

3307 SUBS TO DATE! LABOR BOR ACTION!

APRIL 1, 1946-IN TWO SECTIONS

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

GM PROGRAM ELECTS REUTHER!

Attlee Offer To Indians Is a Fraud!

By HENRY JUDD

So India is to be free! What better news could there be for those who have asked for this for many years? No fuss, no feathers, no trouble, no rioting or bloodshed-India is to be free, and it doesn't even have to remain in the British Empire if it doesn't care to. It's all too wonderful for words, and we have the personal guarantee of Mr. Attlee (he's the Prime Minister of England, you know, and a very important man) to this effect. Why, said Mr. Attlee, only last week-we know that the people of India want their independence and we're for it! They don't have to fight for it-here it is, just take it.

It reminds us of the time Sadsack was "invited" into the Officers' Club. He wound up cleaning the latrine. And so with Mr. Attlee's latest announcement to the people of India; the greatest skepticism and caution must be maintained. For 200 years blood has flowed at every attempt of the Indian people to claim their freedom. A phoney declaration doesn't wipe out history. What is it really all

WHAT'S THE HITCH?

Are we to believe that suddenly, after fighting with violent might and main, the imperialists of Great Britain are turning loose their precious possession—the wealth, resources, labor and sweat of this nation of 400,-000,000 people? And the capitalists of England-those men with their huge investments in Indian plantations, commerce, factories and mines, bank and transportation (valued at over \$4 billions before the war began)-are they going to turn all this to the people of India? You must excuse us while we politely

What has happened is basically nothing new. The British government has been approaching India for 30 years now with various offers, promises and fancy tales. Always with one eye on the outside world, in an effort to make a good impression, the British have sent missions by the core. The latest Cripps mission now in India has had many a predecessor. Always the story has been the same-so many strings were attached to the "offer" that not a one was acceptable. There is little or no reason as yet to think the present mission comes in any different spirit, or with any less strings attached to it than previous ones.

But, hasn't Attlee gone further than other Prime Ministers in his House of Commons statement? Didn't he talk about complete independence this time? Let's hold on-not quite!

He made this "offer" with the basic stipulation that all Indians and their parties must get together and agree on the form and content of a new constitution. If they don't, or cannot, then it's no soap. This is EXACTLY the condition laid down by every other British government. And who is to decide whether the Indians have gotten together? Why, Mr. Attlee and (Continued on page 3)

Reconversion!





ATLANTIC CITY, March 27 (By Phone)—At 4:15 p.m. today, Secretary-Treasurer Addes, as chairman of the convention, introduced Walter Reuther as the new president of the UAW-CIO. Reuther was elected by a comfortable majority. Reuther spoke, pledging himself to unifying the organization. In a speech after the election, Thomas repudiated his charge that Reuther was seeking to lead the UAW out of the CIO.

By SUSAN GREEN

ATLANTIC CITY, March 25-When the readers of LABOR ACTION get this report, the 1700 delegates to the tenth convention of the UAW-CIO will have made their choice for president. Be-

The test came when Delegate E. Murphy, Dodge Local 3, touched off a pro-Reuther demonstration. She made a motion for a closed night session to discuss the issues involved between the rival candidates for president. For almost fifteen minutes an undoubted majority of the delegates let loose with cries for Reuther, with whistling, clapping, waving of Reuther placards.

The Murphy motion has a background. Earlier in the day Reuther issued, in leaflet form, a challenge to Thomas to debate the issues raised in the campaign at "a night session of the convention with press and public excluded so that no punches need be pulled." Thomas responded with a written rejection, also in leaflet form, calling Reuther's challenge a stunt. However, the majority of the delegates disagreed with Thomas, for a motion to table the Murphy motion was defeated. The Murphy motion would have carried had not Secretary-Treasurer Addes, chairing

Subways Run at a Profit, **But Banks Want Fare Raise**

NEW YORK-The bankers and real estate owners are putting up a fight to increase the New York subway fare from five to ten cents even though the revenue from the subway more than covers operating expenses. They're trying to toss the burden of the \$56,000,000 debt which covers the interest on bonds and amortization on the shoulders of the New York commuters. The transit statement for 1943-44 shows:

\$125,000,000 Total operating expenses. 108,000,000 Debt charges ... 56,000,000 \$38,000,000

Today, half of every nickel placed in the subway goes to the bankers to help pay part of the debt charge which the commuters did not incur. The rest of the debt is taken from

The Tammany machine politician, Mayor O'Dwyer, truly showed himself as a representative of big business and big business' party through his tax program, part of which will go for subway improvement. His program is based on a double sales tax, which falls heaviest on the worker. He has not only failed to list an increase in real estate taxes, but permits the wealthiest taxpayers to enjoy decreased federal and state real estate levies.

If real estate taxes were brought up to their full legal limit, the city would have an additional \$45,000,000 in revenue. Although the state constitution permits a \$2.00 tax on \$100 of property, the present basic tax rate is only \$1.72. In order to cover the subway debt approximately 94 cents is added, making the full rate \$2.66, as compared with \$2.75 in 1945 and \$2.89 in 1944.

the meeting, made crafty use of the rules on procedure by calling for a two-thirds instead of a majority vote.

This show of Reuther strength came after CIO President Murray, though he entered the convention hall in the company of Reuther this very morning, lavished praise on Thomas and pleaded not to "endanger the future of your own organization," bringing in, of course, the "more than a million men and women, kids, bread and butter, living standards, life." Such pleas are, from time immemorial, tantamount to support of the status quo. However, the majority of the delegates are convinced they need a change in leadership, because Reuther has shown himself to be more progressive and more aware of the needs of labor in this post-war turbulence.

IRRESPONSIBLE CHARGES

While at this writing the convention is only getting under way-the big questions of the General Motors strike, of the union - emasculating company security clauses, of the new crop of anti-labor attacks by both major parties raising the issue of independent political action, having not yet reached the floor of the convention-the fight for the presidency of the union is at its height in the corridors, in caucuses and in press conferences. The fight is not a pretty one. It smacks of the campaigns of capitalist politicians, and any fairminded person would have to admit that the low in this respect is reached by Thomas, who is supported by the Addes-Stalinists.

At an Addes caucus last night, to which Thomas was invited, in a typically Stalinist distortion of history, Addes gave-for the benefit of firsttime delegates-such a review of the UAW-CIO as to make Reuther appear as the all-time menace. On his part, Thomas, like a man made unscrupulous by his desperation, accuses Reuther of the fantastic nonsense of trying to lead the UAW-CIO into the AFL because, forsooth, he took money from Dubinsky's union in support of the GM strike. Shaken in his position, Thomas identifies himself with the CIO and shouts that the contest is not between Reuther

(Continued on page 4)

Petition Nuremberg Court to Investigate Stalin Frame-Up Charges Against Trotsky

writers, trade unionists, clergymen, professors and political figures, among them Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, this week addressed a cablegram to Chief Justice Sir Geoffrey Lawrence of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, petitioning for an investigation of the charges made against Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov in the infamous Trials of 1936-

The signers of the petition, with titles for identification only, include Matthew Woll, vice-president of the AFL, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, Powers Hapgood of the CIO, Frank Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Council, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Leon Nelson, of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Israel Feinberg of New York Joint Board, ILGWU, historian. LABOR ACTION reported

More than a hundred American Msg. L. G. Ligutti, Des Moines, Dorothy Thompson, Oswald Garrison Villard, James T. Farrell, Edmund Wilson, Louis P. Goldberg, Councilman, New York City and Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College.

> Cabling of the petition was announced on March 26 as the Nuremberg Court continued its examination of Rudolph Hess, who is alleged by Moscow to have been Nazi contact-man with the murdered revolutionist, Leon Trotsky, in the period before Stalin signed his pact with

A similar petition, initiated by the British Trotskyists, was recently addressed to Sir Geoffrey Lawrence by a group of men and women prominent in British letters and socialist activities. The best known of these is H. G. Wells, famous novelist and

the text of this petition week before

LABOR ACTION, in giving its this issue before the Nuremberg Court is sure that any objective investigation of its alleged conspiracy will clearly establish the Moscow Trials as a gigantic frame-up, and once again pin the murderer's label on Stalin. The truth or falsity of these charges is of more than historic importance. Involved are not only Trotsky, but virtually every Old Bolshevik, the men who with Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian workers to victory and who were framed by the Stalinist Dictatorship in its destruc-

tion of the great revolution of 1917. The charges against Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks, such as Zinoviev, Bukharin and Kamenev, have already been exploded. After his conviction in absentia, Trotsky was assassinated

in Mexico City by a hireling of the the defendants. (Those who did not GPU, Stalin's secret police. Before his death, however, a volunteer Inwholehearted support to bringing ternational Commission of Inquiry, headed by Dr. John Dewey, world famous educator and philosopher, examined Trotsky and others in Mexico, France and the United States, assailed the Moscow Trials as frameups, and declared Trotsky innocent of the charges, LABOR ACTION has several times reported the text of the Dewey Commission findings which were based on wide interrogation and

The hearings at the Nuremberg Court provide an excellent opportunity to sustain the findings of the Dewey Commission or of the frameup trials. During the Moscow trials no documents were introduced by the prosecutors. They relied instead on accusations of complicity with the Nazis, and confessions forced from

confess were murdered without trial. Those who did confess were murdered with trial.) The men with whom Trotsky and others were alleged to have conspired are now before the Nuremberg Court, notably Rudolph Hess. Questioning these men and examining the large accumulation of documents held by the Court. will shed important historical light and serve the interests of truth and The text, the American petition and

the names of those who have signed up to now, reads: Chief Justice Sir Geoffrey Lawrence International Military Tribunal

Nuremberg, Germany

Esteemed Chief Justice: The undersigned beg respectfully to lay before you a request in connection with the examination of the (Continued on page 4)

-The Meaning of the Fight in the UAW

Auto Labor's Struggle for GM Strike Program

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The UAW-CIO has set the pace for the entire working class so often that it has become a commonplace to speak of it as the vanguard of the labor movement. For that reason alone, the Atlantic City convention of the auto workers' union would be an important event for every worker in the country. But the issues that confront the UAW convention this year are of a kind that give its deliberations an extraordinary importance. What it decides will shape the course of the American working class for a long time to come.

The issues before the convention are fundamental and-if you are not too frightened by the word that gives the shivers to the monopolists-revolutionary. They do not boil down to the question of who is to be elected president of the UAW, R. J. Thomas or Walter P. Reuther, although this question has its importance. They do boil down to the question which is of supreme and primary im-

WHAT ROLE IS THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO ASSIGN ITSELF IN THE PRESENT PERIOD? WHAT IS TO BE THE MAIN AIM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT?

The Atlantic City convention will have to deal with many questions, important ones, too, as it has in the past. It will have to deal with the question of the strike strategy recently employed against the Big Three manufacturers. But none of these questions can even approach in importance the ones indicated above.

In the all-important question, the union sees two positions. One is represented pretty consistently by such men as R. J. Thomas,

Richard Leonard and Philip Murray who has supported them, at least up to now. The other position is represented, very inconsistently, by Walter Reuther. The two positions are more or less summed up, or symbolized, by the "Ford program" on the one side, and the "GM program" on the other. The fight between the representatives of the two positions at the convention will not mean very much unless their basic significance is clearly under-

The "Ford program," which Leonard and Thomas sought to put over, and which Reuther could not bring himself to fight openly, can be summed up in two words: company security. The very idea of "company security" is reactionary. It flies in the face of the basic principles of trade unionism—those basic principles which are so often ignored or violated by the leadership of the tradeunion movement. The only real security for the companies, that is, for the big monopolists, existed when there were no unions to defend the security of the workers. The only way in which the corporations can reestablish undisturbed security for themselves is by destroying the unions. Then they can pay pretty near any wages they want, charge pretty near any prices they want, and take pretty near any profits they want. That would represent real security-for them.

We are not alone in saying that. In the statement he issued for the UAW during the strike, Walter Reuther declared on November 24 that General Motors is seeking to establish "an industrial economic dictatorship" and to conduct a "war to break the back of organized labor." The difference between us is this: we understand just what we are saying and we mean what we are saying.

For the labor movement to champion or support the idea of 'company security" is utterly wrong in principle and disastrous in practice. First, the companies can be trusted to look after their own security. There is no sense in workers forming a special organization of their own, like unions, to give the companies a hand in this. Second, the idea of "company security" puts the interests and needs of the monopolists-the du Ponts. Fords and Chryslers -ahead of the interests and needs of the workers. It makes the conditions of the workers dependent upon the welfare of the monopolists. It guarantees the high profits of the monopolists as the basis, presumably, of decent wages for labor. Third, the idea means in practice (there are a thousand proofs of this) that the union is transformed from an agency of workers into a company watch-dog over the worker. Why the devil do the workers need an organiza- tion for that purpose? If we must have watchdogs, let the company hire its own and pay them out of its own treasury!

Follow the "Ford program," follow Thomas and Leonard, and you end up with a first-class disaster for the labor movement and the working class.

The "GM Program"

The "GM program"—we mean the original GM program—is something entirely different.

We of the Workers Party and of LABOR ACTION do not hesitate for a moment-quite the contrary!-to declare ourselves the enthusiastic champions of the GM program.

What did it call for? What did it mean?

It said the following tremendously important things: We, the workers, declare that the industry is easily capable of paying us a 30 per cent increase in wages. We declare further that this can be done without raising prices of automobiles and trucks. We say that wages can be raised and prices kept low without eliminating a "fair profit" for the corporation. We say, finally, that we can prove these contentions by the books of the corporation itself and we demand that these books be opened up so that the proof may be

Why were these declarations so important?

Because for the first time on such a scale the workers tied together the questions of wages, prices and profits into an inseparable whole and declared that they were ALL the concern of labor.

Because for the first time on such a scale the workers gave the monopolists a vote of non-confidence. They said: We not only do not trust you to set wage scales by yourselves, we also do not trust you to set prices for the consumers or profits for yourselves. That's our business too. And your arguments are lies because you don't show your books. Your books are our business too.

Because for the first time on such a scale the workers said that up to now their wages had been dependent upon assuring corporation profits, but from now on profits would be dependent upon first assuring the workers a decent standard of living and assuring the consumer a "fair price" instead of a steep monopolistic price for

(Continued on page 3 of Magazine Section)

TION OF ALL MARITIME WORK-

ERS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE

The second point should be: no

compromise of the demand for a high

enough wage raise to guarantee a de-

cent living for longshoremen and

their families without overtime work.

The shipowners have for years led

all the capitalist robbers in their

"daring," "free enterprise" raids on

government-owned ships. The pow-

erful Washington lobbies of Amer-

ican shipping interests have met with

consistent and unending success in

their pleas for government subsidies

know the full extent of their wartime

Point number three must be:

bankrupt to guarantee a decent liv-

ing wage to your workers, the gov-

SHIPOWNERS!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

West Coast Longshoremen Headed for Strike

SAN PEDRO, Mar. 18-22,000 Pacific Coast Longshoremen, members of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, have voted 92 per cent in favor of a coastwise strike on or before April 1. The longshoremen are asking a 30 per cent wage raise, shorter work shifts, equal pay for all dock work, extension of overtime provisions to discourage work on Saturdays and Sun-

BULLETIN

SAN PEDRO, March 23-The West Coast Longshoremen's strike scheduled for April 1, will probably be postponed until May 6. The National Maritime Union, CIO, has asked the longshoremen to postpone their strike until after the scheduled unity convention of six CIO maritime unions and one independent union. The longshoremen have scheduled stopwork meetings on or before April 28 to consider the proposition to postpone the strike.

If the unity convention in May backs the longshoremen, as it undoubtedly will, a national tie-up of all maritime transportation becomes a real possibility.

days, and other improved working conditions.

Negotiations over the last six months have brought continued delays, evasions and outright refusals from the Waterfront Employers Association. After the results of the overwhelming strike vote were made

Newark Rings Bell

In W. P. Fund Drive

Every branch of the Workers Party salutes the Newark Local. Let the

"Enclosed you will find two checks. One of them is for \$93 and puts us

"We take only a small pride in being one of the first to achieve our quota,

Fund Drive director of the Newark Local tell you why. Comrade Shaw writes:

over the top in our Fund Pledge. (Newark quota: \$500.) The other is for \$41.87

because, to be frank with you, we had sort of expected that OUR party would

not need repeated exhortations to come across. And yet that scoreboard looks

so damn full of zeros and other low percentages that I feel a sense of acute

branch to have fulfilled our quota than the first. I hope that by the time the

next LA comes out I will have been proved a premature pessimist."

"Honestly, Natie, we would much rather have been at this date the LAST

The Newark Branch, it is important to know, is one of our very youngest

and, as yet-though not for long-one of the smallest branches in the coun-

try. With but nine members at the time, the campaign committee recom-

mended a quota of \$350 for the branch. Newark rejected this-upped its quota

to \$500 and pledged to raise this within one month—and from its members

alone. With the drive only in its fourth week, the Newark Branch has made

good its word. The entire party must take note of the exemplary participa-

tion of the Newark Branch in the Drive. The entire party must seek to emu-

Tom McCarthy in Boston pledges \$50 for his city and writes: "I am fully

conscious of what this drive means to the party. Your correspondence made

it perfectly clear and we just cannot fail to carry it through 100 per cent.

Entirely too much is at stake-it involves nothing less than the future of our

movement. To me, I guess to all of us, these next two years are going to be

decisive ones.... I quite agreed with you-we can't afford to fall down, even

In a letter received from Tom this a.m., he assures us that Boston will cer-

As we enter the fourth week of the \$15,000 LABOR ACTION and Workers

Party Expansion Drive, we have collected \$4,096.50, that is, 27 per cent of our

quota. This week Louisville entered the race with a \$25 contribution toward

its \$200. That cuts to six the branches which have not yet made any contri-

butions. By the next issue one-third of the Drive period will have expired.

Quota

200.00

750.00

3850.00

1250.00

1000.00

200.00

500.00

100.00

25.00

150.00

_ 15,000.00

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Send your contributions for an EIGHT-

PAGE LABOR ACTION to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Steet, New York

WE ARE GOINGS TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER!

from our readers. We appeal to every reader to send us a contribution

to make the expansion possible. Fill out the blank below and send it to

us at once. Make all checks and money orders payable to LABOR AC-

The thousands of dollars required to make this advance must come

____ 350.00

Contributed Per Cent

100

13

12 11

10 08

500.00

110.00

10.00

100.00

401.00

100.00

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000.00

4096.50

2660.50

tainly go over its \$50 quota. Tom has already collected some. Don't hang on

to it. Tom, until it accumulates. Send in your collections at least once weekly.

Funds must be in on Tuesday to make LABOR ACTION deadline.

Let's drive ahead. Keep up to and ahead of schedule.

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

and represents the branch dues up to date.

embarrassment every time I read it.

late this splendid example.

on the slightest part of it."

Branch

Hibbing, Minn.

Newark, N. J.

Reading, Pa.

New York, N. Y. ____

National Office

Seattle, Wash. Boston, Mass. .. Cleveland, Ohio ..

St. Louis, Mo.

Youngstown, Ohio ...

Streator, Ill. ...

Los Angeles Area

San Francisco, Cal.

Louisville, Ky.

Philadelphia, Pa.

11, N. Y. Be a LABOR ACTION BOOSTER.

TION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Chicago, Ill. ..

Akron, Ohio

Detroit, Mich. ...

"WE CAN'T AFFORD TO FALL DOWN"

public, the shipowners offered an 18- marine transport workers is a step cents-an-hour increase, provided a speed-up system would be instituted and a security clause be written into the contract making the union financially responsible for all work stoppages. The familiar ring of the recently negotiated Ford "Slave" Contract (rejected by the Ford union membership-Ed.) is obvious in the offer. The Coastwise Longshore Negotiating Committee has responded with a resounding NO!

