

We Must Organize Action to Control Prices:

NATIONALIZE THE FOOD INDUSTRY!

Remember?



"Freedom from Want" -- Tyranny of Starvation

"Freedom from Want!" The words have an ancient ring, do they not? Each of the Four Freedoms, promised by Roosevelt and Churchill when there was still an imperialist war to be won, has proved to be a bitter and cruel mockery; and "Freedom from Want" has proved to be the cruelest deception of them all. Instead of freedom there is the tyranny of starvation, the brutality of famine.

But if for Roosevelt and Churchill "Freedom from Want" was a convenient catchphrase; if for Truman and Hoover food for the starving of Asia and Europe is a clever political device—it is for us a REALITY that demands attention and ACTION!

Solid bonds of class interest link us with the starving millions of the world. We cannot let them starve. Each of us in whom there is a grain of human feeling must demand that something be done to aid the peoples of Europe and Asia. LABOR ACTION has published the facts; we shall publish them again—because the facts cry loudly for action.

UNRRA is not doing the job. Its assistance is meager and snarled in political considerations.

We must see to it that food goes to Europe and Asia in ADEQUATE quantity. We must see to it that seed and fertilizer and oil and machinery—all of which are necessary to combat famine on a continent destroyed by imperialist war—are sent. If necessary, we must share our food, as the many workers who are sending relief packages through the Workers Party are already doing.

Most of all, we must see to it that profiteering on the misery of a world is ended, that the production and distribution of food are what they should be.

And it is right to speak of this at the very moment when American labor is fighting the battle of food and prices, when bread is scarce and meat unobtainable. Those who are responsible for meager shipments of wheat abroad are also responsible for flour being turned into cake when there is no bread. They are the people behind the black markets of the world—here as elsewhere—the monopolists who hoard supplies and skimp on production, who are actuated by the exclusive consideration of profit.

While we press the monopolists to disgorge their supplies, while we demand of the cattle ranchers, for example, that they send their cattle to the slaughterers, while we demand that prices be kept in check, while we do all this in our own behalf, we must also, especially at the moment when food shortages press sharply on us, demonstrate our solidarity with the poor and exploited of the world by demanding that food be sent to Europe and Asia in quantity sufficient to maintain life decently.

But that is only half the job. It is monstrous to leave the most vital of all industries, food, in the hands of a few monopolists and profiteers. While we do all that is described above, we must undertake, in and through our unions, especially those concerned with food, a consistent and unrelenting pressure to NATIONALIZE THE FOOD INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

Congress Spurs Runaway Prices

By SUSAN GREEN

If the OPA's "controlled" inflation is ended either by the passage of the emasculating Senate-House conference bill or by the outright defeat of all price control, the cost of living in the next 6 or 8 months will go up at least 20-25 per cent—as admitted even by the enemies of OPA. The supporters of OPA claim the swing upward will be even steeper, namely, 40-50 per cent in the coming year.

The CIO News illustrates the point. It shows that chickens now 47 cents a pound will be 71 cents; eggs now 50 cents a dozen will be 75 cents; carrots will be thirteen cents a bunch instead of nine cents; lemons eighteen

cents a pound, not twelve; onions three pounds for twenty-five cents will cost thirty-seven cents (pre-war price was three pounds for ten cents).

Other sources estimate meat prices up 40 to 50 per cent and bread up 50 per cent, bringing the price per loaf to 18 or 19 cents.

OPA Administrator Paul Porter, figuring on a 40 per cent boost in living costs in the next year if OPA is abandoned, shows that a family now spending \$2500 per year would have to have \$3450 to maintain the same standard of living.

The American Veterans Committee, fighting in Washington for the retention of OPA, circulated the following protest, appropriately printed on stage money:

"Mr. Congressman:
For your pay raise
AVC has only praise,
But if OPA is made impotent
Your raise won't be worth a cent."

Neither will the wage increases of 18½ cents an hour received by auto, steel, mine, rail and some other workers be worth a cent. And what of the workers whose raises were less than that? And what of the workers who have received no wage increases at all?

LIVING STANDARD WILL FALL

What will happen to the American people, the great masses? Their standard of living will fall. The people will consume less food; will own less clothing; will have poorly furnished homes, if they have any at all; will get inadequate medical care; will afford less education for their children; will allow themselves less relaxation and entertainment. In these flesh-and-blood terms will the masses feel the absence of price control.

Furthermore, the lie must be nailed that the people will be able to bolster their standard of living from their fabulous caches of wartime sav-

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Seafarers Stick By 30% Demand

At its June 20 membership meeting in the port of New York, the Seafarers International Union, AFL, went on record in its usual militant fashion to struggle for the demands placed before the shipowners in recent negotiations. The demands include a 30 per cent increase in basic pay, a hike in overtime rates, improvement of working rules and most important of all, the 4-watch system. The membership unanimously endorsed the negotiating committee action of the previous day when it walked out on company officials because of menial counter proposals.

Included among their proposals was the shamefaced offer that all Able-bodied seamen receive \$145 monthly. The union, through rank and file job action, has boosted AB's pay to \$155 on some steamship lines. The company proposal would in effect mean a wage cut for these sailors. The union negotiators stated then, that all stabilization of wages would have to be upward not downward and are willing to go all out in defense of this stand.

Following this the Seafarers took concrete action in voting to conduct a strike ballot which will extend from July 1 to July 31. This gives the membership in the SIU a chance to voice its sentiments and is in accordance with the union constitution.

The company counter proposals are based on the conditions granted the Committee for Maritime Unity two weeks ago which the SIU refuses to recognize as a pattern for the entire industry.

SIU WANTS MORE

Although everybody grants that the gains made by the CMU are a considerable step forward in that a wage increase was won and the companies forced to concede to the principle of overtime for sea watches on

(Continued on page 2)

As prices threaten to rise to new and incredible heights; as meat disappears from the butcher shops and bread becomes an under-the-counter commodity, anxiety is giving way to demand for action.

According to reports, the UAW is considering a buyers' strike. Small groups of various connection have already picketed in Washington, threatening a buyers' strike.

Good! A buyers' strike can serve to demonstrate the problem and to illustrate the anger of the people. Particularly if it is organized by the unions, involving in action the worker's wife with the worker.

But it can only achieve real meaning if it is united with other actions. For example, any serious plan to organize buyers' strikes can serve at the same time to organize NEIGHBORHOOD COMMITTEES OF WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES AND HOUSEWIVES who will organize activity to control prices and smell out phony shortages.

But even that is not enough. It doesn't strike at the big guy who is mainly responsible for zooming prices and shortages. That's why we must get at the root of the situation; seek to control prices and production AT THE SOURCE.

Such a program already exists. We have called it the GM Program because it is based on the demands of the GM strikers in their magnificent strike. This program is as valid for labor today as a few months ago. In linking wages, prices and profits, it seeks to prevent wage increases from being passed down the line in price increases. In demanding the corporation open its books to committees of workers from the plant, it leads to vesting control of production in the hands of the men and women who actually operate the industry, be it a packing house, an automobile plant or a granary. Generally, it calls attention to the fact that class interest reflects the interest of the great mass of people in low prices, in plenty for all.

By all means a buyers' strike, organized and called on a national scale by the unions. By all means local actions organized by housewives against chisellers and black marketeers. Better yet, however, let us organize these committees of workers' representatives and housewives on a national scale. Combine them with the GM Program and with an insistent campaign to NATIONALIZE THE FOOD INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL and we have really got a program that can put a brake on prices and meet the situation.

Pacific AFL Plans War on CIO

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 2,000 delegates representing a million organized workers met here last week for the first convention of the California State Federation of Labor since 1942. This convention was remarkable not so much because of a thorough and serious consideration of the problems facing the members of the California AFL in the reconversion and post-war period, but because it lifted the curtain on the life and death struggle which the AFL leadership is launching against the CIO.

For months the cannery workers of California have been subjected to an embittered fight between the AFL Teamsters Union and the United Agriculture and Tobacco Workers, CIO. This struggle was reflected at the state AFL convention in resolutions backing the teamsters to the limit and

in a large caucus meeting addressed by George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL, and Judge Padway, its general council, in order to plan the anti-CIO fight. This fight which the AFL is planning against the CIO can have terrible repercussions in provoking a feeling of bitter controversy among the unionized workers of California.

The preparations for the anti-CIO fight were also reflected in the constant red-baiting which set the tone for the whole convention. The strong Stalinist domination of some sections of the California CIO has resulted in giving the AFL leaders a handle which they can use against the whole CIO movement. Any possibility of united action by the two sections of the California labor movement is made very distant by this situation.

