Landlords Await Washington Go-Sign!

BLOCK THE BENT GOUGE NOW!

And They Want More Rent For THIS!



Seattle Housewives Demand City Ordinance to Lower Price of Milk

SEATTLE, Nov. 8-Winding its way explained that the Council would wives and union representatives have en closed ranks and pressed home through the heart of Seattle's business center last Monday, a caravan of cars assembled by the militant notified in advance of the intended Homemakers Price Control League disembarked at City Hall to present to the City Council demands for a city ordinance establishing the price of milk at 14 cents per quart deliv-

During the after-lunch rush hour, Seattle citizens, crowding the downtown streets, gaped at the sight of colorful signs displayed on the 15 or more cars parading through town, stopping traffic and awakening interest and speculation. This parade, starting out from the AFL Trade Council Building, carried slogans saying, "We'll strike till the cows come home-and that's no bull," and "Babies cry for it, and Daddy can't pay for it." This demonstration was another action organized by the upand - coming Seattle housewives' movement to lower the price of milk.

DEMAND HEARING

The City Council, proceeding with its regular order of business, ignored the sixty housewives with their children who crowded the chambers, and then adjourned. Mrs. Sally Hogan, chairman of the League, angrily demanded that the Council hear the assembled group. The president of the Council, a suave master of all the tricks of parliamentary procedure,

listen to the plea, but that it would do so informally as they had not been visit. This was hotly contested by the representatives of the League, who insisted that registered letters had been sent to the Council informing them of the forthcoming visit, and putting forth their demands.

In spite of the "unofficial" character of the interview, the infuriated housewives stated their case. Mrs. Hogan gave the history of the organization and stated the plight of those who are daily being forced to reduce their living standards below the minimum subsistence level because of the continuous increase in prices.

Mrs. Clara Krasnowsky and Mrs. Margaret Webb then spoke and told how the visit to the Milk Dealers Association had netted the League nothing. The poor milk processors were barely eking out a living, so Mr. Bird of the Association claimed. It would be impossible to lower milk prices, said the representative of the milk

SEEK HOUSEWIVES' CONTROL

Mrs. Helen Burns then presented the specific proposal of the League, namely, that the Council exercise its emergency powers and pass a city ordinance establishing the price of milk at 14 cents, said ordinance to be enforced by a committee of house-

ing jurisdiction in milk processing and distribution.

The councilmen, despite the "unofficial" nature of the interview, found their tongues promptly and stated that such a request was "an invasion of private property rights." To such legalistic hocus-pocus, the mothers and homemakers present in the Council had a swift and sure response. We want milk prices lowered, and you have it in your power to lower them, they stated. The charter of the city gives you this emergency power-we demand that you act.

From this point on, the interview got a bit confusing. Mrs. Sally Hogan then read a letter handed to her, which was supposed to summarize the views of the League. However, the letter mysteriously included a request that the City Council pass a resolution asking that control be put back on the price of milk and milk products, and excluded any mention of the ordinance. Those familiar with the antics of the Stalinists over the last ten years will quickly recognize their despicable and cunning hand.

The councilmen were quick to seize upon this confusion brought into the picture by this act of duplicity and asked the women which they wanted, an ordinance or a resolution. As one councilman put it, we pass resolutions all the time. (This said between yawns.) However, the wom-

their demands.

RALLY LABOR SUPPORT

The League since the visit to the City Council has launched a campaign to rally the support of the labor movement. The Milkdrivers Union was approached and heard the plea of Mrs. Hogan. However, no action was taken-the secretary of the local stating that the interests of the drivers were opposite to that of the Homemakers League.

The drivers get more money if they get more customers, he said. Despite all efforts, he could not be made to see that the high price of milk was cutting the wages of the drivers in two ways: one, by decreasing the amount of milk sold; and two, by having their salaries mean less because of the high price of milk and milk by-products.

A horse of a different color was the visit of Mrs. Cysewski to the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union. There her appeal was greeted enthusiastically, and the local passed a resolution endorsing the program of the League and then passed the hat to help out the ladies.

Plans are under foot for a caravan to Olympia, the League announced. We will continue to press the Council for action, and return again and again. In the meantime we are planning the Olympia march to rally support throughout the state, they said.

Real Estate Boards, with victory in sight for its campaign to hike rents, is licking its chops in anticipation of dumping rent ceilings entirely. **New Wage Demands**

AKRON-The United Rubber Workers wage policy committee met in South Bend, Indiana, October 27 and 28 to determine how much money they would ask for to offset the tremendous cut in their standard of living since the last 181/2 cent raise. The figure set by the representatives of all the locals was 26 cents an hour. This of course doesn't come close to gaining back for them the amount they have lost in exorbitant prices in the last eight months.

Negotiations are to begin very soon on a big four (Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone and U. S. Rubber) basis and the gains that they make will be retroactive to November 1. When these four large locals negotiated with their companies last March they agreed to open their contracts when necessary on a big four basis. The necessity is apparent now, and has been for some time. But the significance of this decision is that necessary joint action will be taken and these four mammoth companies, with a total of around 60,000 workers, will strike simultaneously.

FOR INDUSTRY-WIDE ACTION

Akron workers have learned some lessons during the last ten years and tive as if they were on an industrywide basis. A big four strike would not be industry-wide for their are many smaller companies and subsidiaries of the four large companies, with separate locals and contracts. The next logical step would be to have an effective strike weapon on a complete industry-wide basis. For every major strike in Akron has been weakened by the placing of orders at other plants of the same company in different parts of the

For instance, during the last strike at General Tire & Rubber Co. its tires were allegedly manufactured under its own label at Good-

It is significant also, that the United Rubber Workers were the only large group of organized labor to bring forth the amount of their demands. The UAW and the United Steel Workers have both met and stated their intention to seek higher pay but neither have set any figure. COMMITTEE LIMITATIONS

The international policy committee was created at the last convention of the URW in September. The members of this committee were to be elected at the next local election but since this meeting was held in the interim between the convention

By Rubber Workers To Meet Price Rise

A 15 or more per cent boost in rent ceilings has passed out of the stage of rumor and is now a virtual certainty. Washington circles ex-

pect this latest price steal momentarily. The National Association of

and elections, representatives were appointed or temporarily elected to

serve until regular elections in November. Each local was granted representation according to its size. This method limits the large locals for they are allowed only five members after their size exceeds 6500 workers. And there are very many small locals entitled to one repre-The policy committee is therefore

set up so that the small locals who have an 8-hour day may force an impasse in the demands of the large Akron locals who have a 6-hour day. This situation was deliberately brought about by the international to limit the power of the large locals and make them more dependent on the arch conservatism of Buckmaster and other labor bureaucrats. The power of the international officers, of course; lies in the small

locals and their desire for perpetuation in office (which trait is, if not the definition of bureaucracy, at least an inseparable component) it is very evident. It is manifested in their petty machinations and combinations for power. Splitting the large 6-hour locals from the smaller 8-hour locals to the obvious detriment of both groups as they are atone of them is that sporadic plant- stempting to do with their Wage Polwide strikes aren't nearly as effec- icy Committee setup, is an example trols lifted on everything but sugar,

The NAREB has been lobbying for a long time to put over

a three-point program: • To jump residential rents 15 per cent "as a matter of fundamental justice and emergency relief" to landlords who are presumably gasping for air in the squeeze of poverty.

• To lift controls entirely for those landlords who would grant a year's lease on the 15 per cent robbery.

• To eliminate all price ceilings and rent controls on new residential construction.

In addition to working on their agents in Congress, the landlords have been trying various devices to put over their plans. Sections of the NAREB have been threatening landlord "strikes" to keep vacated apartments empty until they get the green light on raising rents. Others have been threatening "sit-downs" in which they would deny tenants any kind of service until rent controls

We reported in last week's LABOR ACTION one such move in Chicago. And at the same time we reported the action of the Workers Party, which forced the landlords to cancel a scheduled "strike" meeting. We made the point then, and repeat it now, that swift working class action. multiplied a thousand times over the Chicago scale and involving the people of every community in the United States, will be necessary to stop the landlord campaign.

Time is fast running out on this issue. It is expected that with con-(Continued on page 2)

Stalinists Take Lead In French Elections

per cent.

Incomplete returns from France's 160 seats-5,000,000 popular vote-25 election of November 10 for a National Assembly to function under the newly adopted Constitution indicate a slight sharpening of the basic political divisions existing in the country between the parties of the right and those of the left.

The most significant fact in the results has been the fact that the Communist Party has replaced the party of Bidault (MRP) as the leading party in the new National Assembly. A summary of the vote according to latest available figures gives the fol-

BULLETIN:

We have not yet received direct word from France on the vote polled by our comrades of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI). However, a New York Daily News report lists 60,000 votes for the PCI.

Communist Party-163 seats-5,476,-000 popular vote-28 per cent. Socialist Party-93 seats-3,454,000

popular vote-18 per cent. Thus, the two major parties with working class membership, with a total of 256 seats out of 619, and with 46 per cent of the total vote, failed to attain a clear - cut majority, indicating a serious decline in their general position in France since a year ago. This general decline, however, has been largely in the influence of the Socialist Party, which dropped from 120 seats in the old Assembly to 93 now, and lost over 700,000 popular votes. The Stalinist party retained its huge vote and even registered a slight increase, indicating that it still remains the party supported by the bulk of the French working class, unfortunately,

RIGHT-WING MAJORITY

The right-wing parties, headed by Bidault's MRP, recorded the follow-

Popular Republican Party (MRP)-

Radical Socialist Party-59 seats-1,971,000 popular vote-11 per cent. Republic Party (PRL)-42 seats-

3,137,000 popular vote-12 per cent. Actually, the conservative, pro-capitalist parties attained a majority of the seats and of the popular vote, with the growth in influence of the PRL (the most reactionary, pro-fascist party of the right) being of the utmost significance. The PRL increased its vote slightly and gained eight seats over its former position. The Socialist Party undoubtedly lost many of its votes to the Stalinists as well as to the Radicals and supporters of Bidault, indicating the general tendency for that party to become weaker and more divided than

The French Trotskyist Party (PCI) ran 119 candidates, but did not elect any. At the present moment, its popular vote is not yet known, but will undoubtedly be greater than the 45,-000 attained at previous elections.

GOVERNMENT IN DOUBT

With the elections over, the problem of the formation of a new government must now be resolved. The Stalinists, as the largest party, are demanding the right to name the new President of France along with the Premiership of the government to be formed. It is clear they have no intention, at present, of breaking their coalition with the Socialist Party or the bourgeois party of Bidault (MRP). In fact, they may attempt to re-establish the 1936 Popular Front alignment with the Radical Socialist Party of Daladier and Reynaud!

The French Trotskyists will undoubtedly continue their pre-election demand that the Socialist and Communist Parties break this reactionary coalition with capitalist parties and refuse to participate in the administration of capitalist France.

In the next issue of LABOR AC-TION we shall publish a more detailed analysis of the election and its meaning, based upon final figures and reports from France.

Imperialist Conflicts Sharpen in UN Arena

By ALBERT GATES

The meeting of the United Nations and its various subcommittees and sub-departments at Lake Success (!) in New York State is heavily overladen with hypocrisy. No one country has a monopoly over this dubious quality. For each power and its satellites is embroiled in an involved and complicated game of imperialist politics. The true aim of the game is camouflaged by copious use of the words "democracy." dom," "self-determination" and the "rights of the people." Yet. however ingenious the camouflage, the imperialist aims of the contestants sticks out at every stage of the struggles which dominate the sessions of the UN.

There is endless testimony to prove that the UN does not differ in principle from its predecessor, the League of Nations. The participating nations are almost the same (except for the two dominant powers, the United States and Russia); some of the architects of Geneva ply their trade at Lake Success; the new figures are cast in the same mold as the old. Each dispute which reflects the bitter clash of conflicting imperialist interests is covered with the camouflage cited above; the disputants hurl epithets at each other like actors rehearsing a play. But they are all deadly serious. In common they deceive the people; among themselves they are fighting for high stakes.

So long as the UN meets there will be no end to the obscene exhibitionism of the big powers carving up a world in the name of freedom and democracy. We shall follow its sessions closely as a living exhibit of the hypocrisy of imperialism and the. decay of capitalism. At the moment we cite only three examples

1. TRUSTEESHIPS OVER NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES, INCLUDING AREAS MANDATED BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The charter of the UN adopted plan of trusteeships by "directly concerned" nations over such territories. The professed aim of the powers was that trusteeships would be the initial steps toward a future complete independence for the territories involved. The imperialists turned anti-imperialist! But in the context of the real aims of the powers, the fight over trusteeships reduces itself to a struggle between the two main imperialist blocs-the Anglo-American and the Russian.

Shortly after the war ended in Europe, the Russian imperialists demanded a share of the former Italian colonies in Africa. Their demand is still before the UN. Now the Russians claim to be "directly concerned" in the former Japanese Pacific territories held by the United States. The United States has demanded the right to be sole administrator over some 1,500 Pacific islands under a United Nations' trusteeship. She has

asked that the veto be set aside on this question. In the event. however, that objections are made against American trusteeship, President Truman has already described these territories as "strategic areas" of the U. S. If the UN does not accede to the American demand, then the territories formerly held by Japan will be retained by the U. S., anyway. This is tantamount to a veto over other powers' objections, despite pious objection on the part of the U.S. to the veto principle. The areas involved are the Marianna, Caroline and Marshall islands, German possessions mandated to Japan after the First World War, and other Japanese possessions, such as Okinawa and Iwo Jima.

Now the Russians have put in their claim for a "joint trusteeship" of these territories as a "directly concerned" state. To bolster up this demand the Russians cite their interest in Germany. Since the above mandated areas were former German colonies Russia cannot be excluded from participation in the trusteeship. In attacking the American proposal, Russia also denounced the British strategy of discussing the Palestinian situation with the U. S., Arab and Jewish representatives outside official channels of the UN.

This is indeed a spectacle! Russian imperialism protests the type of trusteeships proposed by Great Britain, the U. S., (Continued on page 8)

The Boss's Dictionary

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Showdown in UAW Coming

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Nov. 2-In spite of three major developments in the auto industry during the past week, the fact is that the UAW-CIO is marking time in the struggle on the wage front until after the steel workers' wage policy conference on December 15.

(1) The crisis at Ford, where the company, taking advantage of the notorious "company security" provisions of the contract signed by the UAW-CIO, fired 18 shop leaders for participation in the foundry strikethis crisis is subsiding under the powerful pressure of the UAW-CIO top leadership backed by Philip Murray, CIO president.

(2) Wage negotiations at Chrysler are being stalled until after the steel workers conference, when a definite policy will be worked out, Norman Mathews, Chrysler UAW-CIO director, admitted during a speech at Dodge Local last week.

(3) Many local unions in the Detroit area have signified their intention of reopening wage negotiations and in some cases, like Packard, negotiations already have begun.

REASON FOR SLOW TEMPO

The reason for the slow tempo of developments in the fight against the auto barons is that Philip Murray, CIO president, insisted at the recent UAW-CIO executive board meeting that the UAW-CIO pull in its horns and follow his leadership and the policies which he expects to have adopted at the steel workers' wage policy conference, if not at the CIO national convention.

Take the Ford situation: the local union executive board unanimously voted for the policy of calling for a strike vote on the basis of demanding that Ford eliminate health hazards at the foundry plant, where a ten-day shutdown in protest over conditions took place recently. But effort to soft-pedal this move has been made, and the union demand that the hazards be eliminated and

(Continued from page 1)

the complete elimination of all con-

Concretely, that will mean a three

to six per cent rise in the cost of liv-

ing for the average family. With price

rises on all other commodities already

breaking the worker's pocketbook,

the added three to six per cent will

aggravate a completely intolerable

Ever since the meat monopolists

had their way, it has been taken for

granted that the landlords would

have theirs. The government is as

much the servant of one as the other.

Note, however, how well organized

the landlords, and the capitalists gen-

erally, are. The food trust, industrial

cobines, the landlords, went after

their plans systematically. It made

perfect sense for them to lobby with

Congressmen and Senators because,

in the last analysis, they are there to

Lobbying or writing frantic pleas

to Congressmen will not do the job

for us. We require sterner measures

to impress them-and to impress the

landlords. For example, we doubt

very much that the landlords would

go after their scheme with the same

vigor if they were confronted with a

national mass challenge, backed by

organized committees representing

tenants and unions, that rents will

be withheld if there is any increase

whatsoever. Court action? Evictions?

That would be a pretty big order if

tens and hundreds of thousands of

In short, we have to rely on our-

selves in this situation. There are

some who are putting their confi-

dence in local laws guaranteeing

these contain a joker in almost every

case. New York has a rent control

law to take effect when federal con-

trols are lifted. But that is the catch.

Federal controls have to be complete-

ly and formally lifted before it can

be put into operation. Thus, if the

federal government grants a 15 per

cent or 150 per cent rent increase, the

New York law is inoperative, because,

you see, there are still federal con-

Tenant action is not isolated need.

David Coolidge, whose reports on

labor conventions are well known to

readers of LABOR ACTION is go-

ing to Atlantic City to cover the

National CIO Convention. Watch for his analysis of the issues before

the convention and the policies

adopted.

It relates intimately with the whole

CIO CONVENTION:

rent controls. But, as in New York,

families were involved.

trols whatsoever.

situation.

serve them.

RELY ON OURSELVES

Halt Rent Gouge! -

the union men fired be reinstated immediately, remains unsettled.

Some compromise formula is expected to be adopted this week. Incidentally, the whole leadership of the Ford Local 600, as well as the top leadership of the UAW-CIO. maintain nothing but embarrassed silence over the fact that signing of the "company security" provisions gave Ford a technicality to try to punish the union militants in the foundry strike.

