental consequence economic backwardness for Bolivia, and the mainte nance of its one-product character, that is to say, colonial dependency, stagnation in agriculture and the national grain milling industry, faced with the monopoly of Argentine exportation and the break put on the development of Bolivian industries. The same opponents also say that the analagous contract between the U.S. A. and Bolivia will be more beneficial for Bolivia, since the U.S. A. will force the development of agriculture as much as that of industry, being unable themselves to export agricultural products to Bolivia. In the long run this will help the industrial development of Bolivia and raise it beyond its one-product economy and therefore aid it toward economic emancipation. Among the bourgeoisie and the middle class themselves, there is a certain misgiving and fear, in face of this Argentine expansion, which might be expressed in the old classical phrase "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

livian tin is already promised for the following also hold back its economic development in the

These conclusions make it easier to expose the role of Argentina's economic expansion in Latin America, which the Stalinists and even certain "Trotskyist" groups see as "progressive" and as the realization of the bourgeois-"democratic revolution" and the emancipation of Latin America under Argentine hegemony:

In the first place, we refuse to recognize "Peronism" as the realizer of "democratic revolution" in Argentina. Peronist industrial expansion is the product of the 2nd World War, which opens small 'free spaces" for heretofore dependent peoples. It is a product of interimperialist contradictions of short reach; its aggressiveness being limited both in time and economic value. Therefore, Peron's economic expansion scarcely deserves the term of "local imperialism" or "sub-imperialism." It has grown in time, but is permitted essentially by Yankee imperialism which was previously busy with the war and is now busy with its struggle against Russia. When Yankee imperialism returns in full force to the Latin American market, the whole of Peron's economic and political expansion will have to bow to this sovereign lord. Neither Perofi nor his successors, if there are any, will be able to carry out the unity of Latin America under capitalism, faced as they are by the huge power of North American imperialism. Any contrary supposition or thesis is reactionary Quixotry, akin to petty-bourgeois charlatanism.

ROLE OF U. S. IMPERIALISM

In the second place, Peron's commercial agreements with Bolivia and Chile show his anti-democratic and reactionary character. The prices of the cereals sold to Chile are much higher than world market prices. The agreements seek to create certain economic privileges for Argentina in specific fields; a more hateful privilege, in detriment to the interests of the masses of workers and peasants in these countries. The function of these agreements is to hold back the development of small countries, keep them in a backward state and create for them a "status" of dependency upon Argentina.

For the above two reasons, we do not believe that "prosperity" and success will raise Juan Domingo Peron sky-high. Even today there is a strong opposition to these agreements in both Chile and Bolivia. And it is not only bourgeois opposition. Since Peron's economic policy is not democratic, but an expression of the reactionary "sub-imperialism" of a backward and reactionary bourgeoisie, it will neither be able to impose itself on neighboring countries nor reach beyond to carry out finally the political and economic unity of Latin America. In the imperialist field, the biggest fish devour the smaller ones. Yankee imperialism will devour backward and local Argentine sub-imperialism.

Therefore, to attribute a progressive democraticbourgeois character to Peron's economic policy and expansion, or to call on the proletariat to support him, constitutes a grave error, a revision of Marxdst theory, especially of Marxist theory on 'imnerialism.

The emancipation of Latin American peoples can only be effected by way of a socialist revolution in the backward countries,-those of the Paclfic coast in the first place: in Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, partly in Chile. Only the Latin American proletariat, allied with the proletariat of the U.S.A. is capable of carrying out the unity of Latin America, its national, social and economic emancipation, creating the United Socialist States of Latin America.

For this reason the proletariat will not support Peron in his fight against Yankee imperialism, but will maintain its own third front, directed against all imperialism, whether it be Wall Streets' world imperialism or Peron's local native imperialism, for the socialist revolution and the Socialist United States of Latin America

Finds Anti-Semitic Approach In Koestler's Palestine Novel

top, the sentimentality in the mid-

dle, and the pogrom at the bottom."

"But I don't want to be reasonable:

I have had enough of being reason-

able for 2,000 years while the others

were not." No class distinctions are

presented. All non-Jews are lumped

into one group of oppressors. Anti-

Semitism as an instrument of the

feudal landlords, church hierarchy,

and capitalists to be used in deflect-

ing the class struggle is an explana-

tion that the bewildered Koestler

could not think of. On page 55 "Joseph was struck by the ugliness of the faces around him.

... It was not the first time that he

noticed it, but tonight his revulsion

against this assembly of thick, curbed

noses, fleshy lips and liquid eyes was particularly strong..., But it was no

good denying to himself that he dis-

liked them, and that he hated even

more the streak of the over-ripe race

in himself. . . . The other girls made

him shudder in incestuous revulsion.

Their flesh had lost its innocence from

Here he lends himself to the anti-

Semite who says the Jews have typi-

cal physical characteristics, a fallacy

long ago exploded by scientists in

general and Kautsky in particular.

page 221 ". . . I've seen their settle-

valley and in the Huleh swamps.

Those are some guys. They're a new

type. They've guit being Jews and

become Hebrews." This is a reaction

that the Jew Joseph wants to see in

the Gentile. It comes more from a

Jewish self-hate than anti-Semitism.

Jews among themselves who meas-

ure everything they do by "what

will be the reaction of the Gentile

On page 228 Joseph is thinking

. . . But twenty years ago land in

those savage marshes had been cheap and each square yard of the

country had to be bought for hard

cash; and the National Fund's only

sources of income were charitable

donations and the blue collection

boxes which the jet-eyed, curly-haired children of the race jingled

in the East Ends from Warsaw to

New York; begging bowls for the

purchase of a kingdom. The race

proverbial for its financial genius,

world?" express this perfectly.