It also makes difficult the functioning of any progressive or militant group within the AFL convention, as all delegates who arose to present a program for class action were tarred with the same brush as the Stalinists. Thus, red-baiting arguments were used against the proponents of a resolution introduced at the convention, which advocated the formation of an independent Labor Party.

Though LABOR ACTION has made clear to all its readers that it has nothing but contempt for the maneuverers of the local representatives of the Stalinist dictatorship, we must also say that the kind of red-baiting which went on at the California AFL convention does harm to the labor movement as all too often it is used to take away attention from the real issues before the workers.

Lichfield: America's Buchenwald!

The shame of Lichfield must be broadcast throughout the nation. The people of this country must be made to know the truth, the truth which is being buried in little items on the inside pages of the papers.

Lichfield—the camp in Britain where American soldier-prisoners were treated like dogs, were beaten and tortured by army guards—stands as the symbol of shame of an army controlled by and working in behalf of an imperialist government.

The double standard of "army justice"—brutal punishment for ordinary GIs and incredible leniency for the sadist and Nazi-like wardens who mistreated the GI prisoners—was shown in its ugliest form at the recent Lichfield trials.

Here is an example: One brutal guard, Corporal Robson, was found guilty after admitting that he struck prisoners. He was fined \$60. This is the punishment the court-martial gave to a man who admitted that he had beaten fellow soldiers.

The notorious Lieutenant Cubage, who would have found himself quite at home among the SS guards of Buchenwald, was fined \$240 for his part in this scandalous treatment of American soldiers.

But Pfc. Joseph Defelice was sentenced to six months in jail

and a \$240 fine for "showing disrespect to an officer" while waiting to testify against the Lichfield guards.

Isn't that the payoff? Isn't that enough to make your blood boil? The men who committed these brutal crimes—who kicked and slugged American soldiers, who put them in solitary confinement for two weeks at a time, who treated them almost in the same way that Hitler treated the inmates of the concentration camps—got off with small fines.

But one of the men who had been a victim of Lichfield and who was waiting to tell the truth is sent to jail for six months.

This isn't an isolated incident. It is typical of the army method. The eyes of every soldier and ex-GI are on Lichfield. Yet the caste-bound, brass-hat army still goes easy on the brutal guards and punishes their victims. Is it any wonder that some of the present prisoners of Lichfield refuse to testify? They know that looking for justice in an army court-martial is like looking for the man in the moon.

This is the army they sent us to fight in; this is the army for which they made us give our youth and our years. This is the army which told us—and with a straight face, too!—that we were fighting for "democracy."

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Post-War Strike Wave Demonstrated Working Class Power

By J. R. JOHNSON

The great wave of strikes seems for the moment to be over. Only in time can we evaluate their full significance. Just as it took the steel strike and the coal strike to give full meaning to the UAW strike and Reuther's proposals, so only the events of the next two or three years will enable us to draw the fullest lessons from this upheaval.

Any worker knows that what distinguished these strikes above all others was the role of the government.

In 1941, Roosevelt, faced with the recurrent clash between capital and labor, attempted to evade responsibility. "A plague on both your houses," he said, and stood on the sidelines. Workers and capitalists fought it out.

In 1943 the miners challenged the capitalist war machine. It was impossible for Roosevelt to say "a plague on both of you." This was not a question of miners and coal owners. The bourgeois state had to have coal for its war. Roosevelt had to intervene and, faced with the uncompromising attitude of the miners, he capitulated.

The post-war wave of strikes found Truman in Roosevelt's position. In one sense it is a pity that "the indispensable man" is not here himself. The workers could no longer be bluffed with talk about "war and the national emergency." Furthermore, the American economy has become so much of a unit, the different parts are so knit together, that a strike of a few weeks in steel, coal or transport imperilled the functioning of the whole structure.

Moreover, the public as a whole had seen what the economy could do for war. It was in no mood to stand any prolonged inconvenience. Truman had to intervene. What he did can be divided into three stages.

THE THREE STAGES

Stage 1. He kept out of the dispute as long as he could. He even pretended neutrality—declared that capital and labor each had too much power. In this period he was feeling his way. Defender of capitalism as he is, he had, if possible, to suppress the workers. But he could do this first of all, only if the labor leaders

Transit Workers Convention Debates Arbitration Issue

At its recent convention in Chicago, the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees found itself faced with one of the most vital issues of the labor movement today, a question that is plaguing the bureaucratic union leaders: Can arbitration solve our problems satisfactorily?

By and large, the rank and file of this union as well as most other unions now realizes that arbitration is just one more way of giving in to the demands of management; it is a method of compromising—with the unions doing most of the compromising. But the leaders of these unions are class-collaborationists, that is, they are tied to the apron strings of the capitalists and are afraid of the workers' great power.

That is why the leaders of the Transit Union (retiring President W. D. Mahon and newly-elected President Abe Spradling) have advocated and continue to advocate arbitration instead of negotiations fortified by the strike threat. They managed through their machine to overcome at this convention the rank and file pressure for the elimination of arbitration as the chief means of settling disputes, but this pressure will grow stronger in the coming year as the workers find their pay checks dwindling and their working conditions worsening.

The convention next year may complete what was begun this year—if the various militants organize themselves into a functioning caucus. They shouldn't let themselves be intimidated by threats of "expelling Communists" as were made at this convention. The militants must face this issue of "Communism" head-on by demanding the right of a member to hold any political or religious belief. "Communism" is a scare-word the capitalists use to oppose militant trade-unionists and it is increasingly becoming a scare-word for the leaders to use against rank and file workers and their reactionary policies.

could keep the workers in check. In 1943 Murray, Reuther and the Stalinists had done that job for Roosevelt. But it became clear last winter that the labor leadership could not in 1946 repeat for Truman what they had done for Roosevelt in 1943.

Truman had to have the support of the middle-classes. But the middle-classes were supporting labor. Therefore began Stage 2.

Stage 2. Truman retreated from neutrality. The workers were clamoring for the books to be opened. Truman did not say that the demand was the death of the free enterprise system, that it was an intolerable interference with the rights of management, etc. Not a word of that. He said something very different. He said that he himself would open the books. That was the significance of the fact-finding committees. He decided on 18 1/2 cents as a working figure for a rise. At the same time he promised the capitalists to raise their prices. In other words Truman marked time.

Stage 3. The strikes unraveled. The workers showed that in pursuit of their demands they were quite ready to bring the economy to a standstill. The capitalists brought a remorseless pressure to bear upon Truman. He bided his time. The railway strike seemed to give him the opportunity that he wanted. The public, the great middle classes in particular, would feel the consequences of this strike more immediately than any other. This would bring home to them in a more personal sense the disruption of normal life which was being caused

by the "selfishness" and the "irresponsibility" of labor.

Truman struck. He proposed to put rebellious strikers into the army and to arrest their leaders. The official leader of the capitalist class was revealed in his true colors as the deadly enemy of labor.

CONGRESS RETREATS

The outcome was only less significant than the attempt. The country as a whole recoiled. Congress drew back. Congressmen had been clamoring for curbs on labor, but they had their constituents to reckon with. The people as a whole were shocked at this drastic attack on the most elementary democratic rights. Many of the middle class no doubt were ready to sanction some regulation of labor's apparently unbounded power. But to put strikers into the army! The great body of the people felt that this was uncomfortably near to Fascism. The working class from one end of the country to the other denounced Truman. Truman retreated. To save his face he vetoed the Case Bill.

But we have now a situation in which labor will have to think and to think hard.

Capitalism in the United States faces a serious problem. It has been demonstrated that the workers in any major industry can bring the whole economy to a standstill by a strike of a few weeks. It has been demonstrated further that the workers when they feel justice is on their side, are quite ready to do this.

This is an absolutely intolerable situation for capitalism. The proof of this is the desperate measure Truman was prepared to take in order once

more to give capital complete control of the system. Only a sense of the most extreme urgency could have prompted Truman to propose so ferocious a measure.

What next?

Prices continue to rise. Wages lag behind. Not only are the workers restless and dissatisfied but they know their power. The strikes taught them. There is wide-spread talk of another wave of strikes when the new contracts are to be signed. Bridges of the West Coast Longshoremens threaten another crippling maritime strike in September. Reuther of the UAW proposes a buyers' strike. For the moment there is a lull. But one thing we may rest assured. The capitalists are busy working out their main problem—how to control labor. Their struggle over price-control, their concern over markets, their fears of inflation or deflation, all these are essentially subordinate to their fundamental problem—how to discipline the working class.

So far Congress and the President have failed. Far from being on the defensive labor has opened up another front—"Operation Dixie" whereby it proposes to attack reaction in one of its great strongholds.