At a meeting of presidents of the Chrysler locals, the policy outlined by Norman Mathews was adopted unanimously, even though many local union leaders are not really in agreement with the idea of stalling along until Murray and the steel workers do something. But Murray's curt dismissal of any talk of a real auto strike against all major companies to force a wage increase has quieted down the UAW leadership. The evasion of the UAW leaders on specifying a concrete figure for wage increases comes from Murray's demand that steel set the amount, and not the HAW-CIO

LEADERS UNDER PRESSURE

In view of the close bloc between Walter Reuther, UAW-CIO president, and Murray, the anti-Reuther factions have been very cautious on uttering any statements criticizing the present policy in fear of a joint Reuther-Mur-

Of course, the present conservative policy being pursued has very definite limitations since a continuation of the trend toward reopening wage negotiations will in itself pose a major crisis which will be very difficult to evade. Certainly a coordinated steel union-auto union strategy is a sound idea, but not at the expense of retarding the kind of struggle which has made the UAW-CIO the spearhead of the labor movement. At every turn of events in the present developing strike struggles, the ranks of the UAW-CIO have forced the lead-

price structure (and, as well, with the entire housing shortage fabricatrice and rent, OPA will cease even ed by the real estate interests). Such its pretense of life. Rent controls are action as a committee of housewives expected to be transferred to Secrein Seattle are now taking on milk tary of Commerce Harriman, along prices is exactly the kind of action with an official declaration of the 15 required in the rent situation. per cent rise. After that will come

> Nor does it end there. Wage action is another way of beating down the rent steal. In its simplest form, it overcomes the wage cut of rising prices. Beyond that, it can put the squeeze on industrialists, many of whom are themselves directly involved in real estate operations, and all of whom are tied with the landlords in class interest, to try to check the rent gougers.

> Thus, we need an all-sided attack. But, we repeat, an essential feature of that attack has to be the organization of Popular Price Control or Tenants' Committees to defeat the schemes of the landlords and their government in Washington!

in the next period, even though the top leadership of the CIO hopes otherwise.

The major move of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, to obtain new concessions for the coal miners likewise adds pressure on the top CIO leadership to produce some results. The inevitable showdown cannot be postponed for too long.



Vet Squatters Face Chicago Court Action

By I. BLAKE

On Election Day fifty-four veterans and their families forced entrance into the Airport Veterans Housing Project on Chicago's South

On the Friday following Election Day, John Doe warrants were sworn out for six of the veterans on charges of trespassing. They were arraigned the day after, on Saturday, and ordered to reappear in the jury branch of Municipal Court on Tuesday, November 12, exactly one week after Election Day. The wheels of "law and order" move swiftly and efficiently.

FACTS VERSUS "LAW"

Justice must be done. The crime of trespass should be punished. The squatters must be ousted. So says the Chicago Housing Authority. But the crime of no housing is just unfortunate. Let the homeless be patient. "Law and order" shows its face again.

Let us see what hides behind the legal face.

In Chicago there are 25,000 eligible applicants for veterans housing and only 300 units authorized for construction. The Chicago Housing Authority says that most of the 25,000 eligible applicants have priority over the squatters among whom there are a few who have not even applied. As though an application means the difference between needing a home and not needing a

The Housing Authority's statement is an insult to the rank-andfile veterans. It tries to give the impression that the squatters are ruthless, selfish grabbers who don't care at all about the needs of their fellow veterans, who don't care who suffers so long as they get theirs. This double talk must be nailed for the lie it is.

IN WHOSE BEHALF?

Rank-and-file movements have shown-as the veterans squatters committee in London showed a year ago-that their first concern is to apportion necessities with great care to the most needy. Rank-and-file movements are the ones which are genuinely concerned with the welfare of their communities and not the hypocritically pious, legal Chicago Housing Authority.

But the Chicago Housing Authority's statement is more than an insult. It is an attempt to prevent independent action in favor of donothing patience.

The inability of the national, state and municipal governments to solve the housing crisis has long demonstrated the need for independent action by those who really need the homes. A squatters movement is the first step. Really to be effective it must be extended to include planning and direct action to solve the housing problem not only by the squatters, but also by the workers who produce the raw materials and the workers who build the houses and the workers who do the transportation.

COURTS-MARTIAL LAW

Only when the rank-and-file veterans and workers themselves become the Housing Authority will the country begin to solve the housing

Appeals to "law and order" in this respect are a fraud. Just as "law and order" in the army means the courts-martial which punish officers with a \$300 fine for the same crimes for which enlisted men are sentenced to five years, so "law and order" for the squatters means that the real estate interests continue to get the gravy while the homeless get the air.

ELECTION-TIME VET ACTIVITY

World War II veteran Ernest L. Gibson was elected Republican Governor of Vermont. Republican ex-Navy officer W. Howes Meade replaced Democratic Representative May as congressman from Kentucky. Ex-Colonel Jacob K. Javits, Republican, won the congressional race in the 21st District in New York City.

Ex-GI's in Crittenden County, Arkansas, formed defense guards to protect union cotton pickers from violence at the polls.

Different veterans did different things, but this much is clear: The Arkansas veterans showed the heart and spirit of the World War II veterans movement. The hot-shot ex-officer-boss politicians are still on the other side of the firing line.

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One-Tenth of the Nation By J. R. Johnson

victories in the Congress. They con- men can expose, disorganize and trol both the Senate and the House. OK The Democratic control is gone. The Republican control begins.

And now I want to ask every Negro voter: What does this mean to you, as a Negro? Not a single thing. Not one single thing! The Democrats controlled the Congress. Did they do anything about the anti-lynching bill? No. Did they pass a permanent FEPC bill? No. Did they even protest violently against the wave of terror sweeping the South against Negroes?

Every Negro knows that. But not a Negro anywhere believes that the Republican majority will mean a

SAME OLD STORY

Now what I want to know is this. How long will the Negroes continue to accept this? How many times is it necessary to repeat that the Democratic Party AND the Republican Party are one and the same in bluffing the Negroes and ignoring their rights and their grievances. That is proved beyond possibility of refuta-

Must the Negroes then bow their heads and forget the things that they and they alone suffer from? Absolute-

Let us suppose that there were twenty members of the House of Representatives and five Senators who were neither Republicans nor Democrats. They could not pass bills. But they could do at least one thing. They could see to it that not only the grievances of the Negroes were placed befor Congress for all the world to hear. They could use their places in the legislature mercilessly to expose the tricks, the deceptions, the doubletalk by which both Democrats and Republicans unite to defeat elementary justice for Negroes. Over and over again it has been proved that

The Republicans have won great a small body of united, determined wreck the tricks of a body of legislators many times their size.

> Where can the Negroes find them? They cannot find them in the Democratic Party. They cannot find them in the Republican Party. Then a new party is necessary.

There are fifteen million Negroes in the country. There are nearly or perhaps already two million Negroes in the organized labor movement. What prevents the Negroes from calling upon labor to form a new party?

HAS HAPPENED BEFORE There is nothing new in this. Fred-

erick Douglas was one of the founders of the Republican Party. He didn't wait. He didn't think that it was a Negro's business always to wait until something was formed and then join it. He saw that there was nothing to be got from the Whig Party and the Democratic Party of those days. The Abolition Movement under Garrison and Wendell Phillips not only refused to support the two existing parties but would not undertake any political action at all. Douglass denounced both Whig and Democratic Parties broke with the Abolition Movement and organized propaganda and agitation of his own. He collaborated with politicians who tried for years to form a political party which would rid the nation of slavery.

These men for years were only a small band in Congress. But they spoke out loud. One of them, Sumner, used to attack the Southerners so fiercely that a Southern member of the Senate actually beat him up in .thé Senate itself. After many years of work the Republican Party was formed and led the nation to victory over the slave-power. It is a useful thing to remember that when Douglass and his friends were laying the foundations of what afterward

became the Republican Party, Lincoln was opposed to them.

Douglass was only one of a few far-sighted people in those days. Today things are changed. Millions of organized workers are sick to death of BOTH parties. The Negroes inside and outside the labor movement can do what Douglass did. They can take the lead. Then can call upon the labor movement to do what only the labor movement can do-form the Labor

A Labor Party will in all probability propose to nationalize the basic industries. But it is precisely the owners of the basic industries who help to keep the Negroes where they are. Thus what is likely to be the fundamental plank of a Labor Party is also a basic necessity for any genuine Negro emancipation.

Why then should the Negroes wait? Why shouldn't they advocate a Labor Party, participate in the formation of its program, themselves lay down the program of struggle for Negro emancipation as a part of the Labor Party program?

EFFECT OF LABOR PARTY

But, some say, to form such a party means the defeat of the Democratic Party. So what then? The Republican Party was in its day a revolutionary party. Douglass and the other founders were beseiged with arguments that a new party would split the progressive vote. So it did. It split the vote in one election and triumphantly elected Lincoln as President in the

But even if today a genuine labor candidate were elected in half a dozen constituencies, the effect would be electrical.

Labor would have its own voice in the legislature and a new stage would have opened. The Negroes have every reason to join the agitation for a Labor Party and be the most ardent advocates of a powerful. revolutionary program for it.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER-

With price controls fast fading, this column may shortly discontinue its weekly report of price boosts granted by the Office of Price Administration. Anyway, here is the record for the week: Mattresses, ceilings increased 9 per cent; refrigerators, increases granted; radio tubes, up 14 per cent; increases on low-cost rayon and cotton dresses; imported leathers, up 10-16 per cent; Colorado coal, up 10 cents a ton; linseed oil, up 1.7 cents a pound; children's knit sleeping garments, up 30 per cent; asphalt and tarred roofing, up 13 cents a hundredweight; lath, up \$1 a thousand; enameled castiron plumbing fixtures, up 11.5 per cent. Prices of canned pineapple and juice rose 10 per cent. Among the items decontrolled were edible and inedible oils, ice, fats, most consumer durable goods such as radios, lamps, small electric appliances, cosmetics, rubber drug supplies, paper supplies, and hardwood logs. With price control removed from all shoes, hides, skins and leather, OPA predicted a 30 per cent increase in shoe prices.

"DISMAL READING"

The mad dance of the profiteers continues. But a disturbing note intrudes itself in the picture. "Recent unpublicized marketing surveys on 'consumer resistance' make dismal reading," reports the Wall Street Journal. They show that many a line of products is in danger of being priced out of a substantial part of its market.".. As an indication-prices of raw fur have been off 10-30 per cent in recent weeks, raising a danger signal for other luxury goods. The silver fox cape that Mr. Feverish was going to buy his girl friend will have to wait. Mr. Feverish's stocks and his holdings in cotton have taken a rude jolt in recent weeks.... The masses don't buy expensive furs. They buy things like meat—but not at today's prices. Right across the continent comes story after story relating how housewifely resistance to high prices is forcing the meat trust to pare its prices .

A LOOK AT PROFITS

It takes a colossal gall and conceit for Big Business to oppose wage increases these days. For profits have never been so high in most industries. U. S. Steel, for instance, had a third quarter net profit of \$33 millions, compared with a net of only \$11 millions for the corresponding period in 1945. Shipments of steel products were the highest since June, 1929.... Let's take one of the great department stores of the world, Marshall Field & Co., of Chicago. It reports a net income in the third quarter of \$3,046,089, or \$1.49 a share, against \$1,033,819, or 45 cents a share, a year earlier. Profit in the nine months ended September 30 was over \$10 million, compared with \$31/2 million last year.... Or take a woolen company, Botany Worsted Mills. Earnings for the first nine months totaled \$2,302,788, compared with \$817,891 for the entire year of 1945. Dividends this year should equal \$13 on 100,000 shares of B stock, compared with a dividend of \$8.43 on only 50,000 shares in 1945.... Here's another-company that availed itself of tax credits from the ever-generous government. General Electric Co. took itself a credit of \$4.8 million in the first nine months for federal taxes on income, and is back in the black, despite that nineweeks' strike in the first quarter. The government, in short, underwrote the company resistance to union

100 CORPORATIONS

The Civilian Production Administration, in Its final report on war industry facilities, reports that 100 corporations operated 60 per cent of the country's war-built industrial plant. Some 75 large manufacturers managed almost \$14 billion of the \$22 billion expansion in manufacturing facilities, and 25 railways and utilities managed \$2.5 billion out of the \$6 billion expansion in industrial service facilities. Heading the manufacturers list were du Pont de Nemours and General Motors, each with more than \$1 billion worth of war facilities added to pre-war production capacity. A. T. & T., with almost \$400 million in new facilities, topped the list of industrial service expansions. War plants added about one-third in terms of plant space and equipment to the country's prewar manufacturing facilities.

STOCK-OF-THE-MONTH

What is believed to be the highest ratio stock splitup on record is in the making. The Book-of-the-Month Club plans to split its 400 shares of no-par value on a 2,000-for-1 basis, creating 800,000 shares of \$1.25 par. In addition, the company has 100 authorized but unissued shares which are to be changed into another 800,000 shares, at a ratio of 8,000-to-1. The company showed net profits for the first seven months of 1946 of \$921,775, compared with a net profit of \$778,850 for the entire year of 1945.

Though the war has been over for more than a year, most of southern California's aircraft factories are cloaked in denser secrecy than in wartime. It is even more difficult for an outsider to get in, reports the Wall Street Journal. An officer of Northrop Aircraft estimates that about three-fourths of the company's capital investment and personnel are engaged in military work. An official of North American said the same. Lockheed, Dougias, Consolidated Vultee and Ryan all have sizable secret military projects under way. Latest official figures for the whole industry show a military backlog at close to \$650 million, compared with \$473 million for commercial

A recent survey for the Federal Reserve Board showed that total asset holdings of three-fourths of the American people amount to less than one-fifth of their annual income. Or, in the words of Raymond Rodgers, N. Y. University professor of banking, "disregarding unemployment insurance and assistance from relatives and friends, 2.4 months of unemployment will put 75 per cent of our people on relief."

The margin between the present artificial "prosperity" and a depression that would shake the world to its foundations is just that thin. No wonder those who profit most from the present system are gloomy. One of them is Paul Hoffman, president of Studebaker Corporation and chairman of the Committee for Economic Development. "The principle cause for concern," he says, "is the fact that so many businessmen accept recession as inevitable."

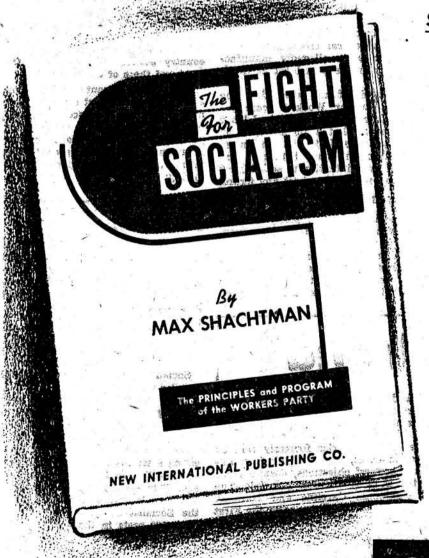
German Workers Stage Sit-Down

Another instance of the continuing movement among the European masses against the imperialist occupation armies is reported from Germany where a group of 560 workers engaged in dismantling factories to be shipped to Russia, staged a sit-down strike of protest. The dismantling of these factories will leave the workers of Germany without a means of subsistence—unless they fall prey to the Russian shanghai of skilled labor. For that reason, the workers dismantling an airplant engine factory in Mosbach staged their sit-down strike.

Notice to New York City Readers of

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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



The Meaning of the Elections

Post War Social Dissatisfaction Swings Middle Class Vote to the Republican Party

By EMANUEL GARRETT

THE elections held last week have been noted in endless columns of newspaper space as a swing to the right. In the sense that the election marked the finish of the New Deal era, it was that. In the further sense that the Republican victory reflected a heightened expression of the middle class vote and a relative decline in the influence of the labor vote, it was also a swing to the right. However, to equate the elections with a victory for reactionary Republican policies, in so far as they can be differentiated from reactionary Democratic policies, is a simplification that proves nothing but the incontestable fact of the Republican majority.

In attempting an estimate of the electoral swing, it must first be noted. that the American people registered a protest vote. It was a registration of disgust. Just that: disgust with Truman's bungling, disgust with rising prices, disgust with shortages.

Not even the traditionally powerful Democratic machines—the Hague machine in New

Jersey, the Kelly machine in Chicago, the Pendergast machine in Missouri-could batter through this wall of disgust. Nor could PAC, despite its pretentious strut, break down the repudiation of the Truman administration.

This disgust was healthy. That it which also makes some pretense at was not offered a channel other than the miasma of Republican reaction, however, is a tragedy. For if ever there were a proof that the time is ing labor parties in any genuine conversion. To a certain extent, then,

present for a Labor Party, a really INDEPENDENT Labor Party, it is in these very elections that are so care-lessly dismissed as a swing to the right. We have heard of several instances where workers who are strongly for a Labor Party and for militant, aggressive working class politics, voted Republican, for that

Where in past elections, dominated by the active presence of Roosevelt, the labor vote went overwhelmingly to the Democratic Party, in this election it was dispersed. It is worth noting that of 318 candidates endorsed by PAC for the House, only 78 won. Without the beguiling hypocrisy of a Roosevelt, the policy of tail-ending the capitalist candidates in a situation that cries for independent labor politics paid off in repudiation. How then shall we evaluate the pompous declarations by PAC leaders after the elections that they have just begun to fight? Fight whom? And with what? With fake and in any case meaningless computations on how the assorted scoundrels who sit in Congress voted on a miscellany of bills? With the expiring New Dealism of Wallace's vain effort to capture the Democratic Party? With a sanctified Roosevelt as banner bearer? And with the utterly futile choice between "good" capitalist servants and "bad" capitalist servants?

In only one case did the pretense of a Labor Party poll a significant vote. In New York the American Labor Party polled over 400,000 votes. Together with the Liberal Party, resembling a labor party, the two parties polled over half a million votes. Both of them are far from be-

with a pro-Stalinist slant, the other with an anti-Stalinist slant. Yet, in New York, with its older tradition of political expression among the working class, even these pale imitations of a Labor Party proved how attractive a real Labor Party could be.

What did the ALP and Liberal seemed to them the only avenue of Party campaign for? For Roosevelt! Inconceivable as it may be, that was the sum and substance of their campaign, as of the PAC campaign nationally. And in New York they were fortunate, in putting over their deception, that banker Lehman, who headed (and ran ahead of) the ticket was a man closely associated with Roosevelt.