An American reporter says on

birth or before. . . .'

(Several weeks ago LABOR AC-TION and the New International carried reviews of Arthur Koestler's recent novel on Palestine. "Thieves in the night." These reviews produced the following critical comments on the reviews and the book itself, comments which relate to the great world problem of Palestine and Arab-Jewish relations.

We are publishing these comments not only because of our policy of free discussion, but also because of the importance of the material contained therein. It contributes to the discussion of the general question.—Ed.)

ing tara 🕈 By MIRIAM EVANS

After reading not one, but two reviews of Arthur Koestler's "Thieves in the Night" in the New International, I feel compelled to write a few comments relating to some significant omission in both reviews. Both Avel Victor in LABOR AC-TION and Brooks in the New International fail to point out the anti-Semitism of Koestler as he demonstrates it in this novel.

Victor shows an over-concern with culture, that is, in proportion to the rest of his review. Koestler's primary importance for us in this book is not the cultural niche in which his writing belongs but what political significance his writing has. That Victor did not wholly appreciate the political significance of Koestler's writing is shown by his failure to point out the anti-Semitism of Koestler plus the fact that he calls Koestler "an accurate reporter." Even Victor contradicts himself when he disputes some of the things that Koestler has to say on the Arab peasants. Koestler is above all not an accurate reporter. Koestler slants and propagandizes in every sentence for Koestler and for the Revisionists. Sometimes openly and sometimes by innuendo Koestler says that the Arabs in Palestine have only benefited by the arrival of the Jews in Palestine. Not one word is said about the wage differentials in Palestine between the Jew and the Arab. Here is a chart that amply illustrates a cause for resentment on the part of the Arab worker and the growth of reactionary Arab nationalist political parties. Average Daily Wage Rates (mils)*.

	- F.	-	-		C D C D C D C D C D C D C D C D C D C D
4.					% Increase of
	Jewish			Arab	Jewish Wage
Type	Labor			Labor	over Arab
Quarry	353	20		190	.85.8
Carpenters	371			272	36.4
Turners	389			355	
Hand compositor (news)	483			244	98.0
Bricklayers	536		1	425	. 26.1
Plasterers	531		180	332	59.9
Floor-tilers	541			375	44.3

*Economic Survey of Palestine, Horowitz (directed by Jewish Agency) taken from Wage Rate Statistic Bulletin, Government of Palestine, 4, 1937 pp. 11-14.

Mention on these wages might show had to buy its national home by acres on the installment plan, and cause for Arab-Jewish trade unions. Koestler never mentions the fact native speculation soon drove the price of an acre of desert up to the that Haganah was used by the Britlevel of a building plot in an indus-trial town. If this was Jehovah's ish Colonial Office to quell an Arab revolt in Iraq. Mention of that might punishment of the money-changers the old desert god had once more make his reader see the necessity of joint political action by both Mationproved his vindictive ingenuity.' al groups. A workers' and peasants' army made up of Arabs and Jews (Emphasis mine-M. E.) fighting for an independent Pales-JEWISH "CHARACTERISTICS" tine is not what Koestler seeks to propose. Koestler wants always to Once again Koestler speaks of present the Jews as nationals in the physical characteristics. And he speaks simply of the "race proverright. He does not want to show class distinctions among the Jews. bial for its financial genius." The In the same way Koestler wants to Jews are known as financial geniuses lump all Arabs together regardless by those who promote or accept one of the stock-in-trade of anti-Semiof class distinctions. tism. The Jewish "financial genius-I think Brooks adequately demones" or capitalists, few in number as they are, can be accounted for in the strates how Koestler propagandizes by combining political views and same way as all of the rest of the personal characteristics. Brooks, as capitalist class. They exist only as is his right, criticizes the book from a result of the capitalist system of the standpoint of his pro-Arab posiproduction. The actual percentage of tion on Palestine. This accounts in

don't we know the Bottle and what Jews in the capitalist class throughit does to the goy-the songs at the out the world is very small and its size, is not worthy of discussion in relation to Koestler. There are Jewish capitalists. The fact that they are Jewish doesn't make them any different; nor does it make the revolutionist's relation to them any different. The disproportion of Jews in the middle class can be accounted for by the advantage they offer capitalism in the form of scapegoat for injustices and crimes of capitalism. Capitalism has excluded Jews from factories and farms by law and by practice. But that is a discussion that I can't go into now. Koestler in no way tries to explain this phrase loaded with prejudice and so must bear responsibility for furthering

this prejudice. On page 261 Joseph says, "But the flaws in other races are diluted, while with us (Jews) you get them in concentration. It's the long inbreeding, I suppose. . . . Sometimes I think the Dead Sea is the perfect symbol for us, It is the only big inland lake under sea level, stagnant, with no outlet, much denser than normal water." Koestler accounts for the "flaws" in humanity in general and the Jews in particular, not by their environment, capitalist society with all its incumbent evils, but by heredity. If that is so, Koestler is really having a hard time whipping up a cure for the evils of mankind. Joseph goes on, "Marx ments. I've been down the Jordan and Freud and Einstein and so on. They are the crystallized products of the brine." The development of international culture, according to Koestler, had nothing to do with producing these three genuises. This totally irrational chauvinism is, as I have pointed out before, a necessary ac-companiment to Koestler's anti-Semitism.

Another illustration of the pattern that Koestler follows is on page 279: 'Constant segregation would thwart the healthiest race; if you keep slinging mud at people, they will smell. Persecution has not ceased for the last twenty centuries and there is no reason to expect that it will cease in the twenty-first. It will not cease until the cause is abolished and the cause is our selves." (Emphasis mine-M. E.)