LABOR MUST MOVE

But all this is not enough. We state categorically that the country cannot remain indefinitely in a situation where the opposing forces of capital and labor at any moment can paralyze each other, while the rest of the country waits impatiently and fearfully for the outcome. Labor must move forward. Truman's readiness to

draft strikers into the army shows how fiercely capitalism will strike when it sees an opportunity. Note also Truman did not only propose to arrest the labor leaders and draft strikers. He did more. To break the railway strike he mobilized detachments of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. To break the maritime strike he threatened to mobilize the Navy.

It is clear that the capitalist class, through its official chief, is ready to use the full power of the state to break the power of the working class. If it drew back it is because it felt that the country was not ready for such drastic measures. But another wave of strikes, another paralysis of the economy, can create a very different mood among sufficient millions to give capital just the opportunity it wants. If labor merely strikes and stops there, it will inevitably lose the confidence of the middle classes. They will feel that it has no solution to the perpetual crisis. Worse still, they will listen to the capitalist propaganda that labor is irresponsible and therefore must be drastically curbed.

Both history and common sense dictate labor's future course. Labor must come before the country with a program, to reconstruct the whole economy from top to bottom. It must organize a political party to carry out this program. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have advocated this step for years. Now the capitalist class, through Truman's draft bill, has shown its teeth and its claws. It has sheathed them but that one glimpse was sufficient for labor to recognize the deadly class enemy which is con-

Longshoremen Set Contract Deadline

By CHISPA

SAN PEDRO, June 16—Maritime workers made great strides forward as the government-shipowner combine backed down in the face of a three-coast tie-up. The Committee for Maritime Unity, representing six CIO maritime unions and one independent, reached an agreement granting wage gains and improved working conditions.

Longshoremen won 22 cents an hour increase, Saturday as an overtime day, and other improved working conditions. The punitive clause, proposed by the shipowners, providing for union financial responsibility in case of work stoppages, was dropped.

Seamen also won significant gains. Aside from a \$17.50 monthly increase, the precedent for a seven-day straight time week was shattered for the first time. Seamen will now receive overtime for Sundays at sea. In port, the sailors will be off all day Saturday as well as Sunday.

With the mounting tension of negotiations during the last days before the June 15 deadline, a deluge of messages supporting the CMU from unions all over the world flooded the offices of the Committee for Maritime Unity.

This international solidarity and

the united front action of the maritime unions against the united shipowner-government combination won the conclusive victory. The solidarity with which the labor movement responded, both nationally and internationally, offered a splendid opportunity to go out June 15 and win the full demands of the waterfront workers. But the willingness of most of the leadership of the CMU to settle on the compromise discouraged this.

Once again the need for maritime unity on a rank and file basis has proved absolutely necessary. The magnificent gesture of solidarity by the AFL seamen two weeks ago, when they threatened to strike all their ships if the government tried to break the CMU strike on June 15, is not enough. Rank and file must demand a Maritime Joint Action Strategy Committee, consisting of CIO and AFL workers.

The CMU, although it has some of the outward appearances of a united front, in that it supposedly represents the ranks of seven maritime unions, actually is a creation of the Stalinist

Party in this country to strengthen its position in the labor movement.

This "creation" serves not the wishes of the maritime ranks it supposedly represents, but serves instead as a tool of Russian foreign policy in this country. If the Stalinists did not control the CMU it would be the greatest force with which the seamen and waterfront workers could combat their enemy on the economic and political front. It should be the objective of maritime workers to eliminate this poison and struggle to achieve real unity on the waterfront.

The new longshore agreement represents acceptance of a fact-finding board's report. This is a considerable compromise from the original demands (thirty-five cents an hour increase, etc.). Longshoremen realize that upon the expiration of this contract, September 30, another showdown is inevitable. At the meeting of Local 13, San Pedro, immediately after ratification of the new contract, a motion was unanimously passed providing "No contract September 30, no work!"

The longshoremen, who soon reopen negotiations, must push forward demands that will strengthen their position. These also include the fight for a six-hour work day at a high enough rate of pay to meet the cost of living. A six-hour work day would not be practical without a guarantee of thirty hours' pay a week. Thus, a guaranteed thirty-hour week must be included. Further, so that the rising cost of living will not cancel wage and hour gains, longshoremen must insist on a pay scale that will rise each month according to the rising cost of living.

The government owns the ships! The government subsidizes the ship owners with hundreds of millions of dollars a year to guarantee the profits of a few worthless leeches who contribute nothing to the loading and sailing of ships! The government can therefore guarantee longshoremen, who sweat every day at the heaviest kind of physical labor at loading and unloading ships, a guaranteed adequate weekly wage.

Seafarers - -

(Continued from page 1)

Sunday, the SIU feels that much more can be squeezed out of the ship profiteers and that it is the duty of all seamen to begin the struggle for the 4-watch system now. Under present agreements seamen who work in the engine room and on deck have a 3-watch system. This system requires men to work 4 hours and 8 off in every 12 hour period every day spent at sea. The 4-watch system would institute a 3 on-9 off setup.

During the war there was a tremendous influx of seamen into the industry because of the expansion of the Merchant Marine in this period. Now that the war is over, hundreds of ships are being laid up which means there are less jobs and many unemployed seamen. The 4-watch system would absorb this unemployment and give seamen more security. It would also help eliminate the tedious monotony of the 3-watch system now in effect and allow the men more time to relax.

The 4-watch system should become the keystone demand for all seamen in the next period.

On Combatting Anti-Semitism

Dear Editor:

I have been following with interest Jessie Kaaren's articles on the roots of anti-Semitism. To me, articles of this sort are of utmost importance in view of the fact that so many militant workers of my acquaintance fall into the anti-Semitic trap. These men are extremely vociferous in their hatred of capitalism, whose every experience has proved to them the impossibility of realizing their needs and satisfying their wants without overthrowing capitalism. Yet these workers insist upon identifying the Jewish people with capitalism and vent most of their verbal wrath against a "race" and not against the capitalist class, which is their real enemy.

Till I am blue in the face, I attempt to explain that it is the capitalist class, the sixty families, who rule our destinies, who draft us, who break our strikes, who bound us and bleed us from the cradle to the grave. The capitalist class and its stooges from the President of the United States all the way down to the company cop who leers at us every morning as we pass through the gate.

"That is right," they agree, "but it's the Jews behind the whole thing. They pull the strings."

Appealing to their class consciousness has similar results. When I say that the working class is composed of Negroes, Jews and men of every racial origin and that so long as workers fight each other on the basis of their racial origin, the capitalist class and its stooges will lead herd, I am informed by my misguided fellow workers that there are no Jewish workers.

Because Seattle has a relatively small Jewish population, and because Seattle unions are predominantly AFL, which has an anti-Semitic, anti-

Negro tradition, the experience of the workers here supports such misconceptions.

When I mention the predominantly Jewish membership in such old and militant unions as the ILGWU, and the tremendous struggles that our Jewish fellow workers have made in the great textile centers of the East, they confess their ignorance and continue with their anti-Semitic clamor. This sort of scape-goating is difficult to combat and yet it cannot be ignored. In the last analysis, I suppose, this lesson will have to be learned in the course of the class struggle. Articles such as Kaaren's will help.

Yours for workers' solidarity,
DAVID MORGAN, Seattle.

Dear Comrade:

It is a pleasure to print your letter. As you say, anti-Semitism is much more widespread in the working class than trade union leaders like to admit, and there is too little organized day-by-day education to combat it. For that reason, the job you are doing, even if it is a one-man affair, is very important.

Anti-Semitism is already on the increase. Worsening economic conditions will undoubtedly create fertile ground for demagogues. It is very important to warn workers of the dangers their prejudices will lead them into.

Whom did the Nazis destroy? German-Jewish bankers? No, for there were very few of them, just as there were very few in the United States. And those few are still living comfortably in England, in Switzerland and in the United States. For a long time they lived comfortably under Hitler, too. But the Nazis, among the many millions of workers they murdered, did murder 6,000,000 Jewish workers, artisans, small shopkeepers, and that was part and parcel of their program to smash the working class,

The only outstanding fact about occupational trends among American Jews is that they are concentrated in the consumer industries, and that many of them are small shopkeepers. Even the latter trend is changing in view of the ever-growing monopoly of chain stores. For hundreds of years, Jews were not permitted to own land in Europe. They were driven from country to country. They thus became traders instead of farmers.

A study of the banking industry in the United States, made by Fortune magazine, showed that only 0.6 per cent were of Jewish descent, although Jews constitute approximately 3.5 per cent of the total population in the United States. It showed, too, that Jewish bankers play a minor role in the financial world. There are no Jews among the executives or officials of the largest commercial banks and investment houses.