AGAINST OVERTIME WORK

The longshoremen up and down the Pacific Coast are on record for the abolition of overtime work. The provisions of the existing contract for overtime pay after six hours' work and a fifty per cent differential for all night work, have neither put an end to ten-hour shifts nor provided a high enough base rate to pay a living wage for a six-hour shift.

Therefore the negotiating committee has made demands which will end ten-hour shifts completely and discourage week-end work. Whatever shipowner strategy is not directed at outright smashing of the union will be directed toward continuing and expanding overtime work.

To win these demands the longshoremen must have a militant, fighting program of action. The support of all transportation workers, particularly marine transport workers, is

FOR A UNITED FIGHT

The move of the West Coast Longshoremen, the National Maritime Union, and other CIO maritime unions toward "One Big Union" for all

in the right direction. However, Harry Bridges and Joe Curran have so far only made unity offers which would drastically curtail the independence and fighting spirit of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and which don't even attempt to reach the East Coast Longshoremen or the waterfront teamsters. Working and fighting unity must be achieved among all maritime unions. The shipowner is the enemy of all mari-

West Coast Sailors is meaningless. The rank and file longshoremen, seamen and all other marine workers must demand in voices loud enough for Bridges and Curran, as well as Lundberg of the SUP to hear. "A United Fight Against the Number One Enemy of ALL Maritime Workers, the United Shipowners of

time workers, "One Big Marine Un-

ion" without the participation of the

We spoke above of the need for a

ernment, which has invested 90 per **Akron Notes:**

AKRON, March 10-Just about two short months ago Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company was vehemently maintaining that there was a labor shortage in Akron and that therefore it was necessary that they continue the eight hour shift. Let's see how that labor shortage has manifested itself.

A committee has been set up in Akron composed of business men, labor representatives, judges, veterans' representatives, etc., for the purpose of finding jobs for 5,000 unemployed veterans. Next month they say it will be at least 6,000. Bear in mind that this figure represents only veterans. It does not take into consideration the thousands that are out of work as a result of the ending of war contracts. This work of helping the unemployed veteran will be under the direction of Mervin Robertson, director of the chamber of commerce's industrial division. All working men in Akron, especially the union men, know that the chamber of commerce's sole concern is for the welfare of the working man and the unemployed. Anyone who believes that should stand on his head for one hour!

MEETING ON FRENCH CRISIS

One hundred and fifty workers gathered on Sunday, March 17, at a meeting sponsored by the New York Workers Party to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Paris Commune.

Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ship: ACTION, paid tribute to the courageous Communards who first pointed the way for the French working class in the fight for socialism. Comrade Garrett, World War II veteran who served in France, pointed out the similarity of France's position in 1871, when the Germans at the gates of Paris were met by the resistance of the Communards, and in 1940. when the Nazis marched into Paris after the capitulation of the capitalist class. Only a new Commune could have saved France in 1940.

The political and economic position of France and the continent today was analyzed by Nathan Gould. national organizer of the Workers Party. He denounced the Communist. and Socialist Party leaders in France today for failing to carry out the mandate of the French working class to take power and institute socialism in France. He saluted the Parti Communiste International (French Fourth Internationalists), who are calling for a CP-SP-CGT government in France as the only French working class party genuinely fighting for

Goodrich Local 5 of the URW had a meeting scheduled for Sunday, March 10, the purpose of which was to formally acquaint the membership with the 181/2 cent settlement and get their approval. This meeting was canceled at the last minute. Many rubber workers would like to know why.

As this is written, no reason has been given publicly. But unofficial information has it that the company promised, while in Washington, to return to Akron, sit down with the Union representatives and negotiate further departmental adjustments as speedily as possible. These fine gentlemen know that the capitalist press will do a job on handling any strike that might occur now. If a strike should become necessary now, every paper in the country would sing the same song, "Goodrich gave them 181/2 cents, now the Union is showing its appreciation."

Sales for General Tire and Rubber Company for the past year were the highest in the history of the company, \$87,095,000, or \$13,000,000 more than last year. Get that now, \$13,000,-000 more than last year. Yet when their jugglers got through with the books, they showed a profit which is \$590,457 less than the previous year. How would you like to have those boys figure YOUR income tax?

Here's something the rubber worker should make a note of and then make use of, especially the leader-

The companies have been making use of super-seniority wherever possible to pit the veteran against the union movement. Everyone in the union movement, veterans and nonveterans alike, is opposed to superseniority. The beginning and the basis for the company arguments has been the decision handed down by Federal Judge Matthew T. Abruzzo of Brooklyn in a case concerning the right of a veteran to bump a nonveteran with greater seniority at the Sullivan Drydock and Repair Company. The judge ruled that he could. This sustained the unofficial position of Selective Service.

Now, however, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals has reversed the decision made by Judge Abruzzo and has ruled that the veteran has no right to bump a non-veteran who has more seniority. Now it's up to the union leadership to use that decision for the benefit of the union.

(For the information of those readers who are veterans, the writer states that he is a veteran of three and a half years himself.)

-GEORGE WHITNEY

"militant program of action." Point cent of the operating capital in the number one must be: UNITED ACshipping industry, must take over the industry, place it under workers' control and guarantee decent wages

fender of the capitalist drive to labor's small wage gains meaningless with price rises that are double and triple the workers' gains.

to guarantee profits. No one will ever OPEN YOUR BOOKS! If you are too involved.

UNIONS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE NUMBER ONE ENEMY THE UNITED SHIP OWNERS OF ALL COASTS!

A LIVING WAGE WITHOUT OVERTIME WORK!

ONE SEE THE PROFITS THAT SHIPOWNERS MADE FROM THE BLOOD AND SWEAT OF MARI-TIME WORKERS AND SOLDIERS! BUILD THE PAC INTO AN IN-DEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

to the maritime workers as they

have guaranteed profits in the past. The frequent role of the government as a strike breaker and the desmash the labor movement is well known; also, its actions in making

All this dictates point four: The PAC must become an independent Labor Party, based on the American labor movement. A Labor Party that will fight for a government which will insist on a living wage for all workers without price rises. A Labor Government that will seize any industry which cannot or will not meet this basic demand and operate it under the supervision of the workers

UNITY AMONG ALL MARITIME

OPEN THE BOOKS! LET EVERY-

Workers Party

AKRON

"The Development of American Capitalism," a new six-week class series. Albert Gates, Editor of L. A.

With the

Instructor Tuesday evenings at 8. For information write to Bill Ford, Box 221, Ak-

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: CHesapeake 5798. Office Hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tuesday and Wednesday

DETROIT

LABOR ACTION HALL-3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: Monday-Friday, 11 A. M. to 3 P. M.; Saturday, 1 to 5 P. M.

LOS ANGELES

Office, 127 South Broadway, Room Office open daily 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. except Friday and Sunday. Open eveing: Wednesday 6:00-8:30.

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St. Labor Action Hall is available to organizations for meetings. For rental terms and arrangements, write R. Shaw, Labor Action Hall, 248 Market

FORUM: "The Riddle of John L. Lewis." Speaker: Jack Webb. Friday, April 5, 8:30 P. M.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE-114 West 14th St., -open all day until 7 p.m.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday open until 10 p.m.

NEW YORK WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL announces its fourth semes-April 16, and classes will be held on each Tuesday and Friday night until May 24.

Tuesday night at 7:30 beginning on April 16: A MATERIALIST AP-PROACH TO HISTORY: Instructor, Irving Howe.

Tuesday night at 9:00 beginning on April 16: SOCIAL FORCES IN AMERto the present time): Instructor, V. Jensen.

Friday night at 7:30 beginning on April 19: THE NEGRO AND LABOR HISTORY: Instructor, David Coolidge. Friday night at 7:30 beginning on April 19: THE MARXIST APPROACH THE STATE: Instructor, Ben Walker.

Friday night at 9:00 beginning on April 19: PROBLEMS OF THE RUS-SIAN REVOLUTION: Instructor, Max Shachtman.

Friday night at 9:00 beginning on April 19: THE WORLD TODAY (all sessions will have guest lecturers).

All classes will be held at Labor Temple, 2nd Avenua and 14th Street. Admission for the six lectures is York Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

LABOR ACTION HALL, 1039 So.

For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Bait Traps for Rail Labor

It is a commonplace to every unionist that, next to destroying labor unions entirely, big business would like to straitjacket them with a super version of the Railway Labor Act. We find it necessary therefore to forewarn the labor movement - and particularly the advanced militants within it - that the present railroad wage dispute may well be a cleverly baited trap to cage free unionism.

Far back in the dim, dark days of 1945 the secret leaked out to railroad workers that a wage increase was being asked for. The railroad union dictators customarily neglected to consult the 1,400,000 railroad workers and the members of the 21 rail unions at any step in the proceedings. Finally, however, it came out that the illustrious rail union "chiefs" had formulated seven separate sets of wage demands. Months of shadowboxing with the united railroad executives followed. While they were thus engaged in slugging the railroad executives with fists wrapped in fluffy pillows, the CIO, spearheaded by the militant auto workers, swung into action. Out of the CIO struggles a new "steal" emerged. These factors, plus the restiveness of the railroad rank and file workers and their growing interest in the young CIO railroad union, goaded the venerable "chiefs" into lumping their \$2.50-a-day pay demands into one package.

HEADS BACK ARBITRATION

More months passed, accompanied by more strikes and settlements on the new 1812-cent "steal" formula. Several wildcat railroad strikes, symptomatic of rank and file dissatisfaction, threatened but were averted by government intervention and lack of good leadership. Late in February the daily press announced that the chiefs of the 15 non-operating rail unions and those heading three of the operating crafts had agreed with the railroad management to the setting up of two arbitration boards to decide the "facts" in the dispute. Again without consulting the railroad union memberships, these labor statesmen agreed with the manage-

ment to accept in advance whatever decision the arbitration boards might hand down!

Here, precisely, is where the trap may be baited. One would think that the railroad workers, who have done no whit of actual fighting to win their demands, are certain to get a settlement scaled down to the proportions of their militancy. For example, the hourly rates of railroad workers lagged far behind those paid workers for comparable work in other industries during the war. When other workers fought for and won pay boosts of 12 or 15 cents an hour. railroad workers trailed behind with 7 or 8 or 10 cent raises.

Big business and the government are clever. They are persistent. If the Case bill can't be rammed through Congress today, tomorrow they attack from another angle with a Truman "fact-finding" or a Ball-Burton-Hatch bill. As one union - busting measure after another proves too openly repressive for the union bureaucrats to stand for or for their membership to stomach, the big business strategists put their heads together and concoct a more subtle plan.

THE ARBITRATION TRAP

What is their plan, their clever trap, exactly? Let us suppose that the arbitration boards now sitting in the railroad wage case come up with a sizable pay boost. Let us suppose that they grant, say, an 18-cents-anhour increase to more than one million railroad workers. What would be the result? Upon announcement of a settlement in the rail case rivaling those made in the CIO disputes, these gentlemen would shout: "See! We told the workers they could depend on compulsory arbitration! The workers trusted us. And didn't they get a square deal from us? Without losing a day's pay, either, or interrupting vital production like those CIO radicals!"

Like many sincere but uninformed workers, including thousands who, like the auto workers, sacrificed weeks and weeks of pay to win their demands on the picket line, this public would say to itself: "Well, that

waste all that time on strikes and lockouts, why endure all that suffering and lost production, when all we have to do is let a fair-minded arbitration board weigh the facts and then hand down a good settle-

Out of presidential pigeonholes and Congressional committees would spring scores of new measures, all of them designed to shackle labor with a super Railway Labor Act. Due to the public confusion and the confusion of many solid unionists on this point (all of it occasioned, mind you, by the railroad settlement), the labor leadership, who foresee and fear the coming upsurge of the workers under the lash of acute depression, would seize upon this opportunity to legally harness and restrain their memberships-all to their own continued security and profits, of

WHAT THE ACT MEANS And, finally, just what is the Rail-

way Labor Act and how does it work? Speaking in his widely syndicated ened strike of the railroad engineers and trainmen, who refused to go along with the 18 rail unions by submitting to compulsory arbitration, Drew Pearson on March 11 had this to say: "The scheduled walkout of trainmen and engineers today was nullified under the Railway Labor Act by the President's appointment of an emergency fact-finding board, for the act provides that there can be no strike for 30 days after the board is named and then for another 30 days allotted to the board to make a report following a fact-finding investigation.

"This 60-day 'cooling-off' period has never failed to prevent a strike, when invoked, since 1926 when the Railway Labor Act was passed."

Thus Pearson reveals the trap, the very subtle trap, that big business could be baiting for the whole of organized labor.

Let's not fall into it!

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor ... Liked March 18 As a whole, I have never been in-

Issue of Paper Dear Editor:

I received LABOR ACTION of

March 18 and also March New International. Both are good. Tell the gang they never had so many readers for one copy in all their living days. Incidentally, LABOR ACTION of March 18 was a specially fine issue as to content, except that in an announcement on page 1 you say "Don't fail to MISS the next issue of LABOR ACTION." (Our faces are red-Ed.) The New International contents were also highly praised.

M. S., Conn.

Gets Subs for A Workers' Paper

this big sub drive for LABOR AC-

TION. So far I find myself deeply interested in this type of work because it is very interesting to hear other workers' thoughts and views of LABOR ACTION and also of the labor movement. Through the drive I have spent as high as one hour with many of my subs. We discussed LABOR ACTION and also political views of the future. Many of my subs think that LA-

BOR ACTION is a little too radical but at the same time it tells the true facts of the labor movement better than any other paper on the market today. The reason that I see for this is because most all other papers are run by the capitalist class and not by the workers, like LABOR AC-TION is run. Some of my subs say: "We are getting tired of being kicked around and it's time something is done about it." And the only way I see to do something is read the truth about the capitalist and political movement in a paper for the workers called LABOR ACTION.

terested in this kind of work. But as I began to work and spend evenings at home to read, such as LABOR ACTION and socialism, I find it interesting and it brightens my mind in learning many new things I never knew before. R. H., Reading, Pa.

The Atomic Bomb **And World Politics**

Dear Editor:

Enclosed you will find some material issued by the Federation of American Scientists which may be useful to you in publicizing the reactionary drive for military control of atomic research as well as the atomic bomb. In the past, LABOR ACTION and The New International have clearly indicated the impact of the atomic bomb on national politics as well as a factor in international realignments.

The atomic bomb does not change the nature of the bourgeoisie nor does it require strategic changes in the party's work but I can't help but feel that the atomic bomb will be used as a cover for a flood of reactionary legislation. First on the agenda seems to be that of giving

New International

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the military control over atomic research. This not only means rapid preparation for its military use but also the stifling of all of the peaceful medical and commercial uses to which the radioactive atomic products may be put.

The tradition is against the military having such wide powers over civilian activities. An editorial on the subject and follow-up articles using the enclosed materials can be tied in with the general counter-offensive the movement must initiate for increased democratic action.

Isolated as I am, things look none too bright for the masses of the world. With hunger facing Europe and Asia, and atomic bomb warfare being prepared for the moment the thieves fall out, the revolutionary movement has its greatest task be-

Fraternally yours,

Fred.

As you know, I am engaged in

Six Years of the Workers Party - - Our Record of Triple Vindication

By MAX SHACHTMAN, Nat'l Secy., Workers Party

A POLITICAL party, especially a working-class party, cannot always be judged by its material successes. That standard can be applied only in the long run. If it cannot be applied at every given moment, or for every given period, it is because such a party does not always have control over the development of the working class or of the general political situation.

But a standard that can be applied to any party and in any period, is this: Was it right in its analysis of the situation, in the way it put the problems of the working class, in the course of action it proposed? Was it right in what it said



and what it did, and in what it called upon others to do? Only if the answer to these questions is in the affirmative does a political party justify its existence and deserve the support of the working class. To put it differently, a party must be judged primarily on the basis of its program and of those of its deeds in carrying out the program which its strength makes practically possible.

From this standpoint, the Workers Party, which celebrates its sixth anniversary this month, can proudly record a triple vindication.

Our Vindication in World Events

Ours was the only party which, from 1939 onward, when the Second World War broke out, as well as the day after Pearl Harbor, when the United States openly entered the war, told the working class the whole truth. Ours was the only party in this country which issued an official declaration after Pearl Harbor opposing the war as a struggle between imperialists for the domination of the world. Throughout the war, week-in week-out, we continued the struggle against imperialism and its war which we proclaimed in our Anti-War Manifesto. It was not a "popular" position. The whole weight of the capitalist class and its government was against us. The trade-union officialdom fought us with even greater vigor. The well organized Communist Party machine was active all along the line in demanding our suppression and in trying to suppress us by itself. But we did not compromise an inch or for a single moment.

We said: It is an imperialist war. It is not a war against fascism or for democracy. It is not a war for national liberation or the preservation of civilization. The war will only bring us a long step closer to barbarism.

They said—all of them: the capitalists, their government, their press, their theaters and their pulpits, their labor leaders and the Communist Party—they said just the opposite.

The war is over now. We live in the imperialist "peacetime." It is much easier for everybody to see now what the war was fought for. Who was right—we or they? World events give their tragic but unmistakable answer.

Europe and Asia are in ruins. The peoples have neither freedom nor security. The plagues of the Middle Ages never brought such devastation as we see in Europe today. There is not even a sign of that "freedom from fear" about which we heard so much during the war. There is fear of death by starvation; there is fear of death in the Third World War which is already the terror of the peoples before the terror of the Second World War has been dispelled; there is fear of slavery under the yoke of imperialists armed with tanks and pistols of the secret police or those armed with blackmail food, blackmail capital and blackmail atomic bombs.

Now that the "war-loving nations" have been ground down into impotent misery, the "peace-loving nations" are sharpening their claws to get at each other's throats. Imperial England fights like a mortally wounded beast for the plunder it accumulated all over the world in centuries of rape of the peoples. Stalinist imperialism, swollen with arrogance and livid with greed, fights to snatch from the British the Empire they snatched from hundreds of millions of defenseless people. American imperialism, with the bludgeons of food and capital for "reconstruction" in each hand and a stockpile of atomic bombs at its back, fights to become the supreme master of all the peoples and governments of the earth, dictating the lives of them all, and apportioning to each what is left over from the master's table. The plundering and enslavement of the peoples is open and shameless. That is what the millions died for.

Who was right? Every parent whose home and family were ruined; every worker who gave up his rights and suspended his fight for a decent life, all the people can see the truth for themselves and say: We were deceived. They lied to us. The dead and

we who lived suffered so that imperialist rapacity might triumph. The Workers Party alone told the truth.

Our party stands vindicated by world events.

Our Vindication in the Labor Movement

Throughout the world, ours was the only party that said, openly and boldly and consistently: Workers, this is the war of the imperialists. It is only in the nature of things that they should fight it their way. But why do YOU have to fight their way? You have a war of your own to fight—the war for your advancement and freedom, which is the war to emancipate all those who toil and suffer. Fight it your way, by your own class strength, with your own class program and aims, under your own class leadership. You have an advantage that they can never have—you number in the millions and your rulers number only in the thousands.

We warned the working class: The capitalist class and its government will, as always, utilize the war to strengthen their position and to weaken yours. Break with their way. Adopt the social-

- In Socialist Politics
- In World Events
- In Labor Movement

ist way, which is not only the struggle for the greatest ideal in human history, but the struggle for your needs and interests now, today and tomorrow.

Throughout the war, through our press, our meetings and above all in the organizations of the workers themselves, the labor unions, our party advocated a program for adoption by the labor movement. This is not yet socialism, we said, but it corresponds to the interests of the working class as much as it does to the interests of socialism—there is no conflict there.