"But Jewry is a sick race; its disease is homelessness and can only be cured by abolishing its homelessness. "Once more Koestler says anti-Semitism is not only to be expected but is justified by something inherent in the Jews. After that follows the illogical apology about homelessness." Once more Koestler says antibefore the non-Jew, hie himself off to Palestine in the hope that he will be accepted by - the reactionary, miseducated anti-Semite or the fascists. Not one proposal for fighting anti-Semitism in Europe or America as revolutionary socialists should.

A Correction And Apology In the last week's issue of LABOR. ACTION, we reported the cable sent to the Indian government demanding the release of several arrested Indian Trotskyists and labor leaders. The cable was signed by a number of people and organizations, including the editors of The Militant, Politics and Partisan Review as well as the editors of the New International and LABOR ACTION. Inadvertently, however, a misleading caption informed our readers that the Workers Party had sent the cable. The Workers Party had indeed sent such a cable on its own, reported in the rpevious issue of LABOR ACTION. Thus, the head that appeared over last week's story was originally intended as a followup on the Workers Party cable. This follow-up was dropped, after being set, to make room for the new story of the joint cable, which the Workers Party heartily endorsed.

WHAT IS PROGRESSIVE IN IT?

Undoubtedly, the Argentine-Bolivian agreement brings relief to the present government. The lack of flour, bread and sugar can overthrow any Bolivian government. The buying of Bolivian tin and lead helps Bolivia's economic situation. But, in the long run, it will not only make the economy of Bolivia dependent on that of Argentina, but will



We regret to announce the cancellation of the May 25 Forum on "SPAIN TODAY." The Spring Series of Forums has ended. A new series will begin in the Fall. However, occasional lectures will be held in the intervening months. Watch Labor Action for announcements of coming lectures.

A BANG-UP SOCIAL

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part for his failure to mention the anti-Semitism of Koestler.

I am not concerned with Koestler as an artist in this letter. I am concerned with the political ideas he presents and propagates in this book. Here he presents the prejudice of anti-Semitism and propagates the political program of Revisionism. Revisionism has been well analyzed in LABOR ACTION. I think both the Victor and Brooks reviews have discussed the problem of Zionism at the expense of discussing anti-Semitism.

KOESTLER'S ANTI-SEMITISM

First, before I quote on the anti-Semitic parts of Koestler's novel, I would like to illustrate his chauvinism which is the other side of the medal of his anti-Semitism. "Ay,

Bilbao Strike - -

(Continued from page 3)

favored the establishment of a transitional government to replace Franco which would include all such forces. In other words, 'a government that would not only include Monarchists but inevitably would be led by them. In passing it is interesting to note that Prieto was unable to oust the Stalinists who simply accepted the new formula and took their place in the Llopis government.

A NEW BETRAYAL

The program of the Prieto group and of the Llopis government-in-exile calling for a "transitional government" that will be dominated by the Monarchists and that will supervise a plebiscite to discover what kind of government the Spanish people want, has been based on the perfidious argument that the Spanish working class, exhausted by the civil war, is incapable of struggling successfully against the Franco régime. It can be predicted, however, that the immediate effect of the Bilbao strike will be to hasten negotiations between the Prieto group and the Monarchists terms. The Socialist Party leaders, the trade union bureaucrats of the UGT and the CNT as well as the Spanish bourgeoisie, fear that independent action of the Spanish working class might not only open the road to the republic, but also toward the only kind of government which can rescue Spain from its economic misery and backwardness-a revolutionary Socialist government.

That is why the Workers Party hails the action of the Bilbao workers. Only along this road of struggle will the Spanish working class, aided by the international proletariat, topple the Franco régime and restore the democratic rights to the Spanish people. Only along this road can the Spanish workers and peasants sweep aside, once and for all, the Spanish bourgeoisie and its pretorian army, and assume democratic control of the factories and land they work.

That is why the Workers Party and the parties of the Fourth International unconditionally support the struggle of the Spanish workers for the republic and the constituent assembly. It is the road of revolutionary struggle that leads to democracy who have been bargaining for better and Socialism, the road of July 19!

By Leon Trotsky: Living Thoughts of Karl\$1.50 Marx Stalin (a biography).... 5.00 Cash with orders-We pay postage Send for our complete list! LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Sq., Long Isl. City 1, N. Y. LABOR ACTION.



Write to Box 221 for information.

BALTIMORE

Headquarters: 21 West Preston St. Meetings of Socialist Youth League held every Friday at 8 p.m.

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 5798

Office hours: 3-5:36 p.m. daily, ex-cept 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 1190, Cleveland 3, Ohio,

DETROIT

Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10. Telephone: PLaza 5559. Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

LOS ANGELES

New headquarters address: LABOR ACTION, 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7. TEL .: Richmond. 7-3230 (if no an-

swer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily except

Sunday.

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

NEWARK

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

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

NEW YORK CITY

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 6 p.m. Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.

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

BRONX BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx. HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every Not only their wives, but the babies and the little children were brought Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh along.

Ave. (near 126th St.), room 106. CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor. CHELSEA BRANCH: Meets every

Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor Industrial Branch meets Thursday t 8:30 p.m., at City Center, 114 W.

14th St.

Brooklyn Downtown Branch meets ment includes a murder count, the every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at 276 Fulton Street, second floor. defense is putting most of its efforts BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, EAST on getting the conspiracy count NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe stricken out. They do not discuss the murder count, but seek to include Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitthe question of conspiracy in the

kin Ave.). SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Meets every Friday at \$:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

READING

picnic.

N. Y.

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a higher court should a conviction For information regarding the acbe secured by the state. tivities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party ad-MURDER COMES CHEAP dress: P. O. Box 1671.