The coal industry is non-Jewish owned; so are the telephone, telegraph, lumber, rubber, steel, automobile, shipping, petroleum, chemical and most other industries. Jews come in contact with the public as owners through being proprietors of retail stores, groceries, candy and cigar stores. As for Jewish real estate and insurance agencies, they hold a very minor position in the field.

A survey made in five large cities revealed that about half of the Jewish population in those cities were manual workers, from 3 to 10 per cent in some cities were domestic workers, an average of about 2 per cent were professionals, 12 per cent were clerks, about 7 per cent were owners (including hucksters) and from 7 per cent in some cities to 20 per cent in others were salesmen.

Comradely,
JESSIE KAAREN.

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A Bess's Dictionary



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The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: Manhattan, N. Y.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Madison, Wis.; and Seattle, Wash.

If you live in any of these cities and desire to attend the youth meetings, write to the Socialist Youth League, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

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MANHATTAN

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14th St. and 4th Ave., SW. 14th St. and 4th Ave., SE. 14th St. and 3rd Ave., (near RKO theater).

Biderman's Book Store, Second Ave. between 11th and 12th Sts. 42nd St. and 6th Ave., SW. 42nd St. and 6th Ave., SE. 42nd St. near 6th Ave. (Rutkin's).

HARLEM

116th St. and Lenox Ave. 116th St. and 8th Ave. 1207 Seventh Ave. 125th St. and St. Nicholas Ave. 128th St. and 8th Ave.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

CIO Announces Railroad Drive

Editor:

Sharply underscoring the ferment in the ranks of railroad workers following the recent nation-wide rail strike is the announcement in the CIO News, railroad labor, edition, of May 27, by A. B. Martin, national director of the United Railroad Workers of America, CIO, of "an all-out organizing campaign among every class of workers on payrolls of all roads running into West Coast terminals." Among the major factors influencing the organization drive, Mr. Martin stated, were "hundreds of urgent demands by rank and file workers which have been pouring into national headquarters office daily."

There is no doubt as to the genuineness of the discontent among the broad mass of working railroaders. The national strike revealed the hopeless ineptitude and incompetence of the leadership of the Railroad Brotherhoods, let alone the lack of democracy in the local unions. The government's breaking of the strike was facilitated by the outmoded craft-union set-up. On all sides the cry for industrial unionism arises to meet the real needs of the railroad workers. Particularly since the miners and the auto workers had already demonstrated in their own strike action how effective their unions were as agencies of workers' struggle.

From the leadership of the railroad brotherhoods emanates all kinds of rumors as to amalgamation of this or that craft. Yet, well paid organizers of the different crafts are engaged in bitter jurisdictional struggle to capitalize on the discontent that exists. No really serious efforts for amalgamation and unity can come from those who have done nothing but perpetuate craft differences for so many years.

The rank and file of railroad work-

ing men are aroused and at a decisive stage in their struggle for democratic industrial unionism. Whether they take the road of forcing amalgamation of the existing Brotherhoods or enroll under the banner of the CIO remains to be seen. In either case the creation of a new, powerful industrial union of railroad workers is in the cards.

M. MILLER.

Work in a Bank Or in a Shop?

Editor:

A friend of mine (age 20) recently remarked to me that he intends staying on his job with a local banking concern in preference to working for one of the rubber companies for twice his present rate of pay. His reason is: "I'm staying at the bank because I am interested more in security than high wages."

If he expects to find security under our old, worn out "dog eat dog" system, he is due for a rude awakening some day.

In the first place, he is fighting for that security all by himself, since he and the other workers at that job are not organized as are most rubber workers today. We all want security but it takes every working man, not just a few, to put this thing across.

For his sake (and mine, too) I hope he and others like him wake up before it is too late and fight to make labor the powerful force it can be through their united efforts.

E. J. H., Akron, Ohio.

P.S.—I have heard many opinions expressed that even in an independent Labor Party there would be a bureaucratic leadership, but even at its worst it would still be a Labor Party, completely independent of the Republicans and Democrats. "Success cannot be achieved where no effort is made to that end."

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11. Workers' Control of Production Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government—For a Socialist America with Plenty for All! Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalism produce for the needs of all the people!

One-Tenth of the Nation

Joe Louis and Jack Johnson

By J. R. Johnson

A tense political or social situation can take the simplest or most common-place event and make it into a symbol of political struggle. The most famous of such cases is the Dreyfus case in France fifty years ago. Lenin once pointed out how this anti-Semitic attack by the military caste on a Jewish officer nearly precipitated a revolution in France.

The situation of the Negroes has in the past lifted sporting events in which Negroes took part to a level of international political interest. Observers in Europe in 1935 noted the great satisfaction with which "the left" greeted the Olympic victories of the American Negroes. These games took place in Berlin, under Hitler's very nose. His obnoxious racial theories were debunked in the presence of thousands of fanatical Nazis.

Now Joe Louis retains his title as heavyweight champion of the world. The Negroes rejoice, and the labor movement should view with sympathy and understanding their deep satisfaction. The Negroes express by this a very simple, very human, and for that very reason, a social sentiment of great significance. "Negroes are inferior? Very well then. Here is one Negro who is not inferior and beats everybody who dares to challenge him."

The British Government with its long experience in colonial domination, allows no nonsense of that kind. It prohibits by law competition for boxing titles between Englishmen and colored colonials, and we need have no doubt that if the reactionaries in the U. S. ever got their chance they would restrict the championship to whites only. Luckily the labor movement (whether individual workers

supported Louis or Conn) would raise such a howl, that these fascist types would have to keep their mouths shut.

JOE LOUIS PERSONALITY

Joe Louis, however, is a remarkable person, and has stamped his personality on this generation. He is a man of great personal dignity, and has borne the temptations and the publicity associated with the championship in a manner that has won the admiration of all. This has led to comments on Louis as a "representative of his race"—the announcer of the night of the big fight referred to him as such.

Jimmy Cannon of the New York Post wrote a column which ended with the phrase that Joe was a credit to his race. But he added immediately "I mean the human race." Harlem was vastly pleased with this and the phrase has acquired wings among the Negro people.

At the opposite extreme is the New York Times. A few days before the fight Jack Johnson, another Negro champion, died. Johnson had had a stormy and spectacular career and had served time in prison. The Times said in so many words that Johnson's conduct had cast a stain upon the Negro character which Louis' conduct was wiping away. This is a piece of ignorance and impertinence which deserves to be exposed.

Jack Johnson was a champion of the old school of champions. In those days, the days of John L. Sullivan, J. J. Corbett, etc., the champions lived fast. What made the authorities mad was that Johnson refused to act differently simply because he was a Negro. He insisted on his right to live his own way. He was

persecuted but remained irrepressible to the end. Doubtless he did many wrong and stupid things. But Negro publicists who followed his career have denounced all attempts to make him into a kind of Negro black sheep. Similarly this attempt to hold up Louis to the public as a model Negro has strong overtones of condescension and race prejudice. It implies "See! When a Negro knows how to conduct himself, he gets on very well and we all love him." From there the next step is: "If only all Negroes behaved like Joe, the race problem would be solved."

And yet there is a sense in which the careful public conduct of Joe Louis is a matter not only of his personal character but of his origin. Joe himself has stated in public that he would rather die than do anything which would discredit his people. In this he reflects the acute social consciousness of the generation to which he belongs. The Negro question today is not what it was in Jack Johnson's time. Joe feels that he is not only a boxer but a social figure, someone whose actions can hurt or can harm the struggle of Negroes for their full democratic rights. In that sense he feels he is a genuine "representative" of the Negro people. He feels it strongly and the Negroes, recognizing this, admire him for it as well as for his boxing prowess. That is not only legitimate but is good and in its way progressive. To the Negroes, it is only another reason why they should not be deprived of their rights. The important thing is to separate this healthy sentiment from the smug and hypocritical who clasp their hands across their chests and whine: "If only Negroes conducted themselves like Joe Louis, the Negro problem would be solved."

OFF LIMITS

By JAMES M. FENWICK

BEHIND THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

Early in December, 1944, after six months of almost continuous combat ending in the constant dreaching rains, the mud and the slaughter of the Huertergen Forest, our regiment was shifted to a quiet sector of the front near Monschau in the Ardennes.

It was indeed a quiet area. Too quiet. It was reminiscent of the "phony war" of 1939. We were uneasy from the moment when, though we were under full observation of the enemy, we detrucked without being shelled. The line was very thinly held by a "recon" outfit. When our men moved into position they found that in many cases positions had not even been dug in. Patrol activity was very light. Enemy shelling was desultory, falling harmlessly behind us and reverberating in the snowy valleys. We were glad to get out of that eerie atmosphere and move back to a rest area. It didn't feel right.