Our program during the war and today can be summed up in one sentence: LABOR, RELY ON YOUR OWN STRENGTH IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE YOUR OWN AIMS. We pointed out that the workers, especially in this country, are strong enough to take over the leadership of the nation. We pointed out that progress, real progress, is possible only if labor takes over the leadership of the nation and reorganizes its economic and political life in the interests of its useful citizens. Otherwise, we said continuously, there will be chaos—wild and uncontrolled chaos or "refined" capital-istically-controlled chaos.

To take over the leadership of the nation means to proclaim that we, the working class, will organize economic life in an orderly and rational way so that there is plenty for all. It means that the tremendous economic plant set in motion for wholesale destruction, be organized and utilized for the benefit of all the people. It means that the capitalist bankrupts, who have admitted their inability to provide a high and rising standard of living for all, to provide a year-round job and a minimum annual wage for all, be replaced by the working class, which has the confidence that it can accomplish such elementary aims.

The only way to achieve such a program is through independent working-class political action which aims—what else can it seriously aim at?—to establish a workers' government.

Formation of CIO-PAC

The formation of CIO-PAC is the beginning of a break with the miserable old capitalist politics inherited from the epoch of Sam Gompers and his AFL. It is not yet independent working-class political action, but it is unmistakably a move IN THAT DIRECTION. Labor, alas, still pursues capitalist politics, but the advance lies in the fact that labor is for the first time ORGANIZED FOR POLITICS AS A CLASS. There is still much work to do. It is still necessary to get the labor movement, now organized for politics as a class, to take part in politics as an INDEPENDENT class, as a class for itself, as a political power which openly lays claim to the leadership of the nation. But it is inspiring to see that the old political moerings are no longer holding labor so firmly rooted to its ineffectual place.

The demands made by many labor organizations are likewise

encouraging. The miners demanded that the industry—the industry they created and the industry they maintain—provide for them in sickness and in health. The GM workers demanded even more, much more. What the union meant by these demands, is one thing. But what these demands represent in themselves, is quite another and a much more important thing. The GM workers said: We, labor, declare that this industry can provide a higher living standard for us without increasing the price of automobiles to the consumer and without even wiping out a "fair profit" to the corporation. They said further: We don't take your word for anything any longer. Open your books and we'll prove that our demands can be met.—No wonder the entire capitalist press roared like stuck pigs. They felt the knife at their jowls.

If that's what labor demands today, tomorrow it will see and have to say: If the du Ponts cannot meet our demands, let the auto industry be nationalized. And if this government will not nationalize it, let us establish a government that will. That's when labor will be on its last lap in the race for freedom and security.

We need the Workers Party precisely in order to make all this perfectly clear to millions. We need it to see that the "tomorrow" comes not in twenty or forty or a hundred years, but in the shortest possible time.

Therein lies our vindication in the labor movement.

Vindication in Revolutionary Movement

We are a part of the Fourth Internationalist movement. We are what is commonly referred to as Trotskyists—the revolutionary socialist internationalists of modern times. However, inside the Fourth Internationalist movement, our Workers Party has, from its inception, occupied a distinctive place.

Our party was established as an independent organization following a bitter struggle in the old Socialist Workers Party which culminated in a split. We, as champions of workers' democracy in general and of party democracy in particular, carried on so successful a fight against the bureaucratism of the leadership of the SWP that it found no other way of "settling" the fight than arbitrarily running us out of the party in which we were supported by almost half the membership. The founding of the Workers Party in April, 1940, was the result.

The fight we led against bureaucratism and conservatism in the SWP was coupled with our fight on the "Russian question." When the Second World War began, with Stalin in the camp of the Axis, we declared that we would not support or defend Russia in the war. This was admittedly a change in the traditional position of the Trotskyist movement. But, we argued, Russia could not be defended in this war not only because she was part of one of the imperialist camps but because she was pursuing imperialist aims of her own.

A New Theory on Russia

Our views on Russia were almost as "unpopular" in the Fourth International as our views on the war in general were in the country as a whole. They did not become more popular when, after further consideration in the Workers Party after it was formed, we wreached the conclusion that Stalinist Russia was not a "workers' state" or a "degenerated workers' state" in any sense of the term, but represented instead a reactionary social régime based on a unique form of the exploitation and oppression of worker and peasant. This departure from the old views of the movement brought down upon our heads all sorts of derision and curses and ominous forecasts of what would happen to us.

We persisted in our views, however, sustained by the confidence that Marxists always feel about the ample confirmation that events will supply to their analyses. Now, six years later, events have supplied the inevitable confirmation.

The last two years have seen the development of a new minority inside the Socialist Workers Party. Where we found it necessary to charge the leadership with bureaucratic conservatism, matters have reached a point in the SWP where the new minority, led by such authoritative comrades as Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow, find it necessary to charge the leadership with representing the germs of Stalinism. The new group has found considerable support for its point of view in many sections of the Fourth International. It is interesting to note that even those Fourth International it is interesting to note that even those Fourth International beto do so with the leadership of the SWP do not find it possible to do so with enthusiastic conviction. Not one of them can or does defend the leadership as representing genuine party democracy. Even its warmest partisans in other countries find it necessary to urge upon this leadership the need of "doing everything"



to "preserve" party democracy; and there is ample reason for this urgent recommendation which is already half-warning.

WP for Unity; SWP Against

The course followed by this leadership in the matter of the unification of the SWP and the WP is also revealing. We said six years ago that the responsibility for the split in the movement in this country rested on the shoulders of the majority which ousted us from the party. But at that time, the case was not clear at all. It is becoming perfectly clear now. In spite of an assiduous effort by the minority in this country, and of groups in several other countries; in spite of the exceptional concessions offered by our party in the interests of unity—it has proved impossible to budge the SWP leadership an inch away from its opposition to unity, an opposition which is entirely obvious but not open, which is obdurate but not courageous. It is indeed becoming clear to the International movement and to all interested workers that the SWP leadership, and not we, is responsible for the division in the movement.

So it is with the "Russian question." It is hard to find anyone in the Fourth International who will today offer, with any measure of conviction, an argument in favor of "unconditional defense" of Stalinist Russia. Many of the Trotskyist militants in this country and elsewere, who opposed us vigorously in 1940, are today abandoning this outlived and now reactionary slogan. Others go further in our direction by abandoning the preposterous theory that Russia today represents any kind of "workers' state." Among them, for example, are many of the comrades of the SWP minority, who are increasingly in solidarity with our party on all the controversial questions. If some of these comrades have not yet reached all our conclusions about Russia's being a bureaucratic-collectivist state, we think that this is due to their failure to see the problem with all the necessary clarity. But we are confident that time and discussion will straighten out this question too.

"Workers' State" Theory Dying Out

The important thing is that the "workers' state" theory, in whose demolition we are proud to have pioneered, is dying in the Fourth International and there is pretty nearly nobody around with enough belief in it to try to save it. How can there be? The head of Stalinist imperialism is no less ugly, no less alive and obvious, than the head of capitalist imperialism. It not only chokes off the socialist revolution and democracy and the labor movement in the countries it conquers, but enslaves the peoples over whom it extends its sway. To attempt, consistently, to speak any longer of Russia as a "workers' state" or of "defending' 'this reactionary monster, can only mean capitulating to Stalinism and giving up the fight for socialist freedom. That is already happening in France, where a handful of Trotskyists and ex-Trotskyists and near-Trotskyists, basing themselves on the theory that Russia is a "workers' state," have proposed to give up the fight against Stalinism: it is, you see, "extending" the "workers' state' 'and "socialism" all over Europe! That is the kind of swamp a reactionary theory can lead

The actual events of Russian development and the growing strength of our views in the Fourth International, are our vindication inside the revolutionary movement.

We are far from content with thus. We prepare ourselves now for the coming years with the ineradicable conviction that the working class will fight against the conditions of its existence, that it will win its way to the program of our party because we will win our way to its heart and mind by our participation in the fight, until we achieve our ultimate vindication in the friumph of socialist freedom.

The Question in Everyone's Mind-

Can U. S. Post-War Capitalism Provide Jobs for Everybody?

By ALBERT GATES

The war economy organized by the Roosevelt Administration brought about a number of changes in the United States which cannot fail to have important bearing on the future economic and political life of the country. There is hardly a person who does not know what occurred in general. The government organized and directed the war economy. Unemployment, which remained at the high level of between nine and ten million during the highest peacetime year of production in 1940, was liquidated almost overnight. An economy unprepared to meet the requirements of modern total war supplied the whole Allied camp with all the materials of war within a short period of time. Production expanded at a rate far exceeding all previous experience. While these things are known in general, it is the concrete developments which are not known.

Yet, in the concrete expansion of the American economy are to be found all the grave problems which confront the working class. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the tremendous changes which took place during the war and to indicate the insoluble problems they have created for American capitalism and the new problems created for the working class.

GOVERNMENT DIRECTS BIG BUSINESS PROGRAM

The government organized the war economy. This is the first point to bear in mind. The government determined what was needed for the war. It supplied the plans, the capital, the material, the plants, the tools, set the rate of profit for the capitalists, froze the wages of the workers, controlled the labor supply and in general supervised production so that we had, in effect, a state-directed economy during the war. Private industry merely carried out the government programs for which it was repaid in the biggest profits in American economic history.

The war economy program was a big business program. The reason for this is obvious. War production could not be carried out by small plants and individual producers. It could only be done by the immense mass production plants, by the monopolistic enterprises. Thus, the multiple boards in Washington were in the hands of the representatives of big business who controlled the whole war economy and conducted it entirely in the interests of monopoly industry and banking. Because of government organization, direction and planning, the following immediate results were produced:

a. There was a rapid and continuing rise in production and a vast expansion of industrial plants.

b. Unemployment, which almost ten years of the New Deal could not solve, was liquidated practically overnight.
c. There followed an absolute growth of the labor force, i.e., the size of the working class.

Production rose from the record peacetime year of \$100 billion in 1940 to \$155 billion in 1943. While in 1940 only \$2 billion was devoted to war production, by 1943, \$85 billion represented the share of war production. By 1944 production had risen to \$198 billions (allowing for price adjustments).

The volume of manufactured goods outpaced all other production. It had tripled within a period of five years, indicating the tremendous possibilities inherent in the American productive apparatus to supply the necessaries of life, when, as a matter of fact, it was concentrated on the production of machinery of destruction.

Manufacturing capacity prior to the war (including government arsenals and navy yards) was estimated to have cost \$40 billion. Even with this manufacturing capacity, capitalism could not maintain full employment at a time when production was rising. In five years of war, \$25 billion in new plants and equipment, and cost of converting to war, were added to the \$40 billion. Of this new manufacturing capacity the government expended \$17 billion or two-thirds of the above amount.

To meet the requirements of war production and to make use of the expended manufacturing capacity created by new plants, an absolute increase of the working force was needed. The working class grew from 54 to 64 million (including the armed services) in the five war years, or an increase of 20 per cent. This factor is of immense importance in assessing the prospects of unemployment in the coming peacetime years, again remembering that until the war broke out, capitalism was unable to liquidate unemployment.

When the war was drawing to a close, government economists began to concern themselves with the problems of production and employment in the post-war period. They knew that unless production was maintained at a rate comparable to the war years, the economy was destined to experience a sharp crisis through a decline in production and consequent rise in the mass army of unemployed. The "liberal" capitalists, the New Dealers and their economists and statisticians, demanded that private industry must

maintain full production and full employment to prevent the chaos of a post-war crisis. If private industry would not adopt such a program, said these New Dealers, the government would have to guarantee high production and full employment. The Roosevelt Administration adopted the slogan of: 60,000,000 jobs! President Truman reindorsed this program.

PROBLEMS OF POST-WAR ECONOMY

The capitalists, however, rejected this program with full knowledge that the costs of such a program would indeed be heavy for them. The program of the New Dealers aimed at maintaining peace at home because they know that low production and mass unemployment creates the conditions of intensified class struggle and they want to save the disintegrating system of capitalism by making concessions to the people without changing the profit character of society. This program big business rejects. Big business feels powerful and rich. It is determined to solve its problems by heavy blows against the working class and by a general lowering of the standard of living. And their program will prevail over that of the New Dealers in the next period as it is prevailing now.

Capitalism is a profit system wherein production is carried on for market and for the enrichment of the capitalist class. This class will resist any efforts to encroach on its property and profit rights. The immediate post-war period has already provided ample proof of this fact in almost every action of Congress and the Administration. Tax rebates to guarantee the high wartime profits of business have been passed. Wages have declined sharply, while prices rise and the cost-of-living has continued to mount over the war years. No steps have been taken to alleviate the abominable housing conditions which are universal. Congress deliberates over vicious anti-labor measures and in general proves over and over again that the government in Washington is a government of the capitalist class.

The situation in the country is not yet severe. Actually, we are witnessing the beginning of a post-war boom based on many millions of workers still at work, a large demand of consumer goods following the war and vast accumulated reserves. But this boom cannot and will not last long. The capitalists know that in a short period of time this condition will cease to exist. They know that their chances for continued production and vast profits lie in

foreign trade, in complete control and domination of the world

CAPITALISM CANNOT ACHIEVE STABILITY

The war solved not a single important problem for capitalism. It did not bring peace, freedom and security for the peoples of the world. It merely resulted in the defeat of one group of rivals of American imperialism and brought into existence new rivals. Because the future of American capitalism lies in its economic and political conquest of the world, we will witness an increasing imperialist policy developed by the native capitalist class and its government. It is for this imperialist policy that the ruling class and its political and military servants are pressing for permanent peacetime conscription. In addition, we are witnessing an increasing militarization of life and a tendency toward peacetime totalitarianism which is reflected in the dispute over the control of atomic energy and the continued rule of government by decree.

American imperialism, however, will not find it easy to achieve its world aims. To achieve them it requires peace, stability and order. But the outstanding feature of the world today is that there is no durable peace, no stability, no equilibrium. These factors only make American imperialism more determined and more ruthless in its expansion with the result that peace, stability and order will become increasingly impossible.

The disintegrating and decaying character of world capitalism will have a pronounced effect on the still powerful American capitalism which is completely intertwined with world economy. It cannot and will not escape the disintegrating influences of a world society in decline.

The American working class is not wholly unaware of these prospects for capitalism and what it means for the mass of people. This is already reflected in the great struggles now taking place. These struggles presage even greater ones to come. The working class is now struggling for security, to prevent the burdens of a peacetime economy with declining production, employment and standard of living from being placed on its shoulders. The working class realizes that all the promises made to it during the war were never meant to be kept; that the wage freeze, the long hours of work, the high cost of living were its rewards for the tremendous sacrifices made during the war. It increasingly realizes that the war benefited only one class; the capitalist profiteers.

(Continued on Page 3—Magazine Section)

Maybe You've Wondered, Too-

Did Rube Goldberg Really Invent Capitalism?

Everybody knows there's something crazy about this capitalist system we live under.

I've got an idea about it that I'll pass on to you, if you promise not to tell a soul except anybody who'll listen.

But before I cut you in, please make a real effort and remember the Depression—the last one, not the one that's just around the corner.

You know the story. They plowed under cotton because there was too much of it. Millions of people went without decent clothing. That's because there was too much cotton to make them.

They burned oranges in California because there were too many of them; so the unemployed sold apples. They dumped "surplus" strawberries in the Susquehanna. They did away with every third pig.

There was TOO MUCH of everything, and people starved.

Then that "wonderful" war broke out, and how things changed. Pretty soon there was a shortage of everything, and it was called "Good Times" because everybody had a job. Everybody had a job because they were making things that would feed, clothe or shelter nobody. They were making things to destroy and be destroyed.

Now this was much more sensible than burning oranges. Did you ever try to burn an orange? Well, it can't be done by just any old fool. You've got to know how. You've got to soak the oranges in kerosene first, and you know what kerosene costs.

WHEN YOU DROP BOMBS . . . THERE'S NO SURPLUS LEFT!

But when you make bombs-you don't have to soak them in kerosene. You just drop them, and bang! you're rid of them. No surplus left to produce a depression. Better still-when you get rid of them, they destroy a lot of other things too. They destroy other people's food, clothing and

So war production was quite a scientific advance over burning oranges or plowing under cotton, and we had "Good Times." Better than the depression anyway, if you don't mind a few million corpses.

Now the destroying and killing are over for a while, and the blessings of Peace have descended on us. The war's over and now we can produce too much of everything, all over again. Just to make sure of that, thousands of workers are laid off, so that they don't have the purchasing power to buy goods.

In one war year this country produced nearly 200 billion dollars worth of goods. That's one thousand times more than 200 million dollars.

Over half of it was war goodswhich means the kind that is used to destroy, not to feed, clothe, or shelter any one. Why can't we do it in behalf of progressive unionism and the economic interpeace time, NOW, to provide plenty

WHO OWNS THE FACTORIES . . . AND WHO PROFITS FROM THEM

On one side, we have the factories and raw material that can produce a world of plenty. On the other side, we have the willing hands and brains to do the job. All we have to do is let the one work on the other, and distribute what is produced.

Sure, the factories and machines and raw materials are here. Sure, the labor is there to turn them into usable goods. But labor doesn't own the factories and machines. It has nothing to say about whether they'll be used and for what.

owned by a small handful of capitalists, America's Sixty Families. And these fat boys won't let a wheel turn * ing up flatiron (J); flatiron drops unless they can make a profit.

That profit comes out of the wealth which labor produces. It comes out of their purchasing power.

The workers can't buy everything they produce. So the working stiff winds up without the purchasing power to buy a couple of cotton

Now whats' wrong here? That's where my idea comes in. It's been a long way getting there but hold tight. The trouble is simply

This capitalist system was invented by Rube Goldberg, the gadget cartoonist.

It must have been

better conditions.

they do nothing about it.

socialism they are just that.

the devastation of war.

HOW RUBE CRACKS NUTS . . . AND CAPITALISM BREEDS WAR

You know how Rube Goldberg gets things done in his cartoons. Let's say he invents a system showing How to Crack a Nut. An ignorant cuss would say, Use a nutcracker. Not Rube Goldberg. This is how he would do

Put a cat (A) outside next to chicken coop (B). Cat goes after chickens, chickens start running around with feathers (C) flying. Junkman (D) comes around to buy

Every active union man knows what a "free rider" is.

He is the worker who enjoys all the benefits of union

organization in the shop but refuses to join the union.

The "free rider" is different from the company stooge

or the scab. The "free rider" doesn't condemn the idea

of organization. He will even say that he thinks unions

are good. More, he may even say that he is glad to see

that the union has organized the shop and gotten him

to the union. He has a dozen and one excuses for not

joining. Either he can't afford the dues or he "doesn't

want to be bothered" or he doesn't like this or that in-

dividual in the union or this or that policy of the union.

doesn't lift a finger to help the union but is carried along

"free" and receives all the benefits won by the union

great truth about socialism, who agree that it is a good

thing, that it is desirable, that it is really the only way

out of this capitalist mess for the working class-vet

half of the workers in their shop and union. Many of

them are the type who never shirk from any struggle on

ests of their class. Many of them would be ready to draw

and quarter anyone who called them free riders. But

it is the sad truth that in reference to the struggle for

What is the good of saying that socialism is the way

out, what is the good of calling oneself a socialist, if one

does nothing about it? Socialism will not come by it-

self. The only things that "come by themselves" are mass

unemployment, fascist despotism, economic chaos and

veloped by capitalism. But these conditions will not pre-

sent us with a socialist society while we sleep. These

conditions have merely prepared the ground upon which

socialism can be built. That is why socialism was not a

practical possibility a hundred years ago. But it is to-

day. Moreover, the longer socialism is postponed, the

Socialism is the outgrowth of social conditions de-

THE THINGS THAT COME BY THEMSELVES

Many of these workers are excellent fighters on be-

Such a worker is called a "free rider" because he

The workers' political movement has its free riders also. They are the workers who have come to know the

But he refuses to admit that he has any responsibility

(G) attached to his tail, pulls on knife (H) which cuts rope (I) holddown on nut (K) and cracks it.