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New International Write Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbitt Avenue, University City 14. AKRON

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Kallas Cigar Store, 1 W. Market St. 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.

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at the hands of persons unknown." In this case there is a part of the traditional pattern: the jailer did verdict of guilty.

not recognize any of the mobsters. Also, the defendants, their families and the white people of Greenville do not take the trial very seriously. At one point a defense attorney in objecting to the procedure remarked: "the nigger is dead, everybody knows that."

The Negroes sit in the Jim Crow balcony and, I suppose, wonder who will be the next victim. They also wonder what all this talk is about "conspiracy" when a human being has been done to death by a mob with knives and shotguns. They also wonder whether or not their will be a conviction. A conviction may worry them some. Because the streets of Greenville may not be safe for them if these 31 white men are convicted. It is instructive that the defense

does not have anything to say about the murder count in the indictment. The reason of course is that no white man in Greenville and no Negro certainly believes that these white men will get a murder verdict from a jury "of their peers," for killing a Negro. The papers report that "the defense indicating from its steady hammering at race prejudice issues that it is relying upon a southern jury to rationalize the crime on the basis of a life for a life." They are probably trying to get the jury to take the position that Earle brought it all on himself. They would say that he knew the feeling against Negroes, that he should not have killed the white man. The passions of the latter's friends were aroused. They didn't know what they were doing. At any rate, it is good in their opinion to kill a Negro occasionally to teach a lesson to the others.

THE SOUTHERN PATTERN

The defense attorneys have argued that the FBI has been too much involved in this case; that this is not the business of the Federal Government, but for the state to handle alone. The FBI entered, it is said, to determine whether or not civil liberties were involved. This means that the case becomes more and more involved in legal technicalities. What are civil liberties? Is "the light to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," considered a civil liberty? There is entirely too much

"law" in this case. Nobody is really concerned with the brute fact that 31 one white men fock a Negro from jail and murdered him. They are taking hours and hours to discover whether or not they, conspired to murder him. They want to know whether these 31 were accessocies before or after the fact. The fact that a human being was done to death in the most brutal manner isn't a very impressive fact in Greenville. This is the pattern of the South, where members of state legislatures shoot each other in the Capitol building, where they shoot up the courts

if they don't like the verdict, where the whole population goes armed, were ignorance and poverty domi-

nate the whole life of the people.

Here is the land where the northern

something more is required to lift them out of their savagery than a

84 8200 SW

They have to have nutritious food to eat and plenty of it, something more to wear than overalls, and better homes to live in than the unspeakable shacks they now inhabit. They have to have schools with teachers who know more than the students and who themselves get wages which . one can live on and not die on. They have to have medical care to heal their sick bodies; to dispel hook worm, rickets and malaria. They have to have high wages and something which approaches economic security. They have their Bible pounders, their camp meetings and their revivals. They have their politicians, demagogues and rascals. They have their planters, grinding out the last ounce of energy for profit to pay the northern banker and insurance magnate. They have their manufacturers and starvation wages; and the bulk of the wealth produced is shipped to the big banks of the North.

This is their ruling class; ignorant, stupid, arrogant, venal and bloodthirsty. This ruling class sits on the necks of the people. All the fun the white masses can find is sitting on the necks of the Negroes, having their lynching orgies witnessed by their wives and little children. They too are stupid and dull. But added to this they are hungry, ragged and like men living in the forests or the cave.

There are lots of things for these southern white masses to learn. The Negroes, however, cannot wait on the slow process of education in broken down schools and by broken down teachers. They can't wait on the illiterate ministrations of holyroller Bible pounders. They can't wait for the ballot or the goodwill of the "right-thinking white people." The mob is not amenable to this kind of education. Something more effective and positive is required. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" doesn't sound "civilized," but neither does the dropping of an atom bomb or the use of "germ warfare."

王君子 " 如果 1 长碧云新花 的 BAY AREA BRANCH HOLD SUCCESSFUL **ELECTION RALLY**

OAKLAND, Calif, May 12 - The Workers Party held an election rally here last night at Jenny Lind Hall as part of its campaign to help elect labor's five candidates to the Oakland City Council. Fifty people attended the rally.

William Gorman, speaking for the Workers Party, and Robert Chester, organizer of the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party, speaking on invitation of the WP, urged the workers of Oakland to go to the polls tomorrow and elect the slate of the Oakland Voters' League.

The league was formed by the AFL, CIO and some of the railroad brotherhoods to run their own candidates in opposition to the strike-breaking incumbents.



NEW YORK SCHOOL ANNOUNCES EXTENSION OF FRIDAY NIGHT CLASSES THROUGH JUNE

and be the start of shap and a second much a

Two of the Friday night classes at the Labor Action School are being extended until the end of June. The first class starts at 7:30 p.m. and is taught by Ernest Erber. The concluding four sessions will be The Nature of the Stalinist Parties, The National Question and The Concept of the Party.

The second of the second of

"THE SHOE FITS"

The class on Political Trends in the Fourth International which starts at 9 p. m. is taught by Henry Judd. The concluding five sessions will be The Politics of the Fourth International Since Liberation, The Russian Question in the Interna-

tional Today at which Saul Berg will be guest lecturer, The International and World Stalinism with Ernest Erber speaking, Views in the International on the Concept of the Party with Emanuel Garrett speaking, and the final lecture will be delivered by Max Shachtman on Perspectives for the Fourth International. In view of the discussions in the

WIEREN.

Page 7

Fourth International in which we are discussing most of these controversial questions, these classes should be of particular interest to all members and sympathizers of the Workers Party.