Consequently, we were not unduly surprised on December 16 to have our passes cancelled and to hear rumors of a break-through near Monschau. The next day we moved out and took up positions at the shoulder of the bulge, near Malmédy.

"GENERAL BRADLEY WAS NOT WORRIED"

As the days wore on, the full extent of the Allied débacle and, with it, the responsibility of the high command became apparent. Having caught the Allied forces completely by surprise, the Germans, in some of the bloodiest fighting of the war in Europe, inflicted exceptionally heavy losses.

Destruction of matériel was equally high. Stars and Stripes at one time reporting the loss of over one-half the M-1 rifles in the ETO. Confusion was nearly complete. Malmédy, for example, was bombed on three successive days by American planes though it was occupied by American troops at the time. So great was the need for manpower that air corps units in the United States were combed for men, who were hastily flown overseas as infantry replacements.

Naturally, the Army general staff has never even suggested that a blunder was made. Quite the contrary—it maintains that everything was foreseen, that everything went as planned. The latest attempt to disseminate this comforting myth is Lieut.-Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, former chief of staff of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Europe and now Ambassador to Russia, where he should find himself quite at his ease among really experienced myth-makers.

His article on the Battle of the Bulge, recently published in the Saturday Evening Post, bears a special importance at this time. Not only does it serve to cover up a bad error of the past, it seeks to bolster confidence in the somewhat compromised officer caste which is to play such an important role in United States capitalism's current program of imperialist assimilation and conquest.

THE ALIBI AS SMITH STATES IT

Smith falsely states what is at issue. "General Eisenhower once said a little ruefully that he had never known we were in danger until he read about it in the papers. We were not unduly disturbed over the final outcome then or at any time."

Smith's rejoinder is little short of amazing: "We were taking a calculated risk in this area." He continues: "... It seemed improbable that an attack through the Ardennes could develop any broad importance in the general military situation along the entire front. At the very least, Bradley estimated, the Germans could be stopped on the Meuse, and east of that line he located no important supply installation."

What Smith is saying here is that in weakening the lines in the Ardennes area in preparation for an offensive elsewhere, General Bradley was prepared to risk an even more severe counter-offensive than the one which took place, an offensive which would have carried the Germans clear to the Meuse!

In other words, for the sake of an offensive elsewhere the general staff would have been quite willing to risk a situation more critical than the actual one, where the depth of the penetration forced the command to be split between Montgomery in the North and Bradley in the South, where heavy reinforcements had to be rushed to the continent, where terrific casualties were incurred and large losses of matériel were experienced and where the final attack against Germany was delayed for two months.

LOSING EQUALS WINNING

Without being a military expert, one can say that this represents a very curious scale of values. Actually what it represents is making a virtue out of necessity. Of the same picaresque caliber is the braggadocio of remarks said to have been addressed to Eisenhower on December 16, when the Germans were sweeping everything before them: "Our greatest concern at this time was that we had overestimated the Germans' determination. We were afraid they might become discouraged too soon and order a withdrawal before we were in position to inflict maximum destruction."

The basic truth is contained in a statement by Smith: "The staff discounted the possibility of a serious counter-offensive." Despite the availability of reserves, which could have been used to buttress the Ardennes line until the contemplated offensive was launched, only three infantry divisions were holding some ninety miles of front through the classic invasion route which Germany had already used three times—in 1870, 1914 and 1940.

In spite of the manifest successes enjoyed by the Germans in this area, Smith feels impelled to say: "The Germans could not have picked terrain less suited to their purpose." They should, no doubt, have listened to Smith and other members of the general staff, who proved to be such skilled tacticians in this matter.

The simple fact is that the Allies, overconfident and underestimating the striking power of the Germans, committed a serious error in December, 1944. The article by the former chief of staff only confirms the opinion held by GI's at the time.

A whitewash was to be expected. American capital needs to establish confidence in its military chiefs for the coming struggle for world mastery which lies ahead. Truth has strictly limited value for capitalism. It paid off dearly, however, to those thousands of young men who lost their lives or were wounded in the Battle of the Bulge.

WORLD POLITICS

Odds and Ends

By IRVING HOWE

The British Labor Party Government has a new Minister of Food and John Strachey is his name. Strachey has a personal and intellectual history as checkered and erratic as few prominent men of his time. He achieved notoriety some years back when he was refused entry into America on the ground that he was a "dangerous Communist."

Strachey began his career—career is just the word—as the son of a conservative editor who moved to the left. He joined the Independent Labor Party after the first world war, later to become a follower of the British fascist leader, Sir Oswald Moseley, when the latter was still a member of the Labor Party; and when Moseley broke away from the Labor Party in 1929 to form his "New Party" Strachey tagged along. After his flirtation with Moseley's brand of politics, Strachey suddenly became converted to what he called "Marxism"—really Stalinism. During the mid-thirties Strachey was a fervent writer, though not a very profound one, in behalf of Stalinism, one of its most "distinguished" intellectual apologists.

With his usual ability to sniff the direction of the political wind, Strachey attached himself several years ago to the Labor Party. During the imperialist war, he forgot what he had written in his books and expressed his aspirations towards heroism by serving as an air-raid warden. Now he has completed the circuit and is in the Labor Cabinet where, at the age of 44, he may aspire to greater bureaucratic glory. This man—whom the left-wing Labor journal of London, The Tribune, calls without a hint of irony "the most formidable Marxist theorist of this generation"—personifies in himself the political opportunism and hypocrisy of our times. From Moseley to Stalin to Bevin: the evolution of a careerist.

THE "REVIVAL" OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Our readers may have noticed items in the daily press about a meeting in England several weeks ago of the European Social Democratic Parties. We did not comment on this conference because we lacked information: the reports from England were very skimpy and the one report of great interest which the New York Times printed—that the Conference was going to refrain from reconstituting the Social Democratic Second International for fear of antagonizing Stalin—was unsubstantiated. We still have been unable to find any real information about this conference, but have picked up two bits of information which give a sufficiently damning picture of the present state of European Social Democracy: (1) The Conference refused to admit the Spanish Socialist Party because it is an "émigré" party! In other words, it refused to give status to a sister party because the latter had been run out by Franco's dictatorship and was therefore an "in emigration." (2) The German Social Democratic Party was also refused admission, even though the Canadian delegates proposed that it be invited. This, presumably, was because the German Social Democrats came from the same country as Adolf Hitler—even though Hitler had put them in jails, concentration camps and murder chambers.

It would be superfluous to say much about the brand of "internationalism" displayed by this gathering of the Social Democracy.

STALIN'S RECOGNITION OF PERON'S ARGENTINA

An item which has passed almost unnoticed in the press is the fact that Stalinist Russia has resumed diplomatic relations with Argentina. The two worthy democrats, Stalin and Peron, have found that there is no reason for antagonism—as, in some ways, there isn't! What is interesting is that Stalin made overtures to the Peron dictatorship in the most ostentatious manner directly after Washington had expressed its distaste for Peron's regime. The incident is merely another maneuver in the world-wide imperialist conflict of American and Russian imperialism. Stalin's new friendship for Peron is motivated largely by a desire to embarrass Washington, as well as a desire to make economic inroads into South America which has until now largely been dominated by America and Great Britain.

How the Stalinists will now characterize Peron's regime is an interesting question. Will it become "demo-

The Daily Worker, forced at last to explain to its readers why Stalin has established diplomatic relations with Peron's dictatorship in Argentina, recalls the bit of wisdom once uttered by Molotov: "The art of diplomacy is to increase one's friends and diminish one's enemies."

Only—only the Daily Worker refrains to inform its readers why Molotov first said this. The occasion was a special session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on September 1, 1939, to ratify the Hitler-Stalin pact which gave Hitler the green light to start the Second World War.

A revealing comparison which the Daily Worker makes, isn't it? Too revealing for its own comfort, we would say.

cratic and peace-loving"?—the label given to all governments in diplomatic harmony with Stalin, regardless of their internal character. And what now remains of Molotov's righteous indignation against the Argentine dictatorship when he opposed its admission to the UNO at its San Francisco conference?

CONFERENCE OF THE BRITISH ILP

The small British Independent Labor Party, somewhat similar in political character to the Norman Thomas Socialist Party in this country, recently held a conference to determine what to do with itself. The ILP is a "centrist" organization; that is, it vacillates between the outright reformism of the Labor Party, which is now in power, and the revolutionary socialism of the British Trotskyists. With the victory of the Labor Party in the last election, the ILP faced a difficult choice: what to do now? A section of the leadership, the right wing under Maxton and Brockway, favored liquidation of the ILP and entry into the Labor Party, there to function as an educational group. Another section of the ILP, the so-called "left," opposed liquidation.