That's How to Crack a Nut, as per Rube Goldberg. Now look me square in the eye and deny that Rube Gold-



berg must have invented our capitalist system.

Capitalist (A), seeking profit (B), owns a factory (C), and starts pro-

Does he produce anything? He's not a sucker. He hires workers (D) to do the actual producing. They produce a billion dollars

worth of goods (E) and get their wages (F).

which wakes up dog (F) inside, dog dollars in wages, for producing a out of labor's purchasing power-

Don't Be a Free Rider --

Join the Workers Party!

silly. The capitalist has to get his profit (G). So they get only-say-a half bil-

lion in wages, the rest is profit. So the workers can buy back only half the goods with their wages.

Pretty soon, the profit piles up in the coffers, and the unsold goods pile up on the shelves (H). Economist (I) says: "Purchasing

power not adequate." Capitalists stop making more goods, lay off. Presto-unemployment; and purchasing power (J) goes even

The National Association of Manufacturers (K) says: What's needed is more profit to spur production. The best way to raise profits is to cut wages.

Brain Truster (L) says: I disagree with everything the N.A.M. stands for, but on the other hand I agree with what they say. The more profits, the more capitalists will start up production. The more production, the more employment. The more employment, the more purchasing power. More purchasing power, and zingo, we're around the corner.

So by cutting wages (or purchasing power), they are going to increase purchasing power. (A Rube Goldberg gadget if there ever was

Wages are cut, or prices raised, feathers, rings your doorbell (E), Whow much do they get-a billion more profits made, a bigger cut taken

more does the stinking corpse of capitalism poison the

air and threaten all of civilization with disaster. Witness

the talk of a Third World War and the universal de-

tion is a conscious act. Those who participate in it must

know why and know where they are headed. The social-

ist revolution requires conscious and organized leader-

ship. This is the same as saying that it must be led by a

party that is based upon a revolutionary socialist pro-

This is not the same as saying that the party will

MAKE the revolution when and how it sees fit. The ba-

sis for revolution is prepared by capitalism with all its

political and economic crises. Revolts will come. Of this

we need have no fear. They will come even in wealthy,

plutocratic America. But the economic and political cri-

sis of capitalism will only be resolved in a socialist vic-

tory if a powerful revolutionary socialist party exists to

Fortunately we in the United States have more time

than our European comrades to build such mass revolu-

tionary socialist parties. But even here the time is grow-

ing short. After a brief consumers goods prosperity, the

full effects of capitalist disintegration will be felt

throughout the nation. A deepening economic and po-

litical crisis will seize even this, the last great bulwark

be too late to build in the midst of the crisis. A party

that can achieve power in the name of socialism must

not only number tens of thousands and command a mass

following, but it must be composed of thousands of

I would like to receive more information about

trained and educated revolutionary socialists.

membership in the Workers Party.

WORKERS PARTY

114 West 14th Street

New York 11, N. Y.

But we must build the Workers Party now. It will

AFTER THE BOOM COMES THE DEPRESSION

Unlike all previous revolutions, the socialist revolu-

struction of atomic bombing!

take advantage of the situation.

of world capitalism.

Finally Statesman (X) says:

"I got it! We've got a surplus of coal, clothes and Rice Krispies. The natives of Madagascar wear no clothes and the Eskimoes eat blubber. This is uncivilized. Let's teach the Eskimoes to eat Rice Krispies, and our own workers to eat blubber."

(This is called Foreign Trade.) So we knock the natives of Madagascar on the head to teach them to wear clothes, get drunk and respect white men. (This is called The Blessings of Civilization.)

The natives have to pay us, so we put them to work on plantations to work for a living, our living. (This is called The White Man's Burden.) Then to expand our foreign trade,

we lend them the money to buy more from us. (This is called Foreign In-

Just like Rube Goldberg. You start with the profit system and end up with world war.

Before we all go to the booby hatch or the breadlines, remember this:

The factories and machines and raw materials are there. We are the hands and brains of labor who do the producing. All we have to do is come together with the factories and ma-



chines, without any capitalist class holding us apart.

That means WE have to own and control the factories and machines we work on-WE, LABOR, organized collectively.

Abolish the capitalist profit-suckers. Take over our economic world, organize it democratically through a workers' government. Produce to the full, produce to the sky's the limit as science can provide, produce enough to give plenty for all. And distribute what we produce for the use of the masses of people!

Collective ownership of our economic machinery, by a democratic workers' government - that's social-

How Returned GIs Look at Unions

By HENRY JUDD

Over half of America's total in the combined armed forces have now been discharged, and men continue to pour out of the services. Many of these soldiers, sailors and marines have now gone back to work, either at their old or at new jobs. Despite the fact, announced by the Veterans' Administration, that there are at present 2.500.000 unemployed veterans, it is still true that many millions of vets are back in the ranks of employed workers.

It is impossible, so quickly, to make any 'sweeping generalizations about the GI's who have returned to the job. There are no definite or clear-cut ideas or trends sweeping the ranks of these millions of new workers. But certain things can be stated already. Having gone to work, since discharge, in a large auto assembly plant in Detroit-filled with returned GI veterans - my observations are strictly limited to what has been seen in this particular shop.

LEARN IN SHOPS

Most of the GI's who return to work have no set or fast opinions about the labor movement and unions. It all depends on what happens to them within the shop. Although the army filled them up with anti-union propaganda, this can easily be dispelled especially since there is no longer any grounds for this type of propaganda; that is, the GI is no longer a soldier, but a veteran-worker and his viewpoint shifts. It all depends how he is handled within the shop, department or unit where he

When the union and his representatives approach him promptly, are friendly and helpful to him in getting readjusted to the monotony of factory work, explain what the score is and what gains the union has won for him (pay increases, job protection for veterans, better working conditions, cancellations of union initiation fees for veterans, etc.) -than the GI rapidly and swiftly becomes union-conscious and a good union man. Older, more experienced men in the shops play an important part in this, for they are the ones who, by the proper attitude, can quickly cancel out the GI's prejudices and explain why he must be a good union man.

Many veterans are shocked too, to learn the company's attitude toward them. While it may hire him ahead treats the GI just the same as any struggles of the future.

other worker so far as speed-up attempts, general indifference to problems, etc., are concerned. Once in the shop, the veteran ceases to be a veteran so far as the extraction of work from him goes! He's just the same as any other worker and, in fact, the company expects more from him, due to his youth and better physical condition. The GI soon learns that the pious phrases of praise for him from the big corporations have no meaning. Just another cog in that production wheel . . .

The monotony and dullness of mass scale, divided up production weighs very heavily on the discharged veteran. Memories of Paris, Tokyo and Berlin, not to speak of battle and army life memories, contrast dimly with the routine of factory life and the 8-hours in which he must repeat his one assembly-line motion. For this reason, it isn't strange to find a considerable turnover among GI's in the shops. Many of them, for understandable reasons, can't stand it. But the tendency will be for them to settle down into the routine, due to economic compulsion.

WILL BE PRO-UNION

The GI going back to work is anticompany and disillusioned. In many cases, he is also neutral on the union question, but will rapidly be prounion provided the union is militant on the job, that its stewards and representatives carry on a fight against the speed-up and for contract enforcement. He often considers himself apart from the older workers, and the war workers, but the older plant workers are quite effective in breaking this down. Probably the real source of antagonism within the shop, and among the workers, lies between the veterans and those men who only have the war years, or less, to their credit so far as seniority is concerned.

The older men, with 10, 15 and 20 years in the shop are not worried. But those with 2 or 3 years only are worried about lay-offs, because they know that the veteran, with 3 or more years of army to his credit, may edge him out of the job when lay-offs come. This is a serious question, only answerable through the struggle for more employment and jobs, and a shorter working week.

But, on the whole, the GI returning to the production line can be counted upon to participate as a of others, in preferential fashion, it solid unionist in the great union



"Black Metropolis": Chicago's South Side

BLACK METROPOLIS, by St. Clair Drake and He R. Cayton. (Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$5.00.)

This book is over eight hundred pages long. It is the result of a research project carried out in Chicago by the WPA for four years. One of the authors is Horace Cayton, who collaborated with George Mitchell in writing the story of the Negroes in the CIO, Black Workers and the New Unions. The other author is St. Clair Drake, a graduate in anthropology of the University of Chicago.

The Black Metropolis is the South Side of Chicago. The authors aim at giving a scientific presentation based on extensive research of how Negroes live in one of the greatest concentrations of urban Negroes in the U.S. The book is no ordinary sociological study. To many Americans unacquainted with the Negro question it will read in places as strangely as if the writers were describing another continent, another age, another nation.

Yet it is to the credit and the sound knowledge of the writers that though themselves Negroes and aware of the special situation of Negroes (in fact it is this which drove them to write the book), they triumphantly demonstrate how specifically American is the Negro problem, both in its origins and in its reflections in Negro life and Negro character. Thus the fundamental value of the book is as a study of a Negro metropolis in which are specially exemplified the general values of American civilization today.

HOW THE NEGROES LIVE AND FEEL

Sobriety is the watchword of the writers. Confident of the cumulative weight of their material they prefer to let the facts speak for themselves. They begin with a general study of the city of Chicago, including its historical origin. With an emphasis characteristic of them they take care to note its "free and easy approach to living"; its philosophy of "anything goes so long as it doesn't affect me directly"; the quick resistance to pressures characteristic of Chicago as a whole,

They work along similar lines with the Chicago Negroes. They are determined to show not only how Negroes live but how Negroes feel. For this reason they deal extensively (perhaps too extensively) with experiences in intermarriage. They treat in detail the general social experiences and opinions of whites and Negroes who attempt to cross the color line. From there, however, they move more strictly into the objective conditions and social relations of life in black Chicago. Chapters 9 to 13 on the Negro as worker, in the factories and the unions, is a masterpiece of factual organization indispensable for any student of the labor move-

There, among other things, the Negro will learn not

employer and the white worke have to be educated to accept Negro workers. He will learn also of how some Negro workers are often so demoralized by discrimination and segregation that they too have to be educated to the possibilities of struggling for their rights. The picture of tremendous progress of the last decade from actual participation in the labor process to militant solidarity of white and black on the

overtones of any kind. But perhaps most fascinating to the student of the labor movement is the fact that the authors treat all aspects of Negro life. With an imperfectly hidden satisfaction, they puncture the myth of Negro business. While Negro enterprises constitute about half of the businesses in Negro neighborhoods, they receive less than one-tenth of all the money spent by Negroes within these areas.

picket line is made all the more striking by the authors'

refusal to use propagandistic language or emotional

THE ROLE OF THE NUMBERS RACKET

There passes before us the strange world where the policy racketeers constitute the richest and most socially powerful of the Negro community. This is not only because of the wealth which they control but because of the thousands of jobs that have been built up around the numbers racket. They give to the policy game an economic status as well as a social and emotional significance. This may seem specifically Negro (Cayton and Drake present it as such) and so it is. But it does not take too much imagination to see these rascals are the counterpart within the narrow Negro community of the financial magnates, bankers and other large-scale scoundrels, who manipulate the wealth of the nation in their own piratical interests.

Equally strange and equally fascinating is the account of the special role played in the Negro community by the preacher and the professional "race-men." The discerning reader will see in them merely the reflection in Black Metropolis of the gang of politicians, newspaper owners and other public relations racketeers who infect municipal, state and federal government under the guise of governing the great masses of the American people in the interests of human progress.

Richard Wright contributes an astonishing introduction. Using the Negro question as a symbol, he makes it the basis of a blast against capitalist civilization as a whole. Shaky here and there in its strictly political arguments, in its passion against the crimes of capitalist society as a whole and its insight into the social needs and aspirations, not only of Negroes, but of whites, it is a revolutionary manifesto to be read and treasured by all students of the contemporary chaos.—Reviewed

THIS SAMPLE EIGHT PAGE ISSUE OF LABOR ACTION

The eight page LABOR ACTION you have this week is a sample of the REGULAR EIGHT PAGER we propose to start publishing on June 17. Our purpose in publishing this sample issue is to give you an idea of what the regular EIGHT-PAGER will look like. We are going to have, as

you see, a magazine section in addition to the

On the basis of this Sample Issue we ask two things of you. The first is that you contribute to the \$15,000 Fund Drive initiated by the Workers Party and guarantee the appearance of the REGULAR EIGHT PAGER. The second is that you send us your comment on the Sample Issue. Remember: LABOR ACTION is YOUR paper!

"What Next for Railway Workers?"

Guide to Action for Rail Labor

WHAT NEXT FOR RAILROAD LA-BOR? Published by Railroad 506 15th Street, Room 607, Oakland 12. Calif. Ten cents.

Railway labor, despite its early organization in this country and a glorious heritage of struggle against the financial interests which dominate the industry, still lives in the era of horse - and - buggy unionism. While the industrial form of organization as exemplified by the CIO has proved its advantages to every section of organized labor, the railway workers are divided into 21 different brotherhoods.

This antiquated craft structure on the railroads which pits worker against worker and benefits only the railroad bosses and the union bureaucrats, has produced a courageous, progressive group of "rails" who aim to transform the numerous crafts into one big industrial union. Formed in 1943 by a group of rank-and-file workers of several different crafts and unions on four railroads in Oakland, Calif., and now grown to hundreds of members, with organized sections in the West and Northwest, these progressives are known as the Railroad Workers Joint Action Com-

"What Next for Railway Labor?" is an eloquent and telling plea for Workers Joint Action Committee, industrial organization on the railroads. It begins with a short history of railroad labor, describing the "Rebellion of 1877" when the railroads, following the Civil War, began to cut wages faster than the decline in the cost of living. Pitched battles between workers and state as well as federal troops resulted when the government threw its entire weight behind the railroad companies. The strike was lost because of lack of organization, but wage cuts were

halted because of public sympathy. All the lessons of the past are adduced to point the needs of the present: a modern type of organization for a modern industry. Job security, wages and hours are the three main problems that confront all workers, regardless of craft, creed, nationality, color or sex. Aside from the unified action which industrial organization would achieve, the 21 national headquarters with their staffs could be cut to one headquarters, thus permitting lowering of union expenses

The RWJAC does not propose to set up a dual union beside the crafts." It proposes to work within the crafts to achieve amalgamation. What has prevented the crystallization of the

large sentiment that exists for industrial organization up to the present, the pamphlet points out, is the lack of organization of the ranks. But the RWJAC does not stop with a plan for industrial organization. It proposes a program for the industrial

ROLE OF PROFIT SYSTEM

In Chapter IV, "Struggle Between Capital and Labor," the pamphlet presents the ABC's of the class struggle, the profit system as a breeder of depression, war and fascism and urges the railway workers to independent political action. Among the 26 demands which the RWJAC advocates for present action are: eight dollars a day minimum wage for any railroad worker; a guaranteed annual wage for all railroaders; a month's vacation with pay after one year in service; full pay for time lost during disability due to sickness or injury; control by railroad workers of hospital plans for which railroad work-

ers pay the bill. The RWJAC stands unalterably opposed to the present infamous Railway Labor Act, which prevents a closed shop, hinders industrial organization and ties up grievance settlements in legal red-tape.

The pamphlet ends with the pro-

posal for government ownership of the railroads as public utilities. It does not call, however, for the oldfashioned type of ownership which took place during the last wage movement, when "the government simply rechristened the old officials 'government managers,' the bankers and stockholders were assured of their holdings and profits, and nothing changed." In order to assure that in addition to the obvious advantages of government ownership in the way of greater efficiency, lower passenger and freight rates, the interests of the workers in better wages and working conditions and guarantend jobs will be upheld, the RWJAC program proposes workers' control under government ownership. The program of the RWJAC it

seems to us, is a realistic and realizale one that is designed to meet the needs of all railroad workers. To those who say that the program is "visionary" and "socialistic," the RWJAC replies that in the past the eight-hour day and vacations with pay were considered equally so. It calls every progressive worker to start fighting now for the program of the RWJAC in his own craft: for industrial unionism, for a program of progressive demands.-Reviewed by Mary Bell.

U. S. LABOR'S BURNING NEED:

The Struggle for the GM Strike Program

(Continued from Page 1—Section 1)

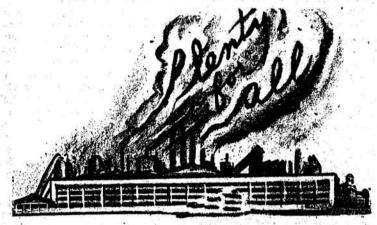
Because the workers said that production and distribution, profits and prices as well as wages, are no longer the exclusive affair of the champions of "free enterprise," that is, the wealthswollen and power-swollen monopolists, but the affair of the

How did the country react to the GM program?

GM Program Inspired Little People

Millions of workers were cheered and inspired by it. They felt that a new road had been opened up to them. They have their belly full of the champions and beneficiaries of "free enterprise." They remember this gang of bankrupts from the days of the crisis and the mass unemployment. They remember also that the only time they were able to overcome unemployment was when plants opened up to produce the means of death and destruction. They see that now that the war is over, they cannot get a guarantee from these monopolists that they will have a year-round job and a minimum annual wage. The GM program was a challenge to the bankrupts and it immediately gained vigorous support from workers every-

Millions of consumers, even the middle class people, were rallied by the GM program. The consumers are weighed down by the monopolistic prices on commodities which the -big corporations enforce. They know that if they are left in the hands of these corporations, prices will be kept high. They know that the monopolists can sooner or later break the feeble OPA "ceilings" and get what they want in prices. The workers said: We can get higher wages and still keep prices down. More power to you, cried the millions of consumers. It is hard to remember a time when the labor movement was supported so enthusiastically by the consumers as a whole, by the middle classes as well, as was the case with the support they gave the GM program. Every newspaper



was forced to concede this fact. It showed that all the people (except the monopolists) can be gotten to follow the lead of labor IF labor adopts a course which shows that it wants to be the spokesman and leader of the nation against the monopolists. That should be a lesson to all of us.

The capitalists, however, reacted as one man. Every capitalist paper fumed and shouted and lamented and threatened-but they did not represent the heart and mind of the people. The CAPI-TALISTS knew what the GM program meant-if not today, then tomorrow. Labor wants to take over industry, they yelled. Well, what's wrong with that? Labor wants to replace "management," they bellowed. Well, what's wrong with removing these self-confessed bankrupts who cannot guarantee a decent living for the workers but can only guarantee their own fabulous profits, even in wartime, or rather especially in wartime?

Reuther Displays Weakness

There wasn't an intelligent worker in the labor movement who was moved by the miserable hysteria of the capitalist press campaign against the GM workers. But we regret to record that Walter Reuther, author of the GM program, was moved. But instead of moving forward, in line with the simple logic of the GM program and in line with the needs of the workers, he moved backward. He jack-knifed under the capitalist press barrage. He wrote a letter to the highly respectable and authoritative spokesman of the monopolists, the New York Times, of December 5, 1945, in class. It has great confidence in itself. Its great weakness however, manity from capitalist unemployment, misery, wars and insecurity. strength we have and can win to our standard.

which he begged for mercy. Here is the core of his complaint against an earlier Times editorial which denounced the GM program for its "radicalism":

"No reference whatever is made (by the Times) to the union's proposition that if GM can show that it cannot pay this wage increase under existing prices, then the union will scale its demand to what GM can pay without raising prices. That is not a demand by the union to fix the prices and profits of the corporation. It is a demand for a wage increase that can be paid without injury to the corporation's customers or stockholders."