News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. National News Co., 333 S. Main St. La Salle Confectionery, 620 S. Main St. BALTIMORE Fayette and Calvert Streets

Continued from page 1)

At the beginning of the trial de-

fense attorneys spent most of the day

trying to ask questions for the record

aimed at demonstrating "that the vic-

tim of the lynching had enraged the

accused by bringing about the death

of a white taxi driver who was their

friend." This was a chief tactic of the

defense: to emphasize that the man

murder count. It is clear, of course,

why this is being done. The aim is

to make the trial drag out, to con-

fuse the jury as much as possible

and to lay the base for appealing to

This is the picture of this some-

what unusual trial for the South. It

is unusual because men have been

arrested and brought to trial. As a

rule no one is arrested. There is the

standardized report: "met his death

Where You Can Buy

Labor Action and

Although the four-count indict-

who was killed was a "white man."

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of Germany. Cable food deliveries

take from four to ten days. Such or-

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. In its emergency appeal for aid to Germany, the ACEWR pointed out that the food situation is more critical than ever. In some parts of the Ruhr the ration is below 650 calories a day- the equivalent of three five- N .Y.

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rard Ave. be made payable to the American NEW INTERNATIONAL N.E. corner 11th and Walnut. N.W. corner 13th and Market. Committee for European Workers Relief, 130 W. 23rd St., New York 11, N.E. corner Broad and Arch.

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SEATTLE 102 Washington Street.

* * * KY *** ** **OHIO CONFERENCE DISCUSSES UNITY** OF WP AND SWP

Meeting in Akron, the Ohio branches devoted a day long session to a discussion of how best to achieve unity between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party in the interests of the American labor movement.

Unity between the two Trotskyist parties in the United States was the main topic of discussion at the second conference of the Ohio State Organization of the Workers Party held May 11th,

The conference met under the guidance of the Ohio State Committee, a continuations committee of the conference which coordinates activity of the Ohio branches. Comrade Nathan Gould, National Director of Organization, visited the conference and reported on unity for the national office.

Party sympathizers and members of the Socialist Youth League participated in the conference, which found the Ohio party with the largest membership rolls in its history, and excellent prospects for continued growth. At the conclusion of the conference, participants were guests of the Akron branch of the SWP at

a showing of the film, "From Czar to

Lenin."

whatever occurs—mass deaths from starvation, or bloody incidents involving hungry strikers and the military forces—upon the German people. The American labor movement cannat afford to accept this propaganda in the slightest sense. The Allies, in complete control of Germany for two years, have done everything imaginable to create the present crisis. They have dismantled

hoarded foods.

mob.

WHAT SOUTH NEEDS

factories, shut down German industries, cut off Germany's ability to export its products in exchange, for food. They have aided the Russians in their pillage of the country by shipping them many factories and much industrial equipment. They have set up administrative machinery heavily incrusted with former Nazis and reactionary. They have prevented the revival of Germany's industry; thus making impossible the essential production of machinery, tools, etc., needed by the farmers and for which they would be willing to turn in their crops and

(Continued from page 1)

The present situation is a direct consequence of the entire two year policy of economic stagnation and strangulation. The guilty are the imperialist administrators and the gov-

The speakers, whose respective textile capitalists take their factories parties are cooperating in the camto get "cheap white labor," an agripaign, pointed out that support for cultural section which does not grow the league candidates is of an unenough food to feed itself, and where diluted working class character. It is the soil of every state is red with opposed by all of the city's big busithe blood of the victims of the lynch ness, which is solidly behind the incumbent employers' machine. But the workers must continue to back up Whatever the verdict at Greenthe labor candidates after the elecville, South Carolina will not be tion, and, if they are elected, must, changed. You can hold back a mob through action of their union locals, and that is something, but ignorinsure that their representatives carance, poverty and bestiality cannot ry out a program favorable to the be eliminated by capitalist courts, workers, the speakers said.

An active discussion by the audiparticularly by the capitalist courts in the South. When 31 human beence concluded the meeting, after which many of the persons in the ings can go out in the dark and hack the life from another human, beat audience showed interest in the prohim over the head with a gun and gram and activities of the Workers then finish him off by shooting, Party.

Threaten Dea

icy.

ernments they represent who have prevented the masses of German people-the workers, the middle class of the cities, the poor farmers-from taking over their land and setting it back upon its feet.

Germany needs food. Only America is in a position to supply it, at the moment. The American labor movement must see that this is done. At the same time, it must repudiate in advance any barbaric actions that may be taken by the panicky men who administer the occupation pol-

AKRON ACEWR

Admission: FREE



For our money, the best bill-payer in the country is Comrade Ned Brant Akron, Ohio, who never fails to pay his bills right on time!



BY HENRY JUDD -

CHICAGO BRANCH COVERS WALLACE MEETING:

Continuing its excellent work in public sales of LABOR ACTION, the Chicago branch of the Workers Party turned out in large numbers to cover the recent meeting held by Henry Wallace in that city. Under the energetic direction of Shirley Waller, the LABOR ACTION sales squad sold over 360 copies of the paper before and during the meeting. Our congratulations to the Chicago comrades for the excellent job they are doing in circulating LABOR ACTION. We hope they'll keep up this work, and that more and more branches will follow suit.

San Francisco's agent, Peter Marlow, has written us about the steady and egular public sales efforts being made out in the Bay Area. And from Philadelphia, Frank Harper informs us that renewed efforts are being made to sell LABOR ACTION, particularly at the Westinghouse plant in that city. The practice and habit of selling LABOR ACTION out in public is growing, and can only lead to increased circulation if it is continued.

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

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

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Page 8

LABOR ACTION

Open U. S. Doors To Immigration Of Jewish People!