It is, of course, a matter of speculation as to what a party that put forward independent labor candidates, spoke the truth about Roosevelt as a representative of capitalist interests and washed its hands clean of Lehman, Mead and Truman, along with Dewey, Bricker and Taft, might have done. It might or might not have bettered the size of the ALP-Liberal vote right off. That, we say, is speculation. But it is not at all a matter of speculation to say that a half million votes polled by such a party would have true national significance, and give the Republican or Democratic politicians pause. As it is, the ALP-Liberal vote remains exclusively a local phenomenon, and one confined principally to New York

Above we wrote that the middle class expressed itself in this election. Put baldly, but with a warning to apply caution in its interpretation, the middle class showed that, along with seeking to rid itself of Truman, it also held labor responsible for shortages and the complications of re-

ripe, the need urgent, the receptivity sense. Both of them backed the Dem- it voted anti-labor. And the responsiocratic Mead-Lehman ticket, the ALP bility rests squarely on the labor leaders, just as they must bear the responsibility for failing to give the labor vote organized expression.

> By and large, during the last few years, considerable sections of the middle class went along with labor, sympathized with its wage demands and approved its unionization. As recently as last winter, important numbers of the middle class backed the wage struggles of the working class, especially in such instances as the General Motors strike, where labor clearly appeared as the leader of the PEOPLE! Since then, however, the labor leaders, failing to appear as the real leaders of the people, championing their interests as being best served by labor, the middle class has yielded to the propaganda that strikes, worker-agitation have put the squeeze on them through shortages and inflated prices.

There is nothing static or permanent about class relations. In succeeding in shifting the weight of lower middle class support to themselves, the monopolists, the big business in-

That disillusionment will come is beside the point. The squeeze of monopolist enterprise, the inability of the Republican majority to solve any problem, any problem at all, better than the Democratic administration, will provoke shifts of opinion that can be capitalized on by an intelligent approach. But that approach, if it is to correspond with labor's advantage, has to be a vigorously independent class political, as well as economic, offensive that will entitle labor to appear as spokesman for the farmer, for the professional and other segments of the population. The contradiction in that sentence is more apparent than real. An unambiguous CLASS policy is THE avenue toward uniting behind labor the support of the majority of the people.

What will the Republicans do with their majority? What will be the nature of relations between the Congress and the Administration? With respect to the latter, tons of ink have been consumed in predicting stalemate. The assumption is that there

(Continued on page 5)

LABOR HAS AN ANSWER!



Why the PAC Policy Led to Defeat:

Labor Has No Party of Its Own!

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The capitalist and also the labor press are saying that the Democratic Party suffered a defeat on November 5. It was a "landslide," it is said, for the Republican Party. "The New Deal is dead." "Free enterprise may now really be free." "No more 'regimentation.'"

"Had Enough?" asked the New York Daily News the day before the election. "Don't lay that pistol down" the same paper continued. Hearst's Mirror said that the victory of the Republicans is "like feeling clean again after a long time in the

What did the labor leadership have to say? Jack Kroll, head of the CIO-PAC, stormed through the capitalist press the morning after with the earth-shaking battle cry: "We have only begun to fight." The "Continuations Committee of the Conference of Progressives," announced that "the progressive forces of America remain strong. We have our great and growing trade union and farmer or-

ganizations...the fight will go on." This conference was presided over by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former Secretary of the Treasury, the man who made the proposal that Germany be stripped of all her industrial equipment and be turned into an agricultural nation controlled by the United Nations. And how will the fight go on, according to Mongenthau? Through an independent political party of "our great and growing trade union and farmer organizations?" Perish the thought. Mr. Morgenthau was clear about this. He emphasized that this group would stay inside the existing parties and that a third party was not even discussed. Present and helping Morgenthau make this fighting decision were Addes of the UAW, Emspak of the UERMWA. Pollack of the TWU, and Kroll, fresh from his "we have just begun to fight" interview with the capitalist press. Aside from Morgenthau, other outstanding trade unionists and farmers present and taking a leading part, were Senator Pepper, Chester Bowles and Harold Ickes.

IT IS REASSURING ...

The Republican Herald Tribune welcomed the festive and militant spirit in the ranks of the "progressives." This soundly Republican organ is run by men of "good will," who know the value of "loyal opposition." In an editorial it said:

"It is reassuring that the Conference of Progressives has decided to continue its political activity despite the discouraging response to its efforts in the recent campaign.... Serving as watchdog, critic and vehicle of protest, the organized progressives can exert a salutary influence on the two major parties....Without putting forward candidates of their own, they can nevertheless in-

THE WAY IT SHOULD BE!



fluence the selection of candidates and the modification of policies to an extent...."

If Murray, Kroll, Addes and Reuther, for example, had blood in their veins and not water, this Herald Tribune piece would be to them like salt rubbed into an open wound. For what is this capitalist Republican paper saying? It is saying that the only role which labor can or should play in politics is to push the two capitalist parties around a little; influence them and insist on a modification of their policies.

The Herald Tribune is pleased that Morgenthau, Ickes and Wallace are in this "progressive" movement. The owners of this capitalist paper know what these men are. It is only the labor leaders who don't know. The owners of the Herald Tribune know that Wallace, Ickes, Pepper, Bowles and Morgenthau are supporters of capitalism. They are all Republicans and Democrats. It knows that nothing untoward can possibly happen to capitalism so long as this group is giving political leadership to "our great and growing trade union and farmer organizations." These men are all Republicans and Democrats but they are also has-beens. Today they are discarded and are a bunch of professional politicians in search of a party. They seek a come-back in the manner of demagogues who have been rejected: they go to the "people." And when the masses rally around the cymbals and big bass drums of the 'progressives," these gentlemen are then in position for the ever recurring betrayal. The masses are corralled bag and baggage for the Republican and Democratic parties.

WAS LABOR DEFEATED?

What is labor thinking today of all this? What do the workers feel about the recent elections? What is in their minds as they think over Kroll's bombastic prediction: "we progressives are going to win on November 5. The philosophy Franklin D. Roosevelt gave us is a living philosophy today. There are millions of people ready to take up his challenge."

The fact is that labor suffered a defeat on November 5. Was it a defeat merely because the capitalist Republican Party won and the capitalist Democratic Party was defeated? Not at all. It was a defeat because labor had no political instrument at its disposal to take care of its interests. There was no independent working class party. Labor was left to choose between the Republican and the Democratic parties. It was left stranded with the choice we have had for 86 years.

While all of them had felt "the hurt on their own bodies" they had no place to go save to Dewey or Truman. Stupid labor leaders and dried out liberals attempted to make it appear that this was a contest between Hoover and Roosevelt. But everybody knows at least that Roosevelt is dead and that Hoover is doddering along after him. And even if Roosevelt had been alive, what difference would that have made? Who killed the "New Deal" which Murray, Wallace and Kroll yearn for so plaintively and fatuously?

November 5 was a defeat for labor and the little people because the working class had no program of its own for the elections and no program for the masses of the people. Millions of workers and others could see no reason to vote for a dead Roosevelt and forget the living Truman sitting in the White House. These workers were not impressed by the pro-Democratic Party propaganda of the CIO and its PAC. They had been through four years of war under the Democratic Party and hundreds of meatless days after the war under a government headed by this same party. They had seen this same party's Congress pass anti-labor legislation and yield to the pressure not of the little people but of the monopoly capitalists.

The workers and the common people certainly were not impressed by the propaganda of the Stalinists that the Republicans were the fascist or

near fascist forces in the country. It was just too much to expect the masses of the people to accept the charge of the Stalinists that Lehman, Guffey, Mead, Kelly, Hague and other Democrats were progressive Americans, while Dewey, Vandenberg, Lodge and other Republicans were incipient fascists. It would of course be foolish to believe that the workers who voted Republican did so primarily in response to the charge of the Republican demagogues, that the Democratic Party was communist."

Without any program of its own, without any organization of its own, without a goal of its own, labor did precisely what it has been doing for decades: a large section of it voted for the party which had not been in office for 14

This has happened again and again, particularly in connection with control of the House of Representatives. The pendulum has swung from Republicans to Democrats and back again. In this election just passed the decision of workers and other toilers to vote Republican is not a conscious swing to the right. It was a swing from the Democrats to the Republicans; from one of the two capitalist parties to the other. Since they were dissatisfied with the Democrats, what would they be expected to do?

With the middle class things were different. They did swing to the right, and consciously. These groups had been harangued about strikes, 'communists" and low farm prices and the high cost of or the absence of farm equipment because of the slow-down of labor and the high wages paid to labor. But here too it would be wise for the labor bureaucracy to stop and think a little. The middle class was and is embattled. It too has been hit by high prices and low income. This group also had no place to go except to the Republicans or Democrats. It chose the Republicans. Had labor taken the lead with a party and a program fit for the times and for the little people, millions of the middle class would have supported that program and that party.

The trade union leadership, it appears, cannot grasp these simple and elementary facts. Here is the CIO with its PAC. Two years ago the PAC demonstrated what labor can do when it is organized. Labor has power and strength. In 1944 this power and strength were used to elect the Democratic Party. Labor had no program. Labor's money, time and energy were consumed in support of the Democrats. This year the PAC sought to repeat or better its 1944 performance. It went down to miserable defeat and now the PAC is severely battered. Murray is playing with a new political bauble: "The Conference of Progressives." No labor party! No independent working class politics! Stick to Roosevelt! Deliver up labor to Wallace, Ickes and Morgenthau; to the Democratic and Republican Party candidate, to the capitalist employers and their government.

Labor suffered a defeat in the recent national elections. We must not keep on in this way. We must banish the Morgenthaus, Ickeses and Wallaces to the scrap heap where they belong. If the trade union bureaucrats desire to follow them, that is their business. Labor must have a political party, a working class political program and the determination to make that party and that program dominant. And all of this before the 1948

NEXT WEEK:

A GERMAN TOWN UNDER OCCUPATION-II

By Jack Porter

SITUATION IN PALESTINE

By Al Findley

Stalin-to-Molotov "Diplomacy" **Confuses Western Diplomats**

By HENRY JUDD

Every time Stalin grants an interview to some ambitious press correspondent and grunts a few cryptic answers to a few loaded questions, the leading capitalist newspapers break out in the largest size type and propose that a world, shivering in fear over the prospects of a new world war, settle down and breathe a deep sigh of relief. Premier Joseph Stalin, it would appear, is the true, authentic spokesman of Russian foreign policy and he, by contrast with spokesman Vyshinsky and Molotov, is a reasonable, peace-loving man!

Some have even gone so far as to suggest a serious split and division existing between Stalin, the Apostle of a peaceful life; and Molotov, the Apostle of international disorder and world revolution! This split, we are informed, exists within the Politburo-highest body of the Stalinist Russian dictatorship - where one group now dominates, and then another group. This dispute is supposedly the cause of the vacillations and changes in Russian foreign pol-

A KINDERGARTEN TALE

Molotov is stern, adamant and pugnacious. Vyshinsky is sly, tricky and threatening. Manuilsky, the Ukrainian representative, is positively rude, revolutionary and denunciatory. He is the one who mouths all the pseudo-Marxist phrases of caustic criticism of Anglo-American imperialism. This group of Molotov, Vyshinsky and Manuilsky are the "left-wingers" in Russia. So goes this fairy-tale for kindergarten inmates-that is, American liberals.

peace, desiring only to live in harmony with the external world. In his interview with Hugh Baillie on October 28, Stalin even denied any increase in tension between the United States and Russia! This reasonable man was "indifferent" toward the presence of American warships, 'unconcerned" about the atomic bomb, "hopeful" about concluding a peace treaty with Germany; and, in general, a paragon of calm objectivity about every other ticklish issue. The world had good cause, so we are told, to sigh again with deep relief. Stalin had spoken and given us the "true" Russian foreign policy.

But no sooner had everyone exhaled his sigh of relief than Molotov - nasty old Molotov - spoke out again! Unbending and stiff, Molotov denounced American imperialism. insisted upon retention of the veto power, presented Russian demands in unambiguous terms. At the current meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, Molotov, "The Hammer," conducts himself with total disregard for recommendations made



at the Paris Peace Conference, and refuses to budge an inch on Russian demands. Trieste, treaties with the Balkans, every other issue remains unresolved. Oh, if we only had Stalin here—then everything might be settled amicably! And bristling Colonel General Andrei A. Zhdanov had to make an aggressive, threatening speech at the Moscow celebration of the 29th anniversary of the October Revolution, while Stalin didn't even open his mouth! Surely something

DIVISION OF LABOR

Any belief that a serious split exists in Russian foreign policy is But Stalin-there is a man of naive beyond reason. Certainly there are differences within the top leadership as to how, by what means and methods, certain goals are to be attained-but nothing more than these passing, tactical differences can exist. All these Russian expansionist scoundrels — through Stalin — are firmly united around one another when it comes to increasing their territorial control, consolidating what they have already plundered and taken over, protecting their holdings of today.

> Naturally, like any other imperialist power concerned exclusively with its own expansion at the expense of other nations and rivals,

the foreign policy of Russia has its ups and downs, its changes and retreats, its maneuvers and digressions. Maneuvering about in the unsettled, chaotic world of today is a difficult, hazardous proposition.

All kinds of doors-for retreats. advances, renewals of old alignments, creation of new ones, etc .must constantly be kept open. And so, the Russian bureaucratic rulers utilize different men for different purposes. One speaks with stern, thundering tones; another is a bargainer, ready for a "reasonable" deal at the expense of a third party. A monstrous division of labor in the field of foreign policy exists, and some people fall for this myth of "conflict" within the Russian ruling

MOLOTOV-BYRNES The story is a familiar one. With

certain differences, Hitler and his fellow Nazis pulled the same stunts. With other differences, Truman and his fellow American imperialists attempt the same sly game. Hitler was the "hard" Nazi, aching for war and expansion. Von Ribbentrop was his mollifier, ready to cook up a peaceful settlement over a bottle of champagne. One seconded and complimented the dirty work of the other. With Russian foreign policy, the roles are slightly different, the characters speak Russian and make their deals over vodka bottles. But the similarity in hypocritical, reactionary methods and aims-for the expansion and consolidation of a socially reactionary régime at the expense of other peoples-is all too striking. Socialists reserve the same contempt for one as for the other.

Thus, Molotov the intransigent, puts forward the full program of Russian imperialism, in open conflict with Byrnes, the champion of rival American imperialism. Full mastery over Eastern Europe; plunder rights in Asia; control of the Dardanelles; penetration into the Mediterranean, etc. Stalin, master hand in the play, remains in the rear-cajoling, willing to "reason," ready to bargain, prepared to deal with a spokesman of America. Each supplements the other; each aids the political and propagandistic preparation for what may ultimately be a war between American and Russian imperialism, for world domina-

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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HENRY JUDD

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Editorials

Our Program for Higher Wages

has been dropped by President Truman need for a new wage increase. and the possibility hinted at in his recent statement that rent levels would be "adjusted" (in English that means increased) —the labor movement of this country faces as an imperative need the struggle for wage increases all along the line. The wage gains made during the strike wave in early 1946 have largely been wiped out by run-away prices and we need a new set of wage gains if we are to avoid falling behind the economic eight ball.

ALBERT GATES

Many unions have already started negotiations. The miners are asking for a shorter work week with the same wage scale, that is, an increase in hourly wages. The CIO auto workers are demanding from Chrysler a wage increase of \$2 a day as a preliminary step to hiking wages in the entire industry. The CIO oil workers say "it's two bits"—that is, a 25 cent an hour raise. Behind these increased demands there is not only the bitter realization in the mind of each American worker that his dollar isn't stretching as far as it used to, but also the following substantial economic facts as reported by Louis Stark, labor editor of the N. Y. Times, in its November 10 issue:

(1) According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the 100-cent dollar declined to 69 cents between January, 1941, and September, 1946, and a continued shrinking is expected because of the lifting of price controls.

(2) Consumer prices rose 50 per cent between January, 1941, and September. 1946. Labor estimates that living costs

(3) Wage increases granted earlier in the year have been wiped out by rising living costs. Less employment has meant decreased take-home pay.

(4) Industrial profit margins allow wage increases without accompanying price increases.

Stark has summarized the situation about as well as can be done. These facts,

Now that all pretense at price control we believe, are conclusive proof of the

But the workers in this country have learned that mere wage increases by themselves have a tendency to be eaten up in a few months by rising price spirals. It seems almost like a vicious and unbeatable circle. Bitter strikes for wage increases; then price jumps tolerated by the capitalist government in Washington; and you're back just where you started.

We think, however, that there is an answer to this problem. It is in what this paper has been calling the GM Strike Program—the idea put forward by the UAW during its strike at GM at the beginning of the year. The UAW said: Wage Increases Without Increases in the Price of Automobiles! This proposal, if extended to other industries, would mean that in each industry the workers and their unions would police the price level of the goods they manufactured in the interests of the people as a whole. It would be a way of getting the war-enriched capitalists to take the burden of new wage increasesof getting these wage increases from their profits-rather than having the wage increases boomerang against the workers in the form of higher prices.

Another proposal, somewhat similar in nature though not as basic, since it does not involve as much working class control, is the slogan put forward by many fighting trade unionists: For a Sliding Scale of Wages! (Escalator Clause). This means that in all contracts there is a clause which grants the workers periodic and automatic increases in their wage will be up between 20 and 25 per cent this rates in accordance with the rising cost of

> Such proposals as outlined in the above few facts have seeped out. paragraphs represent a way to break the vicious circle of wage-price increases which have beset the U.S. working class. The most advanced, militant and devoted trade unionists should take upon themselves the task of urging the adoption of these proposals as a means of winning the coming wage struggles in American in-

One of the most significant, though little noticed,

WORLD POLITICS

developments in Europe was the announcement a fortnight ago that the Austrian Parliament had adopted a resolution requesting the occupation authorities of the Big Three—Russia, the U.S. and Britain—to withdraw their troops from Austria and leave that country to its own fate. The resolution was adopted with the support of all parties, even the small Stalinist deputation being forced to go along with the motion though it was obviously directed in part against Russia.

The National Question in Austria

What is significant here is not primarily the action of the Austrian parliament; that, after all, is largely a diplomatic gesture to be filed and forgotten. That neither Russia nor the Anglo-American bloc will now simply get up and leave may be taken for granted. But what is significant is that this parliament composed largely of the timid Social Democracy, its tongue well worn from licking the Anglo-American boot, and the reactionary Catholic party, should even have considered -let alone passed-such a motion. There must have been tremendous pressure from the Austrian masses below-revealed not in such dramatic gestures as demonstrations, but rather through the subterranean and atomic processes of mass expression which sooner or later reach the top politicians—to drive the Austrian political leaders openly to request the occupying "liberators" to get out. The masses of Austria must be thorougly fed up with the occupation by now.