Everything is wrong with this "complaint," this "correction" by Reuther. It isn't a strategic retreat; it's a capitulation. You can't have it both ways. EITHER wages should be increased or lowered on the basis of whether or not it will do "injury to the corporation's ... stockholders" (poor, suffering, poverty-stricken stockholders!)-OR the corporation's interests should be considered on the basis of whether or not they will do "injury" to the workers. The first is the basic capitalist viewpoint. The second is the basic labor viewpoint. And you can no more mix or reconcile the two than you can mix or reconcile business unionism with labor union-

A consistent champion of the GM program-and that's what every thoughtful militant in the labor movement should be-would take a different tack entirely. He would follow the program through logically and from the standpoint of labor's needs and interests. He would say, we number tens of thousands and the du Ponts number a dozen. We make the automobiles, they make the profits. We come first, they come last.

Therefore, our GM program is a challenge. We say, labor needs a 30 per cent wage increase in order to live decently-not like a multi-millionnaire du Pont, just decently. They say, labor doesn't. need 30 per cent more. We say, industry can pay the 30 per cent. They say, it can't. We say, prices of cars can be kept low. They say, high prices must be raised to a higher level. We say, their profits are too high and are extorted at the expense of worker and consumer. They say, our profits must be raised at the expense of worker and consumer. We say, open the books. They say, no (we're

A New Organization of Industry

Now, if "management" (as these parasites like to call themselves) say they can't or won't do all the things labor says they can and should do, what is left for labor? Either it's right or wrong. Either it means what it says or it's bluffing. We say it's right. Therefore? Therefore it should conclude by saying: If you can't or won't organize industry so that it pays decent wages, and charges the consumer fair prices and still yields a fair profit-WE DE-CLARE THAT INDUSTRY CAN BE ORGANIZED THAT WAY, AND WE DECLARE WE ARE READY TO ORGANIZE IT!

That's where Reuther stopped short. The simple, logical and necessary step to make the GM program a real fighting program lay in this simple proposition: The monopolists are bankrupts, THEREFORE we demand that the industry be nationalized!

But suppose the Truman Administration, which Reuther AND Thomas AND Murray helped put in office, won't nationalize the industry, as it won't? Truman and Co. were ready to "nationalize" workers into the Army; they were ready to "nationalize" labor by freezing wages and jobs; but they won't nationalize the industry of the sacred du Ponts and Fords and Chryslers. We know that.

Our Own Government Necessary

But if nationalization is right and necessary, all that means is this: We must have a government of our own, a workers' government, that WILL nationalize industry, that will run it so that the country is assured full production, labor is assured a decent living standard and a year-round job and a minimum annual wage, and the consumer is assured a decent price level.

Such a government requires that labor have a party of its own which openly declares its intention to establish a government based on this program. It requires a party that breaks completely with capitalist politics, capitalist political parties and capitalist politi-

And that's where Reuther also stops short. And that's why the GM program, elaborated, amplified, rounded out, made applicable on a national scale; in other words, worked out consistently so that it could sweep behind it the support of all the common people in the country, was watered down and practically abandoned during the strike.

Reuther and his associates are simply scared at their own boldness! They are scared of breaking all down the line with the reactionary ideas of the privileged monopolists. They are scared of breaking all down the line with the capitalist politicians who are such noble "friends of labor" every election day. They are scared of the very challenge they hurled into the faces of the GM autocracy. Hence their retreat and capitulation.

But why should the workers be scared? Look at the power they have and the power they have displayed. There isn't an industry they haven't been able to shut down. When they guit, all the efforts of "management," multiplied by a hundred, can't get a wheel to turn. All they should be scared of is: low living standards which make life a misery; high prices which make life a misery; the coming unemployment which makes life a misery. All they should be scared of is GM's "industrial economic dictatorship" and the "road to World War III and, with the atomic bomb, the blackout of civilization," which Reuther charged the du Ponts with in his statement of last November 24th. But their program, which scared the du Ponts, should not scare them. They should press their great

challenge to the hilt and let the monopolists squirm and squeal to their hearts' content.

We want to open the books! Indeed we do! But that demand has

been exaggerated and its meaning distorted. The du Ponts say: If our books show a deficit, will you take a

Reuther answers ... with a tragic and helpless silence! He doesn't know what to say, or he fears the consequences of the right answer. And the right answer is a bold and simple one:

The Books Must Be Opened

Gentlemen, if your books show a deficit, you're a gang of bankrupts. Get out! If you can't provide labor with a decent living standard, we have no use for you. Get out! We will nationalize your industry and run it so that labor can live like human beings, live in security and abundance. We will form a party of our own on that simple program. We will win with that party and it will set up a workers' government that will "retire" the self-confessed



bankrupts by nationalizing industry and running it for the benefit of all. We have all the necessary confidence that we can win, because we have already seen how the simple presentation of our GM program brought us the support of millions throughout the land. We are ready to take the leadership of the nation!

That's what we have to do if we are to survive, let alone prosper. Otherwise it's the old vicious circle. A little wage increase, then a big price increase. Another little wage increase, then a bigger price increase. A still higher price increase and then-the collapse of the market, depression, crisis, unemployment, the end of painfully accumulated savings, the ruin of family, the debasement of human dignity, chaos, and then after a while, it begins all over again. That's why our program breaks with the old union policy. We want to determine not only wages, but prices and profits. And because of all that has been said above, the last words in the great GM program MUST read, a Labor Party and a Workers' Govern-

That, we believe, is the fundamental meaning of the fight in the UAW convention, before it and after it-because the fight will not

U.S. Capitalism and Jobs for All is that it has little political and class consciousness. But this is a

(Continued from Page 1-Magazine Section The working class has seen what the government was capable

of doing for war, for the purposes of world-wide destruction. It observed how the government planned economy, provided the capital, new plants, material and the means to maintain a high level of production for destruction. It will not easily understand how and why a government which is capable of doing that in the interests of war cannot and will not provide for full employment, on a rising standard of living and the well-being of the people during los

A PERIOD OF GREAT CLASS STRUGGLES

The present struggle for higher and guaranteed wages is a forerunner of new and greater struggles on the part of the working class. Already, the present strikes developed beyond ordinary bread and butter struggles. In the GM strike the UAW was compelled by the extreme urgency of the situation to raise the slogan of "Open the Books," which was a slogan of tremendous political and social implications, for it challenged the very structure of

development which is certain to come, a development which has been hastened by the war and which will be intensified in the coming struggle for security and existence in which the majority of the workers will participate.

The struggle of the working class will become increasingly political in this period. Idle plants and mass unemployment will strengthen the demand for nationalization of industry under the control of the workers. The working class will learn in these struggles that no reliance can be had in the Democratic and Republican Parties, both instruments and servants of big business. It will be compelled to travel the road of independent political action. For while the American workers know how to fight on the economic front, they have as yet no positive program by which to combat the capitalist class politically. Yet, upon the political development of the working class as an independent, anti-capitalist force depends its whole future.

The great task of the revolutionary socialist is to assist and hasten this political development of the American working class stage in its class conscious development which will The working class of this country is a powerful and militant put it on the high road toward the socialist emancipation of hu-

end when the convention adjourns. That is how we socialist interpret it. And that is why it is a fight that concerns and will continue to concern every worker in the country.

Our job—the job of the Workers Party especially—is to make this fully clear to all. It is a job we mean to do with all the

First in A Series of Articles

The Stalinist Menace to World Labor

Stalinism is now a word more or less familiar to substantial numbers of American workers. It represents to them the Communist Party of the United States, its fellow parties the world over, all associated with the now mighty empire of

First of all, let us look at the more obvious material facts.

In Russia the Stalinist bureaucracy rules over 200 million people. Trotsky to his dying day insisted on calling this bureaucracy a caste. A class, he said, fulfills a certain role in production. Workers, capitalists, farmers, all play a special role in producing commodities. The petty bourgeoisie, small shop-keepers, functionaries in offices, etc., also play a role in the economic system. But the labor bureaucrats are not a class. They are a caste. They perform an organizational, administrative social function which is only remotely if at all connected with the actual productive and distributive process. The Stalinist bureaucracy, so ran Trotsky's argument, was a caste, an unusual, an exceptional, an unprecedented caste, but nevertheless a caste.

The theory did not die with Trotsky. The Socialist Workers Party (Cannonites) and a majority of the Fourth Internationalists all over the world

WHAT THE BUREAUCRACY LOOKS LIKE

Let us admit for the moment that the Stalinist bureaucracy is not a class. The facts, however,

It has complete control of the economy of the country. It runs it, apportions labor, regulates as best it can the flow of wealth to different departments of production. It fixes wages, distributes the surplus, manages the foreign trade, decides where new plants should be opened and where old ones should be closed. Place on it the label caste. Take off the label and write class instead. What, today, is changed thereby?

The Stalinist bureaucracy organizes, controls, directs a mighty army. It controls a secret police force of two million men. It appoints and removes its ambassadors abroad. It makes wars and declares peace. It performs all the functions of government, exercises all the privileges, bears all the responsibilities, exactly as if it were a class that had a history of five centuries behind it. No. Comrade Trotsky was wrong. He maintained a distinction which was not only meaningless but harmful.

Trotsky, be it noted, was not a sentimentalist, seeing Russia through the eyes of an old Russian revolutionary. Nor was he unaware of the realities of Stalinist Russia. Not at all. He recognized the enormous theoretical difficulties he would face if he abandoned his theory. That cannot be discussed here. But the final proof of the weakness, the impossibility, of maintaining Trotsky's theory is this. To remove that bureaucracy today would require a revolution greater in scope than the October Revolution. Now what kind of caste is this that is more powerfully established as a government than the old combination of landlords, bureaucrats and capitalists who ruled Russia up to 1914?

Previously, this question was, in the minds of the average American worker, confined to Russia. But now two problems or, more precisely, three problems are being posed.

AN INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARY FORCE

1. This Russian society has loomed up as a deadly and direct rival to United States imperialism. The air is filled with the fear of war. What is this Russian state and why does war between it and the United States appear as inevitable as war between Britain and Germany in the old days?

2. The Russian type of state is no longer confined to Russia or territories directly annexed by Russia. It is obvious that Poland and Yugoslavia are, to put it moderately, heading as fast as they can toward régimes modeled on Russia rather than the traditional European form. The question there is by no means settled. But the struggle is on.

The Russians, in the part of Germany which they occupy, are obviously laying the foundation of the type of régime which they have at home. They do not do so openly, but every step that they take shows their ultimate aim.

and Northern China, they have the same aims. They adapt their policy to the local circumstances, but a blind man can see what they will do if they 3. In the countries of Western Europe, Communist Parties devoted to Russian aims and following

On the other side of the world, in Manchuria

Russian policy wield such political power as has rarely been exercised by any parties except those of a ruling class itself. In France the Communist Party has the decisive control of the united French trade unions, nearly six million strong. The party itself has over a million members.

In Italy the Communist Party has 1,700,000 members.

Just to complete the general picture, Communist organizations in Greece have the large majority of the population behind them. These organizations, here, as elsewhere, are fanatical followers of the Stalinist line.

Taking the situation as a whole therefore the Stalinist state and its ramifications represent without a shadow of doubt the most powerful organized social and political force in the world today. Its strength comes from its unification and the result-

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING STALINISM

The American worker therefore must realize: 1. That the Stalinists whom he meets in his factory or in his union may be few; their party in the United States may not be very powerful; but that they are part of a world-wide organization of enormous actual power. To underestimate them by judging them solely by their strength in the United States would be a terrible mistake.

2. The problem of the Stalinists being a world problem, to fight them here requires first of all a clear understanding of what their Moscow general staff aims at today and tomorrow. This is world politics in the most profound sense of the term. The American worker seeking to probe this question to the roots must be prepared to grapple with the whole world scene. The days for preoccupation with purely national problems are past. The worker too must see the world as "one world." This I propose to take up in this series of articles. But one thing must be established, and established without any sort of misunderstanding. The antagonism between the U.S. government and the Stalinist régime is one thing. That antagonism the U. S. government extends to the Communist Parties all over the world.

But the antagonism of the working class movement to Stalinism is something fundamentally different. The U.S. government opposes Stalinism because Stalinism is now its rival for world mastery. A class-conscious revolutionary opposes Stalinism because it betrays revolutionary struggle and, as far as it can, manipulates the working-class movement for its imperialist ends. Thus while American capital and American labor are both threatened by Stalinism, that makes for no solidarity between American capital and American labor on this issue. The class line is as sharp here as elsewhere.

Letter from German Comrade Tells of European Barbarism

Members and friends of LA-BOR ACTION and the Workers Party have been sending relief packages of food and clothing to Europe. We reprint herewith another commentary from a German comrade for its interesting details on the situation of occupied Germany.

My Dear Friends:

As you know, I spent three weeks at Saarbruecken, which you are familiar with. Without exaggeration and without patriotism -it was certainly a beautiful city despite its industrial aspect.

In order not to confuse you, I employ the past tense, for today, after that damned war, it is a city eighty-five per cent burned or destroyed. I will try to give you an idea of what the city of Saarbruecken is like. The first ward of Saarbruecken proper is ninetyfive per cent uninhabitable, the second ward a similar percentage, the third ward is forty per cent uninhabitable, St. Arnuald has not suffered much, nor has Jaegersfreude, but Burbach is ninety-five per cent uninhabitable. Nevertheless, there is today a population of 65,000 souls. It is incredible but true that almost the whole population has sought refuge in the third ward. A real ant-hill, I tell you.

The freight yards have been plowed up by bombs, all the bridges have been blown up. A real jumble of scrap iron, stone, etc. Misery stares at you through all the windows . . . whole trains, innumerable locomotives and coaches which have been ripped apart are scattered along the tracks. An unimaginable catastrophe has fallen upon this country. Entire cities lie demolished.

Food rations are worse than mediocre, and it is to be feared that if there is no amelioration of conditions serious cases of sickness will arise. Because of the war, the bombardments and the poor food rations, the state of health of the population is not rosy. Many people drag themselves around, thin, weak, pale, haggard, with their faces yellow as if from jaundice.

When I tell you that women and girls go out with soldiers and give themselves to them, it is not out of jealousy that I say it, but to give you a full account of the life. These are not sporadic cases at all, my friend, they involve a third of all the women.

Children of less than ten hang out in cafes en masse to drink beer. Nobody pays any attention to them, and everybody finds it the most natural thing in the world. Well dressed kids go to restaurants to look through the ash trays for cigarette butts.

The population is exhausted. Everybody yells at everybody else. People subject each other to the filthiest language everywhere and at all times.

Because of the lack of food, people fend for themselves, each in his fashion. But, in general, people travel sixty miles or more searching for things to eat. For lack of good rolling stock travelling is done in freight trains. Never in your life have you seen such a spectacle. The trains are jammed with knapsacks, suitcases, boxes, and so on. As the trains come into the stations horrible scenes take place. Curses are exchanged and even kicks and blows. Politeness doesn't exist and people brutally seek to gain a place so that they won't be left behind.

A bureaucracy exists such as has never been seen before. No matter what office you enter you feel that you are in a Prussian barracks. There is neither whispering nor genuine politeness. A Prussian drill sergeant's tone is employed everywhere. It is worse than ever! In street cars, railroad trains, behind ticket booths, in public buildings, in the public services, everywhere the bureaucrat shouts. Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe Formulare! Papers from the cradle to the grave! Such is the leitmotiv of the German bureaucracy. In order to make a request for entry, around twenty papers were necessary without counting the mountains of questions which were asked.

Politically there is not much to say since in the French zone not a single political party is authorized at this time. But the humor is that in a short while three or four parties (Socialist, Communist, liberal, and Catholic-Center) will be authorized. As I have already told you people worry only about food for the moment, which explains the frightful indifference of the largest part of the population. In fact, the purging of the administration, business and everywhere is put off. Former ardent Nazis still occupying more or less important posts, don't worry. For the time being they occupy almost all their posts as under Hitler. Incredible but true.

As to the packages which you have so generously lavished upon me, I insist upon thanking you once again. Willi has informed me that recently a package from George has arrived for N ... I have told my comrade to acknowledge reception of it.

ADOLPHE

WORLD_POLITICS

By IRVING HOWE

The record of the British Labor Party government in domestic affairs has not received as much attention as its record in foreign policy, if only because the latter has been such a flagrant continuation of Churchillian imperialism. But a number of highly interesting questions arise with regard to the Attlee government's domestic policies; and one of them, the problem of nationalization of industry, we shall briefly examine here.

The Labor Party government has promised to nationalize several basic industries, such as coal and transport; it has already "nationalized" the Bank of England. in a way we shall describe later. Nationalization, as outlined by the leaders of the LP government, means that the government takes over and runs the given industry while reimbursing the capitalists, often at a rate higher even than the face value of what has been taken over.

Does this, then, mean that socialism-willy-nilly, partially, hesitantly—is being built in England? Does it mean that the LP reformist government is, contrary to the predictions and expectations of the Marxists, capable of bringing socialism to England, and through strictly parliamentary means at that? We believe the answer to these questions is No and we shall briefly show why.

First let us note the limitations of these measures: In a speech in Canada, Herbert Morrison, a member of the Attlee cabinet, bluntly stated that the bulk of British heavy industry would not be nationalized during the rule of the Labor Party government. He made it clear that only those industries on the verge of bankruptcy. those unable to shift for themselves (that is, make a profit for their owners) would be even considered for nationalization.

"FAIR COMPENSATION" FOR THE CAPITALISTS

The second limitation: the LP government promises "fair compensation" to the capitalists in all cases of nationalization. As the British Trotskyist magazine, Workers International News, writes about this matter:

"What this 'fair compensation' means can already be clearly seen from the example of the recently published bill for the nationalization of the Bank of England. The shareholders of the Bank of England hold an amount of stock with a nominal value of 14,553,000 pounds. On this stock they have for the past 22 years been receiving an annual dividend of 12 per cent. These shareholders will receive as compensation from the Labor Government bonds to the value of 58,212,000 pounds, i.e., four times the NOMINAL value of Bank of England stock. These government bonds will bear an annual interest of 3 per cent—in other words, the Bank of England stockholders will go on receiving the same incomes as they have done in the past. No wonder that the news of the government's proposals have brought about a rise in the selling price of Bank of England stock."

The third and most important limitation is in the complete lack of any proposal for workers' control of those industries to be nationalized. Presumably they will be run on the same basis as the Bank of England: the same directing personnel retained, the same methods, the same policies. The state is to own these industries; but if the workers themselves do not control both the state and its executive agencies in the nationalized industries, they will benefit precious little.

This is a far cry from genuine socialism, isn't it? Most industries are to remain in the hands of private capitalists. Those that are nationalized are only the industries which private capitalism has brought to the verge of bankruptcy and which do not promise to be very profitable in the future. And the LP government merely helps those capitalists along by "compensating" them, so that they retain their wealth, their ability to invest in other industries and to exploit labor. Thus far, only the Bank of England has been "nationalized." But it was already a semi-governmental institution; now that it is nationalized, and its stockholders properly "comensated," its directing personnel remains the same and its function as a financial servant of British capitalism continues. And the joint stock banks, the great insurance

Readers will recall that the Revo-

lutionary Communist Party, English

section of the Fourth International,

recently addressed a letter to the

British government, asking for repre-

Representation was desired so as

to be able to question the prominent

nazis on trial there, with whom Trot-

sky, the famous revolutionary leader,

was accused of conspiring by the Rus-

sian prosecution in the Moscow

frame-up trials in 1936, 1937, and 1938.