At the recent conference, the Brockway motion was defeated and the ILP decided not to apply again for admission to the Labor Party. In a sense this can be interpreted as a defeat for the right wing leadership since its anxious desire to lead the ILP back to Bevin and Attlee has been set back. On the other hand, the motivations involved in the discussion—as reported in the ILP weekly, The New Leader—reveal the amusing situation that the "left" offered reasons for its stand which are very sectarian while the motivations of the "right" were, on the face of it, correct. Maxton and Brockway proposed entry into the Labor Party on the grounds that the great masses of British workers adhered to the Labor Party and that it was the business of the socialists to work inside of it to move it to the left. The "left," on the other hand, pooh-poohed the mass support of the Labor Party and spoke vaguely of "independent" socialist education; it didn't think the Labor Party an important arena.

The only flaw in the Maxton-Brockway position (we do not discuss here the tactical advisability of entry into the Labor Party) is that its proponents are not revolutionary socialists and would probably enter the Labor Party merely to become an occasionally critical tail to the Bevin-Attlee kite. The "left," on the other hand, by offering arguments against entry into the Labor Party on principle, reveals a thorough sterility.

The ILP, as all its sister parties throughout the world, totters to eventual disintegration because it is unable to choose once and for all which path it desires to tread: reformism or revolutionary socialism. But this vacillation in itself insures that it will almost always follow the former in practice. The ILP plays the role of a political Hamlet—minus the tragedy.

BACK ISSUES OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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Editorials

Hobbs Bill: Menace to Labor

Both houses of Congress have passed the Hobbs bill and it is now awaiting action by the President. In the vetoed Case bill there was a section which was an exact duplicate of the Hobbs bill. When President Truman vetoed the Case bill, he said that this section should at least contain a guarantee that it didn't interfere with "legitimate union activity." Since no such guarantee is included in the Hobbs bill, President Truman is presumably bound to veto it.

It provides for punishment of anyone who "interferes with interstate commerce" and makes unions liable to suit by anyone who so accuses them. In reality, this means that unions would be liable to constant litigation which could deplete their treasuries and energies.

The Hobbs bill is a menace to labor. The union movement must see that it is vetoed. But at least as important: the workers must ask themselves again how it is that the Democratic and Republican representatives elected with the aid of the PAC allowed this bill to go through both houses.

A New Job for Earl Browder?

Earl Browder, former leader of the American Communist (Stalinist) Party, is returning to America after a trip to Russia. He has announced that he is to be the American representative of several Russian book combines.

other change in "party line" and once again become the same kind of strike-breakers they were under Browder's leadership, it might be useful for them to have him around. (In the meantime, the local Stalinists—worried about Browder's favorable reception in Moscow—are in a bit of a stew.)

There's something fishy about all this. Browder has no known special qualifications for the book business. There are any number of other people in America who could serve as the trade representative of the Russian book industry. Why pick on Browder?

But there's another possibility. Of course, we don't know. This is just a possibility. But could it be that Browder is coming back to this country to head the GPU? (The GPU is the secret police of the Stalin dictatorship which has as its job the wiping out of critical revolutionaries, keeping the Stalinist parties in line, espionage, etc.) He'd be a good choice for the job; his background is dirty enough, and his lack of scruples is evident. What's more, the recent denunciation of him by the Stalinists give him a certain protective coloration.

And why especially choose Browder as a representative of the Russian book business immediately after his expulsion from the American Stalinist Party as a "traitor"? Is the Russian bureaucracy in the habit of choosing as its trade representatives men who have been expelled from its puppet parties as "traitors"?

Mind you, this is just a possibility. We don't know.

There's something fishy about all this. One possibility suggests itself immediately. Perhaps the Stalin dictatorship wants to keep Browder on ice. If the American Stalinists execute an-

But we do know that there's something fishy about all this—and that it would be a good idea for the radical and labor movements to keep a suspicious eye cocked at slimy Earl.

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Demand Grows for Action on Runaway Prices As Congress Seeks to Wreck OPA Controls - -

(Continued from page 1)
ings. These are not-existent. The Federal Reserve Board in May of this year had a survey made of accumulated savings. The findings are as follows:

The top 10 per cent of American families have 60 per cent of the savings, namely from \$3400 and up! The second ten per cent owns 17 per cent of the wartime crop, namely savings from \$1800 to \$3400—hardly a fortune by any standard. The bulk of 50 per cent of the families wallows in 23 per cent of the accumulated wealth, namely from \$50 to \$1800—yes, don't laugh. The remaining 30 percent of American families luxuriate in savings from NOTHING UP TO \$50. These most revealing figures on who got rich out of the war come from the United States News, a weekly business publication; these figures were not featured in the daily press.

Is it then an exaggeration to say that the removal of price control means the impoverishment of millions of working people? At the expense of millions of us, the capitalist government is tearing down the last bar—adequate as it is—to runaway inflation. Yielding to the pressure of the farm bloc, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Retail Dry Goods Association, the government deliberately proceeds to reduce our standard of living. The capitalist government does this because the 10 per cent that has piled up unsavory war profits in banks and company reserves refuses to use idle capital to produce unless these octopi are permitted to fix their own inflationary prices.

BOWLES GETS AN "IDEA"

On June 17, Economic Stabilizer Bowles had a bright idea that he might be able to appease these gangster-like profit-grubbers. He wanted—no less—that labor make another no-strike pledge in return for NAM et al. laying off on OPA and allowing it to be extended for another year as is. This was hardly cricket on Mr. Bowles' part, for he knows very well that the cost of living is going up steadily even under OPA, and that the workers must have the right to strike for the maintenance of their standard of living. The papers advise us of the OPA boosts in butter and milk, and we are immediately aware of these increases when we go marketing. But every day and in every way the all-around cost of living is being upped without unseemly publicity.

For instance, the Washington Memo of the New York Post, on the mailing list of OPA, learned in one day of twenty-six price increases, including 12 per cent on work shirts, 10 per cent on leathers, 28 per cent on lawn mower parts, 19 per cent on types of lumber. Hundreds of items are constantly being priced higher, inevitably reflected in the decreased value of the dollar. This "controlled" inflation is the greatest boost of the OPA.

Needless to say, Mr. Bowles' bright proposal for another no-strike

pledge came to naught. It would be risking their heads for the labor officialdom to try now to put that over on the rank and file.

PLANTING BOOBY-TRAPS

As this is being written on Monday, June 24, the Senate-House conferees are expected to iron out their final differences and insert the last "time bomb" and "booby trap"—as Mr. Bowles described their amendments to the Price Control Act. The points still at issue are whether or not to remove all ceilings on meat, poultry, dairy products, tobacco and petroleum products; whether to extend the mortally crippled act for one year or only nine months; whether or not to establish a de-control board empowered to overrule both the Price Administrator and the Secretary of Agriculture; for how much, and for how long shall the government continue to subsidize the big food producers.

Already accepted by the conferees are enough amendments to take the last loose tooth out of OPA. They agreed to allow manufacturers, processors and producers 1941 prices plus added costs since then, stipulating that the added costs should be passed on to the consumers. They have accepted the abolition of OPA's maximum average price lists and of OPA's method of keeping some low-cost clothing in production. They will allow regular peacetime discounts and mark-ups on scarce reconversion items. They unnecessarily divide the toothless OPA authority and openly give the farm bloc a victory, by putting the Secretary of Agriculture in control of farm product prices.

The \$64 question in Washington, is whether or not President Truman will veto the bill when it gets to his desk. Just as many congressmen, when it came to voting on the issue, no longer knew whether they were voting for or against price control

because of the amendments and counter-amendments, so Mr. Truman will be hard put to decide whether a veto will indicate one thing or another or anything at all. Undoubtedly Mr. Truman would rather fly to see his dear old mother and in general enjoy himself as President than be bothered with such sticklers.

WANT BUYERS' STRIKE

At any rate, there is an indication that veterans, workers and housewives are losing faith in government action. They feel they themselves must do something about prices and shortages. A great clamor has arisen for a buyers' strike. Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers-CIO, came out with the idea. It was taken up by John Green, president of the Ship Workers-CIO. On June 24, in Washington, demonstrating workers, housewives and others listened to speakers urging a buyers' strike.

A well organized and tightly disciplined buyers' strike, directed by the unions and other people's organizations, will be a dramatic and effective demonstration of consumer strength, and if carried out long enough, will accomplish some good. However, what the masses need above and beyond a buyers' strike is permanent price control machinery.

It has been proved that this cannot be provided through the channels of capitalist government. What is the alternative? Committees of workers at the point of production, with access to the books of the corporations, the committees themselves fixing prices and volume of production to meet the nation's needs. Such committees together with housewives and consumers' committees at the consumption end to act as control agencies in every neighborhood, will have to be created to solve the price and shortage muddle.