Six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis.

Not a finger was lifted by the Allies to help them.

The United States and Russia kept the doors of their vast countries closed, while England limited immigration into Palestine.

Although the Nazis did the actual killing, the guilt for millions of deaths lies equally on the heads, of Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill and the entire Allied world.

TOTAL EXTERMINATION - OR FREEDOM

The recent tragic history of the Jews proves that presentday capitalism breeds a new kind of anti-Semitism-an anti-Semitism of total extermination. The continued existence of capitalism means death and destruction for all Jews in a personal sense. Only the abolition of capitalism offers any hope for Jewish life. If anything can be learned from the bestial assaults of capitalist anti-Semitism, it is that the real solution for the Jewish people lies in their unity with the working class in the struggle for Socialist emancipation.

250.000 Jews are homeless, a million more live in insecurity, seeking a place to go, but face a world of barriers. The WORK-ERS PARTY demands that the United States opens its doors to all the displaced persons. This must be one of the main demands of American labor. At the same time, together with the international working class, we support the pressing demand of - Open the Doors of Palestine.

THE UNITED NATIONS - THIEVES' KITCHEN

Palestine is now being kicked around by the "Big Three" in a game of power politics in the struggle for oil and strategic bases.

Britain, ruled by a Labor Party that sacrificed Socialism for "national interests"-maintains the White Paper, organizes a reign of terror in Palestine and plays off Arab against Jew to divide and rule.

Russia, at the U. N., has just made an about-face. Just yesterday, the program of the Stalinist parties was opposed to Jewish immigration into Palestine. Poland prohibits the Jews from leaving this pogrom-ridden country. The Stalinists of Palestine join the boycott of Jewish goods. Russia is throwing a bone to the Jews to embarrass the U.S. and Britain and at the same time cynically supports the Arab ruling class.

The United States too plays a double game. You must be patient, says U. N. Delegate Austin of the United States to the DPs who rot in European concentration camps two years after the end of the war in Europe. In spite of all the pretentions of Congress and Truman about the United States being the most liberal and democratic country in the world, Immigration barriers are maintained. Every statement "for the Jews" is matched by one currying favor with the feudal Arab ruling class. The politicians want both Arab oil and Jewish votes.

THE ONLY ROAD - JEWISH-ARAB UNITY

The struggle for Jewish national existence cannot be achieved by relying on British, Russian or U. S. imperialism. Neither can it be achieved by individual acts of terrorism. It can be attained only by the unity of Jew and Arab in a common front against imperialism.

The Zionist leaders, by their policies of Kibbush Avodah, separate unions for Jewish and Arab workers, by opposition to a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, keep Arabs and Jews divided and play into the hands of the British imperialists and the reactionary Arab effendis, who in turn incite the Arab people against the Jewish masses.

Who Says There's No Money for Housing?



Jews Will Gain Nothing From Russian About-Face

The special Palestinian UN assembly having accomplished its mission of talking much and appointing still another investigating committee, has adjourned and gone home.

One thing none of the delegates suggested or took into consideration, was the immediate needs of the displaced persons. Despite the desperate situation of these hundreds of thousands, none of the great powers, the U. S., Britain or Russia, suggested the immediate opening of their own doors, or that of Palestine to refieve the sufferings of these people. The Big Three were interested only in playing their diplomatic game of gaining influence and position in the new struggle for world power.

Despite President Truman's unserious and weakly repeated demands for the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, the United States supported the creation of this delaying "investigating" committee.

the American UN delegate, had to ting any mention of partition, which hail Gromyko's statement on partition as "constructive."

NEW ZIONIST HOPES

The Zionists hope that reversal of the Stalinist position will compel the U. S. and Britaintto favor Jewish aspirations. For a long time the U.S. has unofficially been in favor of partition. Englands too, in the Peel report of 1937, proposed partition. The Zionist leaders hope that now at last the Big Three will agree on a partition acceptable to Zionism.

Officially the Jewish Agency is very cool to Gromyko's statements. They clearly remember that Bevin is also in favor of bi-nationalism and/or partition. They know that much depends on the content put into the bi-nationalist concept. They know that certain Arab groups are willing to accept such a formula, provided Jewish immigration is limited, and Gromyko did not mention the right of Jewish immigration. As to partition, all depends on the size of the partitions. Some Zionist leaders are convinced that Stalin wants to make a new Korea out of Palestine, with a UN trusteeship in which Russia will play a part. Then, too, while Russia has granted a concession to Zionist philosophy, what it gave in May, it can take away in September. The feeling of apprehension on the part of the Jewish Agency, seems to be well founded, according to an item in the Jewish Morning Journal, of May 20, which reports a visit on the part of the Polish Consul General in Palestine to the Arab Higher Committee, to inform them that Poland's position in the UN should not be interpreted as Poland's being against the Arab demands. While all the Zionist groups, including the Revisionists and the Chief Rabbi Herzog, have hailed the statement of Gromyko, the Palestine Hashomer Hatzair has gained the most. To them, Gromyko's statement is a vindication of both their pro-Stalinist line, as well as their advocacy of bi-nationalization with political parity for Jews and Arabs. They have won over a large group of the pro-Stalinist wing of the Achduth Avodah Party. This may lead to a disintegration of the Achduth Avodah Party, as another wing is going back to the Mapai (Jewish Labor Party). The shift in Russian policy has caused a stir in the Communist parties of the world. Once again they are proving that they are not independent parties, that their policies are nothing but a reflection of Russian foreign policy. In the U.S., the Daily Worker for the first time since December, has come out for Jewish immigration. In Palestine, the Jewish Stalinists at first said that they-would not have to change their policy, but that the Arab Stalinists would have to change theirs. As LABOR ACTION of February 3, 1947, reported, both the American CP and the Palestinian CP had an ambiguous slogan of Arab Jewish state, but consistently interpreted that in a manner that could only mean an Arab state, at the same time leaving a door open for a possible shift of line. The Palestinian Jewish Stalinists are now stressing myko exposed these statements for bi-nationalism and completely omitthe phony excuses they are. Austin,

Gromyko made an important part of his speech. The other Stalinist parties are "revising" their positions. For the coming summer the Stalinists will do their best to gain Jewish support without completely antagonizing the Arab leaders.