And not without reason! There is no country in Europe which has been so mutilated, its economy and national independence so violated, as has Austria. The Russians grabbed everything they could lay their hands on. At the beginning of the occupation, they looted directly from the people of Vienna. Later they organized their looting into a political-economic method, paying special attention to the crucial oil fields of Zisterdorff. They abducted, without even any attempt at secrecy, the few individuals who had enough courage to speak against their tactics. In previous columns, we have reported the arrest and sentence to Siberian prison camps of Social Democratic editors who protested, ever so mildly, against the Russian occupation tactics.

Nor has the Anglo-American occupation been essentially better. It has been so inept, so full of bungling maladroits-the outstanding one being the butcher of Anzio and Cassino, General Mark Clark-that the economy of Austria has completely fallen apart. During the past year there have been times when the people of Vienna, while always on the brink of starvation, have sunk to a food standard as low as 800 calories a day, a level insufficient to sustain a normal human being.

Is it any wonder then that the people of Austria must be so completely disgusted with the occupation of their "liberators"? The motion adopted by the Austrian parliament is conclusive testimony of the degree of this

In this situation, we believe that the revolutionary socialists of Austria have a splendid opportunity to gain a foothold of support among the Austrian masses. Their aspirations toward national independence, which concretely means driving out the occupation, are extremely healthy symptoms. A revolutionary socialist party alert to the situation could appeal to the masses by saying along the lines of the position on the national question held by the Workers Party, something like the

You, the people of Austria are disgusted with the occupation of the Big Three. You wish to rid yourselves of this iniquitous burden. And we agree: you have every right to feel that way about it, every right to wish to drive these leech-like armies out of the land. So powerful are your sentiments that even parliament has heeded them by passing a resolution.

But-and this is essential-no resolution of parliament, no polite gesture can drive the occupation troops out of Austria. Only struggle can achieve that aim. Only the struggle of the Austrian masses themselves, through your mass organizations which means predominantly the trade unions, can reconquer the independence of the country. You cannot depend for leadership in this struggle on the Stalinists who are the agents of one of the occupying powers; the Stalinists, regardless of what they may occasionally say, are actually the cronies of our oppressors. You cannot depend, on the Austrian capitalist class, or their subservient agents, the Social-Democracy, to lead in this struggle; for they are tied to Anglo-American imperialist oppres-

Only the masses themselves, through their own organizations and their mass militant activity, can drive these leeches out. We revolutionary socialists, whatever our present differences of political opinion with you, will fight side by side with you in this struggle.

In the present situation, to drive out the occupation oppressors is to conduct the class struggle in its most important arena, to find a means of establishing contact between the national-democratic aspirations of the masses and the as-yet isolated revolutionary vanguard. For that purpose, we believe the point of view of the Workers Party on the national question a powerful weapon-I. H.

RUSSIA:

29th ANNIVERSARY OF ITS GREAT REVOLUTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The anniversary of the Russian Revolution can never pass unnoticed or uncelebrated by the revolutionary movement. On that day the Russian vorking class overthrew not only the Russian landlords and bourgeoisie but established the first Workers' State in history. If today the Workers Party calls upon the Russian workers and peasants to look upon Stalin's government as its enemy, it is not because the great Revolution of October 1917 is no longer the world-shaking event we once hailed it to be. Nothing of the kind.

For us the Russian Revolution is still the greatest and most significant event in human history. But it is precisely for that reason that we are the mortal enemies of those who have betrayed and degraded the first great example of the proletariat emancipated.

In the disgusting spectacle of totalitarian tyranny, greed, barbarous looting of subjected peoples, social and political corruption sewn either directly or through its agents, the Stalinist parties, Stalinist Russia is today as deadly an enemy to civilization and human progress as exists anywhere on the face of the globe.

Determination to mobilize all forces for resistance to it, and to overthrow it, can only be strengthened by always bearing in mind what were the actual achievements of the Russian Rev-

JTS GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS IN HISTORY

The workers and peasants of Russia in 1917, beginning with a country backward and ruined. created a new type of state. They tore down the old Czarist ruins and built a workers' state from the foundations up.

Using the workers' councils as a basis they organized production in a new way and constructed organs of government, law, justice, administration, on a pattern never before seen.

Workers control of production; an end to all types of discrimination against women; destruction of national privileges; respect for all types of labor; liberty, equality, and fraternity such as the French Revolution had dreamed of but never known; courageous liberation in questions of education, sexual relations, religion and artistic life, -these things the Workers' State proclaimed in theory and decree and strove with all its might to carry out. If it failed it was because backwardness and isolation dragged down these splendid beginnings. But they are a landmark in human history and an imperishable monument to the aspirations and possibilities of the socialist society. GREAT POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE

In every field the October Revolution demonstrated the possibilities of workers' liberation. Attacked on all sides it created an army of millions of men which fought on thousands of miles of front and astonished friends and foes alike by the splendor of its achievements in comparison with the limitations of its means.

The Workers' State established the Communist International, in those days a fraternal organization embracing millions of workers, the greatest international organization Europe and the modern world had seen for five hundred years. These were some of the achievements of the Russian Revolution.

Today the great achievements have been destroyed, betrayed, corrupted. Such strength as Russia gained by the cleansing of feudalism from all aspects of Russian life, this strength has been usurped by a gang of bureaucrats who misuse the new power for their own profit and advancement. The Fourth Internationalists, the Trotskyists, are as they have always been, in the vanguard of the struggle for the great aims of the October Revolution. And for this very reason we are irreconciliable in our enmity to those usurpers of its traditions, the Kremlin bureaucracy in Russia and its Stalinist satellites and agents abroad.

With this celebration, our revolutionary celebration of the October Revolution, we link the name of Leon Trotsky, collaborator of Lenin in all the great achievements of October. November 7 was his birthday. To the day of his murder by Stalin he fought for the principles of October. It is to those principles that the Workers' Party is dedicated and which it renews on every anniversary of October.

International Socialist Notes

SECOND INTERNATIONAL IS STIRRING AGAIN

A conference was completed last week in Bournemouth, England, of various European Social Democratic Parties which tentatively and hesitantly layed the groundwork for reforming the moribund Second (So-Democratic) International. Little is known about this conference, for it was held in secret, but a

No formal international organization is to be set up-for fear of offending the Stalinist Kremlin. Instead exploratory talks and discussions are to be continued with a view possibly to setting up some nebulous and powerless center, all the while making certain not to antagonize the Stalinists. You can readily imagine how effective and significant a socialist movement can be today which cowers in fear at the thought of offending ... Stalinist totalitarianism.

The conference approached another of its main problems in an equally cowardly way. Some time back, at a similar international conference of Social Democrats, the German Social Democrats were refused admission. So scandalous was this breach of elementary working class ethics-so obvious this aping of the hatred of "their" imperialist countries-that at this conference a more subtle approach was formulated. The German Social Democrats were not present at this conference, nor will they be invited to the next one as delegates; but they will be invited to speak and answer questions. And so the Social Democrats of the victorious imperialist powers will sit in judgment on the Social

Democrats of the defeated imperialist power!-an inspiring instance of international solidarity, is it not?

The delegates from the Polish Social Democrats, whose ranks have been infiltrated by the Stalinists and over whose head there hangs the threatening sword of Stalinist power, did not even wish to go along this far, for they said that an invitation to the German Social Democrats would be an insult to the phony "Socialist Unity Party" which the German Stalinists have cooked up. When their point of view was defeated, the Poles walked out of the conference.

As soon as more information on this matter is available, we will print it here. But we think that even these few tidbits are sufficient evidence of the depths to which European Social Democracy has sunk.

The SWP in the Elections

Those of our readers who have followed the reports in LABOR ACTION are aware of the disgraceful situation in New York State, where the maneuvers of the capitalist parties through their control of the courts, resulted in the removal of several working class parties from the ballot. Those removed were the Socialist, Industrial Government and Socialist Workers Parties. In the 22nd Harlem District, the candidate of the Workers Party, Ernest Rice McKinney, was also undemocratically deprived of his right to run for office on the ground of some musty technicality which didn't even have legal plausibility.

As a result the only candidate on the ballot in New York State who stood upon a program of revolutionary socialism was Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, who ran in Brooklyn's 15th Congressional District. He alone was not driven off the ballot by the reactionaries' tricks.

Under the circumstances, one could readily have expected that other revolutionary socialist groups would give electoral support to Shachtman. Such support in no way need mean complete agreement with the program of Shachtman or the Workers Party. On the contrary, it could be given with an open and frank declaration of disagreement with parts of our program or opinions, but with the statement that support is given because Shachtman is a revolutionary socialist candidate running against capitalist candidates, and that no other revolutionary socialist is running in that district.

Such, in fact, was precisely the kind of

statement issued by the Workers Party and printed in several issues of LABOR ACTION with regard to the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, the other Trotskyist group in this country. We supported the SWP candidates in the several states where they ran and where, for one reason or another, we did not have candidates of our own. Under such circumstances, without in any way withdrawing our disagreements with the SWP on certain questions, we urged our members and friends to vote for the SWP candidates. Our actions were merely ordinary and tobe-expected revolutionary solidarity.

No such declaration or statement came from the SWP, however. Neither it nor its supporting paper, The Militant, had a word to say about the WP candidate. The reader of The Militant would never even know that Shachtman was running for Congress, if he read only that paper.

Now this is not a question of you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours—and then find that the scratching is one-sided. We don't view the matter as back-scratching at all and our objection to the SWP is not that "it didn't do as much for us as we for them." What is involved is a matter of general revolutionary political ethics. For we believe it incumbent upon a revolutionary group to support the candidates of another revolutionary group, when it has none of its own running for the same office. The conception of revolutionary socialist solidarity on which this belief is based, we consider more important than

(Continued in last column of this page)

Books You Should Know...

Shaw. Penguin Books, 25 Cents. Reviewed by ABE VICTOR

stage, when directors and actors seem to let slip the lively essence of every good play upon which they place their hands, it is probably better to read plays than to see them. And the most recently published of the re-printed plays is Bernard Shaw's Pyg-

Pygmalion is a good play. It is based upon a clever idea; the struggle between the Professor and his creation is exciting; the lines are witty; and the characters are carefully and subtly drawn. As many people know by this time, the play has to do with a professor of phonetics who wagers that he can transform a street-vendor, of flowers into a queenly woman and pass her off as a duchess within a given time. His wager taken, he proceeds to accomplish his purpose, only to discover that it is impossible for his duchess to go back to being a flower-girl and that it is equally impossible for her to live as a duchess.

The ironic touch is created by the fact that Professor Higgins does not fall in love with this enchanting creation. He is obviously the victim of a mother-complex. He can think of Eliza Doolittle only as a lowly creature whom HE made into a magnificent woman. And he no more respects her than he loves her.

Bernard Shaw wrote this play in 1912, when the threat of a world war already hung like a low thunder cloud over all Europe. Such times are

PYGMALION, by George Bernard , not good for artists and Shaw was not able to escape the general effect of the times. Pygmalion became a widely known play because it has In these sad days of the American agood stage qualities. But it is by no means as profound in its implications as Major Barbara and Saint Joan. The struggle between the "saint" and the social forces of class society is more important than the conflict between a professor possessed of a mother omplex and the flower-girl whom he outs to his own purpose.

Pygmalion, nevertheless, is not merely a play about phonetics. The character of Mr. Doolittle, Eliza's father, is not primarily a focal point for comic relief, although it undoubtedly fulfills also that function. The crisis of Mr. Doolittle's position is a genuine problem of morality. As long as he was a workingman, Mr. Doolittle felt himself to be free from the hypocrisy of bourgeois standards. He refused to be legally married in order to avoid anyone getting a hold on him. He blackmailed Professor Higgins without a qualm of conscience because he felt himself to be one of the exploited poor getting the essence of his labor back from the rich. He was comfortable in his habits and never felt himself confined within the limits of respectability.

No sooner, however, did he acquijre the money and the obligations of a legacy than he felt all of the restrictions of bourgeois morality tightening about him. His gifts to a pleasant feminine companion became necessary expenditures for a demanding wife. His dress was dictated by his position in life. His habits were no

longer of his own choosing. Everywhere he was surrounded by demands for conformity. And he chafed under the stuffiness of his new life.

The tragedy of Mr. Doolittle's position is a very real one. The comedy of it is the more profound because of its tragic implications. And the subtlety of these implications is great indeed. One can conclude from Doolittle's predicament that the morality of a class society not only affects those who are propertyless, but also those who own property. The exploiter is a victim of bourgeois morality to a different degree and in another manner; but he is a victim nevertheless. Or to use the age-old metaphor of the Marxists, the jailer is in prison with the jailed.

And the cultural productions of the restrictive society indicate quite clearly that they are products of imprisonment.

Shaw's preface is not so much concerned with this meaning to his play. And it is quite possible that he did not have this consciously in mind when he wrote the play, or that he had part of it in mind and not the rest. But such are the effects of it that they stir the imagination of the audience to transfer conclusions from one sphere to another, to create with the creative artist, although the reader, or the observer does so on a lower

And for this reason, Pygmalion remains an effective play even today. It was produced last year in New York. It proved a remarkable script for a motion picture in 1938.

SWP in Elections - -

(Continued from editorial column)

petty factional malice and spite. For how else explain the SWP's stand except on the basis of malice and spite?

Such a narrow attitude can result, however, only in the miseducation of the SWP ranks, the further breakdown of the already none too solid sense of comradeship within the revolutionary socialist arena and ultimately the detriment of the SWP itself. For our part, solidarity toward other revolutionary groups, such as the SWP, is not reserved for holiday speeches. We believe in carrying it out in actual practice, as we tried to do in the last election. We hope, further, that the ranks of the SWP will take this matter to heart and put an end to the absurdly sectarian attitude of their leadership.

A Report on the Shachtman-Oak Debate:

The Relationship of Bolshevism to Stalinism

By IRVING HOWE

Before an audience of over 700 people, who packed New York's Hotel Diplomat, Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, debated Liston Oak, managing editor of the New Leader, on the subject: "Does Stalinism Flow from Bolshevism?" last Friday night, November 8. Oak took the affirmative and Shachtman the negative.

This debate took place on the 29th anniversary of the Russian



MAX SHACHTMAN

Revolution-the first in history in which the workers established their own government-and it was entirely fitting that Shachtman, as a spokesman for the American revolutionary socialists in and around the Workers Party, should make an eloquent and effective defense of this revolution in this debate. For the principles of the great October Revolution remain the principles on which the

Liston Oak, who spoke as a Social Democrat, began his speech with an admission that there were great differences between Leninism and Stalinism, but asserted that Lenin and Trotsky had used similar "dictatorial" methods as has Stalinism, and that the Stalinist régime was the

Workers Party stands.

"logical outgrowth" of the "one-party dictatorship established by the Bolsheviks."

Oak saw Bolshevism as a kind of terroristic conspiracy on the part of a tiny, disciplined minority group, ruthless in its fanaticism and readiness to resort to violence, and unscrupulous in the means it used to reach its ends. Though Stalin is "cruder" than Lenin, he said, they are both in the Bolshevik tradition, Stalin continuing the amoral methods of Lenin. Stalinism is the result, in Oak's view, of the unwillingness of the Bolshevik leaders to work with or unite with any of the other socialist groups in Russia. Having established a minority dictatorship, Oak continued, the Bolsheviks could only resort to terror and thereby pave the way for Stalin.

To buttress his case, Oak quoted from Social-Democratics like Kautsky and Plekanov, who were opposed to the Bolshevik revolution; from Marxists like Luxemburg who supported the Bolshevik revolution even though disagreeing with certain of Lenin's tactics; and from Trotsky's early writings at the turn of the century in which he polemized against Lenin. Oak attacked Lenin's conception of the party as leading to a conspiratorial clique of "professional revolutionists" who seek to manipulate the masses as if generals of an army. The Social-Democratic or Menshevik conception of a party, on the other hand, is, he said, a loosely-knit demo-

Oak supported the pre-Lenin policy of the Bolsheviks which called for a coalition government with the bourgeois parties. (What was amusing about this, though Oak didn't seem to notice

it, was that it was Stalin-whom Oak now professes to hate so heartily—who favored this policy which Lenin denounced upon arriving in Russia.)

Oak then denounced the Bolsheviks for illegalizing the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, though he did not mention why this was done. He denounced, further, the dissolution by the Bolsheviks of the Constitutent Assembly which had been elected several months before the Bolshevik Revolution and represented the pre-revolutionary sentiments of the masses when they were still hesitant about supporting the Bolsheviks.

Turning to our day, Oak rejected the conception of revolution, which he believed would inevitably fall under Stalinist control, and came out in favor of gradual reforms since he considers that capitalism still has certain progressive functions to fulfill.

SHACHTMAN ANALYZES BOLSHEVISM HISTORICALLY

Max Shachtman opened his presentation by emphasizing the historical background against which the debate was being held: 'Capitalism is bankrupt. To support it is equivalent to the suicide of society.... What is Bolshevism? Bolshevism is the planned and organized attempt to mobilize the working class to take over state power in its own interests in order to use its political supremacy for the purpose of establishing a classless society."

"If," continued Shachtman, "it can be proved that Stalinism is the natural and inevitable product of Bolshevism, then you will have proved that the working class cannot take and hold socialist power and that any attempt to do so can lead only to its degradation under totalitarian dictatorship. I say this because Bolshevism is the only road to working class power and socialism."

Shachtman then proceeded to an historical examination of Bolshevism. The truth about it has been obscured first by the propaganda barrage by the bourgeoisie which would identify it with dictatorship, he pointed out, and secondly by the Stalinists . . . who would also identify it with dictatorship. He traced the origin of the Bolshevik movement in Russia, its struggle to overthrow the Czarist autocracy, its demand for democratic rights for the Russian masses. He differentiated Bolshevism, which placed its faith in the working class and peasantry, from the Mensheviks, who wanted a coalition with the liberal capitalists. And he further pointed out that the actual experiences of the Russian revolution confirmed the Bolshevik point of view, and showed it to be in harmony with the most profoundly democratic aspirations of the masses-for that was why the masses turned to Lenin.