Readers will likewise recall that

Representation at the Nuremberg

Trial was denied by the British gov-

ernment. The reason is not far to

seek. The British government is not

interested in rehabilitating the mem-

ory of a famous Marxist who was a

pitiless enemy of everything for

Furthermore, Britain is not anx-

ious to cross Russia unnecessarily in

the mortal chess game she is now,

along with the United States, play-

ing with Russia. For Trotsky was the

hated enemy of the Russian bureau-

cracy as well. And in the fight against

Trotskyism-that is to say, against

revolutionary socialism, the hope of

mankind—the Russian bureaucracy

The Socialist Appeal, the Trotskyist

organ in England, recently welcomed

enough, were the only labor group

can never make a concession.

which British capitalism stands.

the famous Dewey Commission ab-

solved Trotsky of these slanders.

sentation at the Nuremberg trial.

companies and the Stock Exchange continue under the ownership and control of private capitalists.

These are the limitations of the nationalization program. It has nothing in common with socialism. But, aside from its limitations, what is its significance?

THE DILEMMA OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

British capitalism, we should remember, is in a terrible fix. It has come out of the war on the verge of bankruptcy, its resources depleted and its prospects for recovery slight. On the one side, it is pressed by Russia's threat to its near eastern empire. On the other side, and even more fundamentally, the United States is driving it out of market after market.

The British cannot compete with the superior productive efficiency and capacity of the United States. To cite one example: America with 600,000 miners produces 500,000,000 tons of coal each year; Britain has 700,-000 miners who produce only 200,000,000 tons of coal. From 1939 to 1943, the output of coal in Britain fell 16 per cent. This situation, which makes Britain unable to compete with United States imperialism on the world market, is due to the fact that England was the first major power to become industrialized on a large scale. This head start made it possible to build the Empire; but it is now the cause for the decline of the Empire, since the late comers like Germany and the United States were able to utilize the most modern developments in technology and thereby bypass Britain.

This economic inferiority with regard to the United States is to be further aggravated as a result of the forthcoming loan from the U. S. to Britain. The price which Britain will pay for the loan will be the surrender of the only two defenses she has yet found against American imperialism: the sterling bloc and the Empire preference system. Thus British capitalism moves from contradiction to contradiction. It must modernize its obsolete plants and mines. The only way it can get the necessary capital to do that is to borrow from the U.S., but to do that it has to weaken further its economic position and help strengthen the very rival to compete against whom it desires to modernize its industry.

NATIONALIZATION—CAPITALISM'S PATCHWORK

Which way out? There are three main possibilities. First: overthrow capitalism and strike out on the socialist road. But that the reformist LP government will not and, by its very nature, cannot do. Secondly: establish a fascist dictatorship which would squeeze wages and thereby make things easier for the British capitalist class. That at the moment is impossible, for the British workers are too strong and there is no substantial fascist movement in England. Thirdly, patch up the capitalist system a little more. And that, willy-nilly, is what the LP government is doing.

That is the true significance of the nationalization program. When one sector of the capitalist economy becomes obsolete, incapable of yielding profit, and without prospect of a profitable recovery under private auspices, then the capitalist state as a whole takes over that part of the private economy, all the while conveniently "compensating" the former owners. The capitalists deprived of their former holdings are enabled to invest in new and more profitable ventures. The state bears the expense of running and renovating the obsolete industries -and that means that eventually the workers pay for it through higher taxes and lower wages.

That it is, ironically enough, a Labor Party government which directs and initiates this program does not in the slightest degree invalidate the idea that this program has as its OBJECTIVE result the continuation and buttressing of capitalism. One cannot sit on two stools at once for an indefinite period. The reformist Labor Party government having rejected the perspective of socialist revolution, has no alternative but to try to patch up, to bolster here and there the crumbling capitalist economy of England. The British program of nationalization, then, has nothing in common with soc the contrary, it has as its purpose the perpetuation of capitalism.

for the first time in the history of

the organization and 50,000 pieces of

literature were distributed. A mass

meeting of 600 at Gilly was the larg-

The capitalist courts of Belgium

have just acquitted two collaborators

whose names were a stench in the

nostrils of all Belgian worers dur-

They are Bologne and Destexhe.

They turned over to the Gestapo the

names of numerous Stalinists, Trot-

syists, and her militants during the

Trotskyist families, whose sons or

husbands were taken by the Gestapo

as a result of these denunciations,

were not permitted to testify at the

Capital, whether it worked for Hit-

_J. M. F.

ler or not, knows who its friends are

est held by any party there.

ing the occupation.

-and its enemies.

MINORITY VOTE

REVOLUTIONIST

tains the following item:

CONVICTS ITALIAN

The January 7 issue of Quatro In-

ternazionale, organ of the Italian sec-

tion of the Fourth International, con-

Province of Foggia has condemned

"The prison commission of the

ever prosecuted under this act. Four subscribed. A sound truck was used

International Socialist Notes

comrades were jailed as a result of

their role in furthering a strike

aimed against the war-time Bevin

plan for the conscription of mine

As the elections approach, our

French comrades are being subjected

to increased harassing by the French

government, acting upon provoca-

tions caused by the Stalinists, who

fear the significant influence shown

by the French party in previous elec-

La Vérité (Truth) was recently

seized by the police for appearing as

a non-authorized journal. La Vérité,

the first resistance organ to appear

under the occupation, is the only la-

bor paper denied publication in

The seizure by the police was pre-

ceded by attacks against sellers of

the paper by Stalinist thugs, who

also made an attempt on the party

Such attacks are witness to the

actual and potential strength of the

French party, which can only in-

crease as the Gouin government dem-

onstrates its inability to cope with

the continuing economic crisis in

The coordinated international cam-

paign against Trotskyism which has

been unleashed by the Stalinists has

FRANCE

France today.

headquarters.

France.

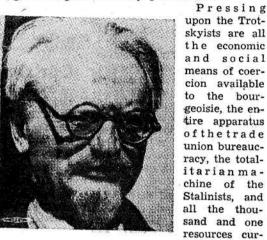
BELGIUM

The European Trotskyists During the War:

An Heroic Record of Revolutionary Resistance Against Fascist Terror

By JAMES M. FENWICK

EON TROTSKY once said that the Fourth International was like the apex of an inverted social pyramid upon which the whole weight of capitalist society pressed down.



LEON TROTSKY

cion available to the bourgeoisie, the entire apparatus ofthetrade union bureaucracy, the totalitarian machine of the Stalinists, and all the thousand and one

rent society

has at its dis-

Pressing

upon the Trot-

means of coer-

posal. Despite all this, in virtually every country of the globe there exist gallant bands of men and women, inspired by the great emancipating doctrine of Marxism who, resisting all the bribes, threats, and persecution of the enemies of socialism, have chosen as their life work the struggle for the first human society, socialism. They are ranged within the parties of the Fourth Interna-

In the crucible of war all political parties are subjected to the severest proofs. The Fourth International came through the war incorruptible, able to hold its head high before the tribunal of the working class and say, "We discharged our revolutionary socialist obligations!"

Alone of all working class political parties, the parties of the Fourth International opposed the imperialist war, stating that it was a war for capitalist profits, and calling for the fraternization of workers and soldiers of all countries.

Unlike the social democratic organizations of World War I that collapsed under the patriotic capitalist pressure, the Fourth International opposed the bloody carnage from the earliest hour.

THE RECORD OF OUR FRENCH COMRADES

In France the first resistance paper to appear in illegality was La Vérité (Truth), the organ of the International Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International.

Throughout the war our French comrades worked with model bravery, fighting in the resistance movement, conducting fraternization with German soldiers, taking up workers' demands in the shops where that was possible, issuing La Vérité and other papers, aiding workers sought by the Gestapo, forging identity papers, etc.

For their activity the French comrades paid a heavy price in persons shot by the Gestapo and

the Vichy police and deported to the infamous concentration camps in Germany.

Following the close of the war our French comrades continued their struggle against French capitalism. Ceaselessly hounded by the French government, their paper illegal, and persecuted by the Stalinists, our comrades are showing a gratifying extension of their influence as demonstrated by recent election returns.

Though information is scanty because of the war conditions which obtain, news in the capitalist press reveals that our comrades in French Indo-China have been active in the nationalist struggles which have been taking place there. Their work has been complemented by the agitation of our comrades in France who have been waging a campaign in support of France's colonial popula-

THE RECORD OF OUR BELGIAN COMRADES In Belgium our comrades were very active during the occupation, especially in the mining areas, where Trotskyist influence has been traditionally

ducted agitation against the royalty, for a uniform pension, against the no-strike legislation of the Van Acker government, etc., basing their program upon the transitional demands of the Fourth International.

THE RECORD OF OUR GERMAN COMRADES

Because of the terrific repression to which German political parties were subjected, and because of the difficulties of communication today, not much is known of the activity of German Trotskyists. A little news has leaked out, however, showing that our German comrades held high the banner of international solidarity under the unprecedented repression of the German cap-

At the time of the siege of Aachen, for instance, a group of soldiers under Trotskyist influence, deserted and formed a guerrilla band which fought the SS and the Gestapo. Trotskyist activity is likewise being carried on among German prisoners in

A great number of our German comrades remain, of necessity, in emigration in France, England, Switzerland, the United States, and South America. The majority of the Spanish section likewise exists in emigration.

THE RECORD OF OTHER SECTIONS

Active sections of the Fourth International exist in Ireland and England. In England the group is exceptionally active. It publishes a paper, "Socialist Appeal," and a theoretical magazine, "Workers International News."

Trotskyist groups exist elsewhere throughout the British Empire. Sections exist in South Africa, Australia, India, etc. News concerning these sections has been relatively scanty up to the present because of war-time restrictions.

Despite nearly twenty-five years of the Mussolini dictatorship, which destroyed so much of working class thinking, a section of the Fourth International has been established in Italy.

A group exists in Holland.

Our greek section has done heroic work, and has paid exceptionally heavily for it. Not only were our comrades persecuted by the Ovra, Mussolini's secret police, but over a hundred were slaughtered by the Stalinists during the attack upon the ELAS and EAM in 1944-1945.

Such is the proud record of the Fourth Internationalist movement throughout the world. It is a living testimonial to the desire of the working classes of the world to establish socialism wherever mankind exists.

In many countries such as in the United States, where two Trotskyist tendencies-the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party-exist, thereis more than one Trotskyist movement. Such a condition exists in Australia, South Africa, and Greece as well. In many of these countries it is heartening to note that unity negotiations are

In the ensuing period we hope to see the political rearmament of the Fourth International along



strong. Conducting a struggle similar to that of the French organization, the Internationalist Communist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, published illegal papers in French, German, Flemish and Polish during the war.

The Belgian comrades similarly paid heavily for their loyalty to the international working class. Following the war the Belgian comrades con-

the lines developed by the Workers Party.

Exclusive Eyewitness Account:

The Militant French Printers' Strike

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PARIS-The recent strike in Paris of the newspaper printing workers of the Syndicat Du Livre, CGT, and its suppression by the government has further indicated the divergence between the needs of the French working class and the policies of the leading political and trade union representatives of French labor.

Following several months of fruitless negotiations the Syndicat Du Livre of Paris finally went on strike on January 26th and until February 1st no newspaper appeared in the city. The strikers demanded a wage increase to offset the greatly reduced purchasing power of their salaries resulting from an ever increasing in-

It had been the policy of the previous DeGaulle government and the Gouin government today in collaboration with the communist, socialist, and CGT ministerial representatives firmly to suppress all actions taken by the workers demanding wage increases on the theory that by keeping wages stationary and attempting to reduce prices France could control inflation.

In France today the problem of inflation and the impoverishment of the entire working class is especially acute. "Franc Tireur," an influential Parisian daily, published the following graphic figures in its February 7th issue: the cost of living has risen from 100 in 1938 to 850 in 1945 whereas wages only rose from 100 in 1938 to 350 in 1945, adding to this an additional 2% in wage "adjustments" recently allowed by the government. A net loss of 55% in real wages has taken place since 1938. These figures do not take into account the fact that virtually all French workers are forced to purchase many basic necessities from the black market at fan-

loyal and irresponsible. The Stalinists outdid themselves in insulting and

calumniating the strikers. The newly to act as arbitrator. Saillant informed installed Stalinist Minister of Labor, Ambrose Croizat, made a speech over the radio in which he roundly condemned the strike and threatened to issue a government newspaper as a reprisal. "All is not possible in an impoverished France," he cried, the same Croizat who with his fellow Stalinist deputies, last January, voted for the 125 billion franc budget for the army whose greatest expense today is the brutal suppression of the heroic Indo-Chinese nationalist move-

The CGT leaders together with the government finally selected Louis Saillant, president of the National Resistance Council and official of the the strike leaders that if they would call an immediate halt to the strike he assured them that he was empowered to arrive at a just solution of the strikers' demands. Acting in good faith the printing workers returned to work.

The following morning the Council of Ministers issued a statement that it was not bound by the decisions to be arrived at in the arbitration and that Saillant was not empowered to authorize strike indemnity payments by the employers to the strikers, a traditional right accorded to strikers in France. The CGT leaders and the Gouin government, having succeeded in ending the strike through the false World Federation of Trade Unions assurances of Saillant then disavowed

its former promises to the strikers. This scabby action came from a government in which the overwhelming majority of its elected deputies are communists and socialists.

On February 7th, the first day in which newspapers reappeared following the end of the strike, "L'Humanité," central organ of the French Communist Party appeared with partially blank columns in the article dealing with the printers' strike. This article had been so foul an attack on the strike that the workers at the print shop where "L'Humanitè" is printed became indignant that such a scurrilous attack on them was being published in the column of a party newspaper supposedly fighting for the interests of labor and they deleted the offensive sections of the article to indicate their protest.

STALINISTS LOSE MEMBERS Prior to the strike the Communist

Party had a fraction of 38 members in the "L'Humanité" print shop. As a result of the CP's sellout of the strike 30 members tore up their party cards in disgust. Alarmed at this loss, Duclos, Stalin's number one man in France and general secretary of the party came down in person to the press room of "L'Humanité" and attempted to explain the party position on the strike and to urge the former party members to rejoin. The result was that three more members of the CP quit.

The Trotskyists were the only party to declare their complete solidarity with the strike; a committee representing their party, met with the strike committee and offered the facilities of the party and the use of "La Verité," organ of the PCI to defend and to publicize the demands of the strike. Their solidarity and cooperation were gratefully accepted by the strike committee.

The temper and feeling of the printers of Paris mirrors the growing resentment and opposition of an increasing number of the trade union rank and file in France today. The pressure from the workers will result in an ever increasing number of strikes in opposition not only to the bosses but also against the socialist and communist union leadership.

A Report from Shanghai On Chinese Labor Movement

LABOR ACTION is glad to reprint the following letter from a close sympathizer of the Workers Party who is now in Shanghai. The writer is a Chinese who, however, spent a few years in the United States before he was drafted into the army. The difficulties of the writer in a foreign language make all the more striking his firm grasp of the situation.

Jan. 24, 1946 Shanghai, China

I am stationed in Shanghai now. As you know, Shanghai is the most developed city in the Far Eastern map. Not even that, also an important sea port in the Central China, lay at the mouth of the Yangtze river with almost 4 million population. Shanghai's business mostly depends on import and export, a hundred per cent colonial city. Many kind of raw materials were shipped from here to manufacture goods such as clothes,

opment. Many factory have been set up during World War I and change owner from Chinese to foreigner in the year of 1928-1940. When the Japanese come, they owned most of the

plants. There are about 600,000 people working at the various factory as labors. Compare to other Chinese city, Shanghai is most industrialized. Before I come over here, there were

a students' demonstration against

French Consul in Shanghai because city's French authorities make arrests and send to Saigon, French Indo-China for trial. The student round up 6,000 before the City Hall protesting to the Mayor, their slogans read-"Send foreign soldiers home," "Send the French Consul General home." In here you see the students showing against American military authori-

Shanghai in year of 1920 to 1930 was the center of the Chinese Communist movement. After the "Manchurian Incident" the Chinese [Communist] move the hq. to Kiangsi province, that mean withdraw the organizing of laborer in Shanghai and went to interior to organize farmers. But Shanghai labor movement still

grow as in war and after war. In war they went underground, today they protest for work.

Yesterday, the Shanghai worker demonstration protesting for work in

the impending repeal of the Trade tastic prices. Comrade Romeo Mangano to five borne fruit in Belgium also. Disputes Act, passed by the British As a result of a Stalinist pressure years of imprisonment. THE PRINTERS GO ON STRIKE government in 1927 in reprisal against campaign carried on in its press, nec-"Of the five members of the comthe well-known general strike of 1926. Reacting to this tremendous deessary isgnatures for the placing of mission, two only, the prefect and Of the action against the bill by the cline of real wages and following in our party on the ballot in Brussels the magistrate, voted for the sentence; labor government, the Socialist Apthe footsteps of the miners of Lens were invalidated. two other magistrates voted against peal said: "There are few measures and the Public Service workers of At Charleroi, however, where the the verdict and the police captain Paris, the Parisian printers finally that the Labour Government takes to Let's see the city's industry devel-Belgium party ran candidates, 1,100 (sitting as a member of the court) which we Trotskyists give wholewent on strike on January 26th. Trotskyist votes were secured in this Immediately the Stalinists and the hearted support. The Repeal of the densely populated working-class area. "Nevertheless, Comrade Mangano Trade Disputes Act is one of them." Socialists attacked the strikers as dis-The comrades conducted a model remains condemned to the maximum The Trotskyists, interestingly

campaign, funds for which were over-



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR Published Weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Ass'n 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

cratically their own future.

place, North or South.

8. Slum Clearance

(Third Floor)

Vol. 10, No. 13

April 1, 1946 (In Two Sections) EMANUEL GARRETT, Acting Editor

ALBERT GATES, Editor Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx)

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WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS ples and the right of all people to decide demo-1. Full Unemployment Insurance

Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependencies to all workers for whom government and industry do not

2. Less Hours-More Pay

Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly

3. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government ex-, rural electrification and modernization. pense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living Wage

A job for every worker wih a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

5. A Planned Rise in National Income

A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum

6. For a Democratic Peace

Editorials-

Europe and Asia from famine.

"starting very late."

ful of guinea hen.

Against peacetime military conscripion of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peo-

Every working man and woman in the United

States with an ounce of human feeling, not to

speak of the workers who feel their class solidar-

ity with the toiling masses of the world, wants

everything possible done to save the peoples of

Is Truman doing everything possible? Even

Truman, Hoover & Co. will do everything pos-

What do these gentlemen propose? They pro-

"Hooverville" Hoover has to say that they are

sible except (as Tolstoy said about the Russian

pose that loaves of bread be smaller, that we save

on wheat by reducing our bread consumption.

Very good. If it is necessary to eat less bread in

order to help the hungry of the world, then we

must do so. There is, however, something particu-

themselves on stupendous riches of food, politely

request that their patrons go easy on the bread.

At a recent dinner for the very honorable Mr.

Winston Churchill at the Waldorf-Astoria, the

guests were served filet of sole in lobster sauce,

baked breast of guinea hen and other trifles. A

note alongside the richly laden plates requested

the diners not to overstuff themselves on bread!

for Europe's needy is a gruesome as it is ludicrous.

Bread for the hungry is a necessary staple; it is

not something with which to wash down a mouth-

By all means, if there is not enough wheat to

go around. let us eat less bread. We are, and

should be, willing to share our food with our

class brothers of the world. And why only bread?

baker reduces the size of the loaf, then the cost

must be brought down proportionately. And so

on down the line. The second consideration is

weightier. HOW MUCH OF A WHEAT SHORT-

AGE IS THERE? The few bites that we save will

not feed the millions of hungry. But they must

We shall take a single example for the present:

ways and means of sending abroad a maximum of CAN!

ARE YOU GETTING READY FOR-

have food, and there IS food!

There are, however, two considerations. If the

. The picture of the Waldorf-Astoria saving food

Restaurants where the "high and mighty" gorge

landlords) get off the backs of the masses.

larly revolting about their approach.