A WAY OUT

The Workers Party warns both the Arabs and Jews that none of the Big Three-Russia, Britain or the U.S., act in the interests of either people. Each of these imperialists maneuver for stragetic bases and advantages in the oily game of power politics. The advocacy of a fake bi-nationalism by both Bevin and Gromyko should not, however, blind us to the fact of the existence of two nationalites in Palestine. The beginning of wisdom in the Palestine question is the recog nition not only of the national rights of both Jews and Arabs, but above all independence of the country be-. fore any sound and lasting steps can be taken in Arab Jewish relations. These rights can be achieved only in a joint struggle against all imperialisms-Anglo-American or Russian, when Jews and Arabs join forces in a fight for a free, independent Palestine, guaranteeing the national rights of both Jews and Arabs, only then will they win what each nationality needs. At present in Palestine, there exists a cordiality of relations between Jews and Arabs that lays a foundation for joint action, not for separation. (Witness the strike of 40,000 Jewish and Arab Army Ordnance workers, reported in the Times of May 19th.) To bring about joint action, to further the unity of these people, an intelligent program is needed that will offer economic, political and social guarantees for both Jews and Arabs. The initial demand best calculated to bring this about is the democratic constituent assembly as part of the struggle for the independence of Palestine from imperialist rule.

World Arms Budget Is 10 Billion Dollars More Than in 1938

By ARTHUR STEIN

The countries of the world are spending 10 billion more dollars on armaments today than they did in 1938, the eve of the Second World War. This is the general result of a survey into world-wide military strength conducted by the New York Times, and reported, in the May 12 issue by Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of that paper.

These unprecedented peacetime military expenditures by the big imperialist powers, we must remember, are made at a time in which a. The most crucial food shortage of modern times is keeping the great-

er part of the world's population on' a starvation diet; b. The reconstruction of the almost completely destroyed European industrial system lags for want of

capital and manpower; c. The memory of mass murder and destruction, as well as the fear of more of the same in the form of a third world war, terrorizes the workers and poor people all over the world.

THE BIGGEST SPENDERS

As was to be expected, the survey revealed that the biggest spenders of money for military purposes are the two giants of world imperialism: the United States and Russia

Preliminary figures indicate that the United States will spend thirtyfour per cent of its 1948 budget on military items. Due to the closelyguarded secrecy with which Russia keeps all military data from the public, no precise figures are available here. However, according to the authoritative estimates of the New York Times, based on various betweenthe-lines indications, it is safe to assume that the Russians are devoting between forty and fifty per cent of their budget to military expenses.

All these figures, however, actually represent only a part of total military outlays, since no country reports its expenditures on such items as the development of the atomic bomb, bacteriological warfare, guided missiles, jet planes, and other new weap-

An analysis of the figures presented in the survey reveals an enormous concentration of military power in the two imperialist giants, a great technical superiority on the part of the United States and, finally, the never-ending danger of open warfare in a world ruled by the twin evils of capitalist and bureaucratic-collectivist imperialisms.

1. CONCENTRATION OF POWER Outside of those of the United States and Russia, there are no air forces worthy of the name. The United States owns 37,000 military planes; Russia owns 25,000. The rest of the world (outside of Britain and France, which, though no precise figures are available, are known to own

2. AMERICA'S SUPERIORITY

Though Russia's military money outlays are roughly as large as are those of the United States, there is a striking difference in the manner in which the money is expended. We have already shown the vast difference in air and naval strength of the two countries; the picture in projected future construction is such that this difference will probably be perpetuated. What is more striking, however, is that the United States, roughly, has only about one-fifth as many men under arms as Russia has. The armies of the two countries include 670,000 and 3,800,000 men respectively. The proportion of men in air and sea forces over ground troops is greater in the United States than it is in Russia.

These figures indicate a significant American superiority in the mechanization of armed forces. The principal factors accounting for this difference are probably to be found in Russia's far lower productivity of labor, and in the peculiarities of Russian imperialism, which require greater numbers of occupation troops. CONTINUATION OF CONFLICTS The grand total of men under arms at the present time almost reaches nineteen million throughout the world. More than 27 billion dollars are being spent annually on purely military items.

In these figures lies the answer to the question of the prospects for peace in a world dominated by Russian and American imperialism. The secret and not-so-secret war preparations of these powers are clearly exposed in this survey.

In addition to what these facts tell us about the future, however, we are also furnished with insights into the extent and depth of present military operations.

Thus, there are two million men in the various armies of occupation. Russia, with occupation forces in Germany, Austria, Korea and Manchuria, in addition to all the eastern countries of Europe, ranks first as an occupying power in numbers of troops involved. The United States and Great Britain furnish the rest of the world's occupation troops.

The armed conflict in China, reflecting the Russo-American imperialist rivalries, involves five to six and half million men on both sides. In the Viet Nam republic in Indo-China, the forces of French imperialism number approximately 100,000 men. About the same number of Netherlands troops are fighting the Indonesian independence movement, and about 65,000 British troops, including infantry, "airborne," air force and naval units, are now stationed in Palestine.