The Bolshevik Party, attacked by its enemies as dictatorial, was in reality a highly disciplined organization for it was serious in its objective to destroy Czarism and capitalism; but at the same time it was the most democratic organization in history, for in no other party was there such freedom and fullness of discussion, such intellectual loyalty toward scrupulous regard for the rights of minorities. Only the Stalinist debasement has misled people to identify Bolshevism with internal party dictatorship.

"You will not find one party in modern times," stressed Shachtman, "in which there was such free discussion, such rich and fruitful interchange of ideas.... The whole internal history of Bolshevism is a history of free discussion and debate, not conducted in a dark corner, but openly, in the press of the party itself." Shachtman laid particular stress on this last phrase.

"You need only read the works of Lenin," continued Shachtman, "to see reflected there the vigorous, rich and fertile intellectual life, the favorable atmosphere for the development of revolutionary thought, that always prevailed in the Bolshevik party.

Read these works and see if so much as a seed of Stalinism can be found in them!"

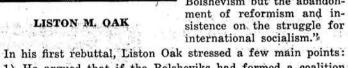
Shachtman then pointed out that on three essential touchstones of democratic and socialist standards the Bolshevik party was unsurpassed: its attitude toward national minorities: its attitude toward imperialist wars; and its attitude toward revolutions. He noted how the Bolsheviks granted freedom to Finland as soon as they acquired power and then made a devastating contrast with the behavior of the English Social-Democrat, Arthur Henderson "who sat in the British Cabinet as Privy Councillor when the British bombed and shelled Dublin in the Easter uprising of 1916 and murdered the Irish socialist martyr James Connolly!"

Shachtman, by this time going full guns, launched into a contrast between the war records of the Bolsheviks-who denounced World War I as imperialist and spread no illusions about it among the masses-and the war record of the Social-Democrats, each section of which supported its own imperialist rulers. "There is your road to socialism," he turned to Oak, "Ad astra per Hohenzollern and Churchill! To the stars through Hohenzollern and Churchill!'

Shachtman contrasted the attitudes of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks toward the Russian Revolution itself: how the former wanted to limit it to a democratic capitalist state unable to solve any basic problems, while the latter pushed through to state power. He challenged Oak to tell the audience what the Mensheviks and SRs did during the civil war, how they worked with international capitalism against the young workers state.

Shachtman proceeded to show how Bolshevism and Stalinism were mortal enemies and complete opposites; how Stalin had launched a campaign of extermination against the old Bolsheviks; how, in fact, many of Oak's Menshevik heroes had become belated supporters of Stalin; and how Oak himself had during the war supported an alliance with Stalinist totalitarianism.

"We say," concluded Shachtman, "Stalinism grew out of Bolshevism only because the social democracy destroyed the hopes of the isolated Russian Revolution by trying to keep capitalism alive in Europe. The central lesson in the rise of Stalinism is not the abandonment of Bolshevism but the abandonment of reformism and insistence on the struggle for



1) He argued that if the Bolsheviks had formed a coalition with the "other socialist parties" they would not "have had to

resort to minority violence.' 2) He quoted from documents of early opposition groups in the

Bolshevik Party in the early 1920's which stressed the danger of bureaucratism in Russia.

3) Any party, he asserted, which seizes political power and identifies itself with a class, "as did the Bolsheviks," finds it necessary to suppress all opposition. "Totalitarian organization leads to totalitarian society.'

4) He cited the Kronstadt rebellion against, and its suppression by, the Bolshevik government "as evidence of the undemocratic nature of Bolshevism."

5) He denied that the Social Democrats were responsible for the failure of the European revolution after the First World War, asserting rather that it was the Bolsheviks who split the working class movement and thereby helped perpetuate capitalism.

6) He asserted that capitalism still had a future in certain places, one of which is "the backward countries which need capital

REBUTTAL LASHES MENSHEVIK ACTIVITY

In turn, Shachtman drove home the following main points in his rebuttal:

1) The Bolsheviks were not responsible for splitting the socialist movement; it was split by the Social Democrats who supported their imperialist war machines and put such revolutionary socialists as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in jail. It was this division which split the socialist movement—this division between support of and opposition to imperialist war.

2) The reasons no coalition was formed with the "other socialist parties" when the Bolsheviks assumed power are: a) the masses of workers abandoned the ineffectual Mensheviks and came to the Bolsheviks; b) the masses of followers of the Social Revolutionary Party followed its left wing which did participate in the Bolshevik government; and c) the Mensheviks and SRs were opposed to the workers taking power and when the civil war came they supported the foreign intervention against the workers

3) The Constituent Assembly was dissolved by the Bolsheviks because it no longer represented the sentiments of the masses. having been elected before the revolutionary wave which rose to its crest in the October revolution. It gave way to the more representative Soviet of Workers Deputies which supported the Bolshevik government, even though convened by Mensheviks.

4) There was only one party after a while in Russia, not because the Bolsheviks so desired it, but because every other party took up arms against the workers state. Shachtman cited detailed evidence of how the Social Democratic government in Georgia concluded an agreement with Germany on June 13, 1918 and a few months later with Britain to use their troops against the Bol-5) He ridiculed Oak's argument that capitalism still had some

future and inquired whether his theory that it could help "backward countries" was what led to the British Labor Party government's scandalous behavior in Greece and Palestine. 6) He summed up by stressing the democratic and revolution-

ary character of Bolshevism, its loyalty to the idea of working class liberation and its lessons for our time. In his final rebuttal Oak rephrased his point of view in more

general terms, constructing an abstract argument about totalitarian means and ends.

The hall in which the debate was held was decorated with signs advertising LABOR ACTION forums. Some \$50 worth of Workers Party literature was sold.

The Social Position of Women Under Capitalism

How Can Women Attain a Full Creative Life?

problems. There is the demand for equal pay for equal work. There is the fight against discrimination in the places women work. There is the need for special facilities in factories and in the community, such as rest rooms and nurseries, to enable women to follow their twofold course as women and as workers.

These, of course, are problems of working women. Their existence as pressing problems for some eighteen million working women is the answer to the moldy query: "Is Woman's Place in the Home?" The need to earn a living for herself, or for herself and a family, has forced the woman to leave the home for many decade now. Technological advancement has removed the barriers between women and almost any kind of job, and has created new jobs, for which women are especially adept. So today we find women doing double duty, inside and outside the

"JOB" OR "CAREER"?

In the May 1946 issue of the magazine Politics, Ethel Goldwater contributed an article-"The Independent Woman: A New Course"-the thesis of which is "that a woman needs both career and babies, both a life in the home and one outside the home." Mrs. Goldwater believes that women must have a place both inside and outside the home, for their own good and their self-fulfilment.

It is interesting, however, to note that Mrs. Goldwater does not speak of a "job" with babies, but "career" and babies. It can hardly be claimed that sitting at a telephone switchboard, or punching out squares of metal at a machine, or even taking notes and typing them for eight hours a day, are necessary stimulants for the release of women's potentialities, for their self-fulfilment and happiness. These are merely

What Mrs. Goldwater has in mind is something else. A CAREER has a different connotation altogether. It is work involving some individual initiative, some creativeness, some self-expression and self-realization. Within capitalist society few women, or men, can find such work.

However, in her article Mrs. Goldwater has no word to offer on how the great mass of women, who do indeed need the satisfactions of meaningful work as well as motherhood, can get this kind of work. In fact, this problem does not exist for her

at all. At least, her article shows no bring each individual most satisfac- capitalist society. She shows tooevidence of it. Thereby she shows tion. These days the woman's question her limitations. Actually she is takgroup of lower middle class intellec-

> For the bulk of womankind, complete fulfilment through motherhood and creative work is unthinkable without a basic change in society. For satisfying work outside the home, there are definite minimal requirements. First, the pressure of economic necessity must be removed. Second, human happiness must replace the profit motive. Then only will hours of labor be planned on the basis of technological possibilities and human consumption needs. With distasteful though necessary social labor reduced to the minimum, and the hunger removed from society, everyone will be in a position to exercise a choice about work, to train and qualify for that which may

that's a "Marxist blueprint"-at which certain intellectuals turn up their noses: So let's look at Mrs. Goldwater's own blueprint. She offers one in three parts.

First, Mrs. Goldwater wants to erase the demarcation between "woman's work" and "man's work." Both boys and girls should receive instruction in housework, and since they both become parents, instruction in childcare. A girl should be taught that motherhood is not the entire woman, that she may in fact renounce motherhood if she wishes.

Assuming that this will help the situation, how is it to be accomplished? By the educational system under capitalism? But Mrs. Goldwater herself complains of the "double standard" that permeates all

and this seems to be one of her chief have a "Marxist blueprint" also have Perhaps Mrs. Goldwater, and cer- grievances-how "left-wing intellec- a demand for a minimum family inrevolves around certain economic ing up the cudgels only for a small tainly the editor of Politics, will say tual circles" are still suffering from come of \$5000 for right the same poison. This is indeed bad. but it above all shows how hard it is for even very good ideas to take root in the capitalist milieu. And even if such instruction were given in schools, how basically would it alter the situation? Would it relieve the man of his need to work all day in a shop?

The second plank of Mrs. Goldwater's program covers several points. Housework and child-care should be simplified by full use of the machine-age tools-which, alas, are beyond the "reach of too many families." Special services (diaper, sitter, cooked food shops) are to Mrs. Goldwater's liking. We stop here, and ask once more how these things are to reach the "too many families" who don't have them?

Results of the Election - -

(Continued from page 3)

is some fundamental difference in policy between the Republicans and Democrats. It expresses itself concretely in that Truman has been effeeting the major demands of the Republicans on prices and other issues. Even in the sphere of foreign politics, Vandenberg, the Republican, is solidly aligned with Byrnes, the Demo-

There are, it is true, differences of inner-capitalist class policy, but they effect both parties equally well. The Democratic Party is torn as it has never before been. Wallace and Pepper seem actually to be toying with the idea of taking over in 1948 (and so much for the nonsense about third partyism!). In the Republican Party, the old Willkie wing, the Taft wing, the Bricker wing, the Dewey wing, are sparring for control. If in the flush of its majority, the Republican Party appears to be more stable internally, the contest for a presidential nominee will reveal the clash of ambitions. None of this is of any particular concern to us. Whether Dewey gains standing in his party because of his huge vote in New York, or whether Wallace pushes forward in his party in face of its lamentable showing, is a matter of small concern to us at the moment. None of these individuals, neither of the parties they represent, have anything

But there may be some concrete

in common with our interests.

the Republican majority interpreted as a go-sign for extreme reaction, the drive against labor will grow more intense. Roosevelt, and the Democratic machine generally, relied these last years on labor support. Thus, when they knifed labor, they did it gently and with a liberal dosing of syrup. Truman found in the railroad crisis that it is bad business to challenge labor openly. Now, however, the Administration and the Republican majority both will feel emboldened to use the whip of anti-labor legislation. For example, Republican Ball of Minnesota is expected to have an important voice on the Senate Labor Committee. He is notorious for his sponsorship of bills seeking to outlaw strikes and the closed shop.

Labor will consequently have to be on guard, be prepared to defend its positions. Of course, there will not be an even pattern to reactionary plans. Republicans and Democrats, looking ahead to 1948, will not want to alienate the labor vote too catastrophically. Individual Senators and Congressmen may throw caution to the winds, but their parties will try to avoid any obvious crudeness. However, nothing could be more dangerous than to take idle comfort in that. It will have meaning only to the extent that labor is on its toes, making it pointedly clear that it will resist any attempt to strangle its organizations and rights. It is a virtual certainty that anti-labor bills will pour changes that affect us deeply. With into Congress by the dozen. Relying, foisted on labor by its leaders.

on lobbying with Republican or Democratic leaders, as AFL and CIO leaders are doing at this very moment, is the high-road to disaster.

We haven't attempted to evaluate every aspect of these elections. There is the minor phenomenon of the passing of the old-time city machine. For the collapse of the Kelly, Hague and Pendergast machines, in addition to reflecting the general anger of the people, also marks the dotage of the old-time machine. There are other angles, many of them, that we have not even touched upon. Generally, the people as a whole, and the working class in particular, are beginning to think politically. The vote is no longer in the hands of the wardheeler. But that is by no means enough, nowhere near enough. It can, as in this election, express it's backwardness.

To concretize that development in terms of benefit to labor, a Labor Party will be necessary, a Labor Party with real, CLASS, labor objectives and conduct. Thus, the principal conclusion we draw from this election is that, given any kind of impetus by the labor leaders, a Labor Party could have emerged as a powerful and vital force. And the further conclusion we draw is that the initiative for such a party will have to come from the ranks, breaking down the capitalist alignments

now. This, we claim, would go a long way toward buying machine-age household tools and special services. Similarly we "visionaries" call for a \$250,000,000,000 public building program to provide, among other things, housing, nursery schools and cooperative arrangements for child-care, while Mrs. Goldwater would like to have these things without the bother of politics and political parties. For indeed she makes no connection between her blueprint and the realm of politics where such things are ac-

We of the Workers Party who

complished. Under her second plank she also wants an end to the "impossible ideal of order and cleanliness" which consume time "out of all proportion to the value of the transitory effect." Woman's "fanaticism is advanced by the women's magazines, which see the woman's life as spent on an endless treadmill of redecoration of the home and of the person." And how, pray, is this influence of commercialism on our lives to be ended?

MAN'S PLACE

In her third plank Mrs. Goldwater talks about how women should use the "regular leisure" they will have if the other two parts of her program are carried out. But, as shown above, "these ways" that Mrs. Goldwater advocates are terribly limited. inadequate, without connection to political action - and therefore of little value. Certainly the regular leisure women need, will not be campaigning for it in Politics.

We Marxists, who do have a guiding blueprint for raising humanity to a higher collective and individual existence, are wary about dotting the i's and crossing the t's. The complexities of human relationships, of family life, of character development stagger minute prophesy. We fight for many things in the right here and now, such as higher wages.

However, we know that the mess that capitalism and other exploitive societies have made of these aspects of life cannot be tackled for all of us without first establishing a more favorable social, economic and political milieu. So we say we do not know whether under Socialism man's place will be in the home, except that Socialism will relieve man (and woman!) of the tediousness of long hours in the shop and the slavery of a shabby income. Thus, we say that the place NOW for serious men and women is in the revolutionary socialist movement.

Program of the Workers Party

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,

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

providing for a \$5000 annual minimum per family.

1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.

2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe. 2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration

to Palestine or any country of their choice.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for

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 Govern-

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

A Portrait of a Town in Occupied Germany

(We publish below a description of life in a tiny Bavarian hamlet written by a friend recently returned from Germany. His account makes concrete and vivid the general idea of the political and social disintegration of German life as a result of the Nazi reign, the war and the Allied imperialist occupation. It should be remembered that the section of Germany which he describes has always been the most politically backward in Germany. The second half of his article will appear next week.

By JACK PORTER

The burgermeister was typical of many appointed by the Americans who overnight installed thousands of powerless officials in the bomb eaten clusters which had once been cities and towns. The burgermeister was appointed by the AMG after a long study of the local population and demonstrated that there was no one in this hamlet of 3,000 both with ability and without the Nazi taint.

So for the first time in the history of Hammelburg, a town founded in the 13th century, a Social Democrat was appointed to the position of burgermeister. Many a monkish skeleton buried in the abbey grounds must have writhed in protest.

The SPD (Social Democratic Party) in Hammelburg had never been able to make any headway against the pre-Hitler Bavarian People's Party (today succeeded by the Christian Socialist Union), leaders of the villagers so overwhelmingly dominated by the Catholic Church. The towering Gothic church spires of Hammelburg are testimony of the cultural and political backwardness of the Hammelburgers, prize sheep herders of Ober Bavaria. Everything has the aroma of Catholicism.

When relations between Nazi Germany and American imperialism sharpened, Hollywood created a deadly struggle on the screen between the German Cathelic Church and the Nazi Party. The number of Catholics incarcerated in the American prison, Camp Hammelburg, for their prominence in the Nazi structure of Hammelburg, punctures this typical Hollywood fiction. Throughout the period of the Nazi nightmare, the priests and monks of Hammelburg prospered and lived peacefully with the military and later the prison camp of the Nazis. The brother of Jacob Kaiser, the present leader of the Christian Socialist Union, is a prominent churchgoer and found no moral problem in running a bookshop that sold the publications of the Hitler dictatorship.

WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE?

Physically the town had hardly been touched by the war. Here and there, walls of houses that must have been built in the days of Luther, were scarred by a few bullet holes, but on the whole the town was not wrecked.

The people move around as if by habit or memory. They go about their task of eking out an existence like wooden puppets. The average wage granted by the Americans is \$2 to \$3 a week and the best jobs are with the nearby American camp where German civilians can sneak out bits of food.

Money carries little power or meaning in Hammelburg. Nearly all the people have been reduced to the same impoverished level, although maintaining themselves by different economic means. Cigarettes, barter, services such as tailoring and shoemaking and food are the real means of exchange.

Many girls indicate their thoughts about the future by flocking around American soldiers, hoping that some day they may marry and escape to America.

Due to the predominance of handicraft, there are no unions in Hammelburg. The unions in other cities have little meaning or immediate value to the workers. Under the decrees of the Military Government, workers cannot negotiate for change of hours, wages or working conditions.

Fundamentally, the cumulative shock of the events of 1918, 1933, 1939 and 1945 has affected the people profoundly. Symptoms of the shock are ever present in their thinking, actions and discussions. It is best shown in the expression "What's the use! We've tried everything and nothing seems to help us." The result has been a cynical approach to politics.

In spite of the world shattering events, the local people still maintain what is derisively dubbed in northern Germany as the Sauerbayern attitude or as Marx phrased it, the "idiocy rural life." The few who maintain a less provincial attitude are refugees from bombed cities such as Berlin, Dusseldorf, Munich. They are, however, effectively ostracized and segregated as auslander or city slickers.

ECONOMIC LIFE IS STILL PRIMITIVE

Economic life, even with the technological achievements of the Nazis, still remains primarily in the craft stage. The medieval heritage is still with the living. The combined effects of the war and the rule of the Americans have pushed the craft functions of the town folk even into greater prominence. Occasional shepherds and their flocks wend their way through the streets. The market place established in feudal days is still the center of town for gossip and the exchange of wares or household effects. An Esso Station in the town (America's contribution to Germany's war effort) is an anachronistic intrusion. Quaint Gasthauser (beerhalls) dot the neighborhood and are frequented by everyone, although there is little to offer in vintages.