Yes, Food for the Hungry!

MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality

Complete democratic rights. The right to vote,

o run for and hold any elective or appointive

office, North or South. The right to equality in

employment; to hold any job, skilled or un-

skilled. The right to be free from insult, segre-

gation and Jim Crowism; anywhere and in any

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH

A \$250 billion five-year program to provide de-

cent housing for all, extensive public works,

Nationalization of the banks, big industrial mo-

nopolies and transportation systems, and no

handing over of government-built and owned

A 100 per cent tax on all war profis above a

five per cent maximum on invested capital; a

\$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and

a graduated capital levy on all accumulated

wealth over \$50,00 0to cover war costs and pro-

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY

Control of production by democratically-elected

12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers'

Make the machines that now produce only for

war and capitalism produce for the needs of all

wheat, the Truman Administration is responsible

for the fact that tens of millions of bushels are

ally reported in the March 3 New York Times:

Where? In Argentina. This horrible fact is casu-

"Europe and Asia must have approximately

17,000,000 tons of wheat in 1946 to prevent wide-

scale starvation. Of the four great wheat-produc-

ing countries-Canada, the United States, Argen-

tina and Australia-Canada's crop last year de-

clined as a result of bad weather, Australia is only

partially recovered from the extensive drought of

1944, and ARGENTINA IS BURNING WHEAT TO

COMPENSATE FOR A FUEL SHORTAGE. This

leaves only the United States, with Canada second,

costly and inefficient substitute for oil and coal.

FROM ARGENTINA AND WON'T LET ARGEN-

TINA CHARTER TANKERS TO BRING OIL

porter of wheat in the world, next only to North

America. In 1940, for example, Argentina exported

135 million bushels of wheat while North America

tens of millions, of bushels have instead been

but that is NOT why Truman is fighting him.

There are plenty of other reactionary dictators

is a scoundrel; and we will give our assistance to

the Argentine masses who fight him. But we must

not let the hungry pay the penalty for Truman or

Food for Europe and Asia! It is an obligation

we owe. We must give of our own. But, above all,

we must disclose the hoards that exist. We have

the means of plenty. We must not let the food

monopolists and the imperialist politicians stand

in the way of our own needs and the needs of the

burned this year, thanks to the Truman policy?

Normally Argentina is the second largest ex-

Why is Argentina burning wheat? It is a very

in a position to export substantial stocks."

FROM ELSEWHERE.

being burned as a fuel substitute!

Government-For a Socialist America with

plants and facilities to private ownership.

9. Nationalization of Big Business

vide post-war security for labor.

11. Workers' Control of Production

10. Taxing the Profiteers

workers' committees.

Plenty for All!

taking place at the present time of on a large scale means raising the great significance for the Negro people in the United States. One of them is taking place in the government and in Congress. That is to say, in the stronghold and executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole. The other is taking place in the labor movement.

IN TRUMAN'S CONGRESS

Over the last few months in Congress, the Southern Democrats have been acting in the closest alliance with the most conservative Republicans. Of course, they have always worked together. But under the pressure of the class conflicts in the country as a whole and the militancy of the labor movement, they have reached the stage where they are thinking of forming some kind of organization to fight against the advancing claims of the working class.

On account of this, President Truman and particularly Hannegan, the boss of the Democratic Party, find themselves in a serious spot. Previously, they tried to follow in the tradition of President Roosevelt and maneuver between the labor movement, on the one hand, and the Southern Democrats on the other. But little by little in the U.S. today, the space for maneuvering between conflicting classes is getting less and less. And recently Hannegan has taken steps and made speeches which show that this situation is causing an unbearable strain among the leaders of the Democratic Party.

Politicians are able to point in one direction today and reverse themselves the next day with the greatest facility. But it seems fairly clear that Hannegan and Truman are warning the Southern Democrats that this situation cannot continue indefinitely. Elections are coming near and to win the elections the Democratic Party will have to align itself clearly and unmistakably with the labor movement against the Southern reactionaries. What they will do after the election, that is something else.

IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

So far, Congress. Now for the labor movement. Philip Murray has announced a great organizational drive in the South to bring the millions of unorganized workers there within the ranks of the CIO. Any organizational drive in the South that is serious means the organization of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Negro workers.

But this is no mere trade union question. We know what the social situation of Negroes in the South is today. Any serious attempt to organize them on a large scale means automatically raising the basic question of social segregation and political discrimination.

There is no political party of labor in the United States. That is unforunate. But precisely because of this, MAN ADMINISTRATION HAS CUT OFF OIL ray may think what he pleases. But the already tense situation in the subject next week.

question, for example, of the polltax, of the anti-lynching bill, of the permanent FEPC. And it means raising them not in Congress where senators can filibuster, but raising them among the masses of the people themselves in the form of action by organized labor In the CIO News of March 25 there

One-Tenth of the Nation
On Organizing the South

By J. R. Johnson

is an article demanding action now on the poll-tax. A reading of the article, however, shows that it is concerned solely with the poll-tax in so far as it is a matter of Congressional action. The article states that Senator Homer Ferguson and Senator James Mead called upon the American people to make a special effort during poll-tax week. The article points out that there is support for the bill by Senator Claude Pepper and by Barry Bingham, Kentucky newspaper publisher. Isn't that won-

A JOB FOR THE CIO

At its recent board meeting, the CIO Council issued a blast against Democratic Congressmen who join hands with the representatives of the Republicans and thwart the wishes of the majority.

Now this is the same game that has been going on in Congress for years. And the leadership of the CIO is playing it. Organized labor has its own decisive methods of struggle. The place where the decisive struggle for the abolition of the poll-tax will be fought is not in Congress, by slippery senators, or in the pages of Kentucky newspapers. If the CIO proposes to organize the South, then a fundamental part of this campaign must be not merely industrial organization, but abolition of the political discrimination against the Negroes in the South.

There is no organization in the United States today which can more easily point out to white workers in the South the consequences not only to Negroes but to themselves of the continuance of the poll-tax in the Southern states. The CIO has enormous prestige in the South. White workers are the ones who for familiar reasons are most subject to the social prejudices imposed upon the South by the reactionaries. If an organization with the prestige and the power of the CIO seriously sets itself to break down these prejudices, it can do so. Instead, however, while on the one hand, its leaders announce a great organizing campaign, they continue to direct the attention of the organized workers and of the Ne-

groes to the maneuvers in Congress. Two important conclusions can now be drawn. I am not interested in what is in the heads of Philip Murray and of the other leaders of the CIO. But this much is obvious. The present situation in the Democratic Party being what it is, if Philip Murray and the CIO leadership se-

Two political developments are industrial organization of the South Democratic Party an impossible one. The Southern Democrats could not for a single moment tolerate a serious assault upon their social position in the South by the masses of the people educated, organized and led by the CIO. Murray and Co. are faced with this situation. Build a powerful labor movement in the South. Organize the workers and lead these workers to the smashing of the reactionary Southern domination. Just begin seriously to do this and as sure as day that will break up the Democratic Party as it is constituted today.

> Or. Try to organize as many workers as possible and keep such issues as the poll-tax in Congress, writing articles against Senator Pepper and Senator Mead and so on and so forth. The same old maneuvering which has brought no results for the last twenty-five years.

TIME TO DO SOMETHING

That is the first conclusion. The second conclusion is one of action. So far organized labor, progressives and the Negro organizations have sent innumerable telegrams, held mass meetings, overflowed Madison Square Garden and filled the air with protests against the fakers in Congress and the Southern Senators. Now is the time to do something else.

The CIO leadership must be made to face its own responsibilities squarely. What do you propose to do about the poll-tax? Do you propose to go into the South and organize black and white workers? Do you intend to confine your campaign to the question of wages and trade union demands, or do you propose to organize mass pressure from the South itself, pressure by the masses of the people against the state and federal governments? If not, why not? Is it because you are afraid that by doing so, you will break up the Democratic Party? And to take the question one step further, if you break up the Democratic Party, but at the same time gain the masses of the people in the South, why shouldn't you, having now organized labor in the North, and the great masses of the people in the South, why shouldn't you then be able to form a new political party which would be strong enough to seize the power and rule the country?

The Southern senators are reactionary. Congress is dishonest. Good. We know that. But what does the CIO leadership propose? This is the question that should be hammered at it from all who are pledged to work for the abolition of the poll-tax. We do not propose to run Murray's campaign for him. We want a political declaration.

Those are the issues involved. Murray must know the power that the CIO can exercise in the South if it wants to. Murray must know also the consequences which the CIO performs many functions riously set out to mobilize the power follow the exercise by the CIO of this which ordinarily would be performed of organized labor in the South power. The public must know what Argentina is burning wheat BECAUSE THE TRU- by an independent Labor Party. Muragainst the poll-tax, they will make Murray thinks. I shall return to this

OFF LIMITS

By JAMES M. FENWICK

\$417,260,127,310

Look carefully again at the figure which heads this column. It looks like one of those astronomically large, almost incomprehensible, figures which are used in describing distances between the stars in our universe, doesn't it?

It represents the amount of money Congress appropriated during the years 1941 through 1946 for war purposes.

To help you realize just how large this sum is, imagine that it were all turned into one-dollar bills. Then imagine you started counting this money at the rate of one dollar a second. Imagine, further that with true capitalist enterprise you worked tirelessly day and night. It would take you 13,247 years to complete the job. You would finish in the year 15,193.

Had you begun counting in the past so as to finish this year, you would have had to begin to 11,300 B. C .- 8,300 years before the building of the pyramids in Egypt, thousands of years before the Biblical flood, thousands of years before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by "fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven," 13,246 years before the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs dropped from the heavens at the behest of our capitalist lords and mas-

CAPITALISM-CREATOR OF DEATH

This dazzling mass of wealth, more magnificent than the wildest dreams of Indian maharajahs or dissolute emperors of antiquity, was used by capitalism to create death and destruction, and hunger, heartbreak and mutilation on a scale unparalleled in previous history.

What wonders could have been worked had

this wealth been applied to socially useful ends! Fifty-five days of such expenditures would have paid for the entire WPA program, which capitalism so begrudgingly allowed millions of workers to exist on during the depression.

Had this mass of wealth been divided among the nearly 35,000,000 families in the United States, each family would have received \$11,936. In other words, every family in the United

States-your family!-would have received the following:

A spick and span new \$7,000 home. House furnishings valued at \$1,500.

A \$1,000 new car.

An educational fund of \$1,000 for the children. A reserve fund of \$1,436 in the bank, to be held for emergencies.

What a revolution in our lives it would have

SOCIALISM, THE HOPE OF HUMANITY

Why can't capitalism, which can create miracles of production for war, do the same in peacetime?

The reason is very simple: Capitalism disposes of manufactured products only when it can turn a profit. That is why, though periodically under capitalism huge surpluses build up, and though at the same time millions of people in the United States desperately desire these products, capitalism will not release them.

There is no PROFIT in it. So that is why people go hungry when there is too much wheat, are poorly dressed when there are too many clothes on the market, and go cold when there is an ex-

Socialism destroys the profit system and substitutes production for use. Under socialism, goods which are produced will immediately flow into the hands of those who desire them without being dammed up because of the necessity of extracting

For desiring such a social system, socialists are called visionaries, crackpots.

Capitalists, of course, are notoriously sane-sane, that is, if you consider the spending of \$417,260,-127,310 for the destruction of human life a mark of sanity, sane if you consider the feverish preparations for atomic warfare the sign of a balanced mind, sane if you consider toying with the disintegration of the globe itself a national act.

IN SOCIALISM ALONE RESTS THE HOPE OF MANKIND!

Attlee Offer Is a Fraud -

(Continued from page 1) exported 197 millions. How many millions, and his fellow Labor Government imperialists, of course.

And how convenient was the immediate response of the reactionary Peron of Argentina is a reactionary scoundrel M. A. Jinnah, head of the Moslem League. He announced that, suddenwith whom Truman is holding hands! Sure, Peron ly, the Moslem people of India had become a "nation" and would accept nothing less than a division of India in two-Hindu India and Moslem India. Without this, Mr. Jinnah threat-Person. It is criminally insane to burn wheat for ened civil war (an old threat of his). Never before in the history of Indian nationalism has the claim been made that the Moslems of that country are a separate people and nation! The claim is false from top to bottom and further emphasizes the reactionary role of the Moslem League leader-

WHAT IS ATTLEE AFTER? But, nevertheless, isn't it true that

the British have gone further than at previous times? Aren't they playing with fire when they broadcast such statements? Undoubtedly this is so. It reflects the increasingly difficult situation of the Empire in the post-war world. The colonies are seething with revolt; America is pressing for commercial entry into India and the Empire markets; the Russians are pressing dangerously close to the Indian life-line. The offer of Attlee thus recognizes the gravity of the situation and is an effort to find allies for the struggle for Empire preservation.

Whom does Attlee seek as his ally? The Indian Nationalist Congress Party-that is, the political party of the Indian capitalist class. This party, led by Gandhi, Nehru and other spokesmen for Indian capitalism, is in a fine bargaining position today and will drive a hard bargain with Attlee and company. It is not at all impossible that a "deal" will be made, granting important political concessions and giving greater freedom to the Indian capitalists. If this "deal"

resort to the familiar argument that new Constitution for India. What India is too divided internally to be given independence.

The reactionary Moslem League and its spokesmen, fearful of a deal with the Congress Party over their heads, are screaming their empty threats for this reason. At present it is too early to see the outcome of these new negotiations, but some form of agreement is very likely. In London circles, it is already rumored that the whole matter has been privately arranged and cooked up. The real aim of British imperialism now is to make a ruling bloc with the Indian capitalist and landlord class, since it recognizes that it can no longer hold India without such a

But such a deal would answer not a single one of the nation's fundamental problems: the misery of the workers and peasants; the question of who is to own and get the benefits of the nation's resources and industry; the question of the agrarian revolution and a democratically federated, united India, etc. It would be a mutual accord between the old imperialists and the native capitalists AGAINST the people. It would not mean real freedom.

WHAT IS REAL FREEDOM?

In the first place, what right do the British have to influence or regulate in any way whatsoever the future of India, or the nature of its new Constitution? Independence means that all outside pressures and influences are withdrawn, leaving the Indian people themselves to decide what they want.

Thus Point One in a real independence program requires the British to announce immediately that India is completely free, and to prove this by beginning the immediate withdrawal of all their troops. In a word, to carry out in practice the "Quit India" slogan.

Then there is the question of the right do the British (who allegedly are no longer rulers of a sovereign nation) have to say what kind of a Constitution shall be written and, above all, how the body that drafts this Constitution shall be convened?

Thus Point Two in a real independence program requires the convening, by the Indian people themselves, of a freely elected Constituent Assembly, based on committees of Indian workers, peasants and middle class, and elected with everybody voting as a citizen of a Free India-not according to so-called communal, religious or caste distinctions. The British must have nothing to

do with this Constituent Assemblyeither its work or the manner of its convening. This is a basic issue. Let this body decide the proper solution for the Moslem problem and other minority problems. Let this body conduct, if it is found desirable, a popular referendum among the 90,-000,000 Moslem people to see whether or not they wish to organize a nation of their own. But any Constituent Assembly touched by the British is bound to be poisoned with impe-

And what of British property rights, privileges and wealth? What conditions are placed on this question of questions? It must all be confiscated. expropriated without a cent of compensation and returned to its rightful owners-the masses of India. In other words, real freedom requires the full, unhesitating and ruthless destruction of the whole system of colonial, imperialist exploitation set up by the British.

Is this what Attlee and his commission are offering to India? The question answers itself. India's struggle for independence goes on. Not the Congress Party (Gandhi), nor the British government (Attlee), nor the Moslem League (Jinnah) can give India freedom.

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 8 P. M. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St.

> Hear Max Shachtman Nat'l Sec., Workers Party

Chairman: Robert Ferguson Chicago Org., Workers Party

may day = LABOR ACTION IS!!! The May Day issue of LABOR ACTION will be an Eight-Pager and will carry many interesting articles and features. Among them will be the May Day Greetings sent by readers and support-Attach your greeting to this ad and mail both, together with payment, to: LABOR ACTION MAY DAY GREETINGS, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Please enter my greetings to LABOR ACTION on May Day, 1946. Address Size of Greeting (check) \$0.50-one line \$2.00-2 inches \$5.00-6 inches \$10.00-12 inches \$1.00-1 inch \$2.50-3 inches

At the same moment when it is appealing for world. If the monopolists can't manage it, WE

-Who Will Replace Franco Dictatorship?_____

Spain: Battlefield for Political Forces

The class-conscious worker, struggling to clarify himself on international politics, would do well to pay some attention to Spain. There, as if worked out on a chart, the basic forces of modern politics meet on a national and international scale.

First of all, the future control of Spain is a vital interest of United States imperialism. United States imperialism? Yes, precisely. With modern methods of transport, and, particularly, the development of airpower, the Atlantic Ocean is now a large lake-no more. Roosevelt aimed at getting hold of Dakar as a military base. American imperialism cannot allow Spain to fall into the hands of a rival power.

The great rival of the United States today is Stalinist Russia. Russia aims to get control of Spain by means of the Spanish Communist Party. Spain to the north is bordered by France where the Communist Party has over a million members and is maneuvering for governmental powers. To the east of Spain is Italy where the Communist Party has 1,700,000 members. In the case of an upheaval in Spain. there is a definite possibility that the Communist Party might emerge ultimately as the most powerful party. Not only the financial and diplomatic power of Russia itself will be thrown into the struggle. The Stalinist parties in France and Italy will be able to play a powerful role.

In this conflict British imperialism is even more closely interested than the United States. For who controls Spain has a strategic position in relation to Gibraltar, the key to the Mediterranean and Britain's life-line to Egypt and India.

French imperialism is also vitally interested. Spanish Morocco would be a fertile field for Stalinist propaganda and organization to undermine the whole French colonial system in North Africa. Whatever their individual differences and conflicts, the U. S., Britain and France are united in their effort to keep Stalinism from playing a dominant or important role in Spain.

POWERS FEAR REVOLUTION

Not one of these three wishes to see Franco overthrown - certainly not overthrown by the Spanish masses. For Franco is an enemy of Stalinism, as well as an enemy of the aspirations of Spain's workers and peasants. But it was obvious that after the overthrow of Mussolini, and Hitler, and Pétain, that Fascist Franco could not maintain his regime in Spain indefinitely. His government has brought to the Spanish people economic ruin, political corruption, and totalitarian terror which have alienated the large majority of the Spanish people. The defeat of Fascism (in its pre-war form) and Franco's known complicity with the Axis powers completed the discrediting

Who and what, however, will re-

place him? Churchill while Prime in Spain. It might unloose a similar own experiences and they pose be-Minister stated plainly that he wanted Franco to remain. But that has become impossible. Britain and the U. S. are therefore seeking to replace Franco with a monarchy by a gentleman's agreement. If they can slip Franco out and slip a monarchy in, then the government will be under their control.

There is, however, another problem which these gentlemen face. Apart from the fear of Stalinism they fear to provoke a revolution in Spain, for this might mean the destruction of Franco, his landlords and his capitalists by the Spanish workers and

THE POWERS DISAGREE

The French government, however, unlike the American and the British, is subjected to strong pressure by the CP in France, and to a great extent also by the Socialist Party. The CP also has the decisive influence over the French working class at the present time. In the government, and outside, by mobilizing the workers, the CP pushes for international diplomatic and economic action against Franco. The Stalinists are anxious for his overthrow as soon as possible. They do not want any monarchy.

Britain and the U. S. resist. They publish documents showing that Franco collaborated with the Axis-a wonderful revelation, indeed, of what every infant in three continents knows. But they refuse to take sanctions against Franco. They categorically declare themselves against revolution.