In this picture, then, we have part of the explanation for the present wide-spread starvation in the world, for the economic chaos, and for the intense insecurity under which we live. At a time when the most crying of the peoples of the world.

bread, the big powers can only make

guns. When men are needed to work

in mines and factories to bring a sick

Jewish rights in Palestine can be obtained only in a struggle against imperialist rule. The entire population—Jews and Arabs -must be mobilized in a struggle for a constituent assembly that, will guarantee the national rights of both Jews and Arabs in a free, independent Palestine.

OPEN THE DOORS OF THE UNITED STATES! FREE IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE! END IMPERIALIST RULE IN PALESTINE! FOR THE IMMEDIATE CONVOCATION OF A DEMO-CRATICALLY ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY! FOR A FREE, INDEPENDENT PALESTINE!

OIL, STRATEGIC BASES, POWER POLITICS OR HUMAN LIVES?

What Is the Socialist Solution

FOR THE JEWS WHO ROT IN **EUROPE'S DP CAMPS?** FOR PALESTINE?

COME AND HEAR:

MAX SHACHTMAN National Chairman, Workers Party

EDWARD FINDLEY Writer for Labor Action on Jewish Problems

1.5

IRVING HOWE Editorial Board, Labor Action

Time: FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 8:15 P. M.

Place: WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street, New York City (Between 3rd and 4th Avenues)

Admission: 25 Cents

Auspices: Workers Party, Local New York 114 West 14th Street. CHelsea 2-9681

The only surprise afforded by the UN meeting was Gromyko's final speech in which he proposed that Palestine be neither wholly a Jewish nor Arab country, but a bi-national state. Should it be shown that the antagonism between Jews and Arabs makes such a state impossible, the next best solution, he continued, would be the partition of Palestine into two independent states-one Jewish and one Arab.

RUSSIA'S ABOUT FACE

In unofficial Zionist circles this has been hailed as a "Russian Balfour Declaration"-since this is the first time that a Russian spokesman has recognized that the Jews have any rights in Palestine. This shift in line on Russia's part,

while a surprise, was foreshadowed. On February 10th, LABOR ACTION reported that Russia had given Poland and Czechoslovakia freedom on the Palestine issue and that Poland would advocate a bi-national state. However, every other Russian action pointed in the opposite directionthat Russia was engaged in an attempt to win over the reactionary governments of the Arab League: Gromyko had voted for the Arab League motion that no immigration be allowed into Palestine without Arab consent. The Arab Stalinist parties continued their opposition to Jewish immigration. The Jewish Communist Party of Palestine changed its line after the British Empire Conference of Communist Parties, to opposition to Jewish immigration. In Palestine, the Arab Stalinists gave "critical" support to the Mufti, and the boycott of Jewish goods. The Moscow radio and the Stalinist parties all over the world. attacked the demand for admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. The reversal of the Russian position has completely embarrassed Britain and the United States and exposed their own hypocrasy. The U.S. has officially been for free immigration and unofficially for partition. The U.S. and Britain have claimed until now that the reason they could not implement their promises to the Jews was because of their fear of what the Russian-backed Arabs would do. With one sentence Gro-

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for sale price. Limited Edition! Ask for our list of available books. those of the U. S. and Russia) owns 8,324 military planes combined. In the field of sea power, the United States owns more ships in the five principal categories (battleships, battle cruisers, aircraft carriers of all types, cruisers of all types, destroyers and submarines) than the rest of the world combined. Here, in tons of

story of world sea power today:

United States

Great Britain

Russia

France

substantially smaller air fleets than

economy back to life, soldiers are sent all over the world to suppress the colonial independence movements. A program for a lasting peace, therefore, requires that the labor warships in these categories, is the

movement all over the world demand the unconditional withdrawal of all 3,820,000 tons occupation troops and expeditionary 1.531.600 tons forces. It requires, also, a recognition 445.000 tons that only a workers' world and so-250,000 tons cialism can bring a world without All other countries _____ 633,732 tons armies and without wars.

A Grim Reminder Of the Coming War

A new, more terrible device for the destruction of human beings on a mass scale was described last week by Glenn Martin, head of the airplane company bearing his name and a leading war profiteer. This device he described as a radio-active cloud which could be released from aircraft by non-explosive atomic shells. Such clouds, each of them perhaps a mile square, could be laid in series. They would not kill suddenly but would result in lingering death and corrosion of human bodies over a great area. This new war device was described by Martin as making futile any attempt to disperse industries or people over rural areas, since it could presumably be used to blanket whole sections of a country. If Martin's report is accurate, this new weapon is the deadliest and most terrible means for mass destruction yet devised-with the possible exception of bacteriological warfare, the efficiency of which has not yet been tested. The new weapon was described by Martin as probably not being very useful in actual combat areas since it could effect the troops of both

sides in a war. It could most effectively be used in destroying civilian rear areas. Apparently it would thereby be a weapon similar in type to poison gas, except that it would be far more effective since there is no defense for it equivalent to the gas

by aircraft flying at great altitudes. Martin declared that the U.S. government now has an atomic bomb more powerful than that which was dropped on Nagasaki and that experiments are being conducted with rockets which go more than, 200 miles up in the air. These announcements are grim re-

clared, might be as large as a mile

square and might be laid in echelon

minders of what the third world war being planned by the imperialist powers will be like, unless the people of all nations act to stop these war preparations. Technological preparations for war, for mass destruction, are now far outstripping any devices for defense; humanity faces the prospect of the most terrible destruction of whole peoples and whole areas if the imperialist preparations for war go unchecked. Each new announcement of war devices underlines that fact.

New International

mask. The radioactive clouds, Martin de**Read and Subscribe** to The