The American soldiers guarding a prison camp on top of a long winding hill, play an insignificant role in the affairs of the town. Their activities are confined to two or three Gasthauser where they drink themselves into a happy state of mind. The natives avoid the Americans like a plague, though a few desperate persons approach Americans for black market deals or potato schnapps sales.

The soldier understanding no German, creates an American oasis out of the Gasthaus in town and lives culturally on the mere fringes of Hammelburg or for that matter Germany. Any meeting between a Socialist-minded German and a similar minded American is the result of a prolonged and conscious

The GI's role in Hammelburg is, as it is everywhere in the American zone, one of imperialist arrogance, avarice and hooliganism. Most persons in Hammelburg, Social Democrat, Stalinist or otherwise, have only contempt for the conduct of their well fed liberators.

A Gasthaus in Munich once served as the headquarters for Hitler's early activities. This is understandable for Gasthauser are more than mere drinking places. Their atmosphere combines that of the old Crusader Cafeteria off New York's Union Square that the radical movement patronized in the early Thirties and the Hotel Algonquin frequented by the writers.

In Hammelburg as in many other German cities and towns, the outlawing of meetings and societies by the American authorities coupled with the physical destruction of homes and public meeting halls has led once again to the resurrection of the Gasthaus as a political and cultural center.

In one corner seated around a table drinking seltzer water are a group of giggling youth. Day after day their only activity during the winter months is to frequent the warm inn. At night they sleep in a barrack recently built in a large store. Most of the boys are either orphans or have been separated from their parents. Some are fortunate enough to receive an allowance from the German Red Cross which permits them to exist in the most frugal way. The others have to scrounge to

Their attitude is listless, daily growing more bitter against the Americans. The youngsters are fast on the way to becoming LUMPEN. The outlook for learning a trade or receiving an education is bleak. A new generation is growing, but without any proletarian ballast or roots tying them to any group in

The others scattered throughout the room are for the most part refugees from the big cities. Unable to make contacts with the neighboring farmers or to possess a truck garden in the back of their dwelling, they are constrained to eat the skimpy, unattractive meal provided by the Gasthaus in exchange for a mark (ten cents) and a ration stamp. After the meal of potato soup and the main plate of potatoes, carrots and beets the tables are cleared away. The patrons linger, reluctant to leave a warm room and radio for their barracks or, if they are lucky, a cold, barely furnished room.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NUREMBERG TRIALS

The radio suddenly blares forth with the usual day's quota of news about the Nuremberg trials. There are smirks exchanged. One Kazetler, as former concentration camp prisoners are known today in Germany, ventures the opinion that the trials are a farce. In a bitter tone, he adds that the men in the dock should have been taken care of long ago. The people can't live on the trials. What they need he suggests, "is food, jobs and housing." The others nod in full agreement. Their attitude is typical of Hammelburg and Bavaria. The people complain in private of the meaninglessness of the trials.

The Gasthaus is also the place where the political parties of the town meet. Of the three functioning parties the Communist Party in town is by far the smallest. This is understandable. The German soldier who was in Russia asserts that he saw nothing that he would like to introduce in Germany. Those who were in Berlin at the time of the entry of the Russian army, have brought back tales of horror that are readily accepted.

But their opposition to the German Communist Party is not at all the same simple reactionary point of view that one finds, for instance, in the American small town. For, except among the more primitive German peasants, one finds a ready receptivity to radical ideas. The objections to the German Communist Party are largely as a result of the behavior of the Russians during the occupation and the support which the German Stalinists gave to that occupation.

(To be continued)

A First Hand Report on Communal Riots in India

(The U. S. press has been filled with reports of bloody fighting between Hindu and Moslem in India. These reports have been so slanted as to make readers believe the people of India are incapable of independent rule. We therefore print below excerpts from an article in Samasamajist, organ of a Trotskyist group in Ceylon, which explains how these religious riots were engineered by the reactionary leaderships of the Moslem and Hindu organizations, against the interests of the Indian masses themselves.—Ed.)

The recent wave of strikes which swept the entire continent of India, disorganized considerably the economic life of Calcutta. These strikes have kept the masses in a state of ferment and militancy that Calcutta has never before witnessed in its existence. The number of workers affected and the duration of some of the strikes have been unprecedented. British imperialism, the Feudalists of the Muslim League and the Hindu Maha Sabha and the bourgeoisie of the Indian National Congress were alarmed at the paralysis of economic life.... Economic strikes were interspersed with political strikes. . . .

The militancy and political consciousness of the working class developed by leaps and bounds in the course of these struggles. The recent postal and telegraph strike brought to the center of the stage the proletariat. To a great extent these struggles made it clear that possibilities of power lay in the hands of the workers of industry. The Indian bourgeoisie realized that delay in coming to a settlement with British imperialism would be dangerous. Hence the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. The Muslim League had to make way for the Indian National Congress. The landlords were dismissed from the service of British imperialism to make way for the more powerful bourgeoisie.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly made it clear to Jinnah and his Muslim League that their position was very weak.... Dangerous diseases require desperate remedies. Jinnah and his colleagues were compelled to do something desto display to the world that the Muslim masses were behind them. The 16th of August was chosen by the High Command of the Muslim League as the Day of "Direct Aclords did not state clearly against the proletariat.

whom the "Black Hundreds" in the service of the Muslim League were to use "direct action.

Reports vary as to the number of the killed and injured in the three days of "murder, arson and riots" which reduced Calcutta to a slaughter house. The Muslim League paper, "Star of India," places the number killed at three or four thousand and the injured at seven thousand. A Conservative estimate for the purpose of defending the Muslim League Ministry. "The Modern News" correspondent gives the number of those killed as 7,000 and those injured as 20,000. The corpses of the slaughtered are still being counted. The sewers of Calcutta are daily delivering corpses of the unknown dead. The streets were littered with the corpses of the killed. The hospitals were crowded with the injured. It is yet too early to give a correct estimate of the killed and injured. What is important, is to note the inactivity of the Suhrawardy's government from the 16th to the 19th of August.

American correspondents charge the Muslim League Government of Bengal of criminal negligence of the most elementary precautions and safeguards for putting an end to the 'reign of terror" that descended on Calcutta during the fateful three days. The Muslim League government must have given every encouragement to the assassins to go about their work of destruction unmolested. This service they owed British imperialism and the semi-feudal landlords of India. The Feudalists of the Hindu Maha Sabha doubtless set in motion its "Black Hundred" hirelings "to teach the Muslim communalists a lesson."

Five British, two Indian and two Gurkha battalions were employed in Calcutta "to control the recent rioting in the city" according to a statement made by the Commander of the Bengal Assam area. The number of those killed and injured as a result of firing by the military and the police must be considerable. The Indian National Congress must shoulder the responsibility for the action of the imperialist army in perate. They had to gamble with the . Calcutta. Troops will remain in Callives of innocent women and children cutta after the communal tension subsides to prevent the masses from participating in the anti-imperialist struggle. The activities of the proletariat will be prevented. The Muslim League has succeeded by the sensetion." Of course, Jinnah and his less slaughter of the masses in di-coterie of nabobs and other land- viding into communal sections even

Bustamente--"Uncrowned King" of Jamaica

By J. R. JOHNSON

The name of Bustamente has frequently appeared in the American and British press as the leader of Jamaican labor. Nothing so illustrates what has been happening in the West Indies as the career of this "uncrowned king" of Jamaica.

In the years before the war Jamaica had an advanced type of Crown Colony Government. The ma-jority of the Legislative Council was elected and this majority had some power over finance. But the governor retained final power. The governor, though appointed by the British Colonial Office, represented the interests of the colonial ruling class.

The influence of "the people" and their elected members can be judged from the fact that in 1939 the electorate of Jamaica amounted to only five per cent of the population. Furthermore there was a high property qualification for candidates to the legislature, excluding thereby poor men. Legislators were not paid, and only wealthy men could represent "the people."

GREAT LABOR STRIKES

Great strikes of labor shook this rotton constitution to pieces. The

workers began to live a life of intense industrial and political aspiration. A great mass movement arose, based on the unions but embracing all strata of the laboring population and parts of the middle-class. At its head was Bustamente.

Bustamente is without any recognizable political doctrine. The people of Jamaica were on the move after nearly 75 years of political subservience, and Bustamente was at their head. He was imprisoned, but the government had to let him

To add to the crisis of the British government, the U.S. had entered the West Indian scene. Global war demanded that the American fleet control West Indian waters. Control of the world market demanded that the U.S. make a bid for American influence in the islands. The 'U. S; demanded and got its aerial, naval and military bases.

But the population was restless. The pressure against Britain continued unabated. Roosevelt pulled a very fast one on the British government. To their disgust he came out suddenly for universal suffrage and free compulsory education in the

starving peasants and the dock West Indies. In March 1942 an socialist group, and the other three Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was established to plan measures for the improvement of West Indian conditions. The geographical situation of the U.S. and its powerful economy put the British in a secondary position in the Western

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

They grudgingly proposed a new was granted universal suffrage. Legislators were to be paid. Two houses were to be set up: the lower house to be a completely elected body and the upper house partly nominated by the governor (i.e., the local banks, industrialists, merchants and land-

But there was another change of great importance. The Executive Council, the real ruling body, a sort of cabinet, was to be elected by the lower house. And these executive council members were to serve as heads of several governmental departments. The governor still had the power of veto, but he could exercise it only with the consent of the elected Executive Council.

BUSTAMENTE'S VICTORY

Here was a constitution most helpful to Bustamente and his mass following. His political party won 23 seats out of the 32. Five were won by the People's National Party, a

were won by independents. The party of big business, the so-called Democratic Party lost every seat it contested. Bustamente controlled the lower house absolutely, half the members of the executive council were members of his party, and he led the mass union movement. Hence his claim to the title of "uncrowned

In politics it is splendid to have a majority. But it is more important in the long run to have a policy. Bustamente had and still has no policu. The economies of the West Indian islands are bankrupt. Nothing but a federation of independent islands, nationalization of basic industry, workers' control of production, and planned economy can begin to give them anything like a place in the world market.

All this is beyond the limited conceptions of Bustamente. The result is, that faced with a socialist movement on the one hand and big capital on the other, he has formed an alliance with big capital.

JAMAICAN SOCIALISM

When the big mass movement got under way one of its most respected leaders was Norman Manley, a Jamaican lawyer and former Rhodes scholar. When Bustamente was in jail, Manley led the national movement in militant and uncompromising fashion.

This writer believes that Bustamente is a thoroughly unprincipled demagogue. Manley found collaboration with him impossible and his party, the People's National Party, entered its own candidates. Its program is complete self-government and nationalization of base industry, aimed in particular at Tate and Lyle, the great sugar manufactur-

Big business recognized in Manley's program a dangerous enemy. It has thrown all its weight into support of Bustamente against Manley. Bustamente has declared himself against self-government, against nationalization, and has now gone so far as to denounce freedom of speech. In return he has great political power, a finger in patronage, and . balances between the claims of capital and the needs of his followers in the unions.

The Peoples National Party controls a small association of unionists, but the mass power is in Bustamente's hands. Recently in an interunion struggle, a murder was committed. Bustamente was charged with the responsibility. He was acquitted, but Jamaica is still in a state of permanent unrest.

PROSPECTS FOR TOMORROW

In the past eight years there has

taken place a political transformation unheard of by even the most ardent advocates of self-government. The masses of the people are not hostile to Manley and the PNP. They are, however, fanatically loyal to Bustamente and often express regret at the lack of unity. The PNP struggles to win the Jamaican masses to its program.oIts future, like everything else about Jamaica, is uncertain. It is not a revolutionary party. But the chief hope for its development is in its allegiance to the idea of class struggle. It has a strong support among the middle classes. But its leaders do not hesitate to inform its followers that the only real basis for the realization of its program is the working masses.

It is to be hoped that under these pressures a genuine revolutionary socialist party will emerge from the Jamaica turmoil. Meanwhile so far the PNP is the most advanced political party in the British West Indies and has a wide following among West Indians in the U.S. where Manley is a frequent visitor.

A Fuzzy Thinker to Edit A Fuzzy Liberal Magazine

Henry Wallace becomes the editor of the New Republic, the weekly "liberal" magazine. It is an appropriate match and we can anticipate the fruits with reasonably certain amusement and disgust.

The New Republic has gained a reputation far out of proportion to its actual content, largely because of the political senility and gullibility of American liberals. Despite the occasionally interesting material that appears in its pages-the exposes of governmental or business corruption; the foreign reports; the literary reviews—the magazine has never attempted to face the first requirement of serious political responsibility: a sharply defined point of view on the major issues of our time, namely, the existence of capitalism and Stalinist totalitarianism. But if it has not developed a clearly defined point of view, it has substituted an empirically groped-at attitude which in practice is equal to support of capitalism and Stalinist totalitarianism.

For, despite occasional criticism and whinnying laments about "being betrayed" by capitalist politicians in whom no one with any sense should have had any confidence in the first place, the New Republic has on all basic issues taken its stand in support of capitalism and-the contradiction is only apparent—in support of Stalinism. Its espousal of the idea of a "soft" attitude toward Stalinist Russia, which makes possible its alliance with Wallace, is its basic motivating conception with regards to current international affairs; and it is this fact which makes secondary or academic its rare criticisms of Stalinist Russia.

Henry Wallace is a man whom circumstances have pushed to a prominence far beyond his intrinsic abilities. (That this is not some rare exception can quickly be proved by merely glancing at the Democratic President of the U.S. and the Republican Governor of New York.) He is a man of limited intellectual vision, whose mind suggests first of all an image of fuzz. Committed to a basic loyalty to the capitalist system, his vague liberalism, which has become equated to what is really a totalitarian conception, leads him to admire the Stalin dictatorship. The admiration of a man like Wallacewho can blithely dismiss the lack of political liberty in Russia because of what he imagines is its economic equity (as if the two are not indissolubly linked!)—for the Stalin ré-

On December 16 of this year, régime has no inkling of socialism in it. For Wallace believes in a modified capitalism-that is, giving the poison a chocolate coating-and his mind has succumbed to the totalitarian dogma to the point where he has become an apologist for the Stalin dictatorship.

That this man speaks as the leader of America's liberals today is a tragic and ironic commentary on the decline of at least large parts of American liberalism to the position of spokesman for an outmoded and evil economic system and uneasy apologists for one of the worst totalitarian states in history. Wallace himself is quite without personality: a blank with a fuzz on top. He indulges in a kind of sickly mysticism and messianic rhetoric which, in a more critical age, would have made him a laughing stock. Today, however, this small-time philosopher is the darling of the Stalinists and the editor of a magazine which claims to be an advanced spokesman of American thought.

What will happen to the New Republic under Wallace's editorship is already foretold by the prospectus he has written. It is a vulgar espousal of what liberals call "action" -that is, supporting capitalist politicians in elections in order to have the politicians "betray" them in practice and then to write tearful editorials "noting with regret"-and it foreshadows a still further decline in the already lamentable intellectual level of The New Republic.

We can expect therefore that The New Republic will take on some of the characteristics of the farm journal which Wallace once edited. The only occasionally stimulating part of the magazine, its literary review section, will probably feel the pressure to eliminate "highbrow"-that is, intelligent-writing in favor of "popular" - that is, vulgar - tripe. Rumors have it that, in anticipation of Wallace's desires, this process has already begun. And we may be certain that the rare voices of intelligent dissent, of radical politics or literary criticism, sometimes printed in The New Republic will find even less welcome under Wallace's editor-

It will be interesting to watch this mating of The New Republic with the Lochinvar from the West riding his steed of semi-Stalinized Liberal Rotarianism. We anticipate a display of political ignorance, critical vulgarity and intellectual shenanigans which will provide another nauseous chapter in the sad history gime is proof positive that Stalin's of American bourgeois journalism,

Parisian Workers Face Winter of Deprivation

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Oct. 14-Paris without coal and with little electricity shivers in the first winter-like temperatures of 40-50 degrees.

Coal is being delivered, but no poor family dares use its tiny supply for another month until the thermometer drops 10 or more degrees. Seven sacks of coal or 35 kilos

last winter, are allotted small families. Families of 4-5 get 9 sacks; of 6-7 get 11 sacks. But this is no gain since they usually have additional rooms.

Most homes heat one room, usually the kitchen or dining room. All other PARIS, Oct. 14-French food prices rooms are so cold everyone sits with his coat on. Since there is no heating of most rooms it is expected that, like last winter, there will be days when the water is frozen in the toilets and sinks, and pipes burst.

Already Parisians are eating while dressed with overcoats or heavy sweaters. Many older folks go to sleep directly after dinner while the young ones take up the more violent forms of American jitterbugging or spend their few francs to sit in a heated cafe.

Almost everyone sleeps all bundled up in sweaters and wool socks, 9-10,000 francs per month is going for It is understood that the big, semi-food alone, leaving little over for

de Paris and others-whose chorus girls had threatened to strike or to wear heavy clothing if more heat were not provided last winter, will get increased coal allotments for

Lighting and heating prices have risen sharply from 333 points last January to 503 in September (on a base of 100 for 1938). Though coal is available on the black market, it is (770 POUNDS), two sacks more than at prices most French families cannot afford. Heavy colds and an increase in respiratory infections are the price workers' families pay for the dreaded French winter.

> rose to 800 points, eight times the 1938 index of 100 and 57 points higher than August's 743 points, the Economic Ministry announced on Sat-

> Meat ranges to 19 times 1938 prices. Lard is 17 times higher, eggs 10 times, soap 10 times, potatoes 91/2 times, milk and rice more than 8

President Bidault's early September declaration that "after September 18" prices will "really" be controlled has proved meaningless. Most of the average worker's salary of nude revues-Folies Bergère, Casino rent, heat, clothing and medicine.



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Philly WP **Opens New Home Office**

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA—The new Labor Action Hall at 1139 W. Gerard Ave., Philadelphia 23, Pa., was opened on Saturday, November 9, as the new social center for readers of LABOR ACTION and their friends. The 75 people who attended enjoyed an evening of games, dances, and conversation, and expressed the desire to return again to enjoy similar social events.

A number of those attending the housewarming frolic had been acquainted with the Philadelphia local of the Workers Party only through LABOR ACTION. Present also as guests were several members of the Baltimore local.