The U.S. continues to trade with Franco and thus gives economic support to his tottering regime. Britain and the U.S. even try to prevent the question being discussed at the UNO Security Council. But the scandal of Franco's being allowed to remain at all, and the pressure from France is wearing them down. The Labor Government in Britain, be it noted, acts exactly as the Churchill Government would have acted, and is hand-inglove with the U.S. on this matter. It is concerned with the British Empire, not with Socialism.

Why don't the Stalinists openly call for revolutionary action in Spain, for the preparation of the masses and general strike action? Why don't they propagandize for the idea of the formation of soviets and a struggle culminating in the seizure of the landlords' land and the capitalists' property and the establishment of a Workers' Government? They don't because they are in their own way as afraid of the proletarian revolution as the traditional imperialist powers. They are not so scared of direct action by the masses, so long as it is kept within the bounds of "democracy" and is controlled by themselves. Beyond that they do not want to go.

Furthermore, a genuine revolution, rising from the depths of the masses, might not only upset all calculations movement in France and place the French CP itself in a situation where it would not manipulate the aroused French masses as it does today.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN?

There remains the Spanish government-in-exile. This group of Spanish labor leaders and pale liberals lives on the doorstep of British and American imperialism. It wants their support for a smooth transference of the power from Franco to themselves. They are more terrified than the others at the propect of revolution. But Britain and the United States are not at all sure that these proved and tested bureaucrats can control the workers or resist Stalinist penetration. Some of them have Stalinist leanings. Britain and the U.S. are cool to their claims.

What will happen in Spain? The workers have to look at precisely those forces which make the imperialists, the liberals and the labor leaders tread so cautiously. The fate of Spain in the last analysis rests with the Spanish workers and the Spanish peasants and the ruined middle-classes. They showed in 1936 that what they want is a Socialist Spain. With a violence and decision rare in the history of revolution they seized the property of the ruling class and did their best to establish a workers' state. They were defeated not so much by the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini and the sabotage of Roosevelt, Chamberlain and Blum. They were defeated by the treachery of the Stalinists and the cowardice of the Social-Democrats and the Anarchists.

Reports from Spain show that the Spanish masses are for the time being watching the attempts of the powers to get rid of Franco "peacefully." It is absolutely certain that they do not want any monarchy. The country as a whole dreads a recurrence of the civil war which took such a heavy toll. Nobody loves revolution for its own sake. But the whole situation and the future of Spain demand the the proletariat leading the nation. Without that there is no future for Spain but the further degradation into barbarism.

How and when will this revolution take place? It is impossible to say. But the American workers must, first of all, see what is involved. A mass revolt in Spain would blow all imperialist and Stalinist maneuvers skyhigh. It would be a tremendous revolutionary impulse to the masses in Italy and France and place the Communist Parties in a situation where they would rapidly expose themselves. It would once more rekindle the simmering flames of revolt all over North Africa.

The Fourth International in Spain, France and Italy are tiny organizations. They fight against great odds but they have confidence that the proletariat will learn on the basis of its

fore the workers the revolutionary socialist solution.

Meanwhile, as long as the workers do not move, the imperialists maneuver. They may win for a time to come some compromise government. But the basic antagonisms remain. At this distance the great lesson to be learned from Spain is the way in which today, national and international problems are inextricably fused. In trying to solve its own problems, the Spanish proletariat will not only go far towards helping to solve the problems of Western Europe and North Africa. It will go far towards letting daylight into the imperialist conspiracies against world

Hear Fenwick On Strike Wave

PHILADELPHIA - "Behind the GE Strike" was the subject of a talk given before an audience of electrical workers and party members by James M. Fenwick, organizer of the Philadelphia Local of the Workers Party on March 15.

Tracing the evolution of the current strike situation from the world crisis of 1929, the speaker enlarged upon the heightened political consciousness revealed in the present strike and dwelled upon the world tensions which are being created by the decline of world capitalism and the sharpening of the political and economic contradictions between Russia and the United States.

Despite the fact that a large proportion of the audience was composed of strikers, a substantial collection was taken up.

Seek Nuremberg Court Data On Moscow Trial Frame-Ups

(Continued from page 1) infamous Nazi war criminals on

trial before the Nuremberg Tribunal. Your Honorable Commission has been presented with the almost complete archives of the Nazis and Fascists that fortunately fell into the hands of the Allied Governments. The most damning documents have been presented in open court to prove to the entire world the depth of the guilt of the prisoners in the dock. Every important document pertaining to the question of war guilt is or can be made available to the

TO SERVE HISTORIC TRUTH

It is with this in mind that we place before you, as we consider to be our bounden duty in the interests of historic truth and justice, the names of two men who are now dead but who stand accused of plotting for war with those alive and in the dock today. Were these two men alive, we feel that they would have made every effort to bring their case before your Tribunal in order to establish the truth.

These two men are Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov. They were tried and convicted in their absence during the Moscow Trials of 1936, 1937 and 1938. The official indictment presented by the State Prosecutor of the Government of the Soviet Union in the trial of March. 1938, speaks specifically of "the materials in the possession of the investigating authorities in the present case" which allegedly established 'the connections between the enemy of the people Trotsky and the German political police." The indictment speaks further "of the meetings and negotiations between L. Trotsky

and Hess, Niedermeyer and Professor Haushofer." On the basis of these allegations, Leon Trotsky and his son were convicted of "anti-Soviet espionage, diversive and terrorist activities for the purpose of undermining the military power of the U.S.S.R., accelerating an armed attack on the U.S.S.R., assisting foreign aggressors to seize territory of the U.S.S.R. and to dismember it . .

In 1937, an internationally representative Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials conducted the most thorough investigation it could of the charges against Leon Trotsky, including the grave charge of conspiring with leaders of Nazi Germany to precipitate a war against the Soviet Union and to dismember it. The Commission of Inquiry, on the basis of all the evidence before it. reached the formal conclusion that the defendant, Leon Trotsky was not

We respectfully call your attention to the fact that the indictments at the Moscow Trials bear directly on the problem under consideration before the International Military Tribunal over which you preside, namely, the guilt for bringing about the war. Both the Russian Prosecutor and the Russian Judge are present in your courtroom. Like you, they have available the vast and almost intact archives of the Nazi Party and the Nazi Government, as well as the records of the military court at which Leon Trotsky was convicted. What is more, your Tribunal has the exceptional opportunity of examining the defendants, especially Hess and Rosenberg, with particular reference to the charges made against Leon Trotsky at the Moscow Trials.

Therefore, we most earnestly request that the prosecution be directed by the Court to bring forward all documents and all materials proving or disproving liaison between the Nazi Party or state and Trotsky or the other old Bolshevik leaders indicted at the Moscow trials and if so to make them available for publica-

POSE QUESTIONS

Further, we earnestly request that questions be put directly to all the defendants. In particular to Hess, with reference to this question. We permit ourselves to suggest that among the questions put to them should be the following:

- 1. Did the defendants ever meet with Trotsky or with his son?
- 2. If so, when and where and what was the occasion? 3. Did the defendants ever meet
- with anyone purporting to represent Trotsky? If so, with whom, when and where, and what was the occasion?
- 4. To the defendants' knowledge, did Trotsky or his son ever have any relations with the Nazi Gestapo or with the Nazi military intelligence service? 5. Did Trotsky or his son ever re-
- ceive any money from the Gestapo or from the German military intelligence service, either directly or through any intermediary?
- Did the other defendant at the Moscow Trial, G. Pyatakov, ever receive a passport from the Gestapo or from any official German source in order to fly to Norway to meet Trotsky?
- 7. To the defendants' knowledge, were there ever any documents bearing on any of these questions or on their relations with any of the other Old Bolsheviks for anti-Russian purposes? If so, what were they and what has become of them?

It is not to these criminals that we look for justice in the case of Leon Trotsky, his son, and the other convicted Russian labor leaders. On the contrary, it is to you and the Honorable Court that we direct this appeal. While these Nazis are still alive, any testimony or documentation they can present, is subject to the most thorough scientific investigation and check. Moreover, it will not be possible to understand why the defendants at Nuremberg were not interrogated with regard to the charges which asserted that Trotsky was actively engaged in a conspiracy with them to bring about the world

The International Military Tribunal has the opportunity, in line with the task assigned to it, to exercise the spirit of full justice to two men who, while unable to defend themselves. stand convicted by the Moscow Trials verdict of the most vicious and inhuman crimes. It is such crimes that your Honorable Court is now investigating. We request that the Tribunal give favorable consideration to our petition.

Norman Thomas, Matthew Woll,

Herewith we sign ourselves, Most respectfully yours,

Oswald Garrison Villard, Dorothy Thompson, James T. Farrell, Councilman Louis P. Goldberg, George N. Shuster, Harry D. Gideonse, Powers Hapgood, John Sloan, Louis Nelson, Israel Feinberg, A. Philip Randolph, Mgr. L. G. Ligutti, Rev. John Paul Jones, Rev. Donald Harrington, Rev. A. J. Muste, Rev. Jesse R. Caisleer, George S. Schuyler, Edmund Wilson, Ferdinand Lundberg. Frank R. Crosswaith, Rose Pesotta, Prof. James Burnham, Prof. Paul F. Brissenden, Prof. Fred Eastman, Prof. Oscar Jaszi, Prof. Abram L. Harris, Prof. William B. Hesseltine, Prof. Samuel L. Hamilton, Prof. Sidney Hook, Prof. Clarence A. Manning, Prof. David Saville Muzzey, Prof. M. C. Otto, Prof. Selig Perlman, Prof. Albert Sheppard, Prof. Meyer Schapiro, Prof. Carlton F. Wells, Prof. Clarence Senior, Harry L. Laidler, Abba P. Lerner, Horace M. Kallen, Harry Aranon, Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge, Angelica Balabanoff, William Becker, Daniel Bell, William Rose Benet, Deborah E. Bennett, Shelton Hale Bishop, Louise Bogan, Carl Carmer, William Henry Chamberlain, John T. Clark, Travers Clement, David J. Dollin, Margaret De Silver, Dorothy Detzer, Thomas W. Davis, Babette Deutsch, F. W. Dupee, Millard C. Dorntge, Max Eastman, Justus Ebert, Harry Fleischman, Samuel H. Friedman, Joseph Fox, Clement Greenberg, Humbert L. Gualtieri, Albert W. Hamilton, Philip Heller, Isidor B. Hoffman, Walter L. Kirschenbaum, Layle Lane, George R. Leighton, Aaron Levenstein, Albert L. Livezey, Albert Margolies, Anne Martin, John MacDonald, Morris Milgram, George L. K. Morris, Gorham Munson, Liston Oak, William Phillips, Arthur Pincus, Philip Rahv, Meta Riseman, James Rorty, Richard H. Revere, Delmore Schwartz, Max Shachtman, Herman Singer, Frank N. Trager, Anna Strunsky Walling, Jack Weber, Kurt H. Wolff, Bertram D. Wolfe, Robert Penn Warren, Noah C. A. Walter, Winifred

Woodmansee, George E. Rundquist,

Merrill F. Clarke.

GM Program Elects Reuther

(Continued from page 1)

and himself, but between Reuther and the CIO. And, throwing all responsibility to the winds, Thomas stated his new-born belief that Reuther learned from Hitler, called attention to the fact that Mussolini was once a Marxist, and warned that "it can happen here." Thomas thus did both himself and the union he still heads a great disservice.

In a labor union at all times, and especially at this time, a campaign should be waged around issues, around a program that each candidate supports. With new wage increases already melting in the heat of mounting prices, a program to maintain and raise the standard of living is imperative. While neither Reuther nor Thomas has been too definite on program, Reuther still declares his stand-as made by the GM strikers - for wage increases

without price increases. Thomas relies on inadequate and discredited "support of price control" which has resulted in ceaselessly climbing

On the demand to open the books of the corporations, which made the necessary link between wages, prices and profits. Reuther seems to have cooled off, claiming that the demand was made simply to put the company over a barrel. Thomas, however, ridicules this most progressive idea coming out of the GM strike.

REPORTER QUESTIONS REUTHER

On the burning question of independent political action by labor, Thomas in his opening speech reaffirmed his belief in rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies within the old parties, tacking on an

Reuther, on his part, is riding two horses, a practice which can lead only to breaking one's head. In the UAW-CIO Leader of March 24, carrying what purports to be Reuther's program, his political action is to remain "within the existing party structure." But also: "We stand for independent political action." Asked by this reporter whether he considers an independent Labor Party in the cards, Reuther answered, "Not in the immediate future." Just what is he waiting for? Furthermore, Reuther's idea of an independent Labor Party resembles the Socialist Party hodge-podge, and is quite different from an independent class party based on the unions, leading and giving programmatic unity to the great

The majority of the rank and file, as reflected in this convention, recognize and support Reuther's leadership. However, he owes the rank and file some forthright explanations on different aspects of the GM strike, about which there have been accu-'sations back and forth. He owes the rank and file a clear-cut stand on the "company security" betrayal.

On the one resolution coming before the convention on which Reuther took the floor, namely, the issue of equal pay for women, he made a decided contribution, proclaiming the need not only to fight for adequate legislation, but to strengthen union machinery to attain equal pay through collective bargaining. "We cannot hope for a panacea out of Congress," sounded a note for reliance upon union strength and action.

DUES RAISE REFERRED BACK

Thus far three significant disputes developed in the report of the Constitution Committee. In spite of high pressure from Secretary - Treasurer Addes and the mass of literature on the subject, the convention sent back to the committee an amendment to raise monthly dues to \$2.00 from the present \$1.00. The sentiment of the body was for a compromise of \$1.50, (since adopted by the convention-Ed.) based on a conviction that a 50 per cent increase in dues would adequately finance the plans of the union to organize the unorganized and so forth, while a 100 per cent increase might give the leadership too much money to play around with.

Another amendment overwhelmingly lost was to extend the term of office of international officers to two years instead of one. Again, the body rejected a minority report for the creation of a post on the General Executive Board to be filled by a Negro. This inverted Jim Crowism was sponsored in the Daily Worker and by the Stalinists in the union. The body did vote to create within the international union a department to be known as the Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, making it mandatory as well for each local to set up such a committee.

(The above was written before the Reuther caucus meeting, at which he presented his program. This will be reported in the next issue of LA-BOR ACTION.)

Month Left to Finish Sub Drive

By REVA CRAINE, Press Manager The current Eight Page issue of LABOR ACTION is but the forerunner of the new, enlarged weekly that is going to appear regularly beginning with the June 17th issue. Every reader can now see for himself why it is so urgent that LABOR ACTION be expanded. There is no better argument for this than this

week's LABOR ACTION. Nor can there be any better time for obtaining subscriptions to LABOR ACTION than the coming month which will close the three-month Subscription Drive. With the appearance of the regular Eight Pager, the subscription rates will necessarily be increased. A six-month sub will cost

50 cents and a yearly sub will be \$1.00. Six-month subs obtained before the end of the drive are only 25 cents and will include at least four months of the new, enlarged LABOR ACTION.

The Eight Pager deserves the expanded circulation which the Subscription Drive is aiming at. You can make your contribution to the Eight Pager by obtaining a sub for yourself right now-and three additional subs for your friends and fellow-workers by filling out the combination blank below and mailing together with \$1.00 to the offices of LABOR ACTION. Don't put this paper down until you've filled out the combination sub blank! Don't put this off until later! DO IT NOW! Sup-

port the LABOR ACTION Subscription and Expansion Drives!

With only one month left to complete the three-month Subscription Drive, LABOR ACTION needs some 1700 subscriptions to reach the 5000 goal. Every Branch of the Workers Party is going to devote the month of April to push the drive way over this goal. Those branches which have already gone above their quotas, or are nearing them, are now pledged to surpass them by large percentages. Chicago, for example, is out to get 500 subs by the first of May, Reading and San Francisco are scheduled to reach the top in the next week

At a joint meeting of the Executive Committees of all the New York Branches, the subscription drive was the main point on the agenda. This body discussed the better organization of the activities of the branches in the drive and expressed genuine confidence that the New York Local will complete its quota of 2000 subs

A delegation of Workers Party

lantic City Convention of the United Auto Workers for the purpose of distributing the literature of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION. The early reports on the results of the first day's distributions indicate that LABOR ACTION is being enthusiastically greeted by many of the UAW delegates who recognize it as the fighting champion of the progressive forces in the union. The GM workers especially are grabbing up LABOR ACTION because they know that it was on the picket lines with them, and that it gave whole-hearted support to the full demands raised by the GM workers. Subscriptions for LA-BOR ACTION from UAW delegates are coming in fast. Next week's scoreboard will reflect the results.

members has been sent to the At-

Two more LABOR ACTION SUN-DAYS are scheduled-April 7 and April 21-and on the basis of these the quotas of every Workers Party Branch should be fulfilled or surpassed. ALL OUT ON THESE DATES! PUT THE SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE ACROSS!

Branch	Quota		March	25	Total	Per cent
Akron	200		41		165	82.5
Baltimore	10		4	8	5	50
Boston			4		27	270
Buffalo	200		. 7		32	16
Chicago	350		13		328	93.7
Cleveland	100		7		20	20
Columbus	25			5	4	. 16
Denver	25				23	92
Detroit	1000		52		433	43.3
Hibbing William Park Park Park	100		6		131	131
Los Angeles	250		*****		104	41
Louisville			****		43	86
Muskegon		. 2	9		28	
Newark			11	100	125	83
New York	2000		82		1151	67.5
Oregon	Control of the Contro		****		-5	50
Philadelphia	500	4	70	18	204	40.8
Reading	75		8		68	90.6
San Francisco	200		40		191	95.5
San Pedro	250		3	4.	-94	37.6
Seattle	200			1	39	19.5
Streator			. 2	12	22	88
St. Louis	25		-		32	128
Youngstown	25			1 5		
Miscellaneous			5	15	33	
	1 10	. *	-			-
Totals			355	1000	3307	66.1

West Coast Machinists Quit IAM SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., March 11. - Machinists voted overwhelmingly at a mass meeting yesterday to pull out of the International Association of Machinists. Harvey Brown, International President, arrived in San Francisco three weeks ago to attend a Pacific Coast shipbuilding conference here, to interfere in Local Lodge 68's unsanctioned 41/2 month old strike and to settle it against wishes of members and in defiance of local leaders. First. Brown went to the Employ-

ers' Association and announced that the machinists must settle on the bosses' terms. Then he called an illegal meeting of Lodge 68 on Tuesday, Feb. 26, hoping to convince members to reverse their action of three weeks ago when they had rejected by a 98% majority the employers' scabby contract offer of a 15% increase and a two-year no-strike pledge.

Instead of yielding to Brown in a stormy 20-minute session Local 68's leaders declared the meeting illegal as soon as Brown opened it, because according to the Lodge Constitution the Local President must preside. Lo- ures.

cal leaders attempted to remove the meeting from Brown's hands and install President Frank DeMattei as chairman. Failing in this. Business Agent Ed Dillon moved to adjourn. The men and women all walked out on Brown. Brown's sergeants-at-arms were all members of another Lodge, the Production Machinists, Local 1327. He also had dozens of police hidden in the wings.

Brown then sent out phony ballots to machinists. Many recipients had been dead or had withdrawn for years. The Lodge has 7,000 members but 18,000 ballots were rumored sent. Members laughed off the ballots and turned them in blank to the union. Lodge 68 called a meeting on Saturday, March 2, and invited the public to prove that there was democratic procedure and not dictatorship as charged. Again by secret ballot the union repudiated 2288 to 628 the employers' proposals they had rejected three weeks previously. Brown was invited but was afraid to attend. He announced his results approximately 1400 for acceptance to 200 against. Members refused to recognize his fig-

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