From October to June: Part I

The Meaning of the French Elections

By NATHAN GOULD

The results of the October 21, 1945, elections in France represented the high-mark of a leftward trend which had set in after the "liberation" of that country from German occupation. Nineteen million votes were cast; ten million of these for the Communist and the Socialist parties. The platforms of both these parties advocated an end to capitalism in France. Clearing a combined majority of one million votes, the Communist and Socialist parties were given a mandate by the people of France to end the rule of capitalism and to establish a workers' government. As clear as the victory itself was the mandate directed to the Communist and Socialist parties of France to take the power.

But the two parties, posing as the authoritative representatives of the French working class, flouted the mandate of the October elections. Instead of forming a government of the CP-SP-CGT, these parties, in league with the Popular Republican Movement, foisted a three-party coalition (that is, a capitalist government) upon the nation.

AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM

Despite their pretense to being champions of the working class, both parties—Communist and Socialist—are, nevertheless, agents of foreign imperialist powers. Their servitude to their respective imperialist masters varies only in degree, but not in essence. The Communist (totalitarian) Party is nothing less than the French tentacle of the Russian octopus.

In 1939-40, when Russia was a member in good standing of the Rome-Berlin-Moscow Axis, the Communist Party of France called upon the French working class to oppose the "impe-

rialist war conducted by the Allies." When Russia switched its allegiance from the Axis to the Allies, the "imperialist war of the Allies" became "a democratic crusade against fascism." The French Communist Party promptly reversed its appeal to the French masses, who were now called upon to defend the imperialist Allies, against whom they were to have directed their blows on the previous day.

The Communist Party of France does not represent the interests of the French working class. It rather seeks to exploit them as pawns in the Russian game of imperialist diplomacy.

The French Socialist Party, basing itself upon the working class, remains the "loyal opposition" to French capitalism. Since the reduction of the independence of the native capitalist class, the French Socialist Party has distinguished itself as the willing servant of British and American imperialism.

The conflict between the Western imperialists and the Eastern colossus is thus reflected in the internal politics of the French working class through the agencies of these foreign imperialist blocs, the Communist and the Socialist parties. In consequence of this fact, both parties are incapable of complying with, or of bringing to fruition, the expressed will of the French masses.

STALIN AND FRANCE

A workers' government in France, even a nominal one, is not within the present scheme of Stalin's plans. Neither a Russian government (as in the Baltic absorption), nor a Russian lackey government (as in Yugoslavia) lies in the Russian imperialist design for the present. For Russian control over France, unlike its domination of

the Balkans, would mean civil war in France and immediate war between Russian imperialism and British-American imperialism.

Inherent in the domination of France is the question of the domination of all Europe. Russia in France means Russia over Europe; means Russia from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Britain and America are now battling upon the economic and diplomatic (military) front to win Europe. It is inconceivable that they should relinquish France (read, Europe) to Russia without a full-scale atomic war. Here is a fact which no one appreciates with greater sensitivity and understanding than does Russia herself. The Kremlin is not yet prepared for a war with the Western powers.

Stalin definitely does not want a satellite government in France. Through its lackey Communist Party, Russia strives for a government which is friendly to Russia within the limitations of acceptability to the Western powers. And, to be acceptable to the Western powers, that government must be based upon capitalist productive relations—that is, must be a capitalist order. The internal politics of France are the reflection of the maneuvers "for position" on the part of the two imperialist blocs. The coalition government (CP-SP-MRP) is the product of these maneuvers at the given stage of the imperialist conflicts between Russia and the Western powers.

CP BOLSTERS COALITION
The October mandate of the French masses—"A Communist-Socialist government"—could not possibly be realized by the venal pawns of the two imperialist blocs without the most decisive and energetic pressure from the masses. The programs of the Socialist and Communist parties, declaring for an end to capitalism in France, gave way, not to a workers' government in accordance with the mandate of the people, but rather to a government of capitalist coalition in accordance with the instructions of the foreign political masters to their respective parties.

The token propaganda by the French CP for a "CP-SP-CGT government" was both feeble and demagogic. Had the Communist Party genuinely desired such a government, its propaganda would have been vigorous and would have been supplemented by action consistent with such a strategic plan. What actions? First: The CP would have refused

to participate in the coalition government. As the largest party in France, this refusal would have sent the workers into the streets in demonstration, would have stimulated political strikes against the government. A government crisis would have been precipitated. The Socialist Party would have been compelled to form a government with the CP or lose a sizable portion of its working class supporters to the CP. Instead, revealing its servitude to Moscow's diplomatic objectives, the French CP bolstered the capitalist coalition by becoming a pillar of the government.

Second: The CP could, at will, have precipitated a governmental crisis, by resigning from the coalition. Again, such an action would have accelerated the struggle in the streets and in the factories supporting the cry for a workers' government. Instead, its actions dissipated the "combativity that definitely existed in June, 1944," and shifted the mass struggles from the streets to the parliamentary sphere. Hence, behind the occasional and verbal gestures for a "CP-SP government," the Communist Party labored with might and main to stabilize the coalition and to maneuver within it for the best possible conditions from the point of view of—the Kremlin.

But the feeble and occasional verbiage on the part of the CP for a "CP-SP-CGT government" was necessary. It served the following very useful purposes:

1. It enabled the Stalinists to foster the deception of their desire to fulfill loyally the mandate of the French working class.
2. It enabled them to "explain" (thanks of course to the role of the Socialists) their "reluctant" support of the capitalist coalition and to conceal (at least partially) their maneuvers in behalf of Stalin.
3. It was most effectively employed as a weapon of blackmail by Stalin against the Western bloc.

(To be continued)

Imperialist Conflict in Germany

By HERB MASON

Germany is the major arena today of imperialist conflict. The Anglo-American camp and the Russian camp both desire political and economic control of Germany.

The Anglo-American bloc can achieve political domination over Germany only if it rebuilds Germany to at least a self-sustaining economy. This means economic unity of Germany on a capitalist basis. Russia, on the other hand, seeks political control of Germany, primarily through her foreign arm, the German Communist Party. The economic controls she seeks are dependent on: (1) the extent of her political control, (2) the needs of the Russian ruling bureaucracy.

The British, though supporting the Social-Democrats, seek to win the German masses primarily by stimulating limited industrial recovery and unifying Germany economically. The Russians, though reorganizing East Prussian economy, are primarily interested in building up a powerful political grouping subservient to Russia. The American policy in Germany is rapidly coinciding with that of Britain.

Let us see how the facts give life to this analysis.

On May 10, in a debate in the House of Commons, two major points were made: (1) The Potsdam declaration should be discarded and Britain should recognize the importance of Germany and Austria as battle-grounds in which former allies are maneuvering for position; (2) British opinion now regards the need for building up a stable political and economic life in Germany as equal to, if not more important than, the need to carry out measures designed to weaken the German war-making potential.

FOUR POWER TREATY

Russia, meanwhile insisting on further de-nazification and reparations before talking of a united Germany, is consolidating her political control.

The crowning stroke of western imperialist strategy burst forth as a proposal for a twenty-five-year four power peace treaty. The propagandistic purpose of this proposed treaty is to reassure Russia that Germany will never become a menace to her. But its real purpose lies in its implications: if Germany is no longer a threat then no one can oppose her economic unification which Britain and America desire. Then the zonal boundaries become merely occupation markings and not trade barriers. This plays right into the hands of the western imperialists.

Russia, put on the spot, refused to discuss the treaty. She understands the implications and therefore cannot accept such a settlement. She will never be for German unity unless she is assured of political control.

Having accepted the need for economic revival in Germany, the British are now planning a corresponding superstructure: a political federation for western Germany that would be capable of adjustment either to the possibility of close links with eastern Germany or to the necessity of regarding that area as essentially foreign territory. As a step in building such a federally "autonomous" structure, the British zone has been divided into five districts, one of them the North Rhine, with civilian administrators replacing the military heads. This is the beginning of establishing a political framework for western Germany.

WHAT ARE U. S. AIMS?

Let us now further examine the American position in Germany. The aims of the American imperialists were to neutralize German nationalism and German competition in the international markets. On the other hand, an advanced industrial nation, however battered, cannot be dominated like an exploited Asiatic colony.

The German proletariat, once the most powerful in Europe, given a correct leadership, could within a

few years put the social revolution on the order of the day. Then too, the Stalinist bureaucratic state, with its demagogic appeals to anti-capitalist propaganda, presents a strong magnet to many disillusioned workers. Thus it is necessary for the American imperialists to offer something positive. This is known in the United States as exporting the American form of democracy. But in Germany this democracy looks like a skeleton because the American standard of living did not accompany it. Not even the prospects for such were shipped abroad. In order to surround the skeleton with a little flesh and blood it is absolutely required that Germany be united economically. This would have the further effect of maintaining the capitalist mode of production and building an industrial system capable of utilization against the Russian imperialists.