Much of the evening was spent in planned activity of group games and dances, but there were a few lulls in the general activity which enabled old friends and new acquaintances to partake of refreshments, to have pleasant chats, and to enjoy the gay atmosphere of the newly refinished and decorated hall. Six door prizes were given in order to guarantee that all participate in the evening's activity.

GREETED BY ORGANIZER

The formal invitation to LABOR ACTION readers to use the facilities of the hall was extended by the Philadelphia organizer, James M. Fenwick, who also extended the Party's welcome and best wishes. Those present, as well as the public, were invited to attend, in the same hall, on Friday, November 29, a Forum, Russia Since 1917, by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party.

At the conclusion of the evening's festivities it was evident that the housewarming had drawn closer together readers of LABOR ACTION and Workers Party members and sympathizers, a step extremely important in building a large and strong revolutionary socialist movement in Philadelphia.

U. S. Government Seeks Naval Base In Naples Harbor

PARIS, Oct. 15-The U. S. government has requested the cession, "temporarily," of parts of the harbor of Naples, Italy, to be used as a naval base for the U.S. Mediterranean fleet.

Already U. S. armed forces have an air field at Naples, as well as the use of the harbor. It is believed that the U. S. wishes to make Naples its new main base for the Mediterranean fleet of four cruisers and six destroyers.

0

The U.S. is a powerful force in Italy since it has invested upwards of one billion dollars in the Italian econmonths of 1946, the U.S. had become the largest exporter of capital goods to Italy through UNRRA and private corporations. It is also the largest importer from Italy, taking \$28,000,000 in goods and services from that country. In addition, U. S. financiers have bought into Italian industry on a large scale. Through these economic footholds and because of its general economic-political superiority on the world scene, the U.S. occupies a dominant position in Italian economic and political life.

The acquisition of a base in Naples would therefore be still another step in the gradual increase of influence in Western and Central Europe on the part of U.S. imperialism and a further step, as well, in the domination of Italy by U. S. imperialism.

No Socialism in British Nationalization

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Oct. 30-Sir Stafford Cripps, a leader of the British Labor Party, declared last week that the workers cannot control industry because they are "not qualified" to do so. He deplored the shortage of "qualified" workers.

Another leader, Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, in a speech on October 27 at Birmingham, said that the profit motive must not disappear because it is the only way to increase production and the standard of living.

However, Morrison opposed a guaranteed annual minimum wage for workers, claiming that too strict a regulation of wages would hold down profits: "To want to level wages toward the highest point, one can very well finish by leveling toward the lowest point and, by that, end in a lowering of the standard of living."

Reimann Will Discuss German Fate at Forum

Gunther Reimann, noted economist and author of "The Vampire Economy," will speak at the second of the Sunday night forums held in New York City by Labor Action School on November 24. His subject will be "The Future of Germany." The place of the lecture will be the headquarters of the school, 114 West 14th

Reimann will discuss many of the burning problems of international politics associated with the German situation: the struggle of the rival imperialist blocs for control of Germany; the future of German economy; the internal political situationin Germany; and similar vital mat-

Admission to individual lectures in the series is 50 cents, with a bloc of tickets to four lectures available for

The third in the series will be a lecture by the noted novelist, James T. Farrell, on Tolstoy's War and Peace to be held at the same place on December 1.

tarianism.

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its are divided equitably among the workers is not explained.

Following the union congress at Brighton, whose theme was "increasing production," in which the Stalinist Mine Union head, Arthur Horner, joined, Morrison has laid bare the real platform of the Labor Party.

Fuel Minister Shinwell has said all along that nationalization can justify itself only if it was more economical than private capitalist enterprise

How keeping wages low means prof- and showed a profit. In one year of nationalized coal, the industry showed heavy losses. In one year of nationalized housing, there were heavy losses, not profits.

> British export trade instead of gaining the 75 per cent higher level than 1938 which the Labor Party plans, reached 20 per cent higher than 1938 in July. In August it fell to 1 per cent above August, 1938. In September it fell to 9 per cent below September, 1938. And there is every in-

BIDAULT PAYS TRIBUTE TO STALINIST TREACHERY IN FRENCH STRIKE PERIOD

PARIS, Oct. 30 - France lost only 244,000 man-days through strikes in the first quarter of 1946, as against 793,000 in Britain and 81,000,000 in the U. S., declared France's Premier, Georges A. Bidault, yesterday.

Pointing to the French record in a speech at Lille, Bidault said that French recovery was "well under

Bidault is wrong about French recovery being "well under way." Actually it is in a state of slow strangulation. France is freezing without enough coal, with no appreciable housing construction, with prices 100 per cent higher than last January and 800 per cent higher than 1938, while wages are very low. Worse still, for a nation so dependent for her very existence on imports, France's trade began to level off in September and

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strike record. Bidault does not explain that the government of Socialists, Stalinists and Catholics all voted together 537 to 12 to smash the 1,000,-000 government employees' strike in September. He does not explain that the French method of keeping the workers in check is based on control of the labor unions through one of the government parties, the Stalinists.

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at a meeting commemorating the

anniversary of the Russian Revolution

trade, British trade has entered its second post-war phase.

After a phase of ascent up to prewar figures at the expense of keeping working class living standards low, a second phase of leveling off has hit both countries, peculiarly enough in the same month.

Already the Labor Party has backed down from nationalizing steel and has sought to purchase steel in the U.S. The laws of subservience of all countries to the world market have caught up with "nationalization in one country." "Nationalization" measures are a continuation of war controls in economy and concentration of capital which, as Health Minister Bevan said last week have "come to the aid of capitalism."

Schacht Predicts No Trials for the Big Industrialists

PARIS, Oct. 29 - There will be no trials of big German industrialists, said Mr. Hjalmar Schacht on October 29 in France-Soir His full declaration was reported by Captain G. M. Gilbert of the Psychology Service of the U.S. Army, who watched the Nazi leaders at Nuremberg.

Schacht, says Psychiatrist Gilbert, "laughed at the suggestion that the German industrialists would be accused," declaring:

"If you want to bring them to judgment for having aided rearmament of Germany, it will be necessary also to bring to justice those of your country (America)."

Schacht concluded, "The Opel works, which have made nothing beside war production, were the property of General Motors. It is impossible to bring the industrialists to

Such a trial, as Hitler's former Minister- of Economics points out, would reveal the amazing extent of American capitalist investment in Germany which aided the Nazi rearmament. American - German trade was running at almost \$200,000,000 a year in materials which were useful far war.

Schacht is quite confident that far from the industrialists facing trial, the American government needs them badly to run German industry and the German workers. The new American policy announced by RFC Director George Allen, personal confidant of President Truman, supports German capitalist reconstruction with credits and loans.

With the Workers Party

Write to Box 221 for information.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. Open meetings on Sunday evenings. On Thursday, November 21, AL-BERT GOLDMAN, former attorney for Leon Trotsky, will speak on "For Socialist America" at Labor Action

Hall, 639 Main St. Refreshments. LABOR ACTION can be bought at newsstand at Chippewa and Delaware

CHICAGO LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison,

2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone—CHEsapeake 5798 Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednes-

day evenings.

Series of 6 classes in "Problems of Socialism" every Friday night.

CLEVELAND

The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. in Carnegie Hall, 1220 Huron

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tuesday-definite headquarters not yet established.

Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.
Buy LABOR ACTION and the New International in Cleveland at Wheatman's store, 719 Prospect Ave., down-

For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Sta. R. Cleveland, Ohio.

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).

Office hours: 11 a.m. 3 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Thursday at 11:30 a.m. LOS ANGELES

Haedquarters at 3161/2 W. Pico near

Olive. Telephone RIchmond 7-3230.
Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily, except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday and Friday.

LOUISVILLE

New International on sale at Eilers Bookshop, between Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.
For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party — Write Robert

Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

NEWARK

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91 Barclay St. 168 Belmont Ave. Stand, Market and Mulberry, northeast corner.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE-114 West 14th St. Open all day until 7:00 p.m. Tele-MANHATTAN - Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Third floor, 114 W.

HARLEM-Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquar-ters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 106 (near 127th St.).

BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN - Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

READING

LABOR ACTION and The New International are sold at newsstand at Fifth and Penn Streets, southwest

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

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

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Gerard Avenue (3rd door).

WP Branch meets Tuesday evenings at 8. Socialist Youth League meets Fri-

day at 8;00 p.m. FALL FORUM SERIES at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Ave. MAX SHACHTMAN will speak on "Russia-Since 1917" on Friday, November 29, 8 p.m. All readers and

friends of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend. LABOR ACTION on sale at follow-

ing newsstands: N. E. cor. 11th and Walnut Sts.

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LABOR ACTION and New International may be purchased at 2059 Fill-more St., San Francisco; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd St.; McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St.

In Berkeley: Whelens, Bancroft and

SEATTLE

For information regarding Workers Party Branch and LABOR ACTION, write to Workers Party, PO Box 143, U. S. Post Office, Seattle

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

PRESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION

NEW INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN:

In previous columns, we have urged all LABOR ACTION agents to pitch in and help out our sister publication, The New International, during the expansion and subscription campaign of the magazine. Some of our agents have responded to this call, but far from enough. The New International has informed us that its campaign is off to a slow start, as of now, and it is anxious to get all the assistance and help it can. Nobody is more qualified than a LABOR ACTION representative to help in this worthy job, and we urge all of them to participate. Subscriptions and plans for expansion are right in line with the experience and training of our LABOR ACTION. And write us how you are helping out on the campaign.

All agents of LABOR ACTION have by now received the latest bills on their LABOR ACTION account. We have been forced to warn several agents that, due to negligence on their part in meeting obligations, they are in danger of having their bundle orders cut off. Their credit has been exhausted. We hope these agents will take immediate steps to get back into good standing, by sending in substantial payments.

Last week was another excellent week for subscriptions and renewals for LABOR ACTION. New York City blossomed forth with an excellent showing, and Chicago and Newark did almost as well. Here is the list for the past week:

NEW YORK CITY				
Newark				************
Chicago				
San Pedro	.v.c.		rand sense of the	
San Francisco				
Detroit				
Minnesota		************		
Cleveland				
Los Angeles				•••••••
Streator, III.			*************	
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Amnesty Committee Applauds LA Edit

Dear Editor:

This is just a word in appreciation of the excellent editorial on amnesty for conscientious objectors in the latest issue of LABOR AC-TION. The fact that you disagree strongly with their stand only adds weight to the demand that they all be freed.

You will be interested to know that a minority of the 6000 objectors given prison sentences since 1940 are pacifists. The 4500 Jehovah's Witnesses are certainly not pacifists, and neither are the Negro objectors to army Jim Crow, Puerto Rican advocates of independence, Orientals refusing military service in the forces of an ally of the British Empire or so long as they are barred from citizenship under the Oriental Ex-

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clusion Act, and young Japanese Americans who would not goeinto the army while they and their families were held in relocation centers in the West. Nor are many Socialist

and IWW objectors.
Sincerely yours,

ALBON MAN. November 5, 1946.

We wish to thank the Committee for Amnesty for its letter. Further, we are glad to publish the additional information it contains. We wish to use the occasion of printing this letter, to reiterate our demand for FULL and IMMEDIATE amnesty for ALL conscientious objectors. Additional material on this campaign will appear from time to time in LABOR ACTION.-Ed.

"One World" Idea Only for the Books

Many people in this country are under the impression that the United States government is acting as a benevolent despot in Germany, teaching "fascist minded" people the error of their ways, demonstrating the superiority of the democratic way of life and helping the wheels of economic

progress to start turning.

How much of what the American government is bringing to Germany, or Japan or any place in the world is benevolence and democracy and how much of it is unrelieved despotism become apparent from a surprisingly honest picture of the two worlds that exist in Frankfort, Germany, described by Anne O'Hare Mc-Cormick of the New York Times.

"In Frankfort today there are two cities as remote from each other in life and character as in aspect. One is the American compound surround-. ing the big military headquarters in the I. G. Farben Building with its blooming gardens, its spacious cafeterias and its brand-new glass-walled soda bar.... Lively, well-dressed children play in the yards and bareheaded girls in bright sports, suits carry packages from the commissary. ... More jeeps than other cars are drawn up at curbs and most of the men are in uniform, but otherwise you might be in the pleasant suburb of an American town....Two American grade schools, one high school and a day nursery were opened this

"Within the compound the ONLY building operation in Frankfort is in progress. It is a half-million dollar community center for this new and growing American colony. It consists

of five buildings connected by arcades In this respect Germany is more and which will house a pharmacy, a beauty parlor, all the supply and repair shops necessary to serve an Army post in exile. As far as local supplies are concerned, it might be exile on a densely populated desert island were it not that the center is being built by prisoners and all material in its construction and also to prepare and equip quarters for soldiers! families comes out of German economy. "...But one glimpse of this trans-

lated corner of America with its

completely separate life and its differ-

ent standards is enough to make the

other Frankfort look more ruinous

than it did before the occupation army domesticated itself, so to speak, and settled down for a long stay. The contrast isn't flouted before the Germans. Except servants and laborers, few out of the 416,000 people outside ever see the inside of the compound. "... Outside the compound a few more shops are open in bricked-up rooms of ruined buildings... A tiny trickle of heretofore unavailable goods - ersatz soap, wire spectacle

-is displayed. "... Production is beginning, say military government officers, but little evidence of it appears on the counters of empty shops or in the motley clothing the people wear....

more like Russia in the worst years. "Nothing new is being built. Rehabilitation isn't part of the program of the military government.... "People look as if they had settled down to a dead level of existence. Except in the country, where the chil-

dren have a little color in their

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cheeks and the fields are worked with grim tenacity from dawn to dark, the population looks worse and works less than last year. They are thinner, yellower, slower - motioned, more threadbare. The military government health figures tell a story of decreasing resistance reflected in worried, pinched faces of women, hollow-eyed men, weak-lunged children. An American trying to get some repairs done reports most willing laborers can't work more than four hours. After that they get confused and wobbly from hunger. With few exceptions, the population is hungry. On October 15 the ration was raised to the low level of last winter, but last week in Frankfort it reached only 1,300 calories instead of 1,550.

frames, wooden or composition soles "... With no peace yet in sight and no visible prospect of any but the most homeopathic doses of economic stimulant, it looks as though their term of punishment will last for a long time to come."

Imperialist Conflicts Sharpened in UN Arena Over Trusteeships, Colonies and Refugees --

France, and Belgium because they would lead to the setting up of "colonial territories," and would violate "the principles of the United Nations Charter, which establishes a trusteeship system over non-self-governing territories including former

But while Russia is deeply concerned about trusteeships for "non-self-governing territories including former mandates," she has herself gobbled up states which were selfgoverning, thus violating every democratic principle of selfdetermination and national freedom. She incorporated the Baltic States, parts of Finland, Poland, and other Eastern European territory. And while Russia is right in her criticisms of her rivals, they are also right about her. Having acceded to Russia's territorial seizures, the Western powers are a little taken aback that the Russians won't grant their demands.

2. General Smuts and South-West Africa: As part of the general problem of trusteeships but standing apart because of its special character is the proposal of Africa's leader, Field Marshal Smuts, that South-West Africa, over which it holds a mandate, shall be annexed to it, and not placed under

a UN trusteeship. In defending his proposal for annexation, Smuts declared that Wants His, Too! 200,160 (!) of the 303,850 natives had been consulted on their wishes in the matter (how, when, where and by whom has not been declared). We can easily imagine the manner in which they were consulted by Smuts' Jim Crow government which is notorious for its racial practices. The sanctimonious Smuts was roundly attacked by Delegate Herard C. L. Rey of Haiti and José Mendose of Guatemala. Prior to this outburst, Indian delegates submitted Smuts and the South African government to a proper dressing down for the policy of discrimination they practice in what they regard as a "white man's" hunting ground.

The author of this annexationist proposal is undoubtedly the ancient Field

"Marxism and the Jewish Question"

opens a new discussion in the No-

vember issue of The New Interna-

tional. Although this discussion does

"not present the first Marxist writ-

ings on the question, what makes this

discussion so necessary, even urgent,

is the entirely changed situation of

the Jewish people, especially those

of Europe, as a result of the rise of

Nazism and its aftermath." At one

time it was possible for the revolu-

tionary movement to propose as the

solution of the Jewish question the

assimilation of the Jews in their own

countries; today in the era of capi-

dominate the masses of Jews and are

The New International campaign

is slowly but surely getting under

way. This campaign, to increase the

circulation of the magazine by 500

new subscriptions and by increasing

bundle orders, is getting further

support from the agents of the mag-

azine. As of now, subscriptions have

come in from Newark, New York,

Chicago, San Francisco and Detroit.

Other branches of the Workers Par-

ty have begun to work on this cam-

Last week, the November issue of

The New International was mailed

out to all distributors. In New York

City's boroughs of the Bronx and

Manhattan, 700 copies of the No-

vember issue have been placed on

newsstands, with prospects for ex-

cellent sales. The Editorial Depart-

ment of The New International is

now hard at work preparing the

forthcoming December issue of the

magazine, which we intend to have

out by December 1st. This will mark

the half-way point in the campaign,

scheduled to end on January 1, 1947.

Last week we told how organizer

Berg of the Newark Workers Party

branch was the proud obtainer of

paign.

not merely the concern of Zionist where: A free Palestine with ma-

NI Sub Campaign

Gets Into Motion

Marshal, once an opponent of British rule in South Africa and now one of its outstanding imperialist spokesmen. Like all late converts he outdoes his sponsors. On holiday occasions Smuts makes learned speeches about the new era of "democracy and the right of freedom for all peoples." But in practice, he is the head of one of the most vicious "white supremacy" governments in the world. Some of its practices are even worse than these employed in the South in the U.S. As is to be expected, race discrimination, Jim Crow and white chauvinism in South

Africa are accompanied by a brutal, vicious system of exploitation of the native population, who are herded into ghettos beggaring description. The natives have no right to organize and assemble; they have no right to free speech or free press; they are subject to curfew laws which make it impossible for them to do anything except to slave for their white exploiters. If this South African Bilbo won his proposal, it would merely place several hundred thousand more natives under the heel of the gang of unconscionable exploiters for whom he speaks.