At the last conferences at Paris, Russia did not even want to discuss final peace for Germany as proved by her refusal to participate in a special committee (proposed by Byrnes) to work out a common policy toward Germany. The Allies could not even agree on an agenda for discussion of Germany.

It seems certain then that there will be no German unity in the near future. Each zone will be incorporated into permanent spheres of influence or actual parts of the conquerors' economy. The conflict over Germany may well supply the spark for the next imperialist war. The allies have proven themselves bankrupt so far as being able to rebuild Europe.

The most important contribution the working classes in the imperialist countries can make toward a successful solution of Europe's problems is to demand that their ruling classes get out of Germany. International solidarity with the German proletariat is essential if they are to regain their class confidence and strive with the proletariat of all Europe toward the United Socialist States of Europe.

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"Black and Tan" Rule in Palestine Rouses Resistance

Bevin, like most politicians in trouble, is seeking to divert attention from the actual facts in Palestine. The facts are that British imperialism, while mobilizing world opinion against Jewish immigration, is ruling Palestine by armed terror.

The capitalist press has concentrated attention on the activities of the Hagana, the armed resistance movement of the Jews. Freda Kirshwey, editor of the Nation, who is in Cairo, reports that the British armed forces in Palestine are unbelievably overpowering. Convoys of British tanks and trucks jam the roads. Public barracks, located at strategic points only a few miles apart, are really formidable concrete fortresses. Everywhere there are contingents of the Transjordan Frontier Force. Arab troops police towns and highways.

Press censorship is complete. Newspapers are informed that the High Commissioner, being of the opinion that the matter appearing in print is likely to endanger public peace, the paper is thereby suspended for two weeks. Under similar emergency decrees people are arbitrarily arrested.

BRITISH INVITE TERROR

Despite this terror, backed by force, Glubb, the commander of the Arab Legion in Transjordan and the Deputy Inspector General of Police for Palestine, gives a public interview as follows: "I doubt whether the British forces available are adequate to enforce the committees' recommendations (to admit 100,000 Jews). Palestine would become the scene of murder, sabotage, severed communications and convoy attacks."

Not only does the British guardian of law and order invite the Arabs in Palestine to unleash a mass terror. He issues a call to Arabs everywhere. "In Arab countries outside of Palestine disturbances would take the form of pogroms, attacks on British subjects and premises, and sabotage of Anglo-American oil concerns."

Thus while Britain appoints members of an Anglo-American Committee which recommends that 100,000 Jews be admitted into Palestine, the British military invites the Arabs everywhere to carry on a holy war against the Jews. We who are familiar with the role of the American police when white mobs attack Negroes can understand easily the role which the British police will play. They will keep "order" by arresting Jews whenever possible. Meanwhile false evidence against Jews is being manufactured to justify further British oppression and stimulate Arab terrorism. We should not be distracted by Bevin's words from what Bevin's government is doing.

All this has been going on for months. It did not begin with the kidnapping of the British officers. But the final provocation is the "escape" of the Mufti, the most influential leader of Arab nationalism, in Palestine. The British Government has enough evidence of treason and collaboration with Hitler to hang the Mufti twenty times over. Yet the Mufti bears a charmed life and "escapes" at will. Long before World War II, it was obvious that he en-

joyed the protection of the British Government.

It is with this in mind that we must view the activities of the Hagana, the Jewish Resistance Army. It consists of about 90,000 men with arms patiently acquired during the war. It is reported that it now has small factories of its own where not only explosives but arms can be manufactured. Yet, as in Ireland in 1921 and as in all guerrilla warfare of this kind, its strength is not so much in its military formations and armament as in the sympathy of the population. What population would not be sympathetic in face of the systematic provocations of British imperialism!

The Jews themselves are not united in the armed struggle against British imperialism. The Hagana is an irregular military organization. The kidnapers of the British officers are terrorists—the Irgun Zvai Leumi. The wealthy Jews view all this terrorism and resort to arms with disfavor as do the wealthy everywhere.

One most striking feature of the whole complex situation is the failure of the British so far to develop a genuine mass movement of Arabs against the Jews. The Arabs have a military organization of their own, but it consists of only a few thousand units. The real active force against the Jews is the Arab feudal lords, who have a slight base in the suspicion and hostility of the Arab masses whipped up by the propaganda of the Arab chiefs backed by the British Government. It must never be forgotten that in the railway and postal clerks' strikes, Arab and Jewish workers marched side by side.

The Jewish Zionist movements in and outside Palestine have committed enormous political blunders. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are unalterably opposed to Zionism in any shape or form. But at present thousands of Jews, with arms in hand, are engaged in a life and death struggle with the brutal, powerful, tricky, treacherous British imperialist government. They are conducting themselves heroically. In the military trial of the Irgun Zvai Leumi the prisoners in the traditional fashion of nationalist heroes, have denied the authority of the British courts to try them. It is to be hoped that in the course of the struggle, they will learn to combine their revolutionary readiness to sacrifice with a correct policy—unity with the Arab masses against the crimes and perfidies of British imperialism. At present they bear the terrible weight of a reactionary anti-Arab policy.

In so far as their efforts are directed towards keeping Palestine open to Jewish immigration, the Jews are perfectly justified. But it is their concentration upon Palestine alone as the solution which throws an unbearable strain upon them and subjects them to the exaggerations and absurdities, injustices and political stupidities of Zionism. A campaign by the world labor movement for admittance of European Jews, everywhere, and above all to the United States, that is the practical immediate assistance which the labor movement can render to the Jewish population of Palestine.

Explain "Why SWP Minority Joined the Workers Party"

NEW YORK

NEW YORK—Two hundred and twenty-five people attended a meeting of the Workers Party to celebrate the fusion of the Minority Group of the Socialist Workers Party, led by Albert Goldman, with the Workers Party.

The fusion was the aftermath of almost a year of unity negotiations with the Socialist Workers Party. Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, informed the audience that the failure to achieve unification with the ENTIRE Socialist Workers Party was the responsibility of the Socialist Workers Party alone. All efforts toward unification of the two Trotskyist groups in the United States made by the Workers Party and Minority were either ignored or rejected by the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Oscar Shoefeld, a leader of the Minority Group in New York, stated that he was greatly impressed by the recent convention of the Workers Party, where "different points of view were freely discussed and delegates voted on the basis of the arguments presented. This is the healthiest sign of a party that has the possibility of leading the masses into socialism."

Albert Goldman stressed the importance of an educated membership, a membership capable of discussing political questions and arriving at conclusions on the basis of discussion, not blind faith in a leadership. He said that the Socialist Workers Party, by terming differences of opinion on se-

rious political questions "revisionism," by modifying its position on the Russian question overnight on the decision of one man has shown "that it contains Stalinist germs."

The members of the Workers Party and the former members of the Socialist Workers Party Minority urge all members of the Socialist Workers Party to support the unification of the Trotskyist movement in this country.

CHICAGO

CHICAGO, June 17—Activities of the Chicago Local of the Workers Party spurted forward last week with the holding of a very successful public meeting celebrating the entry into the Workers Party of the Minority (Unity) group of the Socialist Workers Party.

One hundred and fifty people attended this meeting to hear Albert Goldman, former national committee member of the SWP and attorney for Leon Trotsky; Lydia Bennett, formerly national committee member of the SWP, and Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, explain the reasons why this group of experienced revolutionists left the SWP. The audience listened attentively for three hours to the history of the fight for unifying the two Trotskyist organizations in the United States, made by the Minority group of the SWP and the Workers Party, and how this fight has been determined by the Cannonite leadership of the SWP.

The speakers outlined the dishonest tactics and arguments of the Cannonites in rejecting unity and how this constituted a criminal act against the development of a strong, conscious and unified revolutionary socialist movement. Particularly, they showed clearly how it is impossible to build a genuine party of the working class without internal party democracy, without cultivation in every member of the highest degree of critical spirit as against that of blind faith in the leadership. The speakers indicated that in the Cannonite SWP the latter has become more and more a predominant characteristic, tending to the growth of a monolithic party utterly alien to the spirit and practice of Lenin and Trotsky. They proved how the Workers Party best represents the real tradition of Bolshevism, which means the freest type of discussion combined with discipline in action.

The audience contributed \$175.38 in cash and pledges to build the unified Chicago Local. Eleven LABOR ACTION subscriptions and \$21 worth of revolutionary literature were sold after the inspiring meeting closed with the singing of the Internationale.

The subscription price of LABOR ACTION goes up with the appearance of the eight-pager on August 5. Get your sub now at the old price. See blank on page 2.