(P.S. Smuts is not alone. The United States has its own Smutses at Lake Success who never fail to rise and deliver perorations about democracy and freedom. Why not? They make those speeches in the very South where democracy is only for the white population-and not all whites either. They make those speeches on election day when the poll tax rules the South, when Negroes are not permitted to vote, and when the tiny well-knit political machines of the Southern bourbons organize and "win" their elections. But if these hypocritical speeches are good enough for the South, they're good enough for the UN. It is interesting to note also that no representatives of the "great nations" rose to say a word about Smuts' proposition!)

3. Refugees and Democracy: Poor Mrs. Roosevelt! There is no doubt that she is an honest and earnest liberal. But like all liberals she has her head square up against an impenetrable barrier. She tries hard to achieve what she regards as real freedom and democracy in an imperialist-capitalist world which is the very antithesis of these. Her popularity in the United States with the people at large is due to her intervention on many democratic and trade union questions in favor of the workers, the Negroes and other discriminated minorities. She is a "do-gooder" (this is not meant to be entirely derogatory) in the decaying, rotting society in which she believes. And that is the basis of her contradictions and her inconsisten-

Right now, Mrs. Roosevelt is a member of the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the UN. At one of its sessions, she became embroiled in a dispute with that notorious democrat, Russian Vice-Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky, who was a leading participant in the judicial murder of hundreds of Old Bolsheviks during the Moscow Trials. Vishinsky and the Russians oppose the formation of an International Refugee Organization to assist the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees throughout Europe, vast numbers of whom refuse to return to their former countries. The reason for this refusal is that in most cases it means returning to Russia (1 Baltic States and annexed Poland) or territories under the control of the NKVD and the Russian army.

Mrs. Roosevelt defended the right to the refugees to refuse to return to their former homelands on the grounds that in

"Marxism and Jewish Question" in November NI

sion in the struggle for socialism."

the aspirations of growing Jewish na-

tionalism for a territory in Palestine

are "the legitimate, democratic yearn-

ings of a people long subjected to

pia, revolutionary Marxists must

champion the right of the Jews to

immigrate to Palestine. The struggle

for a free Palestine can be waged

only on the basis of Jewish-Arab

unity, which finds its concrete politi-

cal expression in the demand for the

immediate convocation of a Constit-

uent Assembly. But the successful

struggle against imperialism - the

Anglo - American and Russian - as

well as against the Jewish bourgeoi-

sie and Arab landlords can be led

only, by a powerful revolutionary

the signers of the second article, "As-

Albert and Edward Findley are

bi-nationalism are the two sides of

W. Brooks, author of the third ar-

ticle, maintains that "Palestine has

been inhabited by the Arabs and is

part of their national territory....It

is only a question of time when a

powerful movement for national lib-

eration and unification will set in.

It will be a progressive movement

whether it is led by feudal-capitalists

The New Address of

THE WORKERS PARTY

LABOR ACTION

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

4 Court Square

NOTE:

the Palestine coin of national libera-

Marxist party in Palestine.

pendent nations, and because these refugees feared reprisals against them. But Vishinsky, displaying that same fiendish zeal with which he called for the death of those who made the Russian Revolution which he opposed, entered into a dispute with Mrs. Roosevelt on the right of these people to refuse to return and on the meaning of democracy. At one point in the debate, Mrs. Roosevelt declared:

"I gather that Mr. Vishinsky felt that any who did not wish to return to their homelands must of necessity be fascist. I talked to a great many of these people who do not strike me

This is not news. Anyone acquainted with the Stalinist school of falsification knows that in its simplification of politics one is either a pro-Stalinist, or a pro-fascist, or, what is the same thing, a "Trotskyist mad dog." Certainly Stalin's secret police would like to get hold of the refugees who refuse to return to the hell of his rule. And the refugees who refuse to return know what fate awaits them if they do: the NKVD prisons, convict labor camps, forced labor and death.

WHAT-PARADES AS "DEMOCRACY" AT LAKE SUCCESS

To the new ruling class in Russia this is all democracy. More precisely, their type of democracy. What a travesty! The revolutionary socialist movement-bitter foes of Stalinismare the outstanding champions of democracy: the right to free speech, free organization, free assembly. For revolutionary socialists, genuine democratic rights are an indispensable part of the struggle for socialism. Because genuine democracy is resisted and curtailed by capitalist society it is something always to be fought for and defended. But in the universal social decay of present times, Stalin's Russia-that prison of the peoples where no one dares speak out the truth, write what he believes, or organize an independent meeting, let alone a political party or fraternal society—is represented as a genne democratic land!

Because the Stalinists have perverted the idea of democracy as they have every principle of revolutionary socialism, Mrs. Roosevelt, the liberal defender and advocate of capitalism, is able to defend this system as "democratic." The net result of all this is confusion of the people at large. Looking at Lake Success from a distance one sees:

"Democratic" imperialism: a world of class exploitation, colonial persecution, racial discrimination, military rule, poll tax elections, Jim Crow practices, outlawing of strikes, suppression of freedom-all of it mixed up with a bit of democratic rights depending on the richness of the countries involved and the state of class organization and struggle. This is represented as "pure" democracy!

Stalinist imperialism: a world of dictatorship and the rule of the secret police; no democratic rights whatever, a new exploitation of the peoples under the rule of counter-revolutionary parties, the prison or death for opponents. And this is represented as the "new" democracy!

People: Zignist Politics Or Socialist Struggle? By AL FINDLEY anti-Semitism.

Which Way for the Jewish

the economic policies of the Minister of Coordination.

It Happened Last

in the section around Trikkala.

servative) Liberal Party in Volos.

Execution carried out.

occupation forces.

Xiopotamos near Grevena.

"inflammatory articles."

Week in Greece ...

Ten workers were killed and nine more wounded by royalist gangs

· Thirty-three workers and peasants were killed, 80 wounded and

• Thirteen persons were killed by government forces at Vyricika.

A trial of 59 soldiers and civilians, accused of treason to the state,

began this week at Volos. One of those being tried is General Psiaris.

His crime is that he heads the anti-monarchist (but otherwise con-

A military tribunal in Gianitza condemned two "radicals" to death.

• The court of the city of Patras condemned 11 members of the ELAS

(resistance movement during occupation) to death. These 11 persons

were charged with killing 40 gendarmes (cops) during the period

when Greece was occupied by Hitler's army. During the occupation

the gendarmes were the eyes, ears and bloodhounds of the German

Nineteen persons were killed by fascist bands in the village of

• To offset foreign criticism, the government has brought to trial a

few of the leaders of the Security Battalion. The Security Battalion

was made up of Greek fascists who openly collaborated with the Ger-

man occupation authorities in trying to destroy the underground

movement. At the trial, these fascist leaders of the Security Battalion

are using as their defense that they wanted to save Greece from

communism. As part of their defense they have produced evidence

that during the December Uprising in 1944, they were used by the

Papandreou Government and the British to fight against the workers.

Nobody in Greece expects anything serious will happen to these

• The military tribunal in Salonika sentenced the editors of the EAM

newspaper "New People's Voice" to life imprisonment for publishing

• The editor of the Athenian newspaper "Free Greece" was sentenced

to five months in prison and fined 400,000 drachmas for criticizing

40 captured by government troops in Central Greece.

Early in September the conservative bourgeois press of Palestine started its campaign to have the Jews of the United States vote Republican and thus punish the Democrats for their "treachery" to the Jewish cause. These attempts had little effect on the general Zionists. During the election campaign the Zionists stressed criticism of the Truman policy, but never actually broke with the Democrats. Truman's Yom Kippur statement, urging the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, was hailed by the Zionists.

Even the mild Zionist criticism was too strong for the local Stalinists. Through the Jewish Labor Council. one of their front organizations, they published a statement accusing the Zionists of aiding reaction—completely neglecting the fact that the bulk of the bourgeois leaders of American Zionism are still tied to the tails of the same Democratic Party which they, too, were supporting.

The only open endorsement of the Republican Party came from the Revisionists-a reactionary, semi-fascist tendency in Zionism-who denounced the Democrats for their inaction during Hitler's terror, for Roosevelt's acceptance of the 1939 White Paper, for Roosevelt's promise to Ibn Saud, for the loan to Britain, etc. The Revisionists look to the United States to use its position as senior partner in the Anglo-American imperialist combine, to force its will on the junior partner -Britain.

In turn, the supporters of Rabbi Stephen Wise in the Zionist movement justify their aid to the Democrats by pointing to Republican indifference to the fate of the Jews under Hitler, to the facts that the Republicans agreed to the first partition of Palestine in 1921 and that a Republican Congress passed the worst anti-immigration laws in 1924.

For our part, we agree with bothneither the Democrats nor the Republicans are interested in the Jewish people, except insofar as it will help garner a few votes, or insofar as their "interest" will enable them to use the Jews as pawns in the imperialist game of power politics.

The bourgeois Zionists - liberals and conservatives - have taken their stand with one or the other of the capitalist parties.

THE "SOCIALIST" ZIONISTS

The so-called Socialist Zionists, the left-wing Hashomer Hatzair and the reformist Paole Zion continue to exist in the stratosphere and refuse to sully their hands with "politics," giving no support to ANY working class parties or candidates.

The inaction of these latter organizations flows from the false Zionist concept that nothing effective can be done for the Jews outside of Palestine and that the Jewish problem and U. S. politics are separate. A tragic example of this false philosophy can be seen in the attitude of the Zionists toward demanding the admission of refugees to the United States. While LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party, mindful of the desperate need of the displaced persons, has demanded that the United States open its doors, the Zionists remain silent on

Granting the Zionist assumption that Palestine can accommodate from two to six million Jews within a few generations-what is their answer to the problems of the nine million Jews who will have to live else-

where? Shall they submit meekly to

Anti - Semitism has deep historic and religious roots and exists in latent or potential form among millions. In times of deep social crisis, these latent ideas take on overt and outspoken forms. Capitalism is in the greatest social crisis of all history. We therefore find that anti-Semitism takes the most extreme and totalitarian forms, as in Germany. Support of, or compromise with the breeder of anti-Semitism, is a betrayal of the

It is not simply a question, as some put it, of "Why should the Jews fight for the interests of others"? Those Jews who are fighting for socialism are fighting not merely for others but also for their own personal survival and for the survival of their people.

Even if all the Jews could enter Palestine in the near future, what would be the fate of this small country in a world dominated by capitalist and Stalinist imperialism? The daily papers of the last few months have painted a grim picture and are impressing it into even the hardest head -that such a world offers no hope for peace and independence from outside interference.

THE ROLE OF LABOR

"What about the British Labor government?" is the cry raised by the reactionaries, and some renegade socialists. J. Lischinsky, writing in the Yidisher Kempfer, says:

"The Attlees and the Bevins have shown...that even socialists do not stop at any cruelty when they are dealing with Jews. Therewith they have demonstrated for the entire working class that their socialism is only holiday phrases to be thrown out root and branch when they conflict with the imperialist interests of their nation."

The logical inconsistency of this argument is apparent from the writer's own words. He condemns the British Labor Party for sacrificing its socialism for nationalism, for departing from socialist anti-imperialist principles and for accommodating itself to an imperialist set-up. At the same time, Lischinsky himself completely embraces nationalism as the sole guiding principle of action.

In the same way, the Jewish nationalists, reformist-liberals and Revisionists, are as guilty as the British Labor Party because they too worship nationalism and accommodate themselves to imperialism in one way

The only road for the Jews of the U. S., individually or as a group, is to support and join in the socialist struggle to destroy capitalist imperialism.

NO REPORT YET ON SHACHTMAN VOTE

We have as yet been unable to get from the Board of Elections a record of the vote for the Workers Party candidate, Max Shachtman, in the 15th Congressional District of Brooklyn. On the day of voting, only the vote of the big parties is phoned to the Board and released to the press. It sometimes takes weeks, sometimes months, before a report is issued on the ballotting for minority parties. As soon as we receive the information it will be published in LA-BOR ACTION.

many cases these homelands no longer existed as free and inde-

series of twelve points. "The struggle or not; whether it can or cannot sucfor the defense of the Jewish people, ceed without a victorious socialist of their full economic, political and movement." On the other hand, "Zisocial equality and against all forms onism, as all varieties of Jewish naof anti-Semitism is...an integral tionalism, is based on racialist ideolpart of the struggle in defense of deogy" and, therefore, reactionary. mocracy and civilization, a struggle This, he states, is the reality of the which finds its only complete expressituation today, permeating all strata of the Jews. He proposes that the The resolution states further that

> ing the plight of the Jewish people, supports their right to immigrate to any country, except Palestine, where Arab rights take precedence. Further, he calls upon the Jewish workers to share all the advantages "flowing from their better equipment, better education and the funds which have flowed and will flow in the future into the country from abroad and to lend conditional support of the right of the exclusive use of the Arab language in all institutions which the

revolutionary movement in recogniz-

Arabs will hereby acquire." Also in the November issue is an

article by Shirley Lawrence entitled "The Myth of German Character." It is the first of two articles which deal with the psychological and historical development of the German people. Answering the critics of the German people who provide ideological aid to the rutheless Allied subjugation of Germany, the author takes up the social and historical conditions that influence German thought and action.

H. Leder answers Henry Judd on Germany in an article called "Why the Germans Failed to Revolt." A rebuttal by Judd follows.

"Unemployment accelerated like a snowball . . . reaching 2,500,000 by mid-July," is one of the important is one of the important facts in an eyewitness account of Italy since liberation by Jack Armor.

Reports on the revolutionary movement in South Africa, India and France; book review of Karl Kautsky's "Social - Democracy vs. Communism" round out the issue.

New International Is A Socialist Weapon

By J. R. JOHNSON

Every society lives, or more precisely, thinks, according to a body of ideas. And one of the signs of the breakdown of a society is the fact that the ideas by which it lives are questioned on all sides. That is happening to us today. Can "free enterprise" survive another depression? Is depression inevitable under the system of "free enterprize"? Can any state today escape a government-controlled economy? Is such an economy the sure road to totalitarianism? What kind of communnism exists in Russia? The religious parties that have sprung up all over Western Europe; do they represent a new religious age? And, most important perhaps of all, is it impossible for mankind to live without

Now the capitalist press today is distinguished by the fact that it is in complete chaos on these questions. People like Samuel Grafton and Marquis Childs of the New York Post, Dorothy Thompson, the famous columnist, and others freely confess their bankruptcy and despair. They don't give the advice, the analysis, the historical inferences, the hopes for the future that they formerly poured out so fluently. They say point blank "The crisis is beyond us. We do not know what to do. We do not know what to think. We are miserable. If only people would think differently or act differently. But we know that they won't. The prospect is bleak."

That is why today The New International stands out among the theoretical journals of the day. Its writers all have as their foundation the continuing decline of capitalist society and the solution of its ills by proletarian revolution. Thus problems, disasters, unforseen events, defeats and victories can be analyzed without wailing, defeatism, pessimism, des-

The writers often disagree, we make mistakes, we often have to revise our estimates and our analyses. But our fundamental perspective is not only justfied by events. History daily shows us that there is no other serious alternative-workers' power. socialism, a new world or the descent into totalitarian barbarism.

The New International writers, guided by these principles, resisted the war. Hence we and our readers are not deceived or disappointed by the shameful peace, or rather inability to make peace. We know the futility of supporting either Republicans or Democrats. We are neither deceived nor disappointed at their treacheries, follies or failures. Instead The New International bases itself always upon the movements of the proletariat.

The CIO, the AFL, the poor farmers, the Negroes, the lower middle classes, the same people and types of organization abroad, these are our foundation. We study them, analyze them, advocate policy, build our whole life upon them, what they are, what they were, what they will be.

pointed, confused, bewildered by the and that confidence which comes The New International.

The New ____ **INTERNATIONAL** A Monthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Six Issues — Six Month Subscription — \$1,00 Enclosed is \$1.00 for the Introductory, \$1.00 Six-Month Subscription to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL. ZONE NO. STATE

much of the National Committee's resolution. Their main divergence is over the relationship of the struggle for a territorial solution to the Jewish question and the struggle for socialism. They deny that the territorial

The first article is the resolution, oppression and discrimination." While

of the National Committee of the the achievement of a Jewish state

similation Utopian: Self - Determina-Suddenly, came a loud ringing of his tion of the Jews." They agree with bell, together with a heavy pounding on his door. Staggering out of bed, your Business Manager opened the door and there stood Comrade Herman of Chicago, waving two filled in subscription blanks to The New International, and demanding to know where was the November issue. After exerting extreme self-control, the Business Manager invited Comrade Herman in and attempted

Three differing viewpoints are pre-

sented. Thus The New International

demonstrates again that it is vitally

interested in grappling with all ap-

proaches to problems. Avoiding arid

orthodoxy, with its day - in - day - out

repetition of outlived formulae, the

magazines seeks the answer to new

problems by applying the method of

Marxism. In offering three points of

view on this thorny problem the NI

hopes to arouse thought and discus-

sion leading to the best possible so-

talist decay, Jewish national strivings Workers Party, adopted May, 1946. under capitalism is a reactionary Uto-

Headed "Free immigration every-

jority rule," it develops its ideas in a

Herman Miles of Chicago was not

At 4:30 a.m. (note-a.m.) on last

Sunday morning, the Business Man-

ager was enjoying a sound sleep.

far behind Comrade Berg!

to mollify him. It seems that Herman had become tired of waiting for his November bundle, and had flown in from Chicago to see what the trouble was! Also, he had hoped to be the first to get in his new subscriptions-actually, he was only a few hours behind Newark.

We appreciate such energy and effort on the part of New International agents, but Herman - next time can you make it a little later? At any rate, our comrade is really on the job during the campaign, and tops the list of those competing for the first subscription to this cam- the prize offered to the best agent paign. But New International agent for work on the campaign.

solution is utopian or reactionary. While they propose a call for the immediate establishment of a Constituent Assembly, they point out that it is no more than a first step. In order to answer the "fundamental question of how and on what political basis to resolve the conflict between Arab and Jewish nationalism" they propose that the demand for a Constituent Assembly be linked "to a clear demand for a bi-national (Jewish-Arab) Palestine, in which the national right of both peoples is equally acknowledged. Anti-imperialism and

Thus confusion is the cause of our confidence. Marxism and Marxists are not bewildered by the crisis. We foresaw it, we said so, we traced it, we have always been and are today more than ever confident of the Long Island City 1, New York truth of our way out—the world socialist revolution.

this proposal. Every worker, embittered, disapcapitalist chaos around him can find a stable support, a clear philosophy, from understanding, in the pages of